

THE BRITISH SOCIOLOGICAL TRADITION IN THE INTERWAR YEARS (1920-1940)

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DR. BAUDRY ROCQUIN
KEBLE COLLEGE
History Faculty, University of Oxford

SHORT ABSTRACT (300 WORDS)

This thesis argues that there was a strong tradition of British sociological thought that developed in the interwar years (1920-1940) at the LSE but also outside universities under the guise of 'public sociology', 'social surveys' and 'the sociological imagination'. Sociology was seen here specifically as a democratic, reflexive discipline supposed to entail change by individuals and fostered by philanthropy as opposed to the French, academic and ex cathedra approach of collective institutions fostered by the State. It was especially under the heading of 'new anthropology' that Radcliffe-Brown and Malinowski developed their own version of it, and social anthropology is still remembered today as the 'real', most successful school of British sociology, paradoxically.

Both strands represent the British sociological tradition at its best and the thesis concludes that despite two different names (Durkheim's *sociologie* and Malinowski's 'modern anthropology') and contexts (that of a Republic versus that of an Empire), both sciences shared a similar humanistic concern for European modernity and for the preservation of societies. This uncovers the world-enriching specificities of Britain to world sociology (the birth of a public sociology, the tradition of the social survey and the development of the sociological imagination) that only became apparent after WWII.

This thesis is thus an original contribution to the field which sheds a brand new light on an old problem thanks to 1) a comparative approach between Britain and France which has never been attempted before 2) taking into account not only the institutional history but also the intellectual history and sociological *ideas* 3) drawing on previously unused material such as book reviews from the journal *l'Année sociologique* and interwar textbooks to study the reception of British sociology in France 4) finding the contours of its specific national tradition 5) extending our knowledge of the discipline in the interwar years.

299 words

LONG ABSTRACT (2,500 words)

There seems to be something wrong in the phrase 'British sociological tradition' when discussing the interwar years. The most famous history of British sociology, that of Abrams' *Origins of British Sociology*, stopped in 1914 by underlining its 'fragmented state' despite its success: By WWI, Britain had one of the most prosperous sociologies in the world with a national Sociological Society, the first chair in Europe at the London School of Economics and a successful journal, *The Sociological Review*, all established during the Edwardian era.

Yet by 1945, after WWII, the state of the discipline appeared in a completely different light, a British observer noting from America that 'sociology as an independent discipline is still not too firmly established in England' and that 'what analysis there was, was piece-meal, haphazard and unsystematic'. So, a question remains about the interwar years: How come the same discipline could look so different over just 30 years? Why was Britain so apologetic about its sociology in 1945 while the future seemed so bright by 1914? The answer is that the interwar years have remained a mystery for the historiographers.

This thesis thus intends to examine the paradox of these interwar years: Sociology, which was at such a height in the country in the Edwardian times ended up so tragically weak and apologetic in 1945, lacking a flourishing self-styled sociology before the 1950s and a powerful school of sociological analysis as was generated on the Continent at the time, as Jose Harris underlined.

Yet to this, many illustrious British historians such as Philip Abrams, Geoffrey Hawthorn, Stefan Collini and Lawrence Goldman have admittedly argued that there was such a thing as a British tradition of sociological thought and to any extent that not everything is known about it,

so much so that a new thesis bringing fresh insights on the topic might be necessary and can even make up for excitingly new reading.

But this fact has constantly been denied, because the opposition to sociology in Britain was always strong in the interwar years. The fear was that sociology, owing to its Continental, French roots was a foreign product unsuitable to Britain that did not emerge in the UK after the Industrial Revolution (inducing political economics instead) but flourished on its soil as an artificial product of Continental ideas. The fear also stemmed from the fact that the word 'sociology' conjured up Victorian Britain's darkest hour of workhouses, *laissez-faire* excesses and social Darwinism expressed most aptly in the discipline of Herbert Spencer, who died in 1903 and who left such a tragic heritage to the discipline.

Therefore, the first thing to do when writing a history of the British sociological tradition was to study the opposition to it as well as its reception abroad, in France the cradle of *sociologie*, where the word was coined by Auguste Comte in the 1830s. It was not until one knew the complex relationship between French and British sociological thought that, by contrast, a de-eulogization of the mythical Durkheimian sociology and a re-enchantment of British sociological tradition could appear. This was done and the results were quite surprising.

This thesis will thus focus on the interwar years to show that British sociology was always divided between a nativist and an internationalist strand which reflected the complex relationship of the country towards Durkheim and France. Owing to its dubious origins, sociology seemed a confusing product of the intellect which was confronted by a constant (albeit implicit) opposition in academia. As a result of a lack of story-telling and academic

culture, it seems that sociology has never had a coherent story to tell about itself and that if it has ‘had a long past, its story was short’, as Martin Bulmer underlined in 1985.

This thesis shows an unexpected consistency between the pre-WWI beginnings of the discipline in Britain until the post-WWII reconstruction era and in that case, one may indeed speak of a ‘tradition’, as the OED defines one either as ‘the action of handing over something or someone to another; delivery, transfer’ and more generally as ‘the transmission of beliefs, statements, customs, etc., from generation to generation’. What did British sociologists transfer from the past to the present, domestically and to the rest of the world?

This thesis thus brings out the centrality of the British tradition of sociology in Europe as one of the foremost of the world. It shows that, in spite of few academic advancements between 1920 and 1940, British sociology prompted the birth of almost all the fundamental tools of contemporary sociology, namely structural-functionalism, public sociology, the sociological imagination and the modern social survey. These were tools that were all devised in interwar Britain as a result of its specific way of doing sociology, especially compared to France. The world sociological community owes much to these interwar efforts which ushered in modern sociology and proved a solid sociological and political culture for the decades to come. There is thus much to gain by rediscovering the British sociological tradition in its crucial interwar turning point.

Yet, the literature tended to conclude on an intellectual ‘failure’. The consensus prevailing about its story is that sociology, as a distinct academic and intellectual discipline, was virtually absent before the 1950s compared to America, Germany, or France. In order to examine the assertion, it was helpful to draw a dividing line between a first group of explanations revolving

around the intellectual tradition of empiricism and a second group emphasising the institutional context in Great Britain.

This thesis thus took notice of the previous work and it must be underlined that the history of interwar British sociology requires a comparative analysis, a stronger focus on ideas and a parallel with social anthropology to be properly understood as a full-fledged and consistent 'tradition'. The apparent confusion of British sociology described before WWI does not mean that a tradition cannot be found to be existing between 1920 and 1940. This thesis is thus divided between six chapters that each describe an aspect of this interwar tradition. It argues that the period was marked by a slow but invisible mutation from classical to modern sociology.

Chapter 1 describes academic sociology at the LSE and in other universities. It shows a change in the discipline as the Labour Party raises in the 1920s in politics, especially under Leonard Hobhouse, Morris Ginsberg, T. H. Marshall and L. Hogben. They fathered a specific way of doing sociology, away from Continental Marxism but with nativist, Idealist roots. In spite of this global change in academic sociology, few institutional advances were noted.

Chapter 2 describes amateur sociology at the Sociological Society in the 1920s and the Institute of Sociology in the 1930s. Sociologists were considered 'a bunch of Scottish amateurs' and were marginalised. But they represented a second specific way of doing sociology with strong internationalist roots and foreign inspirations. The movement found it hard to be institutionalised in academia as well as being led single-handedly by Patrick Geddes, Victor Branford and later Alexander Farquharson.

Long abstract (2,500 words)

Chapter 3 and Chapter 4 are comparative chapters. Chapter 3 is a cross-reception study of Durkheim and British sociology across the Channel. The relationship was complex and marked by repeated misunderstandings and misgivings. The main difference was that for the British sociologists the individual was real and society 'an illusion'. But the sociological competition between France and Britain was so strong in the interwar years that bilateral exchanges of ideas were rendered invisible between the two, or denied.

Chapter 4 compares British and French interwar sociological textbooks. It shows that British textbooks lacked an academic culture, a consistent story-telling about their tradition of sociological thought and concepts, to be taught in the French ones. On the other hand, this proved a strength compared to rigid French academic textbooks with little flexibility and stimulation for reflexive knowledge.

Chapter 5 describes the long-established tradition of social surveys in Britain and shows that it is only a part of the whole sociological tradition. This chapter discusses why these were not institutionalised in academia despite being so successful extra-murally and explains that this lack of institutionalisation paradoxically allowed the emergence of 'public sociology' and of the national sociological imagination. This is evinced through a survey of surveys on interwar unemployment.

Chapter 6 describes the success of British social anthropology and explains that it can be seen as 'the real school of British sociology'. With Bronislaw Malinowski and A. R. Radcliffe-Brown, British social anthropology became modern in the interwar years and was either inspired by or rejected the French inspiration. But despite many differences, this chapter

concludes that French *sociologie* and British social anthropology shared a similar humanistic concern for European modernity and the fabric of modern societies.

This thesis is innovative in taking a comparative point of view on a matter that seemed to be properly domestic. Durkheim is the implicit centrepiece of this story and a history of the British sociological tradition cannot be properly written without underlining the importance of his ideas for the discipline worldwide, including Britain, and by accepting his definition of the word in the first place. As Hawthorn put it, 'before 1914, Durkheim had monopolised the word' and the discipline was always (albeit implicitly) defined referred to the 'French science'. But the comparative history of British sociological tradition is not unilateral and if Britain imported much from France in the interwar years, it also bequeathed a lot to it, which French sociologists could not ignore but did not recognise either, out of self-righteousness or international strategy.

It is only innovative in arguing that Durkheimian sociology spread in interwar France as the means to help the foundation of a stammering new regime, the Third Republic. On the Continent, sociology was to help in the building of new durable foundations for society. For Britain, devoid of the same concern, the emergence of sociology remained unnecessary. Sociologists, as sons of the Republics on the Continent, appeared irrelevant in a Monarchy which relied on a historical continuity and traditional social organisations, without a strong Marxist party and under the Idealist grip. Yet, they were useful in the Empire under the name 'social anthropologists' and this explains why, in the ecology of the disciplines, French *sociologie* and British social anthropology played a similar role. Both were disseminated after WWII in America by Talcott Parsons under the title of 'structural functionalism', which even inspired French anthropologists in return such as Claude Lévi-Strauss, in the 1960s.

Long abstract (2,500 words)

Our research questions can be thus summed up:

1) Was there such a thing as a British sociological tradition running throughout the period, or was British sociology definitely a failure in the interwar years? No work has seriously paid heed to the period yet and it remains a grey area: Abrams stopped in 1914, at a height for British sociology and Rumney restarted in 1945, at a time of reconstruction and apologetically, but no one knows what happened in-between. This thesis is instrumental in showing the consistency of the British sociological tradition at a time when it is still largely unknown, i.e. between 1920 and 1940.

2) If there is such a thing as a British sociological tradition developing in the interwar years, what were its world-enriching specificities? This is enlightened through a study of the French reception of British sociology, something that has never been attempted before, a renewed appreciation of social anthropology in its relations with sociology, a comparative examination of Franco-British interwar sociology textbooks and a survey of 13 interwar unemployment surveys.

New archives (including private correspondence and departmental records) were used from the University of Oxford, Oxford University Press, the LSE and the Universities of Liverpool, Birmingham, Keele and Royal Holloway to document the development of academic and amateur sociology but the most original material was taken from France with book reviews from the journal *L'Année sociologique* and an original comparative study of 24 French and 11 British interwar textbooks. Internal publications such as *Politica* and *Economica* at the LSE, the contents of *The Sociological Review*, a series of underexplored social surveys and undernoted book reviews published in *Man* and *Nature* by Malinowski were also used as new

primary material. Other sources include online enquiries into the Mass Observation Archives as well as the House of Commons Parliamentary Papers to study the relationship between sociology, politicians and the general public.

This thesis is thus an important contribution to the field which sheds a brand new light on an old problem thanks to 1) a comparative approach between Britain and France which has never been attempted before 2) taking into account not only the institutional history but also the intellectual history and sociological ideas 3) drawing on previously unused material such as book reviews from the journal *l'Année sociologique* and interwar textbooks to study the reception of British sociology in France 4) finding the contours of its specific national tradition 5) extending our knowledge of the discipline in the interwar years.

2,150 words

To Julie, my wife, and to Robert Erbsland, *pour son oeuvre*.

‘Fine art is that in which the hand, the head, and the *heart* of man go together.’

– John Ruskin, *The Two Paths, Lecture II: The Unity of Art* (1859).

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The present author should like to thank the following people and institutions to whom and which this thesis owes so much:

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- Amazon, Google, Wikipedia and Zotero! A research work wouldn't be so easy or enjoyable without these tools. I am grateful to them as a researcher.

That's it!

This thesis was started in October 2009 and completed in April 2017.

The British Sociological Tradition in the Interwar Years (1920-1940)

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List of abbreviations

CDS	*Centre de Documentation Sociale*
CUP	Cambridge University Press
DNB	Dictionary of National Biography
ENS	*École Normale Supérieure*
HCPP	House of Commons Parliamentary Papers
IFOP	*Institut Français d'Opinion Publique*
IFS	*Institut Français de Sociologie*
IOS	Institute of Sociology
LPH	Leplay House
LSE	The London School of Economics and Political Science
NAPSS	National Association for the Promotion of Social Science
OED	Oxford English Dictionary
OUP	Oxford University Press
PIC	Population Investigation Committee
POW	Prisoner of War
RAI	Royal Anthropological Institute
RIS	*Revue Internationale de Sociologie*
SFIO	*Section Française de l'Internationale Ouvrière*
SGR	*The Sociological Review*
TUC	Trade Union Congress
UCL	University College London
WEA	Workers' Educational Association

Introduction

> 'Sociology as an independent discipline is still not too firmly established in England. […] Perhaps the reason lies in the fact that sociology is essentially the product of rapid social change and crisis. But England has been the country of stability and gradual change, of reform and evolution rather than of crisis and revolution. […] What analysis there was, was piece-meal, haphazard and unsystematic. It is not surprising therefore that England excelled in philanthropy and social service, but not in systematic thought.'[1]

In July 1945, as WWII was coming to an end on the Pacific front, this is how Jay Rumney, a Professor of Sociology of British origin who had graduated from the LSE in the 1920s, was apologetically presenting the discipline in Britain.

Yet, before 1914, Britain had one of the most prosperous sociologies in the world with a national Sociological Society, the first chair in Europe at the London School of Economics and a successful journal, *The Sociological Review*, all established during the Edwardian era as presented by Philip Abrams in his history of the movement.[2]

How come the state of the same discipline can appear in such a different light over 30 years? Why was Rumney so apologetic about British sociology while the future seemed so bright by 1914? The answer is that the interwar years have remained a mystery for the historiographers. No one knows what terrible or surprising has happened to British sociology during the period between 1920 and 1940 and the area is still grey. Why did it not keep up with its Edwardian success in the interwar period up until the post-WWII era?

In her book on late Victorian and Edwardian Britain, Jose Harris noted that 'the sheer complexity and diversity of British society in this period might have been expected to provoke

[1] Jay Rumney, 'British Sociology', in *Twentieth Century Sociology*, by Georges Gurvitch and Wilbert Ellis Moore (New York: Philosophical Library, 1945), pp. 562–85 (p. 562).
[2] Philip Abrams, *The Origins of British Sociology, 1834-1914: An Essay with Selected Papers* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968).

a very powerful school of sociological theory […]; yet on the whole historians have concluded that this was not the case.'[3]

This thesis intends to examine this paradox of the interwar years: How come sociology, which was at such a height in the country in the Edwardian times ended up so tragically weak and apologetic in 1945? How come British sociology could not keep up with its neighbours which developed strong sociological schools and theories, so much so that, 'British social theorizing in this period and later has been disparagingly compared with the powerful new schools of sociological analysis that were being generated on the Continent by theorist such as Weber, Durkheim, Pareto, and their disciples' in the interwar years? [4]

Our hypothesis is that a consistency shows through British sociology when taken under all its various aspects in the interwar years, which were a turning point for social thought when a classical and a modern sociology emerged in the country and gradually differed, ending with a slow but invisible mutation that could only appear through a specific comparative approach.

Scope and methodology of this thesis

This thesis will thus deal with the interwar period and explore 'British sociology'.

It seemed obvious, when choosing a period, to deal with British sociology in the interwar years for historiographical reasons. Philip Abrams wrote an optimistic view of its origins and history from 1834 but stopped owing to its 'curiously fragmented condition by 1914' and hinting that 'there were lines of growth which would be fruitfully developed in the next generation' only.[5]

[3] Jose Harris, *Private Lives, Public Spirit: Britain 1870-1914* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), p. 221.
[4] Jose Harris, *Private Lives, Public Spirit (1993)*, p. 221.
[5] Philip Abrams, *The Origins of British Sociology (1968)*, p. 144.

Indeed, as R. J. Halliday underlined, British sociology was divided between several trends and its unity under a Sociological Society was just 'a temporary alliance' by 1914.[6] Abrams concluded his book by stating that 'there was to be little or no development of the Booth tradition […] until the 1950s' and that a 'development of this kind' took 'the Second World War and five years of Labour government to produce such a change'.[7]

The interwar years thus remained a grey area, even for its contemporaries, as Rumney's apologetic account of British sociology in 1945 quoted above shows. There seems to have been a solidly grounded sociology in Britain only well after WWII, as Philip Abrams wrote a sequel to his book for the 1950-80 period only.[8] It surprisingly seems that it only became an established discipline as *The British Journal of Sociology* was created in 1950, the British Sociological Association was founded in 1951 and the first chair of Sociology in Cambridge was founded in 1969. Sociology thus only spread in universities, as a coherent discipline, after the 1950s in Britain apparently.

Yet the story seems unconvincing. The interwar years appear to be a perfectly suitable span of research for the history of British sociology. The period looks particularly fertile for the emergence of social thought: The interwar years were a time when many cultural and social changes happened with the rise of leisure and of the female vote, when the Labour Party rose as a party of government in the 1920s and when the Great Depression happened in the 1930s. Social change and social problems were brought to the fore in the public agenda in such a way that it seemed a suitable context for sociology to emerge. It seemed hard to believe that the interwar years did not know an exciting sociology.

[6] R. J. Halliday, 'The Sociological Movement, the Sociological Society and the Genesis of Academic Sociology in Britain', *The Sociological Review*, 16 (1968), 377–98.
[7] Philip Abrams, *The Origins of British Sociology (1968)*, p. 150; 153.
[8] Philip Abrams, *Practice and progress: British sociology 1950-1980* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1981).

Now that the chronology has been explained, it is useful to explain the scope of this study: Sociology. To avoid presentism ('Whig history') that would have led us to define sociology with an understanding of what it has presently become or was then becoming, three ways of defining interwar British sociology were explored:[9]

1) The first was to use a restrictive definition, i.e. sociology as only what recognised academics used to refer to a specific chair (i.e. chairs of 'sociology' in Britain) or to describe books (i.e. 'sociological'). But this would limit sociology only to a handful of universities, including the dominant London School of Economics, and to the production of a few academics such as Leonard T. Hobhouse, Morris Ginsberg and T. H. Marshall. This was found to be too restrictive for a thesis because sociology had other aspects, included for instance in social work.

2) The second way was to use an extensive definition, calling sociology everything that dealt with 'the social' and equating it with social thought generally. Because the labels were then still sometimes interchangeable, it could include 'social science', social philosophy and politics, or even novels and social work. The sociological identity was not yet decided, as Abrams noted that 'by 1914 there was a pervasive discomfort about the nature and definition of the subject'.[10] However, this would allegedly not be manageable for a single thesis and the vague sociological identity was part of the problem to examine, not something to simply accept. The extensive definition was thus neither acceptable.

3) Sociology could thirdly be defined as a set of institutions, of biographies and of ideas comparable to the French or the German model, i.e. that of Durkheim's and of Weber's schools.

[9] See Herbert Butterfield, *The Whig Interpretation of History* (Londres: G. Bell and Sons, 1931).
[10] Philip Abrams, *The Origins of British Sociology (1968)*, p. 144.

Because the British sociological identity was so loose between 1920 and 1940, it is hard to settle on a definition of the subject on a domestic level. Given the feasibility of the comparative approach, the availability of sources and the knowledge of the subject by the present author, it was thus decided to draw a comparison between the British and the French interwar sociologies for shedding a new light on the topic.

This thesis will thus examine British sociology in the interwar years with a comparative perspective with the French. It will study the reception of British sociology abroad, in the French sociological journals published in the interwar years and in book reviews, something that has never been attempted before. Secondly, it will consider comparatively the birth of modern sociology in sociological textbooks that had never been studied extensively while the discipline was still budding. Textbooks were 'performative attempts' at defining the discipline in the interwar times. Thirdly, this thesis will bring an original analysis of the sociological tradition by avoiding drawing artificial boundaries between institutional and intellectual history. Sociology was nothing without the institutions and the people, but neither without the books either and it seems this aspect of the discipline has been overlooked. An intellectual and an institutional history will intertwine. Finally, this approach will lead us to draw an innovative comparison between French *sociologie* and British social anthropology to account for the world success of both, despite many dissimilarities. The success of interwar social anthropology in Britain, by contrast to sociology, while they were both strands of social thought, is a coincidence that has never been explained.

Structure and sources

The apparent confusion of British sociology described after WWII does not mean that a tradition cannot be found to be existing between 1920 and 1940. This thesis is thus divided in

six chapters that each describe an aspect of this interwar tradition. It argues that the period was marked by a slow but invisible mutation from classical to modern sociology.

Chapter 1 describes academic sociology at the LSE and in other universities. It shows a change in the discipline as the Labour Party raises in the 1920s in politics, especially under Leonard Hobhouse, Morris Ginsberg, T. H. Marshall and L. Hogben. They fathered a specific way of doing sociology, away from Continental Marxism but with nativist, Idealist roots. In spite of this global change in academic sociology, few institutional advances were noted.

Chapter 2 describes amateur sociology at the Sociological Society in the 1920s and the Institute of Sociology in the 1930s. Sociologists were considered 'a bunch of Scottish amateurs' and were marginalised. But they represented a second specific way of doing sociology with strong internationalist roots and foreign inspirations. The movement found it hard to be institutionalised in academia as well as being led by Patrick Geddes, Victor Branford and Alexander Farquharson.

Chapter 3 and Chapter 4 are comparative chapters. Chapter 3 is a cross-reception study of Durkheim and British sociology across the Channel. The relationship was complex and marked by repeated misunderstandings and misgivings. The main difference was that for the British sociologists the individual was real and society 'an illusion'. But the sociological competition between France and Britain was so strong in the interwar years that bilateral exchanges of ideas were rendered invisible between the two, or denied.

Chapter 4 compares British and French interwar sociological textbooks. It shows that British textbooks lacked an academic culture, a consistent story-telling about their tradition of

sociological thought and concepts, to be taught in the French ones. On the other hand, this proved a strength compared to rigid French academic textbooks with little flexibility and stimulation for reflexive knowledge.

Chapter 5 describes the long-established tradition of social surveys in Britain and shows that it is only a part of the whole sociological tradition. This chapter discusses why these were not institutionalised in academia despite being so successful extra-murally and explains that this lack of institutionalisation paradoxically allowed the emergence of 'public sociology' and of the national sociological imagination, through a survey of surveys on interwar unemployment.

Chapter 6 describes the success of British social anthropology and explains that it can be seen as 'the real school of British sociology'. With Bronislaw Malinowski and A. R. Radcliffe-Brown, British social anthropology became modern in the interwar years and was either inspired by or rejected the French inspiration. But despite many differences, this chapter concludes that French *sociologie* and British social anthropology shared a similar humanistic concern for European modernity and the fabric of modern societies.

Original material was used in writing this thesis.

Archival sources include private correspondence from R. R. Marett exhumed at Exeter College, Oxford, from Ernest Barker at Peterhouse, Cambridge and from Malinowski at the LSE. All included private letters that proved illuminating to document their relationship with the amateur movement.

One important source of material on the amateur movement came from the archives of the Leplay House which were deposited at the University of Keele. Although they had been previously catalogued by a 1986 thesis, many letters from Geddes, Branford and Farquharson were still unused.[11] Remarkable was an exchange of letters between the amateur movement and French sociologist Marcel Mauss, documenting how important the former support was to the latter, especially financially.

Archives related to the state of interwar academic sociology were found at the University of Liverpool, with board reports and departmental records from the Department of Social Science, as well as some bits about the creation of the Charles Booth Chair of Social Science in 1923. Another major source was found at Royal Holloway in Egham, formerly the Bedford College for Women, where the teaching of social science and of sociology was surprisingly developed. This helped this thesis document the development of teaching among women and the change in the public in Chapter 1. Department records, a portrait of H. A. Mess and lecture notes were also found there. Departmental records were used as well at the University of Birmingham Archives. Few things came out of a research trip to the archives at University College, London where very little of the correspondence between the eugenicists and the amateurs was left. A book chapter on the state of academic sociology was also used for reference.[12]

Finally, an online enquiry (granted by the facilities offered at the University of Oxford) into the Mass Observation Archives as well as the House of Commons Parliamentary Papers helped me trace the relationship between sociology, politicians and the public without having to physically go to the deposit and go through thousands of paper pages. The records of the Department of

[11] David Evans, 'Le Play House and the Regional Survey Movement in British Sociology 1920-1955' (unpublished M.Phil thesis, Birmingham Polytechnic, 1986) <http://www.dfte.co.uk/ios/index.htm> [accessed 12 July 2016].
[12] Christopher T. Husbands, 'The First Sociology "Departments"', in *The Palgrave Handbook of Sociology in Britain*, ed. by John Holmwood and John Scott (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), pp. 155–88.

Anthropology from 1914 to 1945 at the University of Oxford were used to understand the emergence of modern anthropology and the bestowal of a chair to Radcliffe-Brown in 1936. Correspondence between Marett and J. L. Myres were also used to understand why the discussions about the establishment of this chair had been complex.

Numerous unused printed primary sources were also used, namely the cataloguing of all the articles published in the *Sociological Review* (a full list was not available officially until 2012) for the interwar years. This helped me locate important articles and show the importance of that publication in the battle between cognate disciplines and sociology. The full cataloguing was also done of *Politica* and of *Economica*, both being internal publications of the London School of Economics in the 1930s. These included useful school notes and an unknown list of theses conducted in sociology and social sciences in interwar Britain. An unknown deposit of archives at Oxford University Press was also used regarding the potential publication of a journal of social science by the Clarendon Press in 1939, exploring the confidential debates surrounding the project which never materialised though.

A direct contact with private correspondence from Durkheim and Marcel Mauss did not seem necessary, as much of it had already been catalogued, published, and thus available.[13] It is very hard to find unused material on French sociology and yet about 1,300 book reviews were consulted in an underused source, the *Année Sociologique* in the 1920s and the *Annales Sociologiques* in the 1930s. This allowed the reception study of British sociology in France, among the school of Durkheim. Also, a comprehensive list of textbooks had never been drawn for the interwar years in France and Britain. An original comparison was thus conducted between these 24 and 11 textbooks respectively, as well as a survey of 13 social surveys on

[13] See Émile Durkheim, *Lettres À Marcel Mauss* (Paris: PUF, 1998); Marcel Fournier, *Marcel Mauss* (Paris: Fayard, 1994).

interwar unemployment appearing in Chapter 5 to show how the national sociological imagination was arisen in concrete terms among the general public. As a result, this thesis contains a study of sociological ideas and of book contents which had been a missing feature of many studies of interwar British sociology.

Finally, a close reading of unrecorded book reviews and shorts articles (published in *Nature* and *Man*) by Malinowski and a familiarity with the theoretical writings of Radcliffe-Brown allowed a new insight into the developments of modern social anthropology, and a detailed depiction of its proximity with French *sociologie*. Thus, many primary sources were used to deal not only with people and buildings but also with ideas and concepts in British sociology.

Challenges and limits

Each chapter will thus present various aspects of the British sociological tradition, showing that it indeed constituted a consistent tradition of thinking and of practice. Each chapter also starts with its own short historiography on the aspect under scrutiny, thus the next section on historiography will not be too long and will keep some references for each chapter. This thesis asks if it were possible to write a consistent history of the British sociological tradition in the interwar years that would link the Edwardian ideas to its post-war developments without breaking away this tradition of thought, or whether this was completely unreal and sociology remained a completely foreign, unsuitable (or even failed) product of the intellect in interwar Britain.

To answer that, this thesis had to face several challenges: First, it had to refuse the strict demarcation between academics and amateurs, the latter being usually pejoratively described by contrast, and take the whole movement together. The second was to keep in mind the links

of British sociology with its continental inspiration and not understand its developments on purely domestic grounds, however tempting this would have been. Because, as it appeared, British sociology was always divided between a nativist and an internationalist trend and removing the transnational dimension would have hindered our understanding of the phenomenon. Third, it was important to keep in mind that academic sociology was not just the LSE but flourished elsewhere (at Liverpool, Birmingham, Bedford) under different headings such as 'social science', 'social research' or even 'social work'. Fourth, it was interesting to keep in mind the inter-national dimension of the debate and keep a comparative analysis to change the focus. Finally, it was helpful to keep an eye on the parallel success of social anthropology compared to sociology, because the political and concrete developments in the Empire were important in supporting social anthropology compared to the latter.

This thesis thus regards sociology as a budding set of ideas, institutions and biographies and as a changing discipline in the interwar years, with a comparative perspective to shed a new light on the matter.

However, like all theses, this work has limits. First, it excluded a specific study of Mass Observation as this has been done comprehensively.[14] Apart from the odd reference to the movement, a specific examination was excluded and can be easily found elsewhere. The focus was rather to link all the various aspects of the British sociological tradition, including Mass Observation, into a coherent story rather than write a single monography of any part. Secondly, other cognate subjects such as politics or political economics were not discussed in full details

[14] Penny Summerfield, 'Mass-Observation: Social Research or Social Movement?', *Journal of Contemporary History*, 20.3 (1985), 439–52; Tom Jeffery, *Mass-Observation: A Short History*, Mass-Observation Archive Occasional Papers Series ; No. 10, New ed. (Brighton: Mass-Observation Archive, University of Sussex Library, 1998); Nick Hubble, *Mass Observation and Everyday Life* (London: Palgrave Macmillan UK, 2006).

regarding their theoretical or sociological dimension.[15] This thesis does not offer a comprehensive discussion of the tradition of utilitarianism from Bentham to Mill in economics, nor a discussion of Harold Laski or Ernest Barker and their tradition of political theory. It does neither discuss Keynesianism in the 1930s, even though the kind of State intervention it prompted was not without impact on unemployment, the sociological imagination and sociology overall. Political economics and politics were left out of the picture.

So far as possible, this thesis linked the developments of sociological ideas with that of culture and politics, such as the rise of the female vote, leisure and the Labour Party. However, it is not a cultural history of sociology in itself and did not include extensive parallel between the cultural history and science.[16] Finally, even though a comparison between French and British sociology was drawn as systematically as possible in the interwar years, a vaster sociological comparison starting with the Industrial Revolution and the French Revolution – however tempting – would be out of reach for a single thesis and would require a brand new book. New light was nonetheless shed for the interwar period.

Before moving on to Chapter 1, it is useful to examine the historiography. Various historical causes have been given to this apparent lack of flourishing sociology in the interwar years and those differed between classical explanations and more recent ones.

Historiography: Classical literature

[15] This was done by Norman Chester, *Economics, Politics and Social Studies in Oxford, 1900-85* (London: Macmillan, 1986); Christopher Hood, Desmond S King, and Gillian Peele, *Forging a Discipline: A Critical Assessment of Oxford's Development of the Study of Politics and International Relations in Comparative Perspective* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014).
[16] See Martin Pugh, *We Danced All Night: A Social History of Britain between the Wars* (London: Vintage, 2009).

Introduction

The first accounts of the interwar situation in Britain were surprisingly written by American observers at the time.[17] They were surprised by the apparent 'backwardness' of sociology in the country and Palmer in particular indicted the flourishing British Idealism to account for the lack of a self-styled discipline: 'In England the individual will probably not be sacrificed for scientific purposes,' he argued, contrary to America or the Continent where interwar sociology was thriving.[18]

The most famous attempt dated from 1937 when Talcott Parsons, the American sociologist who had spent a year at the London School of Economics in 1924-25, tried to account for the sudden demise of English sociology in the 20th century, after the death of Herbert Spencer: 'Who now reads Spencer?', he asks to begin with in his book, 'Spencer is dead.'[19] Parsons thought that although Spencer's *Principles of Sociology* (1876-1896) had been fundamental in the development of the 'positivistic-utilitarian tradition' in Victorian Britain, his sociology was overtaken by 'socialistic, collectivistic, organic theories of all sorts' in the 20th century contradicting his individualistic approach. Spencer's sociology had been unable to cope with the new trends of theories of society in the interwar years, with the rise of Marxism on the Continent.

For most authors, Idealism and the failure of Spencer were two of the most important explanations for the lack of interwar sociology. Apart from Abrams' well-known book published in 1968, it seems that no one paid attention to British sociology. These 'classical'

[17] Vivian V. Palmer, 'Impressions of Sociology in Great Britain', *American Journal of Sociology*, 32 (1927), 756–61; Harry Elmer Barnes, 'The Fate of Sociology in England', *Archiv Für Geschichte Der Philosophie Und Soziologie*, 31.3–4 (1928), 273–98; Ernest Bouldin Harper, 'Sociology in England', *Social Forces*, 11.3 (1933), 335–42.
[18] Palmer, p. 761.
[19] T. Parsons, *The Structure of Social Action: A Study in Social Theory with Special Reference to a Group of Recent European Writers* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1937), pp. 3–5.

explanations remained untouched for a long time, until the 1980s when the debate prospered again in Thatcher's Britain.

Reba Soffer also pinpointed the strong presence of biological concepts, inherited from Spencer, among sociologists in Britain, as a hindrance to the emergence of a full-fledged sociology in a 1982 article. According to her, the sociologists were to blame for their inability to promote sociology, in the intellectual competition raging with other social sciences such as economics, as a unique theory explaining social events. The failure of interwar sociology was the failure of the biological tradition running in Britain.[20] Stefan Collini showed that Idealism was also widespread in major universities among the dominant philosophers and were systematically opposing sociology.[21]

The intellectual tradition was also brought forward as an explanation in a famous article by Noel Annan entitled 'The curious strength of positivism in English political thought', where he argued that English thought was essentially individualistic and rational, thus hardly consistent with classical sociology. Instead, the dominant tradition of 'positivism' in England – which he debatably equated with individualism – was to be found in classical economics, not in sociology.[22]

Even though Richard Nisbet identified the Industrial Revolution as one of the two origins of the sociological thinking, he did not say a word about British sociologists or the Empire,

[20] Reba N. Soffer, 'Why Do Disciplines Fail? The Strange Case of British Sociology', *The English Historical Review*, 97.385 (1982), 767–802.
[21] Stefan Collini, 'Sociology and Idealism in Britain 1880-1920', *European Journal of Sociology*, 19 (1978), 3–50; Stefan Collini, *Liberalism and Sociology: L. T. Hobhouse and Political Argument in England, 1880-1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979).
[22] Noel G. Annan, *The Curious Strength of Positivism in English Political Thought* (London: Oxford University Press, 1959).

increasing the assumption that the most suitable tradition of social thought in Britain was political economics, not sociology which pertained to the Continent.[23] Randall Collins added to this by identifying in his famous book the 'utilitarian' tradition of British thought in his sociological traditions.[24] Jose Harris added that the British social sciences were associated to the 'rational individual' and an impulse towards 'moralism and social reform' rather than theory: 'British social science and sociological theory have been depicted as persistently wedded to a conception of the isolated "rational individual" and largely indifferent to the existence and behaviour of collective social groups.'[25]

The tradition in Britain is thus supposed to be political economics, or politics, or social anthropology and certainly whatever Oxbridge has done but not sociology, this bizarre word, or what flourished in London, the capital… much to the pride of some, and others' disappointment. Even the creation of the PPE degree at Oxford or the setup of politics Tripos at Cambridge in the 1920s did not seem to have furthered the cause of sociology in a mistrusting academia.[26]

However, Abrams insisted in his book that the intellectual tradition must be related to institutional perspectives. It was pointed out that 'it was not so much, or not only, the intellectual tradition that inhibited sociology in Britain. It was the very system.'[27] Even though the empiricist tradition is an interesting, indeed tempting, lead to follow, it remains a partial

[23] R. A. Nisbet, *The Sociological Tradition* (London: Heinemann, 1967).
[24] Randall Collins, *Four Sociological Traditions* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994).
[25] Jose Harris, *Private Lives, Public Spirit (1993)*, p. 221.
[26] Chester; T. E. B. Howarth, *Cambridge between Two Wars* (London: Collins, 1978).
[27] Krishan Kumar, 'Sociology and the Englishness of English Social Theory', *Sociological Theory*, 19.1 (2001), 41–64.

explanation all the more since, as Philip Abrams wrote, the main problem of British sociology was essentially 'a problem of manpower' rather than 'a lack of ideas'.[28]

In academia, potential recruits for sociology in interwar British had no incentive to go to universities since 'politics was open to them' and to social reforms while 'universities were closed'. The growing administration in England at the end of the 19th century had offered many opportunities to experts to put social reform into practice, opportunities which 'soaked up many energies which, had they not been there, could have turned to academic sociology instead'.[29]

Abrams added that whereas politics was open to sociology, universities were closed. Many institutional analysts allege that universities had a responsibility in the inchoate state of sociology by being closed to it well into the 1920s. Little evidence has backed this up so far, apart from Bulmer's work on the Laura Spellman Rockefeller Foundation and an MSt thesis from 2006.[30] The Foundation indeed offered the University of Cambridge to fund a chair of sociology in 1925, which the university did not accept. Although the move could have been symbolic enough to further the cause of academic sociology in the 1930s, his conclusion shows an enduring indifference towards sociology – that was not unconscious at the time – rather than a clear-cut opposition to it.[31]

British sociologists were thus supposed to be committed to party politics and had more interest in politics than their continental counterparts because their political system seemed to offer

[28] Philip Abrams, *The Origins of British Sociology (1968)*, p. 101.
[29] Philip Abrams, *The Origins of British Sociology (1968)*, p. 5.
[30] Martin Bulmer, 'Sociology and Political Science at Cambridge in the 1920s: An Opportunity Missed and an Opportunity Taken', *The Cambridge Review*, 1981, 156–59; Baudry Rocquin, '"'The Floating Discipline'": British Sociology and the Failure of Institutional Attachment (1911-1938)' (unpublished MSt Thesis, University of Oxford, 2006) <www.britishsociology.com>.
[31] Victor Branford, 'A Survey of Recent and Contemporary Sociology', *The Sociological Review*, 18.4 (1926), 315–22.

more opportunities of social reforms than anywhere else in Europe. But one last dimension was important: For some analysts, this was linked to the fact that sociology was supposed to be a theoretical discipline rejected by British academics who preferred practical measures and social work to ideas and academia. Thus, the absence of academic sociology should not imply the complete inexistence of a sociological consciousness as political commonsense, as Geoffrey Hawthorn summaries:

> 'There is therefore no need to be especially surprised by the lack of a flourishing self-styled sociology in England before 1939. And there is no need to invoke the "empiricist temper of English thought" or to invent conspiratorial enemies like the old universities at Oxford and Cambridge to explain it. […] Sociology was virtually absent in England as an intellectually and academically distinctive pursuit because it was virtually everywhere present as […] mere commonsense.'[32]

In spite of this, the lack of a distinctive academic sociology is often taken to represent, as Lawrence Goldman emphasised, 'a more wide-ranging failure of national imagination […] that exemplifies the many lacunae in British intellectual life', assuming that the emergence of an academic sociology was a normal feature in European powers in the 1900s-1920s.[33]

Goldman boldly reversed the argument by arguing that the presence of an academic sociology in France or in Germany was far from being normal. Instead, the scarcity of sociology in universities before the 1950s should be considered a positive sign because, according to him, 'academic sociology [had] its origins in political frustration' on the Continent.[34]

Instead of being a normal feature on the Continent, perhaps the emergence of academic sociology in the interwar years proved the failure of the French and German politicians to be

[32] Geoffrey Hawthorn, *Enlightenment and Despair: A History of Sociology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976), p. 170.
[33] Lawrence Goldman, 'A Peculiarity of the English? The Social Science Association and the Absence of Sociology in Nineteenth-Century Britain', *Past and Present*, 114 (1987), 133–71.
[34] Goldman, 'A Peculiarity of the English? (1987)', p. 171.

either eager to propose reforms – or the sociologists' tendency to focus on theoretical squabbles there contrary to Britain, as Hawthorn pointed out.

The characteristics of the debate about sociology in Britain are ineluctably linked to the national identity because it recalls its complicated relationship with the Continent and especially with France.[35] More than just a scientific controversy, the struggle about sociology opposed two national traditions and superpowers vying in the field of social sciences: Britain and France. Palmer confirmed that 'the interest of the French in the science at that time was sufficient cause for British disapproval.'[36] And, as Geoffrey Hawthorn put it, 'Durkheim's intellectual victory before the First World War had been a purely verbal one': The word 'sociology' was virtually monopolised by the French, Durkheimian understanding of the discipline, and that was hardly palatable across the Channel in the interwar years.[37]

This made sociology, implicitly equated with *Durkheimian* sociology and socialism in interwar Britain, an allegedly biased science. The Durkheimians were chiefly regarded as a school of propagandists, as Hawthorn perfectly illustrates in his writing that,

> 'The spirit of the *équipe* of the *Année* [*Sociologique*] had been above all an *ésprit de système*. The circle had been convinced that Durkheim's conceptions were so fundamental and all-embracing that it was perfectly natural that those infected with them should attempt to apply them elsewhere.'[38]

The Durkheimian school came up against a lot of reserves in Britain, owing to its being a theoretical school and a circle of propagandists. This is an intriguing aspect of the reception that will be studied in the thesis because it tells us a lot about the implicit opposition to sociology in Britain, especially in academia. This is why a comparative approach is necessary.

[35] See the Conclusion for more about the research impact of the thesis in that respect.
[36] Palmer, p. 758.
[37] Hawthorn, p. 174.
[38] Hawthorn, p. 173.

Perhaps classical sociology only emerged in France and in Germany as the means to help the foundation of stammering new regimes, the Republics. On the Continent, sociology was to help in the building of new durable foundations for society. For Britain, devoid of the same concern, the emergence of sociology remained unnecessary. Sociologists, as sons of the Republics on the Continent, appeared irrelevant in a Monarchy which could still rely on a historical continuity and traditional social organisations, and without a strong Marxist party Perry Anderson noted.[39] This will be discussed in Chapter 6 on French *sociologie* and British social anthropology.

Historiography: Recent literature

New trends in the literature in the past 10 years have emerged. First of all, instead of focusing either on intellectual or on institutional explanations only, Mike Savage has recently proposed to draw a social history of sociologists to show how their political opinions and cultural origins have coloured the reception of ideas and concepts in a class-ridden Britain, much more than in other countries.[40] He drew attention to the importance of sociology in the context of Brexit and of contextualising sociology within the relationship of Britain with the Continent, as is done in this comparative thesis.[41]

A second trend in the literature has been to rediscover the alternative, amateur founding fathers of British sociology, i.e. Geddes and Branford.[42] The idea is to show how cutting edge and

[39] Perry Anderson, *English Questions* (London: Verso, 1992).
[40] Mike Savage, 'The Fall and Rise of Class Analysis in British Sociology 1945-2016', *Actes de La Recherche En Sciences Sociales*, Forthcoming.
[41] See also Dominique Schnapper, 'A View from a French Sociologist', in *British Sociology Seen From Without and Within*, ed. by A. H. Halsey and W. G. Runciman (The British Academy: Oxford University Press, 2005), pp. 107–18.
[42] Lawrence Goldman, 'Foundations of British Sociology 1880–1930: Contexts and Biographies', *The Sociological Review*, 55 (2007), 431–40; Chris Renwick, *British Sociology's Lost Biological Roots: A History of Futures Past* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012); John Scott and Ray Bromley, *Envisioning Sociology: Victor Branford, Patrick Geddes, and the Quest for Social Reconstruction* (New York: State of New York Press, 2014).

crucial their concepts have been and that their work can still be rediscovered today for enriching contemporary sociology. This goes against the tradition of seeing the LSE as the main centre of sociology and not paying attention to other, extra-mural perspectives in sociology as in Halsey's seminal history of British sociology which does not even mention once the Institute of Sociology.[43] Still, new work has still been done on the LSE with a study of graduate destinations in the interwar years to 'rescue' this first generation of graduates 'from oblivion' and showing how important the feminisation of the discipline was.[44]

A strong piece of collective research on sociological ideas was published by Scott and Holmwood in the Palgrave collection in 2014, but no single piece has made a contribution of drawing the consistent boundaries of a British sociological tradition, especially in the interwar years.[45] My own work has insisted on the importance of the interwar years, and also on the difficulty of sociologists to keep a distinct, positive 'sociological identity' and consistent history over time.[46] More work is required on the period and on the ideas too, all the more given that no single work has tried to link the developments of social anthropology with those of sociology, as if they remained academically and intellectually two completely different worlds.[47]

[43] A. H. Halsey, *A History of Sociology in Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).
[44] Christopher T. Husbands, 'Rescuing from Oblivion: Social Characteristics and Career Destinations of Early British "sociology" Graduates, 1907-39', *The British Journal of Sociology*, 66.4 (2015), 645–72.
[45] John Holmwood and John Scott, *The Palgrave Handbook of Sociology in Britain* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014).
[46] Baudry Rocquin, 'British Sociology in the Inter-War Years', in *The Palgrave Handbook of Sociology in Britain*, ed. by John Holmwood and John Scott (London: Palgrave Macmillan UK, 2014), pp. 189–210 <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-137-31886-2_9>; Baudry Rocquin, 'Une sociologie sans sociologues ? Les Britanniques en quête d'une disicpline (1904-2014)' (unpublished Thèse de doctorat, Université de Bordeaux, 2014).
[47] One exception is David Mills, *Difficult Folk?: A Political History of Social Anthropology* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2008).

This thesis thus takes notice of the previous work and it must be underlined that the history of interwar British sociology requires a comparative analysis, a stronger focus on ideas and a parallel with social anthropology to be properly understood as a full-fledged and consistent 'tradition'.

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Chapter 1 – ‘From New Lib to Lab’: The sociological tradition of the LSE

Leonard Trelawny Hobhouse was the leader of academic sociology in Britain from securing the first chair in the discipline in 1908 at the London School of Economics and Political Science (LSE) to his death in 1929. He was a crucial intellectual figure in the discipline and his centrality was reinforced by his position in London, at the LSE. The interwar period was the golden years of the LSE with a generation of such influential thinkers as R. H. Tawney, Lancelot Hogben, T. H. Marshall, Harold Laski and B. Malinowski teaching there. All improved social sciences in some major way between 1920 and 1940.

Although some histories of the discipline sometimes refer to Hobhouse as a ‘founding father’ of the discipline, he does not seem to have left a strong mark on subsequent sociological ideas and methods in Britain.[1] No sociologists today, either in Britain or abroad, admit being inspired by Hobhouse and it was rather for his political intuition outlined in his book *Liberalism* in Edwardian Britain that he is remembered today, as embodying a very British tradition of politically-inspired sociology.[2]

Works rather describe him either as ‘a social theorist’ or as ‘a political thinker’, but some like Reba Soffer were less congenial to him, pointing to Hobhouse’s alleged ‘conservatism’.[3] His time at the head of LSE sociology did not indeed yield much academic advance for the

[1] Such as Timothy Raison and Paul Barker, ‘L. T. Hobhouse’, in *The Founding Fathers of Social Science: A Series from New Society* (London: Scolar Press, 1979), pp. 195–203; Ronald Fletcher, *The Making of Sociology: A Study of Sociological Theory*, 2 vols (London: Joseph, 1971).
[2] Maggie Studholme, ‘From Leonard Hobhouse to Tony Blair: A Sociological Connection?’, *Sociology*, 31.3 (1997), 531–47.
[3] Hugh Carter, *The Social Theories of L.T. Hobhouse* (Port Washington, N.Y.: Kennikat Press, 1968); John E Owen, *L.T. Hobhouse, Sociologist* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1975); Collini, *Liberalism and Sociology*; Soffer.

discipline in the interwar years. Some authors even regret that it was not his Scottish competitor, Patrick Geddes, who secured the chair because that would have given British sociology a completely different outlook with a more biological dimension.[4]

1.0.1. Thesis and plan

This chapter will argue that the image of a sociology failing in Britain historically came from an overemphasis on Hobhousian sociology at the LSE, leaving in the dark subsequent promising sociological leads that were emerging in the 1930s. Hobhouse strove to devise a discipline purely on British ground without a reference to foreign inspirations as Idealism seemed incompatible with the holistic, collectivist point of view in vogue in the then flourishing Continental sociology. Through this, Hobhouse provided a social theory suitable for the Liberal Party in the 1920s. He is usually referred to as the father of 'New Liberalism' or 'New Lib' sociology. But an overemphasis on his political work has outshone the importance of the other members of the 'golden generation' of thinkers at the LSE in the 1930s on the subsequent developments of a 'Labour Party' (or 'Lab' for short) sociology. This chapter will thus show the slow but consistent moulting of a sociological tradition from New Liberal to Labour issues at the LSE.

Yet, if Hobhouse's "New Lib" sociology was inspirational in the 1920s, it was rather under R. H. Tawney that 'Lab' sociology came to a turning point and established its intellectual credentials. Under T. H. Marshall, Lancelot Hogben and in the early work by David Glass in the 1930s, a new concern for equality and an innovative scientific approach to social problems arose at the LSE under what may be termed 'Labour', as opposed to Hobhouse's 'New Lib' sociology. This specific concern with and approach to social problems did not become securely

[4] Renwick, *British Sociology's Lost Biological Roots*.

established until after WWII and ultimately bore its best fruits in the 1960s. But, from New Lib to Lab, sociology was already turning into a promising discipline in the interwar years.

The first two sections describe how Liberal political concerns and social theory intertwined in Hobhouse’s work until his successor and disciple Morris Ginsberg moved Hobhousian sociology from a pure, general outlook to an applied, specific discipline. The third section shows how seminal Tawney’s *Equality* was for LSE, bringing social science forward from old ‘New Lib’ to modern ‘Lab’ concerns. In the process, he subsequently positively and greatly influenced the sociological tradition enshrining itself at the LSE in the 1930s in the work of T. H. Marshall and social classes (4th section) and Lancelot Hogben and demography (5th section). A sociological tradition at the LSE shows through these works. The last section will link the interwar developments of social science at the LSE to other, provincial universities as a result of a humanistic concern for modern society that was universal.

1.1. Hobhouse’s sociology of New Liberalism

The first part of this section will outline Hobhouse’s New Liberal thought and will link it to his sociological career at the LSE while the third part will explain why the discipline came up with such a strong opposition in academia and did not develop much further than his own chair established in 1908.

1.1.1. Hobhouse’s Liberalism

After graduating in Greats at Corpus Christi, Oxford in 1887, Leonard Trelawny Hobhouse (1864-1929) remained there as a fellow until his break away from academia to work as a journalist at the radical daily *Manchester Guardian* and as the secretary of a trade union after 1897. His sociology developed with an inherently applied dimension, emerging in the context of Liberalism and Idealism, as shown in his first writings on the labour movement and on

comparative ethics, at the turn of the century.[5] Hobhouse wanted a sociology respectful of the nature and autonomy of individuals, inspired by T. H. Green's Idealism which dated from the 1880s. Against Marx, Green held that 'it was the individual who made the institutions', and not the opposite.[6]

Hobhouse indeed wrote that 'at no stage of human evolution could it possibly be correct to say that the physical environment of itself determines the social structure'. It is rather man 'with his desires, his knowledge, his powers of organization' to which the physical environment 'sets a problem'.[7] It was this Idealist vision that Hobhouse was to develop as the science of sociology.

His political thought culminated in the seminal book *Liberalism* (1911), which best defined the politics of 'New Liberalism' in Edwardian Britain. Against the *laissez-faire* Individualism bequeathed by the Victorian sociologist Herbert Spencer, Hobhouse conceived an ideal society, as 'a whole which lives and flourishes by the harmonious growth of its parts' and *his* sociology promoted the coincidental thriving of 'the whole', i.e. society, and of the individual 'in accordance with its own nature', he wrote.[8]

How had this social harmony to be established? Hobhouse wrote that 'great changes' could not be 'effected without ideas' and his social theory had to bring about political changes. To be effective, 'men must act together', and to act together 'they must have a common understanding

[5] Leonard Trelawny Hobhouse, *The Labour Movement* (London, 1893); Leonard Trelawny Hobhouse, *Morals in Evolution: A Study in Comparative Ethics* (London: Chapman & Hall [1906], 1951).
[6] Thomas Hill Green and A. C Bradley, *Prolegomena to Ethics*, 5th edn (Oxford: Clarendon Press [1884], 1906).
[7] Leonard Trelawny Hobhouse, *Social Development: Its Nature and Conditions* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1924), p. 97.
[8] Leonard Trelawny Hobhouse, *Liberalism* (London: Oxford University Press, 1911), p. 136 <https://archive.org/download/liberalism00hobh/liberalism00hobh.pdf> [accessed 6 September 2016].

and a common object.'[9] Hobhouse thus promoted social co-operation as the basis for social harmony. His 'New Lib' sociology was wholly political in aim.

Hobhouse theoretically defined how the increasing State intervention under the Liberals, who by 1911 passed most of their 'welfare' legislation, could be consistent with the harmonious development of individuals and not impede it, as proponents of Herbert Spencer's *laissez-faire* claimed. Hobhouse's 'New Lib' social theory and the Liberal legislation in Edwardian Britain were an answer to Spencer's sociology and the *laissez-faire* ideal flourishing in Victorian Britain.

Hobhouse's sociology, which developed in the wake of 'New Lib' political thought and culminated in the years after 1918, should thus be seen as the armed arm of his politics. In particular, his 'Principles of sociology' published after WWI translated a political concern into social theories and established him as one of the most inspirational political thinkers of his time.[10] But what about his purely sociological career?

1.1.2. His sociological career at the LSE

The 'London School of Economics and Political Science' was founded in 1895 by Fabian Society members Sidney Webb, Beatrice Webb, Graham Wallas and George Bernard Shaw to develop and teach social sciences.[11] At a time when it was developing world-wide, sociology

[9] Leonard Trelawny Hobhouse, *Liberalism (1911)*, p. 50.
[10] His 'Principles of sociology' consisted of three books successively published after the War, with such evocative titles as Leonard Trelawny Hobhouse, *The Metaphysical Theory of the State* (London; New York: G. Allen & Unwin Ltd.; Macmillan Co., 1918); Leonard Trelawny Hobhouse, *The Rational Good* (New York: H. Holt and Company, 1921); Leonard Trelawny Hobhouse, *The Elements of Social Justice* (London: G. Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1922).
[11] For a comprehensive history of the School, see Ralf Dahrendorf, *LSE: A History of the London School of Economics and Political Science, 1895-1995* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995).

had to play an important role in the betterment of society and in the advent of socialism in Britain.[12] Thus, it was early developed at the School.

Hobhouse had been involved with the LSE as early as 1904 along with Edward Westermarck (1862-1939), the Finnish sociologist known internationally for a popular book titled *History of Human Marriage* published in 3 volumes in 1891 and a study of *The Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas* published in 1906 and reprinted several times.[13]

The School had made Sociology an Honours subject (optional) for the BSc in Economics and the BA in Philosophy in 1904 and three subjects were taught, namely 'the comparative study of social institutions, ethnology and psychology'. 23 students attended Hobhouse's lectures on 'Comparative Ethics' in 1904 while Westermarck's lectures on 'Early Customs and Morals' attracted 8 only. In 1907, the first Department of Sociology was founded. It was endowed by James Martin White, a Scottish landowner, with a professorship for Hobhouse and a lectureship for Edward Westermarck, both in sociology.[14]

Hobhouse was also a founding member of the Sociological Society in 1904 and for a short while edited the *Sociological Review*, the first journal of sociology in Britain. But owing to a dispute and to his being overburdened with work on account of his new teaching duties at the LSE, he subsequently left the journal in 1911, which could no longer claim to be representative of the whole sociological movement. He thus led academic sociology from his chair at the LSE onwards almost singlehandedly until his death in 1929.

[12] As outlined in Sidney Webb, 'The Basis of Socialism – Historic', in *Fabian Essays in Socialism*, by G. Bernard Shaw and others (Gloucester: P. Smith [1889], 1967), pp. 46–83.
[13] Edward Westermarck, *The History of Human Marriage*, 5th edn (London: Macmillan [1893], 1921); Edward Westermarck, *The Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas* (London; New York: Macmillan, 1906).
[14] Jill Fincham, 'The Development of Sociology First Degree Courses at English Universities, 1907-72' (unpublished PhD thesis, London City University, 1975), p. 35.

1.1.3. Sociology or socialism? The academic prejudice against Hobhouse

Hobhouse's connections with Liberalism were so notorious that he was sometimes condemned by his opponents as a 'state-socialist', something that only increased suspicion towards his work after WWI.[15] If he played a key role in the establishment of sociology as an academic discipline, his late turn to sociology after a career in journalism looked suspicious in academia and brought some suspicion on the discipline.

As Hobhouse was allegedly constantly 'pulled back from philosophy by his excursions into politics', according to his obituary written in 1931 by Ernest Barker, then Professor of Political Theory at Cambridge, his attempt at founding a general, pure sociology was often disregarded academically as more characteristic of politicians than of men of science:

> 'Hobhouse was not the first to seek for social justice, or to be torn between philosophy and politics. If we call these things sociology, then Hobhouse was the ardent professor of a subject which is old in Human history. If we look at the matter in this way, we need not greatly concern ourselves with any technical examination of the scientific sense of sociology. It is just what an eager soul makes of its own passionate interest in the tangled problems of humanity.'[16]

The alleged excursions of sociology into politics undermined its scientific claims. As a result, the 'ardent' claims of Hobhouse to found a pure sociology, even in the guise of New Liberalism, was dismissed as 'unscientific' and thus very controversial. The discipline's bad reputation partly stemmed from its association in Britain with Hobhouse's New Liberalism and sociology was in the interwar years dismissed as biased 'passionate interest' rather than as dispassionate, serious science.

[15] Stefan Collini, 'Hobhouse, Bosanquet and the State: Philosophical Idealism and Political Argument in England 1880-1918', *Past & Present*, 72.1 (1976), 86–111 (p. 87).
[16] Ernest Barker, 'Leonard Trelawny Hobhouse, 1864-1929', *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 15 (1931), 536–54.

Hobhouse himself actually acknowledged many dissatisfactions with the discipline, that he was unable to clarify, devise in accordance with Idealism and presumably sever from politics. It seems that he even indicated ‘some thought of resigning his chair’ on that ground, Victor Branford’s obituary stated. It was not until the end of his life that Hobhouse ‘finally hit a sane foundation for his sociology’.[17]

The suspicion that sociology was actually promoting a hidden political agenda was exacerbated by the Sociological Society’s own claim that ‘sociology should be called socialism’. As Sir Francis Younghusband, the explorer who had conducted the first British expedition to Tibet and was now leading the sociological movement, provokingly stated in an address made in 1924 to the Society, ‘What I am going to speak about we ought to be able to call “socialism” for it is the devotion of the individual to the society to which he belongs.’ But while sociology should be the scientific promotion of co-operation and devotion of individuals to their society, the word ‘socialism’ had been appropriated ‘by the advocates of a particular theory of Government,’ he lamented.[18]

Younghusband attracted the audience’s attention to the growing lack of distinction in Britain between sociology as a scientific discipline and socialism as a political platform. While sociology indeed purported to provide a scientific improvement of society, this was, following Marxism in vogue on the Continent, usually associated with political socialism and even communism. This was again undermining Hobhouse’s effort at devising a properly British sociology, consistent with an Anti-Marxist and Idealist tradition.

[17] Victor Branford, ‘The Sociological Work of Leonard Hobhouse’, *The Sociological Review*, 21.4 (1929), 273–80 (p. 278).
[18] Francis Younghusband, ‘The Sense of Society’, *The Sociological Review*, 17.1 (1925), 1–13 (p. 1).

Younghusband argued that there were ‘apparently some five million people in this country’ who supported that theory. He was referring to the growing importance of the Labour vote in Britain which by 1924 had reached 5 million and was now eroding the hegemony of the Liberal Party. Ramsay MacDonald had been the first Labour Prime Minister ever between January and November 1924, at the time of the publication of the forged Zinoviev letter which famously suggested the possibility of a Communist revolution in Britain. The atmosphere was of increasing suspicion towards sociology that would lead to socialism: ‘And I dislike the idea of having my savings, my house, and my land “nationalised”, and having to live where the State directs me to live,’ the President of the Sociological Society ended his introduction.[19]

1.2. From Hobhouse to Ginsberg, sociology’s ‘New Lib to Lab’ moulting in the 1920s

Due to this unfortunate association with socialism, sociology’s claims were simply reduced to dangerous political common sense and forced Hobhouse into grappling alone with the complex problem of developing a properly British, Idealist and non-politically threatening discipline: That was to be seen precisely in his struggle against the competing disciplines at the LSE in the 1920s.

1.2.1. Combating social psychology and biology at the School in 1926

Hobhouse struggled to secure the academic autonomy of his field continuously in the 1920s against the claims of rising disciplines such as social psychology, social anthropology and social biology at the LSE. In 1926, he considered with strong reluctance William Beveridge (the Director)’s proposals to create a chair in social psychology, in social biology and one in social anthropology, as he thought this would threaten the precarious boundaries of his discipline.

[19] Younghusband, p. 1.

In response to the growing claims of biology on social life – especially among the eugenicists who, following Francis Galton's foundation of the journal *Biometrika* and Karl Pearson's statistical advances in social matters at University College, London – Hobhouse argued in a letter that 'the main point for a school concerned with the Social Sciences' was neither to ignore biology nor to allow it to dominate the subject, but to get it 'treated in its right proportion'. Yet, Hobhouse was afraid that, with their hegemonic attitude, most biologists would give 'a very faint and grudging recognition of economics or any branch of sociology as barely having a claim to a place in science' because, against Idealism, they thought 'that social progress is not a matter of education but of gametes'.[20] Although some eugenicists, such as the renowned biologist Julian Huxley, were not inclined towards extreme policies such as sterilising the 'defective' populations, the suggestions were sometimes made among them, as a way to solve what was called 'the population problem'.

As for psychology, Hobhouse argued, 'I have taught it at the School all these years', and he did not think it appropriate that a chair in 'Social Psychology' should be had, as the title is 'already a neologism'.[21] Just like the word sociology, which was seen by many to be an inelegant mixture of a Greek word and a Latin root and thus mistrusted, social psychology ironically suffered from the same prejudice from sociologists. Hobhouse was indeed threatened by the growing claims of social psychologists who, following William McDougall's successful *Introduction* to the discipline and his book entitled *The Group Mind* published in 1920, were now established as competing references in dealing with contemporary social life.[22]

[20] LSE Archives, Ginsberg 5/2, Hobhouse to the Director of the LSE, William Beveridge, 3 February 1926.
[21] Hobhouse to Beveridge, 3 February 1926.
[22] William McDougall, *An Introduction to Social Psychology* (London: Methuen & co, 1908); William McDougall, *The Group Mind: A Sketch of the Principles of Collective Psychology with Some Attempt to Apply Them to the Interpretation of National Life and Character* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1920).

Hobhouse further argued that it was actually 'Sociology as developed by the School' which was 'the attempt to correlate these things – the psychological and biological conditions of human society – with the actual development of institutions'.[23] He thus thwarted the claims of both competing disciplines; but this was to no avail, as Beveridge later founded both chairs to the detriment of the Department of Sociology in the 1930s. Hobhouse's admitted project for sociology was 'to form a Social Philosophy' but not a science, surprisingly. He probably did not believe it feasible to deal scientifically with social institutions so as to constitute a full-fledged *science* of society, and rather inclined towards producing a social *philosophy*. Hobhouse actually abided by the dominant academic belief that British sociology, if it ever was to be, would merely be a 'philosophy of man's history' rather than its scientific control.[24]

And indeed, the only time Hobhouse resorted to empirical data was when he dealt with primitive cultures in a book written with his disciple at the LSE, Morris Ginsberg.[25] While Westermarck, his colleague in sociology, wrote, he warned, 'both as an armchair anthropologist and as a field-worker' and had personally regularly been in the field to collect data in Morocco until the 1930s, Hobhouse never did and preferred to rely on an intuitive and philosophical reflection about man, which probably prevented the discipline from progressing on a scientific and inductive basis.[26]

Hobhouse concluded his letter to the Director by promoting his discipline, noting that, as opposed to the ambitious but newly-born competitors, 'our methods and definition of subjects

[23] LSE Archives, Ginsberg 5/2, Hobhouse to Beveridge, 3 February 1926.
[24] See 6.5. about the criticisms of the Classicists at sociology.
[25] Leonard Trelawny Hobhouse, G. C. Wheeler, and Morris Ginsberg, *The Material Culture and Social Institutions of the Simpler Peoples: An Essay in Correlation* (London: Chapman & Hall, 1915).
[26] Edward Westermarck, 'Methods in Social Anthropology', *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*, 66 (1936), 223–48 (p. 248).

are largely the result of the experience of nearly 20 years.'[27] Against the threat of seeing sociology reduced to a mere residue gathering together whatever biology and psychology had not already appropriated, Hobhouse argued that, albeit still unclear, his academic definition of sociology had at least evinced an unprecedented continuity (since 1907 and the establishment of the Department) against those new and unwelcomed competitors at the School.

However, Hobhouse did not hold to 'blind conservatism' when he added that, on the other hand, 'the proposal for a chair of Anthropology I cordially welcome.' It is true that, at the beginning, his relationships with Malinowski, who was increasingly representing social anthropology in Britain and abroad, were very good. Hobhouse did not see in him a real competitor at the LSE, given that Malinowski's declared enemy was 'old, armchair anthropology' in England, and that he was looking at primitive cultures rather than at contemporary societies so they were not competitors yet. It was only in the 1930s that Malinowski's social anthropology started increasingly to impinge on Hobhouse's traditional preserve.[28] But the latter never had to realise this, as he died in 1929.

1.2.2. The impasses of Hobhouse's 'pure' sociology

By 1929, Hobhouse had failed to provide universities with a clear-cut, autonomous definition of a scientific sociology and the discipline was threatened intellectually. All he could do was to elaborate a social philosophy removed from reality, devoid of an empirical method to deal with it, and thus contested by many emerging scientific competitors like psychology and social biology.

[27] LSE Archives, Ginsberg 5/2, Hobhouse to the Director of the LSE, William Beveridge, 3 February 1926.
[28] See 6.4.1.

Yet, the lack of a distinctive sociology should not be construed as ‘a more wide-ranging failure of national imagination’ that would, as a ‘peculiarity of the English’, exemplify ‘the many lacunae in British intellectual life’, as Goldman put it.[29] Neither should Hobhouse’s apparent lack of a ‘creative social theory’ be interpreted as the fruits of ‘an essentially conservative sociology’ which advocated ‘that existing institutions and conventions required only limited reform,’ as Soffer explained.[30] The fact is that Hobhouse had his hands tied by the impossibility of establishing a real ‘science of ethics’, because the possibilities of ‘a natural science of man’ had long been debated before him and eventually discarded by Sidgwick and Green.

Henry Sidgwick (1838-1900), the utilitarian philosopher and Idealist economist, articulated a famous attack on Spencer’s sociology back in 1880. Sidgwick concluded that Herbert Spencer was not realistic when claiming that sociology purported to provide ‘a “truer ethics”’, ‘for the sufficient reason that [Spencer] does not admit the final authority of existing ethical beliefs’.[31] Spencer’s sociology wished to supersede ‘natural’ morality by a ‘scientific ethics’. Yet when T. H. Green himself, in a series of three articles published in 1882, had carefully examined ‘whether any such science can deal with the ultimate principle of knowledge and of morality in man’, he had reached the conclusion, ‘following the lead of Kant’ and of his Idealism, that man was part of ‘a world of unknowable “things-in-themselves”’ and therefore unattainable scientifically.[32]

[29] Goldman, ‘A Peculiarity of the English? (1987)’, p. 133.
[30] Soffer, p. 801.
[31] Henry Sidgwick, ‘Mr. Spencer’s Ethical System’, *Mind*, 5.18 (1880), 216–26 (p. 217).
[32] Thomas Hill Green, ‘II. Can There Be a Natural Science of Man?’, *Mind*, 7.26 (1882), 161–85 (p. 161); See also the first article in Thomas Hill Green, ‘I. Can There Be a Natural Science of Man?’, *Mind*, 7.25 (1882), 1–29; Thomas Hill Green and Andrew Cecil Bradley, ‘III. Can There Be a Natural Science of Man?’, *Mind*, 7.27 (1882), 321–48.

Green indeed explained that in order to found a rational science of man’s conduct, one had to know before the individual and better than him what was good and right to will (and thus be God oneself); or had to treat human beings as the worst kind of irresponsible animals who could be scientifically controlled and this was unacceptable. Either way, the existence of sociology, understood as the science of ethical behaviour, was clearly found incompatible with British Idealism – and this was neither a sign of ‘conservatism’ nor ‘a failure of imagination’ but stemmed from a genuine love of man and of his genius.

As a result, Hobhouse’s New Liberalism merely unfolded the practical implications of the Idealist intuition in sociology; and that was inconsistent with empirical facts, because morality was neither given in experience nor could be studied in the field. The lack of an empirical dimension to his sociology can hardly be criticized as it logically stemmed from the Idealist point of view. When comparing in 1933 the development of academic sociology in Britain and in the United States, this is what an American observer thus noted: That ‘students undertake no “projects” and do no “field work”’ he found responsible for the slow development of academic sociology in Britain.[33] Because Hobhouse and his disciple were ‘minimizing rather than accentuating its differences from the older sciences and concentrating on its more philosophic and integrative functions’ the subject had ‘not succeeded in gaining for itself any wide acceptance as a distinct scientific technique,’ he analysed.[34]

And field work, in the vein of ‘experimental sociology’ or with ‘field studies in ecology’ then very much in fashion at Chicago in the 1930s under Robert Park and Ernest Burgess, was precisely what was making academic sociology so successful in America.[35] General (or pure)

[33] Harper, p. 340.
[34] Harper, p. 339.
[35] Harper, p. 340.

sociology as defined by Hobhouse thus still needed a specific sociology, i.e. a practical method to enquire about reality and gather data, to be entirely convincing. This appeared more clearly to Morris Ginsberg as he eventually came to terms with the impasses of Hobhouse's general sociology while succeeding him as the only Professor of Sociology in Britain after the latter's death in 1929.

1.2.3. Ginsberg's specialised sociology: an innovative science?

Morris Ginsberg (1889-1970) was born in Lithuania and studied Hebrew literature and the Talmud until the age of 15, when he moved to Liverpool to work in his father's tobacco factory. There he eventually learnt English, as his native tongue had until then been Yiddish. Studying part-time while working as a clerk in a clothing factory, he was eventually awarded the Martin White Scholarship in Sociology in 1910, which enabled him to come to study at the LSE for two years. Hobhouse then invited his student to do research work in sociology and, in 1913, Ginsberg became his assistant. The results of their joint-investigation into the 'simpler societies' were eventually published in 1915.[36]

While at the LSE, Ginsberg learnt to speak French and German quite decently and took courses in biology, chemistry and physics. He gave the impression of being a man of many interests, particularly open to Continental ideas as shows his successful first opus, the *Psychology of Society*, published in 1921. He was then appointed full Lecturer at the School in 1923 and a year later appointed to a readership in sociology.

These years were particularly rich for sociology at the LSE. Ginsberg set up a 'Sociology Club' in 1923, which proved quite successful in bringing sociological topics to the attention of an

[36] Hobhouse, Wheeler, and Ginsberg.

academic audience. The Club gathered monthly at the School to give talks and its membership was quickly extended from 45 to 80 and the rules to become a member later toughened owing to its success. Papers given at the Club were very diverse and dealt with a wide range of topics including 'The character of Byzantine civilisation' (June 1925), 'Present tendencies in the philosophy of evolution' (June 1929) or 'The Indian problem' (December 1930). Although limited to a small audience (one had to be a member to attend the talk), the Club was useful to popularise sociology within the academic sphere in London and showcased papers by luminaries such as Julian Huxley, the biologist, in 1923 or G. D. H. Cole, the social theorist, in 1929.[37]

In the years following his appointment as a Reader, Ginsberg also published several pieces in *Economica*, a quarterly journal of social sciences founded at the School in 1921, which featured sociological articles.[38] While Ginsberg had been an orthodox Hobhousian social philosopher until then, these works proved pivotal in the maturing of his own thought and slowly distanced him from Hobhouse's Idealism.

In an article published in 1927, Ginsberg defined the scope of his sociology. He started by restricting his field to the study of 'those phenomena which are widely shared by members of a community, such as language, morality, religion' which he thus defined as 'institutions'.[39] In agreement with Hobhouse's own theory of social development expounded in his last book *Social Development* in 1924, Ginsberg insisted that such institutions were not just relations

[37] LSE Archives, LSE Central Filing Registry / 275 (Box 0325).
[38] Morris Ginsberg, 'The Theory of Progress', *Economica*, 6 (1922), 228–37; Morris Ginsberg, 'The Scope of Sociology', *Economica*, 20 (1927), 135–49; Morris Ginsberg, 'The Contribution of Professor Hobhouse to Philosophy and Sociology', *Economica*, 27 (1929), 251–66; Morris Ginsberg, 'The Place of Instinct in Social Theory', *Economica*, 31 (1931), 25–44; Morris Ginsberg, 'Recent Tendencies in Sociology', *Economica*, 39 (1933), 22–39.
[39] Ginsberg, 'The Scope of Sociology (1927)', p. 135.

between social beings, but rather ‘modes of relationships, ultimately derived *from the nature of individuals* in interaction, and in turn, moulding and determining further interaction’.[40]

Albeit apologetically, Ginsberg was thereby beginning to acknowledge, like social anthropologists at the time, the existence and persistence of social structures in time, although like Hobhouse he found that they resulted logically from man’s biological *nature* – and therefore could not be subject to democratic debate.

Ginsberg thus defined sociology as ‘the science of social institutions’ as they were ‘exhibited in the civilisation or culture of a people’, and felt that a pure, general sociology was necessary but insufficient for the discipline to flourish.[41] To secure scientific independence, sociology did not only require a specific subject matter (social institutions) but also a specific method to deal with it concretely and inductively.

Ginsberg thus recognised that it was extremely difficult ‘to separate form from matter at all clearly’ and doubted whether sociology in this abstractional sense could ‘ever be an independent science’. The forms of social relationship ‘cannot profitably be studied in complete abstraction’, he stated, thus subtly distancing himself from Hobhouse. Its theoretical conclusions ‘will always have to be tested by appeal to the concrete facts of social life’, and this surely necessitated ‘a sociology in the second sense’ as a specialist and applied discipline. Yet so far, however, ‘very little has been done in this direction,’ he regretted. If the study of social relationships was to be ‘carried out inductively’, his method of ‘sociological inquiry’

[40] Ginsberg, ‘The Scope of Sociology (1927)’, pp. 135–36 (Our emphasis).
[41] Ginsberg, ‘The Scope of Sociology (1927)’, p. 136.

could lead to 'fruitful results', he held.[42] Ginsberg therefore concluded that 'his' sociology had to be put to empirical test.

In 1929, he published one of the most original pieces of quantitative sociological research ever produced at the time. The renewal of sociology symbolically began with Ginsberg at the LSE in 1929, the very year when Hobhouse died.

1.2.4. Ginsberg's pioneering approach on social mobility in 1929

His paper on 'Interchange between Social Classes' was published in the *Economic Journal* that year.[43] It is an empirical study based on statistics, used to define social classes and social mobility. Social classes were still a controversial concept in Britain as it evoked class warfare, social determination and socialism.

Ginsberg emphasised 'the lack of agreement with regard to the criteria of class'. For him, 'social classes are not associations to be defined by their ends or purposes, but groups of individuals related to one another by much vaguer, though not less powerful psychological attitudes'.[44] He based social classes on psychological similarities rather than occupation as in Marx. With respect to British Idealism and against Marxism, Ginsberg held that one's position in society was determined by one's individual consciousness and will, and not the other way around. Classes were defined as consisting in similar 'feelings and attitudes' that could be found beyond the dissimilarities, precisely 'in differences in mode of life, educational standing, amount and intimacy of association between members of different groups'. Yet while these differences had

[42] Ginsberg, 'The Scope of Sociology (1927)', pp. 138–40.
[43] Morris Ginsberg, 'Interchange between Social Classes', *Economica Journal*, 39 (1929), 554–65.
[44] Ginsberg, 'Interchange between Social Classes (1929)', p. 554.

been often 'treated with greater insight by novelists and essayists,' Ginsberg attempted to study the matter scientifically.[45]

The study was thus an inquiry into social mobility and he proceeded by 'seeking to obtain a measure of the degree of movement between social classes, the reality and importance of the "social ladder".' To do so, he first distinguished between three classes based on their occupation (professionals and employers; salaried employees; skilled wage earners) – as a proxy for their psychological differences. He also used a cutting-edge method for the time: In 1927-28, he submitted a questionnaire to students, teachers and other salaried people for a total of 2,844 respondents of whom 931 were women.[46] From this he got 'mobility of occupation tables' between fathers, grandfathers and individuals, with a measure of upward and downward class mobility between generations. In the last part of the paper, Ginsberg used A. L. Bowley's tables of mobility for comparative purposes.

The result was an innovative assessment of social mobility on a quantitative basis. The matter had been a subject of preoccupation in Britain since the birth of eugenics and of Francis Galton's pioneering statistical methods at the turn of the century. The country had been leading the field, although it was actually Pitirim Sorokin, a Russian sociologist and Professor of Sociology at the University of Minnesota, who had pioneered the quantification of social mobility with the first mobility tables in 1927.[47] In any event, Ginsberg was already using a very modern technique to measure social mobility that is still in use today. As evidence of this, it is worth noting that by contrast the first mobility tables only appeared in the early 1950s in

[45] Ginsberg, 'Interchange between Social Classes (1929)', p. 555.
[46] Ginsberg, 'Interchange between Social Classes (1929)', p. 556.
[47] Pitirim A Sorokin, *Social Mobility* (New York: Harper, 1927).

France.[48] The method to deal with social stratification was only imported there by a young American intern at INED, the recently-founded French demographic institute, in 1953.[49]

In 1929, Ginsberg was actually translating eugenic concerns into empirical measures with a Labour-inspired agenda, but not a Marxist analysis of classes. Against the eugenicists' claim that accelerating social mobility in the interwar years would entail a bad working of society in the long run, Ginsberg concluded that 'the ladder can only lift relatively small numbers' and that there was thus 'little ground for the hypothesis of "drainage" and no indication that the reserves of ability in the lower classes are being depleted'.[50]

Ginsberg's work was not only a welcome renewal for LSE sociology but was also part of a whole new generation of thinkers at the School interested in the problems of the Labour Party, after those of the Liberals. Safeguarding Idealism in the analysis of society and measuring social inequalities became the new sociological favourite at Houghton Street in the 1930s, in the wake of R. H. Tawney's influential ideas on equality in Britain.

1.3. 'An intellectual attempt to deal with the problems of the Labour Party': The crucial influence of R. H. Tawney in the 1930s

In 1960, Raymond Aron was visiting Oxford from Paris, A. H. Halsey recalled in his book. As several fellows were then gossiping in his room at Nuffield College about the state of the discipline in Britain, the French sociologist suddenly exclaimed: 'The trouble is that British

[48] Marcel Bresard, 'I. Mobilité Sociale et Dimension de La Famille', *Population (French Edition)*, 5.3 (1950), 533–66; Alain Girard, 'II. Mobilité Sociale et Dimension de La Famille - Enquête Dans Les Lycées et Les Facultés', *Population (French Edition)*, 6.1 (1951), 103–24.
[49] Natalie Rogoff, 'Social Stratification in France and in the United States', *American Journal of Sociology*, 58.4 (1953), 347–57.
[50] Ginsberg, 'Interchange between Social Classes (1929)', p. 562.

sociology is essentially an attempt to make intellectual sense of the political problems of the Labour Party'.[51]

What started as a joke made by a French observer proved actually quite accurate to describe the 1960s, at a time when British sociology was becoming increasingly 'Labourite' in its orientation with intellectual leaders such as Michael Young at the Institute of Community Studies, and Richard Titmuss and Peter Townsend at the LSE.[52] What is less obvious, however, is that this popular tradition of social research in the 1960s had been initiated much earlier by R. H. Tawney, in the 1930s.

1.3.1. R. H. Tawney and the 'golden generation' of Labour thinkers at the LSE

The 1930s thus saw the beginnings of the School's golden years that were to endure well into the 1960s.

Although Ginsberg kept writing articles for *Politica*, a journal of social science that was founded at the School in 1934, the newest and most exciting developments of political and sociological thinking at the LSE now had to be sought in other departments.[53] In the 1930s, he represented an old-fashioned trend in sociology that was on the wane as compared to the advance made in the other departments – notably by Malinowski in social anthropology.[54]

[51] Halsey, p. 70.
[52] At the time, such books as Michael Dunlop Young and Peter Willmott, *Family and Kinship in East London* (London, Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1957); Michael Dunlop Young, *The Rise of the Meritocracy, 1870-2033: An Essay on Education and Equality* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1958); Richard Titmuss, *Essays on 'The Welfare State'* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1958); Peter Townsend and Brian Abel-Smith, *The Poor and the Poorest: A New Analysis of the Ministry of Labour's Family Expenditure Surveys of 1953-54 and 1960* (London: Bell, 1965) were being published or written as inspiring pieces of social research instrumental for the Labour Party.
[53] Ginsberg, 'The Place of Instinct in Social Theory (1931)'; Ginsberg, 'Recent Tendencies in Sociology (1933)'.
[54] See Chapter 6.

Great names of the British social sciences then published in *Politica*: Karl Mannheim, the German émigré born in Frankfürt, popularised Max Weber's ideas in England in 1934, Harold Laski published pieces in 1935 and 1936, H. A. Mess, then Reader in Sociology at Bedford College for Women, in 1937, Sidney Webb in 1937 and Morris Ginsberg again in 1939.[55] As such, the journal was a concentrate of the best that British social sciences could offer, and its richness mirrored the centrality of the LSE in the field and some would say even in the world.

At the time, such notable figures as Harold Joseph Laski (1893-1950) and Richard Henry Tawney (1880-1962) were engaged in finding a suitable theory and applied form for the British Labour Party, and both were teaching at the School. Laski was one of the most influential intellectual spokesmen for socialism in the interwar years and was Professor of Political Science at the LSE from 1926 to 1950. In the 1930s, Laski became a proponent of Marxism and believed in a planned economy based on the public ownership of the means of production, although he found himself dissatisfied with revolutionary communism. He eventually served as the chairman of the Labour Party for a year right after the Second World War.

But it was R. H. Tawney who proved even more influential intellectually in the long run as a historian, political thinker and Christian socialist who spent a long part of his academic career at the LSE.

After graduating from Jowett's Balliol in 1903, Tawney and his friend William Beveridge lived at Toynbee Hall, then the home of the recently formed Workers' Educational Association. The

[55] Karl Mannheim, 'German Sociology (1918-1933)', *Politica*, 1.1 (1934), 12–33; Harold Laski, 'Discretionary Power', *Politica*, 3 (1935), 274–86; Harold Laski, 'The Judicial Function', *Politica*, 6 (1936), 115–32; Henry A. Mess, 'Modern Alternatives to the Poor Law', *Politica*, 8 (1937), 380–89; Sidney Webb, 'A Basis for Political Science?', *Politica*, 9 (1937), 480–94; Morris Ginsberg, 'The Concepts of Juridical and Scientific Law', *Politica*, 15 (1939), 1–15.

experience was to have a profound effect on him. Tawney's first history book was actually written as a text for his WEA classes, *The Agrarian Problem in the Sixteenth Century* and published in 1912.[56] He also contributed to the Church of England's report on *Christianity and Industrial Problems* in 1918.[57] Both represented interests that came to last his whole life.

At the LSE, he became a Reader in 1923 and Professor of Economic History from 1931 until his retirement in 1949. There he built a reputation as the leading economic historian of his time and founded the Economic History Society in 1926. He was very much drawn to politics, as a member of the Sankey Commission, which issued a report on the nationalisation of the coalmining industry in 1919 and in which he and Sidney Webb sided with the miners against the government, and of the Hadow Commission, which addressed the education of the adolescent and whose report was published in 1926.[58]

As a member of the Labour Party's advisory committee on education from its inception in 1918, Tawney wrote a famous pamphlet entitled *Secondary Education for All* in 1922.[59] He also wrote an important policy statement, *Labour and the Nation*, in 1928, later criticising the party's failings in government in an essay in 1934.[60] He was very much active in the movement for general education and spent 15 years as president of the WEA from 1928 to 1943.

[56] Richard Henry Tawney, *The Agrarian Problem in the Sixteenth Century* (London; New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1912).
[57] Church of England and Archbishops' Fifth Committee of Inquiry, *Christianity and Industrial Problems: Being the Report of the Archbishops' Fifth Committee of Inquiry (Part 1)* (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1918).
[58] Sankey Commission, *Coal Industry Commission Act 1919, Second Stage* (London: HMSO, 1919); Hadow Committee, *The Education of the Adolescent* (London: HMSO, 1926).
[59] Richard Henry Tawney, *Secondary Education for All: A Policy for Labour, Edited for the Education Advisory Committee of the Labour Party* (London, 1922).
[60] Labour Party (Great Britain), *Labour and the Nation* (London: Labour Party, 1928); Richard Henry Tawney and Socialist League, *The Choice before the Labour Party* (London: The Socialist League, 1934).

Intellectually inspired by sociology in his research (Tawney's famous account of the origins of capitalism in *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism* in 1926 is sometimes referred to as the 'Weber–Tawney thesis'), he always avoided the word.[61] If Marxism may have influenced a younger generation of intellectuals in the 1930s, Tawney was shaped in an Edwardian labour movement that remained distant from continental socialism, and thus from sociology which was devised on the Continent as the scientific pre-eminence of Society over the individual.

Tawney was at his most productive in the 1920s. Along with *The Acquisitive Society* in 1921, he clarified his ideas in *Equality*, a book which was based on his Halley Stewart lectures of 1929, in which he developed a landmark critique of capitalism and presented his ideal view of society and of politics.[62] Both books are considered to be his major publications as a social critic and they offer a fascinating insight into how society should be improved, incidentally creating room for a specifically British, autonomous 'science of society' to emerge.

1.3.2. Equality depends 'not only upon an open road, but upon an equal start'

Eugenics had been a regular, bipartisan concern since the 1900s but was at its height in the 1930s and was taking a practical, political dimension. In April 1929, a paper was read by Lord Riddell, managing editor of the *News of the World*, before the Medico-Legal Society entitled 'sterilising the unfit' and suggesting the establishment of a Royal Commission 'on causation and prevention of mental deficiency'.[63] This eventually prompted the setup of a Departmental Committee on Sterilisation, which published its final report in 1934 after witnessing by David Caradog Jones from the University of Liverpool and Lancelot Hogben from the LSE, among

[61] Richard Henry Tawney, *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism: A Historical Study* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1926).
[62] Richard Henry Tawney, *The Acquisitive Society* (London: Bell, 1921); Richard Henry Tawney, *Equality (with a New Introduction by Richard M. Titmuss)* (London: Unwin Books [1931], 1964).
[63] Lord Riddell, 'Sterilisation of the Unfit', *Medico-Legal Journal*, 23 (1929), 107–47.

others.[64] Social scientists were very much partaking of the debate. Carr-Saunders, then a Professor of Social Science in Liverpool, had also been regularly quoted in the House of Commons about 'the population problem' since his seminal study on the matter in 1922.[65]

It was in this context that *Equality* was published in 1931. In it, Tawney discussed heredity and achieved a political ideal, thus suggesting a scientific agenda which made it possible for a new 'Labour' sociology to emerge as a result at the LSE.

In the section on 'equality of opportunity', Tawney first of all established that equal opportunities were not simply 'a matter of legal equality', which had recently been granted to females above 18.[66] With the three Reform Acts of 1832, 1867 and 1884, voting rights were extended to previously disfranchised citizens and in 1918 female suffrage was introduced before its eventual generalisation with the 1928 Reform Act. Yet, although great political progress had been made, this did not solve the social question as evidenced by the Great Strike of 1926 and the rising concern over the economic situation in the wake of the Great Depression in 1929. Tawney concluded that 'in proportion as the capacities of some are sterilized or stunted by their social environment', as the eugenicists argued, but also 'while those of others are favoured or pampered by it', equality of opportunity had thus become 'a graceful, but attenuated, figment'.[67]

[64] Laurence George Brock, *Report of the Departmental Committee on Sterilisation, Cmnd. 4485* (London: HMSO, 1934).
[65] Alexander M. Carr-Saunders, *The Population Problem: A Study in Human Evolution* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1922).
[66] Section on 'Equality of opportunity' in Tawney, *Equality (1931)*, pp. 100–111.
[67] Tawney, *Equality (1931)*, p. 103.

And to avoid the recession of the ideal spelled out in *Equality* 'from the world of reality' to that of 'perorations', Tawney thus defined how and why equality of opportunity should be applied concretely in society.[68]

Of the two sorts of equality, legal and practical, the latter was more important. A high degree of practical equality 'is necessary to social well-being,' Tawney argued, because without it 'ability cannot find its way to its true vocation,' leaving legal equality an empty phrase.[69] The progressive eugenic answer had been that education should offer a 'ladder up' to anyone in society. Yet, secondary education was advocated but not yet offered to everyone (as regretted by Tawney in his 1922 pamphlet advocating 'education for all') as it would only happen with the 1944 Education Act. Besides, education was not sufficient to counter the bias induced by the social *milieu*.

Tawney thus took issue with the argument 'that there is an educational "ladder" up which talent can climb', not only by objecting that 'the scamped quality of our primary education' is usually dismissed as 'a matter of secondary importance' but also because this was doing as though 'opportunities for talent to rise could be equalized' in a society where the 'circumstances surrounding it from birth are themselves unequal!', he exclaimed.[70] Education was central to achieving legal equality, but Tawney's logical conclusion was that the State had to intervene more to even out social chances so as to reduce the practical inequalities induced by birth.

The existence of 'equality of opportunities' depends 'not merely on the absence of disabilities, but on the presence of abilities,' Tawney argued, and the role of the State was thus to foster

[68] Tawney, *Equality (1931)*, p. 103.
[69] Tawney, *Equality (1931)*, p. 106.
[70] Tawney, *Equality (1931)*, pp. 105–6.

them rather than, following Hobhouse’s New Lib sociology, merely to protect the individuals from disabilities. Concretely speaking, if the Liberal Party had shifted their outlook from a *laissez-faire* system to a more collectivist approach with the welfare reforms introduced between 1906 and 1914, Tawney thought it still unsatisfying. While the 1907 Education Act, the 1908 Old-Age Pensions Act and the 1911 National Insurance Act in 1911, all introduced by the Liberals, had surely been instrumental in alleviating risks and disabilities for a majority of Britons, they had still fallen short of establishing a universal and substantive ‘presence of opportunities’, as called for by Tawney. It is easy to see how his influence was felt within the Labour Party when it established the NHS after its 1945 landslide, and how his book paved the way for the eventual acceptance of a universal social service in Britain.

Interestingly, Tawney indulged in a very British tradition of humanistic concern: He thus argued that the existence of opportunities ‘to move from point to point on an economic scale, and to mount from humble origins to success and affluence’ was not just necessary economically but, first and foremost, was a condition both ‘of social well-being and of individual happiness’. ‘Impediments which deny them to some, while lavishing them on others,’ he lamented, were ‘injurious to both’.[71]

1.3.3. Studying mobility and promoting social work as a result

How should equality be established and social well-being and individual happiness be promoted?

As for social well-being, it does not only depend upon ‘intelligent leadership’; it also depends ‘upon cohesion and solidarity,’ Tawney emphasised. This implied the existence, ‘not merely of

[71] Tawney, *Equality (1931)*, p. 106.

opportunities to ascend' in society warranted by education, but of 'a high level of general culture' and the diffusion throughout society of 'a conviction that civilization is not the business of an elite alone, but a common enterprise which is the concern of all'.[72] Tawney wished to associate every citizen into the worship of human culture and democratic principles, based on a 'strong sense of common interests' in society enlightened by education, with a view to living a wealthier individual and collective life. Just like Hobhouse, Tawney's intention was to promote social harmony.

As for individual happiness, it required 'that men should be free to rise to new positions of comfort and distinction' and that they should be able 'to lead a life of dignity and culture', whether they rise or not. Society should promote the respect and wealth of individuals, with 'a general diffusion of the means of civilization, which are needed by all men' whatever their social function. Everyone should enjoy the benefits of civilisation, whatever their position; that ideal Tawney inherited from Ruskin and Morris and that was something he continuously applied in his efforts to promote adult education at WEA. Human value does not depend on one's social position but was universal, that was also Tawney's message and ultimate powerful social ideal. In that, he brought a British tradition of thought to fruition in the 1930s in a social and political ideal in *Equality*.

As opposed to the New Liberals, Tawney argued that 'the doctrine which throws all its emphasis on the importance of opening avenues to individual advancement is partial and one-sided' although it was right 'in attaching a high significance to social mobility'. But if their answer was to imply that 'effective mobility can be secured merely through the absence of legal

[72] Tawney, *Equality (1931)*, p. 108.

restraints', it was for Tawney insufficient as a prophylactic 'against the evils produced by social stratification.'[73]

This cleared a space for the scientific study of social stratification as well as establishing its necessity to devise how best and rationally to set up the ideal society he called for. The reasonable verdict, Tawney concluded, was perhaps that of two sociologists: Professor Carr-Saunders and Mr Caradog Jones, then teachers at the Department of Social Science at the University of Liverpool. Both had argued that

> '"It is possible to imagine a society which is no respecter of persons, where the members somehow get into just those occupations for why they are best suited, no matter what the standing of parents may be. Such a state of society has […] nowhere, as yet, been substantially realized."'[74]

By quoting this statement by the two social scientists, Carr-Saunders being one of the founders of British demography, Tawney purposely or not opened the door to the possibility of scientific means to 'substantially realize' his social ideal in British institutions. In the absence, in short, 'of a large *measure* of equality of circumstances', Tawney feared that 'opportunities to rise must necessarily be illusory'.[75] That science can properly be called a 'British' sociology. *Equality* can thus be seen as a scientific manifesto for the rising generation of LSE academics interested in 'the problems of the Labour Party' and the subsequent developments of LSE sociology under T. H. Marshall and of social biology under Lancelot Hogben addressed the problem of that '*measure* of equality' in particular, in the sense of quantifiying it and to what additional dose it would be acceptable.

Tawney, therefore, hoped for the passage from theoretical to substantive equality and moved sociology from New Lib to Lab concerns at the LSE. By suggesting the development of a

[73] Tawney, *Equality (1931)*, p. 109.
[74] Tawney, *Equality (1931)*, p. 107.
[75] Tawney, *Equality (1931)*, p. 107 (Our emphasis).

science which would help set up a better, ideal society respectful of persons and of their individual happiness, he called for the emergence of a proper British version of sociology. Following his crucial influence, sociology developed at the School in two different directions: One discipline, namely demography (or social biology and political arithmetic), had to measure inequalities and examine scientifically how to improve social well-being at a legal level by studying population and the educational system. A second discipline, namely social work (or social administration and social policy) was going to devote itself to the practical development of social services in order to improve individual happiness through the taking care and promotion of ‘a life of dignity and culture’ as Tawney put it. Both were ultimately similarly concerned with improving individual and collective life.

In a way, Tawney thereby established the two ‘British’ formative traditions of sociology of the 1930s as ‘an intellectual attempt to deal with the problems of the Labour Party’ indeed. His legacy was thus understandably strong and remained deeply entrenched at the LSE in the subsequent years, and well into the 1960s as Aron underlined.

1.4. T. H. Marshall: The reassuring figure of a burgeoning discipline after 1930

From the examination of the pivotal role played by Tawney’s thought both in politics and in sociology, new light may be shed on the following years. At the LSE, two branches of social enquiry emerged: Marshall’s work on social classes and citizenship on the one hand, and Hobgen’s short-lived attempt at founding a social biology. Both started burgeoning after 1930 and were particularly influential in the postwar years.

1.4.1. T. H. Marshall (1893-1981)

Thomas Humphrey Marshall (1893-1981) was educated at Rugby School and graduated in History at Trinity College, Cambridge. He went to Germany in the summer of 1914 to learn German, only to find himself interned as a POW in a camp near Berlin. The experience had a profound effect on him. Upon his return to Cambridge after 1918, he secured a Fellowship at Trinity but eventually joined the LSE as a tutor to students of social work in 1925.

He began his formal journey in sociology at the LSE and was confirmed through his promotion to a readership in 1930 in replacement of Ginsberg, now a Professor. During the 1930s Marshall wholeheartedly turned into the professional and reassuring figure of the budding discipline.

He became Head of the Social Science Department at the LSE between 1939 and 1944, then Professor of Social Institutions and Head of the Social Work Department (1944-9) and succeeding Ginsberg as the Martin White Professor of Sociology in 1954. He worked for UNESCO as the head of the Department of Social Science between 1956 and 1960 and never formally retired, even publishing an important book in 1981, the year he died, at the age of 88.[76]

Marshall stood as a Labour candidate in Surrey at the general election of 1922 but was defeated and eventually returned to Cambridge without leading a political career. Compared with Tawney's early involvement at Toynbee Hall and long-life commitment with the Workers' Educational Association, Marshall remained, rather than a party activist, 'a detached and civilized observer from the study and the library' who never moved 'far from his Cambridge and Bloomsbury connections', his biographer noted.[77] His interest in political history and in the Labour Party was never refuted, however.

[76] Thomas Humphrey Marshall, *Right to Welfare and Other Essays* (London, 1981).
[77] A. H. Halsey in his DNB biography.

If Marshall is nowadays remembered for his seminal lectures on citizenship which appeared in 1950, and for coining the phrase ‘sociology at the crossroads’ in 1963, in the interwar years he was still struggling with a discipline that was not yet based on solid foundations in Britain.[78] At the LSE, he thus developed interests in social stratification and in social policy, editing such major studies as *Class Conflict and Social Stratification* and *The Population Problem* both in 1938.[79] Although he never trained in the statistical tools available at the School from his colleagues A. L. Bowley or D. V. Glass, his work turned out to be important in establishing a tradition of an academically more acceptable sociological thought in Britain.

1.4.2. Social classes and the nature of conflict

In an essay on ‘The nature of class conflict’ initially delivered in September 1937 on the occasion of a two-day conference organised by the Institute of Sociology at King’s College, London, Marshall presented an analysis of social classes suitable for a British context, irrespective of Marxism and without embracing the revolutionary overtones conveyed by communism.[80]

Marshall started by discarding the classical passive definition of class as ‘a group of people’ sharing objective caracteristics; instead he defined it dynamically as a changing ‘force or mechanism that operates to produce certain social attitudes’.[81] He thus avoided adopting the reifying attitude of Continental Marxism, which consisted in ascribing a class for good, depending on one’s position in society and one’s occupation. What could be appropriate for a

[78] Thomas Humphrey Marshall, *Citizenship and Social Class: And Other Essays* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1950); Thomas Humphrey Marshall, *Sociology at the Crossroads: And Other Essays* (London: Heinemann, 1963).
[79] *Class Conflict and Social Stratification: Being the Report of a Conference Held under the Auspices of the Institute of Sociology at King’s College of Household and Social Science, London, from the 24th to the 26th of September 1937*, ed. by Thomas Humphrey Marshall (London: Leplay House Press, 1938); Thomas Humphrey Marshall, *The Population Problem: The Experts and the Public* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1938).
[80] Thomas Humphrey Marshall, ‘The Nature of Class Conflict (1938)’, in *Class, Citizenship, and Social Development: Essays* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1964), pp. 164–73.
[81] Thomas Humphrey Marshall, ‘Nature of Class Conflict (1938)’, p. 164.

rather rigid society where occupations were authoritatively organised by the social division of labour as in Durkheim’s France was not relevant in Britain, Marshall implied. Thus, he was careful to re-examine the usual Marxian concept and then provide his own novel interpretation of classes that was more suitable for the British case.

Thus, for Marshall, classes were seen positively as ‘a force that unites into groups people who differ from one another, by overriding their differences’ rather than as a negative source of conflict between classes. Classes were not defined according to the criteria of ‘income, property, education and occupation’, because in Britain, Marshall thought, ‘you will find that every class contains within itself persons differently endowed in respect of each one of them.’[82] Class was not an ‘institution’, he emphasised, ‘arranging persons in order of social merit’.

On the contrary, people were not ranked according to their ‘social merit’ (or position, or function) but grouped together according to their habits of mind, interests and psychological similarities, as in Ginsberg.[83] Class was precisely a way to reorganise society according to people’s personalities and sensitivities instead of grouping individuals simply according to their social occupations – thus identifying to a class was learning to ‘notice some differences’ as well as to ‘ignore others’ when dealing with their social status.[84] Social classes were turned into a sociological tool to promote social harmony again.

Marshall concluded his introduction by already suggesting a sort of ‘sociological crossroads’, when he explained that there were ‘two main roads to the classless society’ that followed: One was supposed to lead to ‘the abolition (as far as possible) of the social differences between

[82] Thomas Humphrey Marshall, ‘Nature of Class Conflict (1938)’, p. 164.
[83] See 1.2.4. for a discussion of Ginsberg’s social classes outlined in 1929.
[84] Thomas Humphrey Marshall, ‘Nature of Class Conflict (1938)’, p. 164.

individuals’ (because they were upheld and maintained by the social division of labour) and that was roughly ‘the way of communism’, and the other was by ‘rendering all differences irrelevant to social status’ and that was roughly ‘the way of democracy’.[85] That was meant to be Britain’s answer to communism too and her way to deal with social classes, offering a more positive and freeing interpretation of them, in accordance with Tawney’s Labour.

Marshall therefore explained that ‘a general antagonism between labour and capital’ was not incompatible with ‘sectional co-operation’ when necessary and with ‘a conscious unity’ of both.[86] The General Strike of 1926 was the product of a ‘confusion of mind,’ Marshall argued, in which unity did not shine through because negotiations had been used ‘for the purposes of conflict’ instead of achieving reasonable and constructive compromise in true Fabian fashion.[87]

The general strike in the United Kingdom lasted 9 days, from 4 to 13 May 1926 and was the only one of its kind in history. The miners’ pay had gone down from £6.00 to £3.90 in the space of seven years and the coal production was at its lowest ebb. The General Council of the Trades Union Congress (TUC) therefore called for a general strike “in defence of miners’ wages and hours” after they failed to achieve an agreement with Stanley Baldwin’s Conservative government into acting to prevent wage reduction and worsening conditions for 1.2 million coal miners. Some 1.7 million workers went out, especially in the transport and heavy industry. There was little violence, however, and the TUC gave up in defeat. In the long run, there was little impact on trade union activity or industrial relations.

[85] Thomas Humphrey Marshall, ‘Nature of Class Conflict (1938)’, p. 165.
[86] Thomas Humphrey Marshall, ‘Nature of Class Conflict (1938)’, p. 166.
[87] Thomas Humphrey Marshall, ‘Nature of Class Conflict (1938)’, p. 167.

But the leaders of the Labour Party were unhappy with the Strike as it could damage their newly established reputation as a party of government with the first MacDonald ministry which had lasted from January to November 1924. In a way, Marshall was warranting Labour's Fabian approach by regarding the crisis as mere temporary 'confusion of mind', and not as a conflict portending the beginning of revolution.

Marshall recognised the importance of 'the Marxian analysis of the nature of class conflict', though not 'the theory of its historic role'. As heir to English Fabianism, Marshall shared the belief that revolution was a destroying and disorganising, not a constructive, force and that if one country wished to 'break the old shell' it should never forget 'that the new forms must grow out of the old'.[88] However, Marshall denied that the Marxian analysis 'exhausts the subject of social stratification', because he did not believe that occupational groups and social classes were the same things.[89]

Although Marshall, who was no revolutionary admittedly, acknowledged that 'in capitalist democracy', 'we have a perpetual state of friction between classes', he lamented the preoccupying 'destruction of the psychological forces favouring acquiescence' at play.[90] Cohesion and solidarity, as Tawney had explained, were the guarantee of social well-being and encouraged compromises and empathy. Marshall observed, 'some people hold that social mobility affords a safety valve and helps to avert the threatened conflict'. Yet, his conclusion was that 'its importance can easily be exaggerated' because 'where individual mobility is automatic, or nearly so, class loyalty develops with difficulty'. There lay his ultimate concern:

[88] H. M. Hyndman, *The Historical Basis of Socialism in England* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co., 1883), p. 305 quoted in Sidney Webb, 'The Basis of Socialism – Historic', in Fabian Essays in Socialism, by G. Bernard Shaw and others (Gloucester: P. Smith [1889], 1967), pp. 46–83 (p. 48).
[89] Thomas Humphrey Marshall, 'Nature of Class Conflict (1938)', p. 167.
[90] Thomas Humphrey Marshall, 'Nature of Class Conflict (1938)', p. 172.

to ensure social stability with controlled and not automatic social mobility, thereby promoting social well-being and fostering 'the alliance of groups into classes'.[91]

In the 1930s, while Marshall developed the theoretical aspects of Labour-inspired sociology, its practical aspects were being examined in the Department of Social Biology at the LSE: Beveridge founded a chair of Social Biology in 1930 and it behoved Lancelot Hogben to bring forward the corresponding British tradition of 'political arithmetic' to address the question of social mobility and of 'the population problem' quantitatively.

1.5. Hogben's social biology: The difficult acceptance of a humanistic 'science of society' at the LSE

1.5.1. Lancelot Hogben (1895-1975)

Lancelot Thomas Hogben (1895-1975) studied physiology after securing a scholarship to Trinity College, Cambridge, and graduated in 1916. There, he also acquired socialist convictions and became an active member of the Independent Labour Party.

After lecturing in London universities, he moved in 1922 to the Animal Breeding Research Department at the University of Edinburgh and later to McGill University, Canada. In 1927, he was appointed to a chair of Zoology at the University of Cape Town, South Africa.

He found the job in South Africa rewarding, but as a convinced socialist, he found himself antipathetic to the country's racial policies and subsequently left it. In 1930, Hogben moved to the LSE to fill a chair of Social Biology which had been funded by the Rockefeller Foundation

[91] Thomas Humphrey Marshall, 'Nature of Class Conflict (1938)', p. 172.

upon special request by Beveridge. The experience proved short-lived and the chair as well as the Department were discontinued in 1937, forcing Hogben to move to Aberdeen where he became Professor of Natural History. He was also Professor of Zoology at the University of Birmingham from 1941 to 1947 and later Professor of Medical Statistics from 1947 until his retirement in 1961 there. He was a man of varied talents and interets.

While in the chair of Social Biology at the LSE, Hogben relentlessly attacked the eugenic movement, which was at its apex in the 1930s. In contrast to eugenicists, who strictly distinguished between heredity and environment, he insisted on their interdependence and used his knowledge of natural sciences to develop and popularise what he called a 'science for the masses'. Hogben wrote two best-selling works of popular science, *Mathematics for the Million* (1936) and *Science for the Citizen* (1938), ultimately declaring himself a 'scientific humanist'.[92]

At the LSE, Hogben found the left-wing political atmosphere congenial but he was no communist. He was part of a group of biological thinkers which included Julian Huxley and, contrary to most of his contemporaries, never flirted with eugenics, which he held to be not only unsustained methodologically for a long time debating with R. A. Fisher, the eugenic statistician at UCL, but also undesirable socially.

In his inaugural lecture in 1930 he had already pointed to the then well-established fear of depopulation, which he did much to dispel. He also summarized the work of the Department of Social Biology in existence only between 1936 and 1937 in his book *Political Arithmetic* and called for practical applications of biology.

[92] L Hogben, *Mathematics for the Million* (London: s.n., 1936); Lancelot Thomas Hogben, *Science for the Citizen: A Self-Educator Based on the Social Background of Scientific Discovery* (New York: A. A. Knopf, 1938).

His professional ambition in the new field of social enquiry and his wish to spread out its results to a wider audience were, however, impeded by a difficult character. On several occasions, bad personal relations brought him into difficulty in his academic career. In any case, he proved immensely productive and inspirational for a rising generation of promising demographers at the LSE, most notably for David Glass.

1.5.2. The founding father of 'modern' political arithmetic

In 1938, when social biology was at its zenith, Hogben published an important opus on *Political Arithmetic*, celebrating the achievements of the 'population studies' conducted under his authority.[93] The book actually consisted of a collection of articles by Hogben's wife Enid Charles, Robert René Kuczynski, a German *émigré* and a demographer, and David Glass among others, which had appeared in the 1930s in various journals and which were only accessible to a small circle of specialists. These '*factual* social studies', as the publishers described them, were meant to showcase the best of what had been carried out by the promising generation of students and researchers at the Department since 1930.[94] They were also meant to show that a long-established tradition of 'political arithmetic' had flourished in the Department and that social biology was not such a dubious discipline as sociology but had deep roots in England.

The phrase 'political arithmetic' had actually been coined in the 17th century by 'the three founders of British demography', as Hogben noted, John Graunt, William Petty and Edmond Halley, the astronomer.[95] Hogben's 'prolegomena to political arithmetic' as he called them were

[93] *Political Arithmetic: A Symposium of Population Studies*, ed. by Lancelot Thomas Hogben (London: Allen & Unwin, 1938).
[94] Lancelot Thomas Hogben, *Political Arithmetic (1938)*, p. 8.
[95] The phrase was ushered in by William Petty, *Political Arithmetick or a Discourse Concerning, the Extent and Value of Lands, People, Buildings: Husbandry, Manufacture, Commerce, Fishery, Artizans, Seamen, Soldiers; Publick Revenues, Interest, Taxes, Superlucration, Registries, Banks Valuation of Men, Increasing of Seamen, of Militia's, Harbours, Situation, Shipping, Power at Sea, &c. as the Same Relates to Every Country in General, but More Particularly to the Territories of His Majesty of Great Britain, and His Neighbours of Holland, Zealand, and France* (London: Printed for Robert Clavel and Hen. Mortlock, 1690); Lancelot Thomas Hogben, 'Prolegomena

supposed to resurrect the all-but-forgotten tradition of demography in Britain and retained a prophetic character, in accordance with his controversially ambitious character. He described his discipline as stemming from a long-established, prestigious tradition of social science. Hogben wanted to show that social biology was unbiased and scientific, while he complained that in England, ‘a social inquiry which leads to the conclusion that something has to be done or might be done is said to be “tendencious”.’ In response to this criticism levelled at social biology, he blamed the vested interests of academics and complained that ‘the academic value of social research in our universities is largely rated on a futility scale’.[96]

Hogben, in constrast, thought of himself as a pragmatist and a scientific humanist for whom social biology always had ‘to find how to do something’ lest science ‘would come to a standstill’. He was an unorthodox advocate of ‘social research in the universities’ but faced the difficult acceptance of his subject with concern, being unable to promote its inherently humanistic dimension.[97]

While for Hogben ‘in natural science the greatest advances often occur in the region where two traditional disciplines overlap’, social biology’s innovative potential was hard to accept as it cut across traditional academic boundaries.[98] At the close of the Department, he concluded rather bitterly that ‘six years of an unsuccessful attempt’ to convince his colleagues at the School that ‘some knowledge of natural science should be part of the training of those who specialize in social studies’ had not destroyed his ‘hope that a science of society will develop’. A university is ‘not a lying-in hospital’ but ‘a good house for an accredited science,’ he insisted,

to Political Arithmetic’, in *Political Arithmetic: A Symposium of Population Studies*, ed. by Lancelot Thomas Hogben (London: Allen & Unwin, 1938), pp. 13–46 (p. 13).
[96] Lancelot Thomas Hogben, ‘Prolegomena to Political Arithmetic (1938)’, p. 29.
[97] Lancelot Thomas Hogben, ‘Prolegomena to Political Arithmetic (1938)’, p. 37.
[98] Lancelot Thomas Hogben, ‘Prolegomena to Political Arithmetic (1938)’, p. 29.

and social biology have been a chance for academia.[99] In spite of this, the Department and the chair were eventually discontinued.

1.5.3. Social biology: Examining 'the survival minimum' and improving 'the recruitment of social personnel'

Social biology, however, was defined as the 'genuine scientific knowledge of the biological basis of human nature, and the search for the laws which condition social habits and social preferences'.[100] Its inspiration was somewhat economic, biological and statistical: there lay its attractive aspect compared to Ginsberg and Marshall's 'sociology', and its contribution to social research in Britain.[101] Social biology, by putting itself under the umbrella of the 'wholesome wisdom of Professor Tawney', as heir to his philosophical and political inspiration, was to be the study of population and social mobility as the Labour-inspired scientific instrument.[102]

The book's 14 studies were thus divided into two parts: one on 'the survival minimum', i.e. the study of population, races and fertility with a demographic (but not eugenic) purpose, and the second on 'the recruitment of social personnel', i.e. the systematic study of the educational system and policy with a view to limiting social and occupational wastage.[103] Social biology promoted an ideal society to help the Labour Party establish it scientifically: The problem of political arithmetic, Hogben wrote, was thus 'to estimate the remediable wastage due to defective social organization and the loss of social efficiency resulting therefrom'.[104]

[99] Lancelot Thomas Hogben, 'Prolegomena to Political Arithmetic (1938)', p. 45.
[100] Lancelot Thomas Hogben, 'Prolegomena to Political Arithmetic (1938)', p. 30.
[101] Lancelot Thomas Hogben, 'Prolegomena to Political Arithmetic (1938)', p. 44.
[102] Lancelot Thomas Hogben, 'Prolegomena to Political Arithmetic (1938)', p. 41.
[103] Lancelot Thomas Hogben, 'Prolegomena to Political Arithmetic (1938)', pp. 9–10.
[104] Lancelot Thomas Hogben, 'Introduction to Part II', in *Political Arithmetic: A Symposium of Population Studies*, ed. by Lancelot Thomas Hogben (London: Allen & Unwin, 1938), pp. 331–33 (p. 331).

This was actually done in the book *Political Arithmetic* in 1938 through a skilful collectiong of groundbreaking articles quantifying social mobility in Britain, measuring the educational performance of scholarships at Oxbridge or examining the historical determinants of fertility in England and Wales, for instance.[105]

Interestingly, although Hogben believed that society's social efficiency could be improved by reducing *occupational* wastage, he carefully distinguished it from the scientific inquiry into 'the *biological* wastage of personnel', which could not be undertaken 'until much more research into human heredity has been prosecuted'. Albeit trained in the natural sciences and working as a professional zoologist at some point, Hogben shared with Julian Huxley the belief that biology was not the last word about humanity. Wastage, if any, was social and not biological. He thus dismissed 'conclusions about inborn differences based on intelligence test score comparisons' as having 'little scientific validity' and addressing 'the prevalence of racialist dogmas' as having 'no scientific foundation' although 'profoundly affecting the qualitative distribution of population at the present time'.[106] The 1930s were a time of great activity for eugenicist policies in Britain, throughout the world and were already worrying in Nazi Germany.

In any event, Hogben's social biology was devised as a humanistic tool that followed the Idealist tradition by averting individual determination. Although his discipline did not survive and that he had to move back to teach zoology at Birmingham afterward, his work turned out

[105] J. L. Gray and Pearl Moshinsky, 'Ability and Opportunity in English Education', in *Political Arithmetic: A Symposium of Population Studies*, ed. by Lancelot Thomas Hogben (London: Allen & Unwin, 1938), pp. 334–76; David V. Glass and J. L. Gray, 'Opportunity and the Older Universities: A Study of the Oxford and Cambridge Scholarship System', in *Political Arithmetic: A Symposium of Population Studies*, ed. by Lancelot Thomas Hogben (London: Allen & Unwin, 1938), pp. 418–70; David V. Glass, 'Changes in Fertility in England and Wales, 1851 to 1931', in *Political Arithmetic: A Symposium of Population Studies*, ed. by Lancelot Thomas Hogben (London: Allen & Unwin, 1938), pp. 161–212.
[106] Lancelot Thomas Hogben, 'Prolegomena to Political Arithmetic (1938)', p. 333.

to be incredibly popular and influential after WWII. After Hogben's departure from the LSE and the closing of the department in 1938, David Glass was involved in founding the Population Investigation Committee which was itself instrumental in the establishment of the Royal Commission on Population inspired by Hogben. Glass became Professor of Sociology in 1948 at the LSE and gave demography its *lettres de noblesse* in post-war Britain, editing in particular a landmark study of social mobility in Britain in 1954 and becoming one of the few sociologists ever elected to the Royal Society.[107] As a chairman of the PIC, Glass was involved in achieving educational, health, growth and cognition attainment, notably through its first national birth cohort study published in 1948 as a maternity study.[108] He was Hogben's heir.

1.6. And the rest of Britain? The interwar developments of academic sociology

A British 'sociological' tradition was indeed flourishing at the LSE into Hogben's social biology and Marshall's approach to classes in the 1930s. This somewhat warrants Halsey's very much LSE-focused account of sociology in Britain. However, given that Tawney fostered the development of two branches of social science, the distinction between a theoretical and an applied sociology may be useful to link what was happening at the LSE to what was happening in the rest of the country. Social work and non-theoretical developments were also happening in other universities and tell us much about the other aspects of this burgeoning tradition.

1.6.1. At Bedford College, London: The rising aspirations of women and the development of sociology

[107] David V. Glass and Jerzy Berent, *Social Mobility in Britain* (London: Routledge & Paul, 1954).
[108] Population Investigation Committee and Royal College of Obstetricians and Gynaecologists, *Maternity in Great Britain: A Survey of Social and Economic Aspects of Pregnancy and Childbirth* (Oxford University Press, 1948).

At Bedford College for Women, London, a Social Studies Course was founded in 1918 to replace the College course on scientific instructions in hygiene.

The Certificate was a two-year long, full-time course which included a comprehensive syllabus with classes on 'Modern Social Institutions', 'Elementary Economics', 'General Psychology', 'Physiology' and 'Industrial Problems' in the first year and on 'Social Conditions', 'Social Economics', 'Structure and Organisation of Society Among Primitive Peoples' and some 'Psychology' in the second year. This appears to have been a pretty successful presentation of the multifarious aspects of British social sciences at the time.[109] The theoretical dimension was supplemented by a prescribed course of practical work.

Although not a vocational course as such, the Certificate can aptly be described as 'professional social work': The public was largely female because social work offered good job prospects for women at the time. The course remained popular throughout the interwar period and the number of graduates rose from 18 in 1920 to 30 in 1936.

The staff at Bedford consisted of several female tutors in social sciences and H. A. Mess then appointed Reader in Sociology in 1935 while Susan Stebbing, the first woman to hold a Philosophy chair in the United Kingdom in 1933, lectured on Social Philosophy in the Diploma. The rest of the classes were taught by LSE teachers, including Morris Ginsberg, after 1925. Bedford College joined the teaching for the BA Sociology in an inter-collegiate scheme with King's College in 1925, five years after the introduction of the BA in Sociology at the University of London.[110]

[109] Archives from Royal Holloway, 'Bedford College for Women (University of London) – Calendar for Eighty First Session 1929-1930', pp. 73-74.
[110] Fincham, p. 68.

Henry Adolphus Mess (1884-1944) initially studied for an MA degree in English at King's College, London between 1906 and 1909 and then spent seven years in the East End of London as secretary of the Mansfield House University Settlement from 1912 to 1919. There he studied the casual labour system and its effects on the dockers and was drawn to the Student Christian Movement. Meanwhile he published on factory legislation and acknowledged his debt to R. H. Tawney. In 1926 he was awarded an external PhD degree from King's College, London, in economics and then became a research scholar at the London School of Economics.

Mess was appointed Director of the new Bureau of Social Research for Tyneside in 1925 and published a study titled *Industrial Tyneside* three years later.[111] In 1929 the Tyneside Council of Social Service, with Mess as Director, took over from the Bureau. Owing to this recommendable background, he was eventually appointed the only male teacher and Reader in Sociology at Bedford College, a position he held until his death in 1944. He published a sociology textbook in 1940, became part-time director of studies to the National Council of Social Service in 1942 and was an important influence on post-war planning.[112]

If one excepts Mess, the teaching was mostly done by women for women in Bedford. This probably explains why so many of them took the Certificate and not the BA or the Advanced Diploma in Sociology: There were more opportunities for social work, especially for women, on the job market following the developments of local social services and the consequences of the Liberal welfare legislation passed in the Edwardian era. In spite of being taught jointly with the LSE, Bedford female students in social work suffered from a bad reputation: Marshall for

[111] Henry Adolphus Mess, *Industrial Tyneside: A Social Survey Made for the Bureau of Social Research for Tyneside* (London: E. Benn limited, 1928).
[112] Henry A. Mess, *Social Groups in Modern England* (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1940).

instance spoke disparagingly of the BA students in 1935 and lamented that 'not many students were interested, and they were mostly women who wanted to take up social work'.[113]

However, and rather unexpectedly as a list of all doctoral candidates showed, this was untrue because women were not prevented from undertaking research degrees (and even PhDs) at the LSE: Florence Mellonie entitled her PhD in Sociology 'The Effects of the Contact of European Civilisation on the Economic and Political Organisation of Egypt' in 1928, another female student entitled her work 'Is the Position of Women an Index to Civilisation?' in her doctoral thesis starting in 1931 while a third one studied 'The Influence of Protective Legislation on the Status and Economic Position of Women' in 1933.[114] All had graduated from Bedford and were now reading for PhDs in sociology at the LSE.

At Bedford, there was also a scholarship specifically designed for women who wanted to study sociology, the 'Lady Huggins scholarship in Sociology' which was founded in 1915 and 'had to be used for research work in a Sociological subject'.[115] As for the LSE, female tutors in Social Science were also hired: In 1929, Eileen Louise Younghusband, the daughter of Francis Younghusband, the explorer and President of the Sociological Society, was appointed half-time tutor at LSE and four years later obtained a full-time post there.[116] In 1931, Sibyl Clement Brown was also appointed tutor in Social Science at the LSE, later responsible for the 'Mental

[113] Quoted unsourced by Fincham, p. 85.
[114] 'Sociology' in 'List of Theses in Economics and Allied Subjects in Progress in Universities and Colleges in Great Britain and Northern Ireland', *Economica*, 23 (1928), 243–51 (p. 248); 'Sociology and Anthropology' in 'List of Theses in Economics and Allied Subjects in Progress in Universities and Colleges in the British Commonwealth of Nations', *Economica*, 41 (1933), 357–73 (pp. 368–69).
[115] Archives from Royal Holloway, 'Bedford College for Women (University of London) – Calendar 1938-39', p. 117.
[116] 'School Notes', *Economica*, 30 (1930), 363–64.

Health’ course as well as writing the chapter on ‘the methods of social case workers’ in a popular textbook published by Ginsberg et al. in 1939.[117]

Compared with the situation in France, where the PhD in Sociology was only introduced in 1958 and where women were far from encouraged to start a doctorate in any discipline in the interwar years, the context was globally dynamic for sociology in Britain and positive for women in the subject compared to France. After being granted the right to vote above 30 in 1918, women became allowed to matriculate and to graduate at Oxford in October 1920. The post-WWI higher education system was opening itself to women and the newer disciplines such as sociology were benefiting women, while being enriched in the process. Coincidentally, it was also a woman, Eleanor Rathbone, who was responsible for the recent progress in social science at Liverpool after 1918.

1.6.2. At Liverpool, the legacy of Eleanor Rathbone, the founding mother of ‘social science’

The Rathbones were one of Liverpool’s prominent Liberal families. William Rathbone was a Liberal MP from 1868 to 1895 and a philanthropist who was instrumental in founding the Training School and Home for Nurses (in 1862) and later the University College (in 1882) in Liverpool, the former after consultation with Florence Nightingale. Eleanor Florence Rathbone (1872-1946) was born the 10th of eleven children of William and was eventually allowed to go to Somerville Hall, Oxford, in 1893 to study Greats. Encouraged by Charles Booth himself, she conducted social investigations on the unemployed in Liverpool in the 1900s. The war multiplied Eleanor’s involvements in favour of voluntary work and social administration in

[117] ‘School Notes’, *Economica*, 33 (1931), 385–86; F. C. Bartlett, Morris Ginsberg, and others, *The Study of Society* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench and Trubner, 1939), p. vi.

Liverpool. A long-time feminist reformer, she was even elected as an independent MP in 1929 for the universities.

Writing about the state of the 'provision of training in social science' in May 1918, she boasted that Liverpool was the only University along the LSE to have a School of Administration and 'the first British city outside London to start a School of Social Science' in 1917. She added that 'there is a growing demand for instruction of this kind' and the University should capitalise on the work of 'such typically unacademic persons as Charles Booth, Seebohm Rowntree, Sidney and Beatrice Webb' to provide for 'a scientific and thorough treatment of problems' which 'so vitally concerned' the population.[118]

Liverpool was indeed associated with a generation of influential thinkers in the social sciences such as Charles Booth, the Liverpudlian philanthropist and social investigator who wrote the classic *Life and Labour of the People in London* (1886-1903), or J. G. Frazer, the founder of social anthropology, who secured the first chair in the subject in Britain there in 1908. As a prosperous Northern industrial city, the competition with London – including in the universities – was also strong.

As a result of Eleanor Rathbone's campaign for the development of social science in Liverpool, the Charles Booth Chair of Social Science was thus founded there in 1923. Its first holder and head of the Department was Alexander Morris Carr-Saunders (1886-1966). Carr-Saunders had been trained at Eton and Oxford, where he returned after WWI as a demonstrator in Zoology. His book, *The Population Problem*, published in 1922 did much to establish his reputation as a

[118] Liverpool University Archives, A199/13 (Eleanor Rathbone, 'The Provision of Training in Social Science in the University of Liverpool'), 13 May 1918.

social scientist, helping him secure the chair in Liverpool a year later.[119] While he was there, he wrote a famous book titled *The Social Structure of England and Wales* in 1927, when David Caradog-Jones and Ellinor Black joined the Department respectively as Senior Lecturer in Social Statistics and as Lecturer in Social Science.[120] Black was later recruited from Liverpool to direct the new School of Social studies at the University of Sheffield in 1949.[121] Carr-Saunders also supervised the work of Jones on a comprehensive study of Merseyside published in three volumes in 1934, and both were quite productive in the interwar period.[122]

Carr-Saunders' scientific concern with population and involvement with the Eugenics Society led him to serve as chairman of the Population Investigation Committee in 1936, David Glass being its secretary. Carr-Saunders' reputation as an expert social scientist was established not only among academics but also among politicians, and he left the chair in 1937 only to succeed Beveridge at the head of the LSE. During WWII he chaired the statistics committee of the Royal Commission on Population from 1944 to 1949 and was instrumental in the post-war establishment of demography as a national speciality. He stepped down from the LSE in 1956 and died in 1966, showered with honours.

Thomas Spensley Simey replaced him at Liverpool. Simey had published a textbook on social administration in 1937, was made Senior Lecturer in Public Administration a year later and appointed to the chair vacated by Carr-Saunders in 1939, a post he held until his death in 1969.[123] After the war he expanded Liverpool's Department of Social Science and built its reputation for training social workers and for developing research of an international calibre,

[119] Carr-Saunders.
[120] A. M. Carr-Saunders and D. C. Jones, *A Survey of the Social Structure of England & Wales: As Illustrated by Statistics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1927).
[121] Halsey, p. 94.
[122] David Caradog Jones, *The Social Survey of Merseyside*, 3 vols (Liverpool: University of Liverpool, 1934).
[123] T. S. Simey, *Principles of Social Administration* (London: Oxford University Press, 1937).

especially in industrial relations and community development. But he did not have such a strong influence on the postwar social sciences as Carr-Saunders.

Just like at Bedford, a two-year Certificate and a Diploma in social science were offered at the University of Liverpool as practically-oriented degrees for training in social work. The four-year BA was established in 1926 and included lectures on social statistics and statistical methods which were absent from the Diploma. After Carr-Saunder’s replacement by Tom Simey in 1937, students could either specialise in Social Science (with lectures on labour problems, social statistics and population problems) or in Political Science (with lectures in public administration, international relations and constitutional history). The BA was not especially popular as only one (female) student graduated in 1928, two in 1929 and two in 1930.[124]

But the success of the Certificate was steadily growing in the 1930s; so much so that the department had to limit the number of students to 30 in 1938. Its attractiveness also showed through the prestigious background of the largely female applicants: That year, a woman graduate with a Cambridge Hons., one with a BA from London and a Teacher’s Diploma from Cambridge, and one with a BSc and a Teacher’s Diploma from Manchester were all allowed to take the course in one year instead of two, owing to their academic background.[125] As in Bedford, vocational degrees in social science were extremely popular in Liverpool among women, and afforded them high-quality training and professional prospects.

[124] Fincham, pp. 101–3.
[125] Liverpool University Archives, P2278/1 (‘Minutes of the Meeting of the Board of Social Sciences and Administration’), 6 October 1938.

Both academic developments in social science testified to the enthusiastic interest in the discipline in the whole of Britain. As Marshall remarked, by 1939 the social services were indeed largely 'losing their class character' and had grown from a 'cheap makeshift provided for the lowest class in a society built on competitive individualism' into a vast co-ordinated plan 'for the betterment of the entire community'.[126] The interwar developments of social work were fostering the advent of the ideal society Tawney had so aptly spelt out in his books at the LSE, and these developments played a major role in the promotion and popular acceptance of sociology.

1.6.3. What about Oxbridge? A divided sociological landscape

Ironically, the two most prestigious universities were almost absent from the interwar developments of sociology in Britain: Oxford and Cambridge did not establish chairs in sociology until the 1960s. Although both had provided for some teaching of social science under one guise or another before that, the academic presence of 'Sociology' was only officially acknowledged in Cambridge in 1961 when the subject was introduced as part of the Economic Tripos, and in Oxford when a paper was introduced in the 'Philosophy, Politics and Economics' (PPE) degree in 1962.[127] New provisions were being granted to other disciplines such as Geography, Psychology or Anthropology at Oxbridge, but it seems that well-established academics did not think highly enough of sociology to introduce it as a subject.

Oxford had introduced a degree in 'Modern Greats' in 1920 in the aftermath of the War, which had shaken the belief that a purely humanistic training in Classics (or 'Greats') was sufficient, while a lectureship in Social Anthropology was also established at Cambridge in 1921.[128] It can

[126] Thomas Humphrey Marshall, 'Professionalism – Social Structure and Policy (1939)', in *Class, Citizenship, and Social Development: Essays* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1964), pp. 144–63 (p. 155).
[127] Halsey, p. 101.
[128] Chester; Howarth, p. 131.

hardly be argued that social sciences had ‘conspirational enemies’ or that deep-rooted conservatism prevailed at the two universities, given the interests in new disciplines apart from sociology.[129]

However, one event suggests a disinterest in sociology at Oxbridge: In 1926 the Rockefeller Foundation offered to fund a chair in Sociology at Cambridge, something that could have greatly furthered the position of the discipline in Britain.[130] Surprisingly, the committee declined the offer, arguing that there was ‘no appropriate candidate’ to fill the position. At that time Hobhouse was already in a chair at the LSE, Carr-Saunders was at Liverpool while Marshall and Ginsberg were still not experienced enough to apply. The only remaining possibility was Patrick Geddes but, in spite of leading the other half of the sociological movement along with his friend, the businessman Victor Branford, he was far from eliciting unanimity in Oxbridge.

Although Hobhouse did not manage to advance his sociological subject within universities in the 1920s, at least he initiated a proper tradition of British thought that fit nicely at the LSE, where it was renewed as a Labour inspiration by R. H. Tawney and brought to fruition under Lancelot Hogben and T. H. Marshall in the 1930s. The sociological landscape in the interwar years was thus not as dim as is usually described, and remains rather inspirational today.

But the ‘Regional Survey Movement’, led by Patrick Geddes and Victor Branford, remained sidelined and ignored whenever possible. Although both academic sociology and extra-mural sociology ultimately shared a comparable humanistic goal, their methods and ideals differed. One dimension, especially, was felt unpalatable in the Geddes-Branford circle for Oxbridge

[129] Hawthorn, p. 170.
[130] Bulmer, ‘Sociology in Cambridge in the 1920s (1981)’.

academics: They not only rejected the traditional academic setting in Britain but, worst of all, embraced French ideas.

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Chapter 2 – Amateurs instrumental or marginal? The Sociological Society and the Institute of Sociology

Aside from the institutionalised science at the LSE and some universities outlined in Chapter 1, there was also a lively amateur-led movement in sociology. The OED defines an amateur as 'one who cultivates anything as a pastime, as distinguished from one who prosecutes it professionally'. The word is therefore sometimes used disparagingly to designate 'superficial students or workers', those who do not have an expertise in a subject.

The first criterion defining amateur sociologists is that they differed from academic social scientists as they did not prosecute their passion professionally, i.e. they did not hold a position or teach it full-time for a salary and pursued it with a variable interest. Sociology was for them a pastime and not a profession as it was for Hobhouse, Ginsberg, Mess and Carr-Saunders. The word is often used pejoratively, especially in academia.

The two most renown figures of amateur sociology in the interwar years are Patrick Geddes (1854-1932) and Victor Branford (1863-1930). Both led the 'Regional survey movement' in the interwar years, as it was called, that culminated with the establishment of the extra-mural Institute of Sociology in 1930, headed by Alexander Farquharson, the third figure of the movement.

Sir Patrick Geddes was born in Scotland in 1854 and studied at the Royal College of Mines in London. Although he never secured any degree at a university, he had many talents and intellectual interests. He taught zoology at the University of Edinburgh (1880-1888), botany at

the University of Dundee (1888-1919) and, in 1919, he was engaged by the Zionist Organisation to build the Hebrew University of Jerusalem and later proposed a plan for the development of Tel Aviv, which was entirely laid out according to it. A true humanist, he corresponded with many famous thinkers of his time such as Charles Darwin, Mahatma Gandhi, Rabindranath Tagore and Albert Einstein. He was also a Professor in Sociology and Civics at the University of Bombay from 1919 to 1925 and lived in India for ten years. When he returned, he founded a College for Scots students in Montpellier, in the south of France, as an international teaching establishment. A Francophile, he was knighted shortly before he died in 1932.

Owing to an uncommonly rich career, he turned late to a sociological career and was considered a maverick for the rest of his life, just like his friend Victor Branford.

Victor Verasis Branford was born in England in 1863 and rapidly fell under the charm of the charismatic Patrick Geddes during his study years at the University of Edinburgh, who was working there as a science demonstrator. He then decided to commit his life to the development of sociology. Branford was a rather successful accountant over his life, securing investments in Latin America and the United States. Between 1907 and 1914 he worked in London, New York and Paraguay and funded some developments of sociology in Britain such as the establishment of the LePlay House headquarters for the movement in London in 1920.

His primary task was to give impetus to the movement but the most time-consuming one was to manage its chaotic finances. He was instrumental in the development of the Sociological Society and never stopped promoting Geddes' ideas in sociology, although he often voiced frustration over the latter failure's at making sociology a consistent discipline with a solid

academic scope. He shared with Geddes a humanistic ideal and the reputation of being a maverick. He eventually settled in Sussex in 1920 and died in 1930.

2.0.1. Thesis

Branford and Geddes were instrumental in the institutional developments of British sociology from the establishment of the Sociological Society in London in 1903 to their deaths in the 1930s and their thought was groundbreaking for the time. The amateurs even represented a serious institutional alternative to the LSE in the interwar years. But with their reputation as mavericks and owing to their embracing the ideas of Frédéric Le Play, a foreign sociologist, both Geddes and Branford gave the idea that sociology was a biased discipline unsuitable for Britain and for academia, especially at Oxbridge.[1] Their legacy was therefore quickly erased from sociological memories because academic social scientists used them for their own benefit.

There was never a proper school of sociology that survived Geddes and Branford, and until recently its history had been neglected. There has been a seminal biography on Geddes published in 1957 by one of his colleagues and several pieces have appeared on his planning work.[2] But new light on the Regional survey movement was not shed until 1986, when a graduate student took to write a comprehensive history of the movement by using a previously uncatalogued material deposited at Keele University twenty years before.[3]

[1] That is a thesis held in Martin Bulmer, 'The Development of Sociology and of Empirical Social Research in Britain', in *Essays on the History of British Sociological Research*, by Martin Bulmer (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), pp. 3–36 (p. 11).
[2] Philip Mairet, *Pioneer of Sociology: The Life and Letters of Patrick Geddes* (London: Lund Humphries, 1957); Philip Boardman, *The Worlds of Patrick Geddes: Biologist, Town Planner, Re-Educator, Peace-Warrior* (London ; Boston: Routledge and KPaul, 1978); Helen E. Meller, *Patrick Geddes: Social Evolutionist and City Planner* (London: Routledge, 1989); Volker Welter, *Biopolis: Patrick Geddes and the City of Life* (Cambridge, Mass; London: MIT Press, 2002).
[3] David Evans.

Since 2009, there has been a renewal of interest in Geddes' and Branford's ideas with a focus on rediscovering a tradition in British sociology that was often sidelined before.[4] This chapter will show that there is much to gain from re-acknowledging their historical importance and also from disseminating their sociological theories, because they were at the root of an original branch of sociology to which the world sociological community still owes much today.

2.0.2. Plan

The first section will outline Branford's instrumental role in developing the sociological movement in Britain with a national Society, an international journal and the first chair of Sociology in Europe in Edwardian Britain, as well as Geddes' original application of Le Play's sociology to a British setting. Both were instrumental in the multiple developments of sociology in the interwar years.

But they were also grossly marginalised by competing academics. The second section will show how the Institute of Sociology emerged in 1930 as a promising new start for the sociological movement under the leadership of Alexander Farquharson, following the deaths of Branford and Geddes. New ties were developing with academic sociologists, which aroused Farquharson's hope that the discipline could now thrive academically with the help of three successive Oxbridge presidents (R. R. Marett, E. Barker and C. P. Gouch). Yet they rather used the movement whenever they could for their own interests.

The last section sheds a new light on the contents of the journal, *The Sociological Review*, which was described in the interwar years as being 'a tedious bundle of essays which stood for nothing

[4] The most recent pieces on the movement have been Chris Renwick, 'The Practice of Spencerian Science: Patrick Geddes's Biosocial Program, 1876-1889', *Isis*, 100.1 (2009), 36–57; Renwick, *British Sociology's Lost Biological Roots*; Scott and Bromley.

definitely scientific' by Branford himself.[5] It will be argued that the apparent sociological confusion in the *Review* testified to the vibrant life of the sociological community in Britain rather than its disarray. All in all, amateurs represent an inspiration which left a strong mark on the postwar sociological movement and which survives under the title of 'public sociology', rather than remaining a short-lived, failing experience.

2.1. Amateurs instrumental: The pioneering institutional developments of sociology in Britain (1903-1930)

2.1.1. 'A bunch of Scottish amateurs'

The main protagonists of interwar amateur sociology were Patrick Geddes and Victor Branford. If Geddes had various permanent academic positions, he failed to secure the first chair of Sociology at the LSE in 1908 which was bestowed upon Hobhouse. Moreover, his broad intellectual interests and long career abroad between 1915 and 1925 did not inspire much confidence in an already sociologically-diffident academia.

Compared with Hobhouse's rather solitary experience at the LSE, Geddes' strength was that he managed to gather a whole community of disciples around him.

Members of his circle were numerous. They included, for instance, Lewis Mumford (1895-1990) an American urbanist and planner who was inspired by his *Cities in Evolution* (1915) and who popularised Geddes' views in the United States through the Regional Planning Association of America, a short-lived think-tank of urbanists active between 1923 and 1933.[6]

[5] Branford in a letter to James M. White in University of Keele Archives, VB89, 20 November 1922.
[6] Patrick Geddes, *Cities in Evolution: An Introduction to the Town Planning Movement and to the Study of Civics* (London: Williams & Norgate, 1915).

Sybella Gurney (1870-1926), Branford's second wife, was a housing reformer and activist who happened to be Hobhouse's first female student at Oxford in 1894. Charles Fawcett (1883-1952) was a geographer interested in functional cities who taught at the University of Leeds between 1919 and 1928 and later moved to University College, London. He was involved in regional planning and promoted geography as an independent discipline. Herbert J. Fleure (1877-1969) was also a geographer and an anthropologist who served as professor at Aberystwyth until 1930 when he became first Professor of Geography at Victoria University, Manchester. All were a tight-knit community dedicated to the popularisation of Geddes' vision of society and of its environment.

Within this circle, Alexander Farquharson (1882-1954) was the most committed member of the movement. Born in Scotland, he was originally a school teacher who was involved in social work for the Charity Organisation Society. He was a founding member of the Sociological Society, was appointed secretary of the Civic Education League in 1915 and later became full-time Executive Secretary of the Sociological Society. He lived at LePlay House, the Regional Survey movement's headquarters in London after 1920, with his wife Dorothea. He was involved in regional surveys and took the lead of the Institute of Sociology in 1930 and of the *Sociological Review* after 1934. Despite its success and owing to a precarious financial situation, the Institute had to retreat to Worcester, near Birmingham in 1940 and then to the small town of Ledbury, Herefordshire in 1946. Farquharson died all but forgotten in 1954 although he eventually relinquished the *Sociological Review* to the University of Keele and not the LSE, much to Carr-Saunders' dismay.[7]

[7] Lewis Mumford, 'Alexander Farquharson: A Friend's Memories', *The Sociological Review*, 2.1 (1954), 5–10; Dorothea Farquharson, 'Dissolution of the Institute of Sociology', *The Sociological Review*, 3.2 (1955), 165–73.

Many members of Geddes' circle had academic degrees and even academic positions. In spite of this, the movement remained largely associated to the extra-academic figures of Geddes, Branford and Farquharson who seemed to take sociology more as a mission than as a profession. As for Branford, his regular commuting between his commitments in Britain and his business in America, as well as a naturalisation in 1913 which was later reversed, added to the academic perception that the Regional survey movement was just 'a bunch of Scottish amateurs', with a pejorative social connotation.

The Sociological Society, the *Review* and the Institute of Sociology were for a long-time the pet projects of passionate Scotsmen who devoted themselves completely to sociology and were successful at developing it institutionally, but who lacked the necessary connections to the centres of power and were ultimately discredited in academia.

2.1.2. 'A French science dating from Comte and Le Play'

Against the stammering attempts by Hobhouse and Ginsberg to devise a proper definition of sociology at the LSE in the 1920s, Geddes and Branford approached the problem differently: They embraced the ideas of Frédéric Le Play, the French sociologist, which they merged with a humanistic attempt to found a religion of humanity, like Auguste Comte before him.[8]

Geddes encountered Le Play's ideas while in Paris in 1878 and instantly fell under the charm.[9] Le Play was a sociologist in France who had pioneered the survey method in sociological research by studying working-class families' budgets in Europe in the 1850s in a context of increasing concern for the political order in the wake of the French Revolution.[10] Le Play presented various types of families in France and distinguished between *la famille patriarcale*

[8] See 1.2.2. for more about 'The impasses of Hobhouse's pure sociology'.
[9] Meller, p. 24.
[10] Frédéric Le Play, *Les Ouvriers Européens* (Paris, 1855).

and *la famille instable*, both unpractical socially. The more satisfying, intermediary form which should be fostered to ensure social stability he called *la famille-souche*.[11]

Le Play was also a corporatist whose conservative ideal about rurality in France had a strong resonance in Ruskin's England. Le Play suggested that every community, from the village to the nation, should be studied according to a similar grid of *Lieu-Travail-Famille.* Geddes later imported and adapted it to a British setting by applying the 'Place-Work-Folk' grid to regional surveys in his sociology to stress the interdependence of geography, occupations and the people's customs with a practical aim in mind.

In a pivotal article, Branford explained that Comte's sociology was too abstract and had not devised a proper method for sociology. It was in Geddes that a proper merger of Comte's theoretical sociology with Le Play's empirical method was found and successfully devised.[12] In 1926, Branford claimed that Geddes still 'laboured continuously towards uniting and developing both these main French traditions' and that the 'Edinburgh School' was a synthesis of both French traditions into a 'British science'.[13]

Through their sociology, Branford and Geddes aimed at achieving a spiritual renewal and a 'social reconstruction' of the nation.[14] They were interested in the Theosophist movement blooming in Victorian and Edwardian England and fond of what they called *eutopias*, inventing positive futures for society. Sociology was for them an enlightening knowledge destined to help people bring about a 'New Age' in society. Branford and Geddes were inspired by Comte in

[11] Frédéric Le Play, *La réforme sociale en France déduite de l'observation comparée des peuples européens* (Genève: Slatkine, 1982), p. 168.
[12] Victor V. Branford, 'On the Origin and Use of the Word "sociology," and on the Relation of Sociological to Other Studies and to Practical Problems', *American Journal of Sociology*, 9.2 (1903), 145–62.
[13] Victor Branford, 'A Survey of Contemporary Sociology (1926)', p. 316.
[14] See the title of the book by Scott and Bromley.

their quest for a universal religion of humanity and were very interested in developing the civic dimension of their theories within the cooperative movement and through Guild Socialism.[15]

The distinction between an applied version and a theoretical version of sociology was important to Branford. Just like Hobhouse, he distinguished between a general sociology and a specialist science and he pushed for the development of 'pure sociology' instead of just 'civics' and Geddes' survey method. However, Geddesian sociology increasingly reoriented in the interwar years towards a specialist science which left a stronger mark on geography than on academic sociology.[16] Branford was conscious of the flaws of his master, but as a disciple he remained loyal and played a central part in the institutional development of the sociological movement in Britain between 1903 and 1930.

2.1.3. A national Society, an international journal and the first chair of Sociology in Europe: all had to be credited to Branford (1903-1911)

Victor Branford was responsible for most of the developments of sociology in Britain at the turn of the century, even though he was an amateur: The foundation of the London Sociological Society in 1903, the creation of a journal in 1908 and the establishment of the first chair in Europe the same year; all had to be credited to him. Yet, he failed to maintain the unity of the movement and an irremediable split happened at the Society in 1911.

Branford used as skilfully as he could his institutional clout to convene a meeting at the Royal Statistical Society in May 1903 to discuss the possibility of establishing a Sociological Society in London on the model of René Worms' International Institute of Sociology in Paris: He relied on Sir James Bryce's gravitas and James Martin White's financial backing. Bryce had been

[15] Scott and Bromley, pp. 43–46.
[16] For more on this see: Victor Branford, *Science and Sanctity: A Study in the Scientific Approach to Unity* (London: Leplay House Press, 1923); Scott and Bromley, p. 100.

Professor of Civil Law at Oxford between 1870 and 1893, then an influential Liberal MP appointed Chief Secretary for Ireland between 1905 and 1907, and later presiding the British Academy from 1913 to 1917. His influence was internationally acknowledged after WWI, especially at the League of Nations. Martin White was a Scottish philanthropist who had also fallen under Geddes' charm, funding a part-time chair of Botany for him in Dundee in the 1880s to foster his sociological work.

The Sociological Society was consequently established in November 1903, reached a membership of 400 by the end of the following year, and gathered together three strands of sociology: Eugenics was epitomised by Francis Galton, surveys and civics by Patrick Geddes, social philosophy by Leonard Hobhouse.[17]

Members of the Society had backgrounds in diverse fields ranging from the LSE sociologists Hobhouse and Westermarck, the psychologist William McDougall and the geographer Halford Mackinder to intellectuals such as H. G. Wells, Hilaire Belloc and George Bernard Shaw. Politicians such as James Bryce, Herbert Asquith and not-yet-an-MP Ramsay Macdonald were also members. Many sociological amateurs such as Benjamin Kidd, Charles Booth, Seebohm Rowntree were also members of the Society, which secured prestigious international endorsements as well in the names of Emile Durkheim, Franklin Giddings and Ferdinand Tönnies, all founding members.

The Society aimed to organise the several sociological specialisms into 'an adequate working system' and purported to provide an answer to the (apparently simple) question 'What do we

[17] Halliday.

mean by sociology?', as Hobhouse put it in the first communication at the Society in 1904.[18] This simple question actually entailed dozen hours of debates in London which were later published as papers in the three volumes of *Sociological Papers* between 1905 and 1907. The papers proved so successful that they were made into a permanent journal of sociology entitled *The Sociological Review* in 1908, the first of its kind in Britain.

Hobhouse was appointed the first editor and held the office for four years. The same year, he was also appointed the first Professor of Sociology in the country and in Europe, through an endowment by Martin White, who had initially hoped it could be filled by Geddes prior to a last-minute change of mind.[19] A 'Cities Committee' was established at the Society to promote Geddes' civic sociology and his town planning activities, which allied with other pro-Geddes associations such as the Civic Education League or the Regional Association a few years later. By 1908, and in spite of Geddes' failure at the LSE, Branford had high hopes for the future.

2.1.4. Heading the sociological movement while dodging Geddes' bad reputation: Branford's uneasy position and Farquharson's new ambition (1911-1930)

However, given the diverging intellectual causes and the variety of interests represented, members of the Society quickly realised that co-existence would be more difficult than expected. By 1911, many members only linked to Geddes remained at the Society, after Hobhouse (albeit retaining membership) departed from the *Sociological Review* and Galton left to found his eugenic laboratory at University College, London.[20]

[18] Hobhouse in the discussion following Durkheim and Branford's communications in Émile Durkheim, 'On the Relations of Sociology to the Social Sciences and to Philosophy', *The Sociological Papers*, 1 (1905), 197–216.
[19] As told by Renwick, *British Sociology's Lost Biological Roots*.
[20] On the reasons why Hobhouse left the Society, Farquharson reported to Earle Edward Eubank that 'an unfortunate and foolish incident was responsible for a change in editorship', see Dirk Käsler, *Sociological Adventures: Earle Edward Eubank's Visits with European Sociologists* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Transaction Publishers, 1991), p. 31.

It seemed obvious, even among the Geddesians, that the Society had stopped being a common ground open to all sociologists by 1911. Branford resorted to holding the editorial role at the *Review* from 1916 until his death in 1930 and strove to find a precarious balance between promoting Geddes' ideas and defending the journal's reputation of being an open platform for the whole movement. The interwar years were a time when, under his editorship, the contents were largely oriented towards Geddesian issues such as regionalism, civics and urban planning while at the same time retaining a larger scope. Despite a clear shift after 1917 the *Review* was kept open to competing schools, so much so that Hobhouse himself was able to publish in it in 1921.[21] But the Geddesian bias culminated in the years between 1923 and 1925, when several sections of Branford's books featured as articles.

To represent the interests of Geddes and Branford more effectively, a separate entity named LePlay House was established in 1920. The House was founded in Pimlico in London as a merger of the Cities Committee, the Regional Association and the Civic Education League independently of the Sociology Society, although the latter remained officially in existence until 1930. The tasks were divided between Alexander Farquharson, Sybella Branford and Margaret Tatton, who were in charge of developing 'practical sociology' and regional surveys at Leplay House while Branford was in charge of developing 'pure sociology' and more theoretical works at the Sociological Society.[22]

At the time, the Society was losing its membership and 'after a decade of varying editorship under Slaughter, Hobhouse, and Radcliffe', 'the membership of the Society fell from nearly

[21] L. T. Hobhouse, 'Democracy and Civilization', *The Sociological Review*, 13.3 (1921), 125–35.
[22] Sybella Gurney Branford, Alexander Farquharson, and Cities Committee, *An Introduction to Regional Surveys, Prepared at the Instance of the Cities Committee, Leplay House* (Westminster: The Leplay House Press, 1924); Scott and Bromley, pp. 60–61.

500 down to 200' noted Branford in 1922.[23] The Society's influence over the whole movement was increasingly undermined because of the association of its activities with 'Geddesian propaganda', as Farquharson explained to Branford in a letter in 1926:

> 'The chief reason for the present weakness of the Sociological Society is that no reputable student, outside the ranks of the Geddesians, will take any active part in its work, and this state of things cannot be remedied by further Geddesian propaganda.'[24]

In the 1920s, it had become clear that the Society had turned into a platform dedicated to Geddes. What was new, however, was that even members of his circle started to lament about this, as Farquharson remarked to Branford in 1929:

> 'Briefly, it is essential to sweep aside all this hackneyed treatment of Place, Work, Folk thesis. Many of our members tell us that they are thoroughly tired of the vain repetition of those terms and get no meaning out of them; so we must begin differently.'[25]

As the Society could no longer claim to be representative of the whole movement, Farquharson suggested in 1927 that the institutional setup should be re-arranged by changing the name of the Society and extending the *Review*'s activities. His proposal for re-igniting the sociological impetus aroused Geddes' easy-to-trigger interest, stating that

> 'To drop name of "Sociological Society" won't do – but by all means "Leplay House – Institute of Sociology"! That seems excellent. A fresh name for *Review* [sic], keeping present as sub-title, seems also desirable. And some way of cheapening and brightening it. Widing [sic] its circulation.'[26]

Branford's concern was that Geddes' activities at LePlay House were too much oriented towards issues of the regional survey method at the expense of the larger scope of what the former called 'pure sociology'. By the 1930s, both were getting very old and it seemed that the present arrangements were leaving everyone unsatisfied; so much so that tensions among the Geddesians led to another split within the movement.

[23] Branford in a letter to James M. White in University of Keele Archives, VB89, 20 November 1922.
[24] University of Keele Archives, AF160, Alexander Farquharson to Victor Branford, 5 December 1926.
[25] University of Keele Archives, HUL Book, Schemes & Drafts, 24, Alexander Farquharson to Patrick Geddes, 2 May 1929.
[26] University of Keele Archives, AF160, Patrick Geddes to Alexander Farquharson, 15 February 1927.

In 1930, an Institute was finally founded to replace the dying Society. On the one hand, those at the Sociological Society most interested in fieldwork and in education established the 'LePlay Society', spearheaded by C. B. Fawcett, Professor of Geography at University College, London, and by the ageing Patrick Geddes, while the remnants of the Sociological Society amalgamated with two other bodies to form the Institute of Sociology, headed by Alexander Farquharson.[27]

The LePlay Society promoted regional planning and the use of social surveys for geographical purposes, and was soon to run its course independently of the sociological concerns developed at the Institute. Branford envisaged a 'joint body representative of the leading sociological groups' to lead the latter, on the other hand.[28] Farquharson brought up the idea of a cooperation with the LSE directly to Morris Ginsberg, with a hope that extra-mural, amateur sociology could benefit from the academic shell provided by the Department of Sociology at the LSE. As he reported back to Branford in a letter, he was hardly surprised by Ginsberg's conditions: 'He answered with equal clarity and definition that they are not ready to do so unless a radical reorganisation, involving the retirement of Geddes and yourself to purely honorary positions should take place'.[29]

The cooperation scheme would satisfy both sides: it would provide academic credentials to the survey movement which, in return, would benefit the LSE by providing a proper empirical method. By 1927, Ginsberg was recreating the discipline at the LSE, looking for more empirical

[27] S. H. Beaver, 'The Le Play Society and Field Work', *Geography*, 47.3 (1962), 225–40 (p. 234).
[28] University of Keele Archives, AF160, Victor Branford to Alexander Farquharson, 9 July 1927.
[29] University of Keele Archives, AF160, Alexander Farquharson to Victor Branford, 9 December 1927.

roots, and was keen to find allies at the Institute.[30] As for Branford, a year before he died he also lamented in a letter to his friend Martin White that

> 'At the best we are few and of no great strength confronting a resistant world, which is anti-sociological when it is not unsociological; and leavened by a slender margin of thinkers, writers and publicists to whom we can appeal. By long years of labour we have increased that margin, I fear, by only an insignificant percentage. In view of the work still to do, we need surely more than ever to show a united front. Can we not all work together now as we did at the beginning of the movement?'[31]

Everyone was looking for a new cooperation. Could a new unity be established in the sociological movement under the umbrella of the Institute? That was Farquharson's ambition.

2.2. Amateurs marginalised: Leading the Institute of Sociology on the one hand, working for another discipline in the 1930s

To achieve this promising plan, Alexander Farquharson conducted tense negotiations within the Sociological Society and had to wait for the deaths of Branford (in 1930) and of Geddes (in 1932) before the Institute of Sociology could eventually be founded and for his plans to become reality. By WWII, Farquharson had been instrumental in severing sociology from its Geddesian connections and moving it to a modern and ambitious scope.

If amateurs were instrumental in carrying forward sociology in the interwar years, they were marginalised in return by R. R. Marett, the anthropologist from Oxford (1931-1933), E. Barker, the political scientist from Cambridge (1933-1935) and G. P. Gooch (1936-1938), the historian of Modern Europe from Cambridge. The three academics toyed with amateurs at the Institute but promoted their mother disciplines in the long run. Carr-Saunders, the demographer from Liverpool and Director of the LSE after 1937, eventually stabbed Farquharson in the back by

[30] See 1.2.3.
[31] James Martin White, 'Communications', *The Sociological Review*, 20.4 (1928), 340–41 (p. 341).

asking him to relinquish their main asset, the *Review*, to the LSE professionals in 1939 as it could now serve them suitably.

However dedicated and passionate a man, Farquharson was not suited for the job and if he single-handedly conducted the sociological movement until 1940, he was soon forgotten by the three successive Oxbridge Presidents of the Institute and by history.

2.2.1. Marett, actively an anthropologist and incidentally a president (1931-1933)

For the whole of the 1930s, Farquharson acted as the Institute's Secretary and devoted his efforts at changing sociology's bad reputation. His plan was to build sociology's "academic respectability" by appointing a prestigious name at the head of the Institute. In 1931 he thus asked Robert R. Marett, the respected (and ageing) Oxford anthropologist, if he would like to become President with the avowed aim, he wrote, 'to help to re-establish close relations with sociologists outside the Le Play School'.[32] Farquharson had great expectations and his academic ambitions for sociology were greater than ever.

Apart from playing a symbolic role and from advising Farquharson on the general strategy, the President was expected to deliver an annual address before the Institute, provide it with his academic endorsement and, more importantly, provide it with his connections for the advancement of sociology in universities. In return, the President could use the Institute as a platform for his ideas and benefit from the publishing facilities offered at LePlay House. Marett, whose sociological interest came from a remote acquaintance with the Durkheimians and, more

[32] Exeter College, Oxford, L.IV.13 (Marett Papers), Alexander Farquharson to Robert R. Marett, 20 November 1931.

likely, from a genuine friendship with Farquharson kindly (albeit casually) accepted the proposition in December 1931.[33]

Marett's affiliation with the amateur sociologists seems quite dubious at first. One finds him quite distrustful of the survey method, wondering at times if the members of the Institute 'were right in pinning their faith so exclusively on the method of Le Play'.[34] Marett started his presidency by challenging the Institute 'to see what they could make of my island of Jersey in their conjoint efforts to envisage it as a whole', the results of which were published in 1932 by the LePlay House Press.[35] From this first test, he concluded that 'whereas the old sociology was apt to lose itself in vague generalities, the new sociology of my friends of the Institute did its best to get down to the concrete,' and 'sought to do justice to the actual complexity of human life'.[36] If not entirely satisfactory yet, at least the regional survey method was a refreshing sociological tool: 'I concluded that in principle their procedure was right enough', he wrote, although 'it still needed a certain delimitation of the subject.'[37]

But in spite of a genuine sympathy for the lot of sociologists and of amicable feelings towards Farquharson, as shown in his correspondence, Marett did not seem to take them very seriously. Therefore his presidency, which lasted from 1931 to 1933, turned out to be quite disappointing for the advancement of sociology and the promotion of the Institute in academia as he was in fact pursuing his own agenda.

[33] Exeter College, Oxford, L.IV.13 (Marett Papers), Robert R. Marett to Alexander Farquharson, 11 January 1932.
[34] Robert Ranulph Marett, *A Jerseyman at Oxford* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1941), p. 262.
[35] Robert Ranulph Marett, *A Jerseyman at Oxford*, p. 262; R. R Marett and John Ranulph de la Haule Marett, *Jersey: Suggestions towards a Civic and Regional Survey* (London: Le Play House, 1932).
[36] Marett Papers, Marett to Farquharson, 2 November 1932.
[37] Marett Papers, Marett to Farquharson, 11 January 1932.

As President, Marett repeatedly told that at the Institute 'We don't subscribe to a creed, and have to be very careful not to cooperate too closely with the social reformer, whose outlook is practical, not scientific, and therefore fundamentally different'. If sociology were to obtain a legitimate place as an academic department of knowledge, then it should avoid everything that was 'tendentious or confessional' in defiance of what had prevailed in the past under Hobhouse's and Geddes' leaderships in the 1920s.[38] He was of good advice to avoid the pitfalls of the 1920s and to help amateur sociologists professionalise their discipline.

'Coming as I do to the whole thing from outside and without any bias' he told Farquharson, Marett fostered the unification of the sociological movement, 'merely trying to get everybody into line for the greater glory of our Institute', he argued. However, in exchange Marett used the *Sociological Review* as a platform for his own academic discipline, social anthropology, featuring some of his works in the sociological journal. In one letter he asked Farquharson to have one of his papers published in the *Review*, as it had been refused by the Royal Anthropological Institute.[39]

Anecdotally, on one occasion in 1932 he warned Farquharson that he was not to wear a tuxedo but rather keep 'casual clothes' to deliver his annual address to the Institute. And when Farquharson asked him politely if, as President of the Institute, he would be kind enough to write Branford's obituary for the *Review*, Marett diplomatically replied that if he had 'great admiration for his work' he had 'nothing to say about him that would be definite enough to appeal to the attention of other people'. More importantly he was just 'flying off to Scotland to give the Gifford Lectures,' and thus had 'little time' to search his memory 'for reminiscences

[38] Marett Papers, Marett to Farquharson, 26 November 1934 and Marett to R. Wellbye, 24 January 1933.
[39] Marett Papers, Marett to Farquharson, 7 March 1932; Marett to Farquharson, 11 June 1932; and Marett to Farquharson, 15 May 1933, where he asked to have one of his papers published in the *Review* as it had been refused by the Royal Anthropological Institute.

worth recording' about the one who had conducted British sociology for almost 30 years and who had ironically allowed him to become President of the Institute.[40]

If Marett did not take his intellectual position seriously, he eventually helped the Institute secure a flourishing new institutional arrangement for the *Review* nonetheless.

2.2.2. A common editorial board for the *Sociological Review* in 1934

The co-operation between Carr-Saunders, Ginsberg and the Institute had been envisaged by Farquharson as early as 1927. It became formal in 1933 when a common editorial board was set up for the *Sociological Review*, whose rebirth as 'a fully representative organ of sociology in Great Britain' was felt long overdue, and now possible thanks to Marett.[41] The collaboration between the LSE, Liverpool and the Institute was initially established for a three-year period starting 1 January 1934 and entailed a greater openness of the journal to publications of 'any school of thought'.[42] Academic sociologists were increasingly seeking outlets for their sociological publications and found a stronger platform of national impact for their works within the amateurs' *Sociological Review*.

The layout was changed, articles were of a higher academic standard and their average length increased from 10 to 20 pages. The scientific result was convincing and the *Review*'s reputation rapidly improved, congratulations soon even coming from across the Atlantic.[43] As a result, Farquharson became more optimistic and planned an active campaign to increase the membership of the Institute by sending 'a circular with leaflet, membership form etc. to about 1,000 people selected because they will probably have some interest in Sociology', he indicated

[40] Marett Papers, Marett to Farquharson, 22 October 1931.
[41] Marett Papers, Marett to Farquharson, 11 June 1932.
[42] University of Keele Archives, VB225, 'Note on Proposals on Future Arrangements on the Future of the Sociological Review', 15 February 1933.
[43] LSE Archives, Ginsberg 5, Pitirim Sorokin to Morris Ginsberg, 5 February 1934.

to Marett in 1934.[44] The step was not very effective as membership of the Institute peaked at 435 that year, and since the Institute never achieved financial success.[45]

But the new cooperation helped Britain present a common participation under the Institute's banner at the 'International Congress of Sociology' organised by the French International Institute of Sociology in Geneva in October 1933. Thanks to Farquharson and Marett who explained that 'it seems desirable that Great Britain should be adequately represented at the Geneva Congress', a serious 'British participation' on the topic of 'Predictions in sociology' was put together.[46] As indicated in the scheme of papers drafted in May 1933, the Institute seemed now to be fully representative of British sociology as a whole:

'Scheme of Papers
A. General Papers
1. The Conception of Social Development – Pr Morris Ginsberg
2. Sociological Methods in Relation to the Discovery of Trends – Mr Alexander Farquharson
B. Special Papers
3. Changes in Economic Structures [– ?]
4. Population Trends [– ?]
5. Changes in Family Life – Pr Carr-Saunders
6. The Future of Legal Institutions – Pr Maurice Amos
7. Prediction in Political Institutions [– ?]
8. Business Forecasting [– ?]
9. The Future of Religion – Mr Christophe Dawson
10. ? – Mr G. Spiller.'[47]

When Marett left the presidency in 1934, the Institute of Sociology was now pretty successful. The Annual Report of that year stated that the latest issues had been 'markedly successful' and that an increase in the circulation of the *Review* was already showing.[48]

[44] University of Keele Archives, VB300, Alexander Farquharson to Robert R. Marett, 19 October 1934.
[45] David Evans, p. 34.
[46] Marett Papers, Marett to Farquharson, 28 April 1932.
[47] LSE Archives, Ginsberg 5, 'Scheme of papers for the International Sociological Congress in Geneva', 11 May 1933. Unfortunately, no further information about who gave the other corresponding papers were available.
[48] LSE Archives, Ginsberg 5, Pitirim Sorokin to Morris Ginsberg, 5 February 1934 ; University of Keele Archives, VB173, 'IOS Council Annual Report for 1934', May 1935.

But it was already time for Farquharson to find a replacement for Marett who was now busy finding support for the development of his mother discipline at Oxford, anthropology.

2.2.3. A marriage based on reason more than on passion: Ernest Barker's presidency (1935-1937)

Scientific cooperation in sociology was also becoming effective with the setup of popular 'Monthly Discussion Meetings' in London in 1935 by the Institute, thus 'providing an open platform for sociologists of all school of thought'.[49] Their audience varied but could sometimes reach 200 people.[50] The most important effect was to bring the Institute to the attention of many academics as a serious organisation, given the prestigious members who delivered speeches there – R. R. Marett, Malinowski, Mannheim and Ginsberg, to name a few.[51]

The Report for 1935 further congratulated the Institute for the attention some media paid to the statistical tables published in the journal, which was now 'being more widely read' and 'gaining a position of authority among sociological periodicals'.[52] 1935 was notable for the successful series of conferences held at King's College, London, to examine the relationship between sociology and the various social sciences and where many 'big wigs' (such as E. Barker, J. A. Hobson, T. H. Marshall, Ginsberg, Carr-Saunders and Karl Mannheim) gave papers.[53] The first instalment was followed by two other volumes, both conducted by T. H. Marshall from the LSE who noted that sociology was now emerging 'as a science in its own right', neither as an

[49] University of Keele Archives, VB302, Alexander Farquharson to Ernest Barker, 29 January 1935.
[50] University of Keele Archives, VB173, 'IOS Council Annual Report 1935'.
[51] David Evans, p. 47; Robert Ranulph Marett, 'Fact and Value in Sociology', *The Sociological Review*, 26.2 (1934), 139–57; Karl Mannheim, 'The Crisis of Culture in the Era of Mass-Democracies and Autarchies', *The Sociological Review*, 26.2 (1934), 105–29, initially delivered as a public lecture under the title 'The Social Causes of Cultural Decline' at the London School of Economics on 29 January 1934.
[52] University of Keele Archives, VB173, 'IOS Council Annual Report for 1935'.
[53] The Institute of Sociology, *Papers on the Social Sciences: Their Relations in Theory and in Teaching* (London: Leplay House, 1936).

unscientific 'product of the common sense' nor simply as 'reflective introspection of armchair philosophers reposing in their studies.'[54]

Yet, this did not convince everyone. At the same conference Ernest Barker, then Professor of Political Theory at Cambridge, retorted that 'there is in fact considerable ground for suspicion that a positive sociological science is not a possible human achievement' and believed that with sociology 'society becomes an illusion'. Consequently, as Barker had already insisted in Hobhouse's obituary, a sociologist was merely 'a philosopher who has given special attention to the problems of society.'[55] The discipline had therefore no serious academic claims according to him.

Since a conference staged by Branford at New College, Oxford in 1923, the perception remained there that sociology was of 'monstrous, hybrid origins' following the severe account of it by Farquharson in the *Review* and by J. Lynton Myres, the Classicist, published in *Man*.[56] For Barker, as for many interwar academics such as Myres, sociology was just an ideological discourse made of 'whatever may have caught our attention and established a sort of monopoly in our minds' which could not seriously be introduced as a subject in academia.[57] In 1936, Barker warned his academic audience that '"Society" is a term so vague, and so empty of specific content, that we may be tempted to fill it with some private specific we are

[54] Thomas Humphrey Marshall, 'Review of the Results of the Conference', in *Further Papers on the Social Sciences: Their Relations in Theory and in Teaching*, by The Institute of Sociology and J. E. Dugdale (London: Leplay House Press, 1937), pp. 153–70 (p. 156); Thomas Humphrey Marshall, *Class Conflict and Social Stratification (1938)*.
[55] Ernest Barker, 'Political Theory and the Social Sciences', in *Papers on the Social Sciences: Their Relations in Theory and in Teaching*, by The Institute of Sociology (London: Leplay House, 1936), pp. 96–105 (pp. 96–98).
[56] Alexander Farquharson, 'The Oxford Conference on the Correlation of the Social Sciences: An Appreciation of the Discussions', *The Sociological Review*, 15.1 (1923), 48–64; John Linton Myres, '104. The Place of Man and His Environment in the Study of the Social Sciences', *Man*, 23 (1923), 162–68.
[57] Ernest Barker, 'Foreword', in *Further Papers on the Social Sciences: Their Relations in Theory and in Teaching*, by The Institute of Sociology and J. E. Dugdale (London: Leplay House Press, 1937), pp. 7–21 (p. 18).

particularly fond of.' As a telling example, he observed this could even be 'a specific of sadism and other complexes (sexual or semi-sexual).'[58]

Barker implicitly linked the dubious origins of the word 'sociology' to the developments of psycho-analysis and to the contemporary success of books on sex. Incidentally, the word 'homosexual' had been invented by the British physician Havelock Ellis in 1897 as 'a barbarously hybrid word' for which the latter claimed 'no responsibility'.[59] It is likely that for Barker sociology had such bizarre connotations that it was a deviation of the intellectual kind akin to the 'sexual deviations' he witnessed socially in homosexuality.

The problem was that it was Barker that Farquharson had chosen to succeed Marett as President of the Institute in 1935, to help with the new challenge of convincing universities. Barker had been a Professor of Political Theory in Cambridge since 1927 but he was surprisingly quite keen to accept the Institute's presidency after Farquharson had flattered him: 'Everyone agrees that we cannot do better than secure your services. You would be acceptable to all schools of thought and to both academic and non-academic people.'[60]

Barker had had little connections with the Institute or even with sociology prior to becoming President. The relationship he entertained with Farquharson was good, although not as friendly as with Marett.[61] His unexpected commitment to the Institute came from the sense that he shared the same lot as sociologists in his own discipline, political science still not being considered a

[58] Barker, 'Foreword in Further Papers (1937)', p. 18.
[59] Havelock Ellis, *Studies in the Psychology of Sex* (London: University Press, 1897), p. 1.
[60] University of Keele Archives, VB302, Ernest Barker to Alexander Farquharson, 23 May 1934 and 4 September 1934 ; Alexander Farquharson to Ernest Barker, 29 January 1935.
[61] Although usually strictly business-minded, Barker sometimes came up with a friendly comment to Farquharson, such as when, overburdened with work, the latter apologised about taking a vacation in the summer of 1937. To which Barker replied 'I never accuse you of taking a holiday on the contrary if I blame you at all, I blame you for not doing so.' (University of Keele Archives, VB302, Ernest Barker to Alexander Farquharson, 28 August 1937.)

legitimate specialism at Oxbridge.[62] In the interwar years, political science was, just like sociology, a budding science which attracted only a minority of students away from prestigious competing disciplines such as History and Economics.[63] Barker's chair was only the third one in Britain when it was created thanks to Rockefeller funding in 1927. 'I always felt that a Professor of Political Science stood somehow outside the circle as a non-descript sort of creature who hovered on the confines of different studies without any fixed or certain allegiance', he explained in his autobiography.[64] In a letter to Farquharson he also confessed he felt like 'I am a bleating lamb among the lions of sociology'.[65]

Besides a natural sympathy for amateur sociologists, Barker especially enjoyed the opportunity to promote his own work in political science at the Institute, just like Marett in social anthropology before him. As a disciple of Aristotle, Barker had always dreamt of gathering a 'Lyceum' of students devoted to his 'Art' in Cambridge; in 1934 the Institute was finally his chance.[66] Although he did not really wish to become President in the first place, the opportunities afforded by the amateurs proved quite attractive for him so much so that he asked for a renewal of term eventually, and contrary to the custom.

As President between 1935 and 1937, he did not do much to develop sociology in academia, declining Farquharson's suggestion to meet Dr. Maurice Karpf, a social worker and a noted leader of the American Jewish community, in March 1937.[67] A month later, while Farquharson offered to send him '50 offprints (for 1£)' of his article in the *Review* for dissemination, Barker

[62] See Howarth; Hood, King, and Peele.
[63] The argument was put forward by Schnapper; For a history of politics in Oxford, see Hood, King, and Peele.
[64] Ernest Barker, *Age and Youth: Memories of Three Universities and Father of the Man* (London; New York: Oxford University Press, 1953), pp. 157–58.
[65] University of Keele Archives, VB302, Ernest Barker to Alexander Farquharson, 11 October 1936.
[66] Barker, *Age and Youth (1953)*, p. 157.
[67] University of Keele Archives, VB302, Barker to Farquharson, 21 March 1937.

replied that he 'did not desire any' and shall be 'amply contented with the copies of the *Review* you send to contributors'. He took the opportunity to remind Farquharson of something else that was important: 'May I ask, by the way, of my review of Eyres' *History of European Civilisation*?'[68]

Later that year, however, as the Institute's finances were at a low ebb, Farquharson had to ask him to take matters in hand and 'to consider forming a small committee to give serious thought to improving the finances of the Institute.'[69] Barker largely relied on the latter's good will to ensure the smooth running of the Institute on a daily basis, and proved more talented at publishing in its journal than at managing its finances given it eventually went bankrupt. To any event, Marett had himself remarked to Farquharson on the last year of his office he had enjoyed the work so much that he 'shall be very pleased to be the President of the Institute for another year', because indeed 'the job is a really pleasant sinecure, so long as there are people like you to lurk in the background and do the real work.'[70]

The Institute was clearly an opportunity for the two frustrated Oxbridge academics to promote their own discipline and further their ends extra-murally, at little cost and with little commitment or academic risk. Marett would not even attend the Monthly Discussion Meeting in London and only travelled there once a year to give his annual lecture, Farquharson argued to convince Barker to take the job.[71] On the other hand, Farquharson recognised he had chosen Barker to suit the Institute's needs too. The marriage was made of reason more than of passion.

[68] VB302, Farquharson to Barker, 2 April 1937.
[69] VB302, Farquharson to Barker, 28 July 1937.
[70] Exeter College, Oxford, L.IV.13 (Marett Papers), Robert R. Marett to Alexander Farquharson, 9 February 1933.
[71] Farquharon tried to entice Barker into accepting the Presidency by alluding to the fact that 'Marett told us from the beginning that he could not attend London meetings, and our plan in his case had been to see him at Oxford, making him come to London only once a year to deliver a Presidential address.' in University of Keele Archives, VB302, Alexander Farquharson to Ernest Barker, 29 January 1935.

Farquharson never hid from Barker that his acceptance of the Presidency would specially 'help the plan upon which I have set my heart; namely, the establishment of this Institute in a thoroughly stable and influential position during the next few years while I am still able to give it service.'[72]

Given the Institute's growing success, this plan actually took an even more dramatic turn in 1935 when Farquharson boldly suggested that Marett's support could now 'give a real impetus towards the establishment of a department of sociology which would not be swallowed up by other faculties' at Oxford. His letter went so far as to send suggestions for the syllabus:

> 'Such a course would not only pay attention to sociological theories (such as those of Durkheim, Weber, Comte, Le Play & Spencer) but would put special emphasis on the methodology required, on the sociological approach to contemporary social problems and on the amount of materials that is available for their interpretation (for example, "Recent Social Trends", Booth's Survey, The Merseyside Survey, etc.)'[73]

Farquharson's proposal never received an answer, as Marett was increasingly involved in promoting the furtherance of social anthropology at Oxford, while sociology was seen either as a dubious competitor or as one of its specialist branches.

His wish, just like Barker's, was that sociology should 'retain its recognised place among the human sciences' only if 'the mixing up of the scientific and the practical interests' was avoided, otherwise it should 'be labelled the standpoint of Philosophy, not Science'.[74] Barker's presidency confirmed this academic position: For both men, sociology was neither scientific nor legitimate as an academic department but was rather a competitor that they marginalised for their own benefit. The position was confirmed by G. P. Gooch's Presidency and by Carr-

[72] University of Keele Archives, VB302, Alexander Farquharson to Ernest Barker, 29 January 1935.
[73] Exeter College, Oxford, L.IV.13 (Marett Papers), Jay Rumney and Alexander Farquharson to Robert R. Marett, 27 February 1935.
[74] Exeter College, Oxford, L.IV.13 (Marett Papers), Robert R. Marett to R. Wellbye, 24 January 1933.

Saunders, who gave the final blow to the amateur strand of sociology initiated 50 years before by Geddes in Edinburgh.

2.2.4. Gooch's presidency (1936-1938) and Carr-Saunders' interest: A stab in the back?

In spite of its relative success, the Institute had to face increasing competition from the new disciplines it ironically encouraged in its conferences.

First, Oxford established a lectureship in African Sociology in 1935 as part of the Department of Anthropology through a Rockefeller Foundation endowment and it was bestowed upon E. E. Evans-Pritchard. Pritchard presented a paper at the 1936 conference organised by the Institute of Sociology during the course of which Barker, its President, presented Social Anthropology as 'historical sociology'.[75] In 1937, a chair of Social Anthropology was established at Oxford and bestowed upon A. R. Radcliffe-Brown, while a Department of Social Biology was founded by Lancelot Hogben and William Beveridge at the LSE and the Mass-Observation project started to provide 'an anthropology of ourselves'. All this blurred the initial 'Leplayian' inspiration and amateur definition of the subject even more.

By 1938, the creation of the 'Institute of Economic and Social Research' by the Keynesian economists in Cambridge also caused deep concern to Barker, for the identity of the Institute of Sociology could now be mistaken. After suggesting to his Cambridge colleagues 'that the new Institute might drop the word "and social" from its title' to avoid 'any confusion,' he hoped that their could rename itself an 'institute of social-economic research' although he was well-

[75] Edward Evan Evans-Prichard, 'Anthropology and the Social Sciences', in *Further Papers on the Social Sciences: Their Relations in Theory and in Teaching*, by The Institute of Sociology and J. E. Dugdale (London: Leplay House Press, 1937), pp. 61–74; Barker, 'Foreword in Further Papers (1937)', p. 14.

aware 'they might not like a double-barrelled adjective'. In any event, the Keynesians in Cambridge never changed their title.[76]

Barker, who was to retire in 1938, seemed relatively unable to help with the practical and financial matters which he was keen to delegate to Farquharson. At the same time, he expressed the wish to remain President of the Institute after the normal tenure although the constitution would not allow it.[77] In spite of Farquharson's effort, Barker could not remain President and found an apathetic successor, George Peabody Gooch ('who says he will consent', Barker wrote to Farquharson), for the Institute.[78] Gooch (1873-1968) was a historian of modern Europe and a Liberal MP educated at Cambridge, from which no correspondence and not much trace survived in the Keele archives, although he used the opportunity to publish with the Institute too.[79]

The fate of sociology as a definite non-academic science seemed sealed by then. Despite a temporary financial settlement, and much to Barker's dismay, the Institute of Sociology could not afford to remain in London in early 1939 and had to retire to a country centre in Malvern, Worcestershire. After the greatest expectations for sociology, it seemed that a whole dream was ultimately waning.[80]

The same year, competition with the *Review* started as the Clarendon Press became interested in publishing its own journal of social sciences with the help of Carr-Saunders. Carr-Saunders

[76] University of Keele Archives, VB302, Ernest Barker to Alexander Farquharson, 3 March 1938 and 4 March 1938.
[77] VB302, Alexander Farquharson to Ernest Barker, 28 October 1937.
[78] VB302, Ernest Barker to Alexander Farquharson, 4 March 1938.
[79] George Peabody Gooch and Alexander Farquharson, *The German Mind and Outlook* (London: Chapman & Hall Ltd., 1945).
[80] VB302, Ernest Barker to Alexander Farquharson, 29 June 1939.

had left the editorial board in 1937 as he was appointed as new Director of the LSE, but remained interested in the main asset of the amateur movement: The *Sociological Review*.

The project was quite ambitious and involved a detailed discussion about the scope, title and disciplines represented in the new journal in about 200 letters. The Clarendon Press planned to sell 1,000 copies of the first issues of the 'Journal of Social Studies' in Autumn 1940, in Britain and in America.

The OUP representative in charge sought advice from their New York offices about the opportunity to sell the new journal in America. The latter thought it could easily vie with the *American Journal of Sociology* which he thought was 'usually full of rather poor stuff, and seems to lay itself open to essays of half-baked psychology'.[81] On the other hand sociology, Mulgan noted, 'in various guises, and often shockingly bogus, flourishes to a much greater extent in American universities than it does here' so the commercial and intellectual timeliness for a new British journal with 'a strong sociological bias, and not impinge on economics to any great extent' to be published in Oxford was felt desirable in 1939.[82]

Marshall was expected to act as editor. Ties were sought and the possibility to bring in a consultative American editor for the journal was even considered, although OUP was careful not to have their views on matters of policy 'altered at all by the ideas of the Institute of Sociology, a not very active and rather old-fashioned body.'[83]

[81] Oxford University Press Archives, CP9 (Creation of a new journal of social sciences at the Clarendon Press 1939-1949), John Mulgan to Paul Willert (OUP American representative in New York City), 30 June 1939.
[82] CP9, Mulgan to Mr Milford, 27 July 1939 and Mulgan to H. D. Henderson, 27 July 1939.
[83] CP9, John Mulgan to H. D. Henderson, 27 July 1939.

Carr-Saunders, who had been one of the initiators of the project, asked Farquharson to provide him with all the details regarding 'the number of members of the Institute who subscribe, the numbers of the public, not being members of the Institute, and the numbers going to booksellers and the number of Universities and other institutions who take the Review', with a view to document the state of the sociological market in Britain for a new journal.[84]

Farquharson kindly gave him all the information and eventually benefited from subsidies from Clarendron Press during WWII to keep the *Review* alive, with a hope it could be used and restarted afterwards. In spite of being repeatedly courted by Carr-Saunders into relinquishing the *Review* in favour of the School, Farquharson eventually refused, hopeful that the amateur movement could endure independently and resurrect after the war.

It was a dead-end. Nothing stemmed out of the project which dragged on until 1949, and no journal competed with the *Sociological Review* in Britain until the LSE eventually started its own *British Journal of Sociology* in 1950. The archives from the Institute and the *Review* were eventually bequeathed to the University of Keele in the 1960s. The journal is still in existence today.

The amateur movement in sociology always suffered from the reputation of practicing an 'unorthodox' discipline and from being mainly staffed by opportunist competitors from politics, social anthropology or history who enjoyed the extra-mural pageantry of the Institute but did not share its intellectual interest. Amateurs were instrumental in the development of all the institutional apparatus of British sociology between 1903 and 1930. But they were also largely marginalised by academics whose allegiance went to other disciplines, although they found the

[84] University of Keele Archives, AF21, A. M. Carr-Saunders to Alexander Farquharson, 14 June 1939.

Institute to be a useful platform for their own agenda. Marett, Barker and Gooch undermined the Institute's efforts to promote a specific version of sociology in Britain and all relied on the Secretary's dedication.

On the other hand, Farquharson tried to use their academic credentials to establish the Institute's reputation in sociology on the model of the French Sociological Institute, but was not in a position to manoeuvre or lead the movement single-handedly and this proved counterproductive in the end. In the late 1930s, Farquharson was left with no choice but to move back to the country, condemned to 'rural obscurity and forgotten in a highly centralised London-focused Britain'.[85] The Institute was not effectively disbanded until 1955 but the *Review* still survives and its material has not fully been examined yet.

2.3. Where the battle took place: *The Sociological Review* journal

For a long time, the Institute's journal entitled *The Sociological Review* has had the reputation of being 'a tedious bundle of essays' which 'stood for nothing definitely scientific', as Branford complained in 1922 to James Martin White, his Scottish friend and the sociological entrepreneur.[86] It was far from an amateur-only publication, contrary to a reputation that even Bulmer carried on when reporting in 1985 on 'the awful variety of material published in *The Sociological Review* before 1930'.[87] While it may have been true in the 1920s under Geddes when the journal was largely featuring articles on regionalism and surveys, the change in the 1930s was dramatic after the common editorial board was set up.

[85] Scott and Bromley, p. 62.
[86] University of Keele Archives, VB89, Victor Branford to James M. White, 20 November 1922.
[87] Bulmer, 'The Development of Sociology (1985)', p. 24.

Many academics from cognate disciplines and from the institutionalised sociology found an exciting outlet for their ideas and published in the journal after 1934. This can be understood as the number of journals accepting sociological articles were few in Britain: *Economica* and *Politica* were the main platforms for the LSE and was published there after 1933, sometimes sociology could be found in the *Economic Journal* and *Man*. But the *Sociological Review* remained the most effective medium for social scientists.

This section argues that if the *Sociological Review* was seen as 'unscientific' and 'tedious' it was largely because it was the place where the 'battle for society' took place. This means that the *Review* was grouping together academics from competing disciplines all claiming to produce the 'most authentic' sociology, either as a specialism or as a synthesis of psychology, biology and philosophy.

As a result, great confusion apparently arose but this only reflected the seething state of social sciences in interwar Britain. The *Review* remains an overlooked source of material for understanding how British sociology evolved in the interwar years. Its contribution lay both in the production of articles, which advanced the state of sociology, and in the debates between disciplines, which helped shape them domestically. In particular, three topics were recurring: The relationship between sociology and psychology, the place of heredity and of social environment in individual behaviour and the working of social stratification.

2.3.1. Sociology and psychology in the 1920s: from opponents to allies?

Psychology knew major scientific advances in Britain between 1900 and 1920. The British Psychological Society was founded in 1901 – shortly before the Sociological Society – and opened itself to members of the medical profession in 1919. Psychology relied on the support of many academics such as W. H. R. Rivers, Graham Wallas or William McDougall.

Sociology and psychology were seen as two similar disciplines dealing with human life, although psychology was based on an individual level. Both were, for a long time, enemies. The discussions between advocates of psychology and proponents of sociology regularly featured in the journal. Many attempts were conducted in the journal to distinguish sociology from psychology, such as in an article featured in the *Review* in 1919 which stated that

> 'The main difference between them is that whereas psychology deals with human nature primarily as self-developed, sociology deals with human nature primarily as influenced by thoughts, etc., that were originally suggested by others. […] Sociology deals with human relations primarily as shaped by the demands of the self-conscious life and as bearing on the actualisation of social ideals.'[88]

The confusion was even greater when W. H. R. Rivers (1864-1922), the influential social anthropologist and psychologist, encouraged further co-operation between sociology and psychology against the belief that they were enemies. Rivers explained that both disciplines should work together because 'the final aim of the study of society is the explanation of *social* behaviour in terms of *psychology*.'[89] They differed in scope and method through two different 'paths' but gave similar results:

> 'Those who follow one path will devote themselves to the study of the body of customs and institutions which make up social behaviour, while those who follow the other path will inquire into the instincts, sentiments, emotions, ideas, and beliefs of mankind, not only about strictly social events.'[90]

Thus an inductive, cumulative sociology could emerge using the results – but not the method – of psychology: 'In so far as it is the aim of the sociologist to contribute to psychology, his task will be the testing of his psychological assumptions.'[91] Rivers presented psychology as 'the real sociology' and challenged the sociologists' claims that they could address social problems scientifically on a non-psychological basis.

[88] P. J. Hughesden, 'The Place of Sociology among the Sciences', *The Sociological Review*, 11.2 (1919), 89–92 (p. 91).
[89] W. H. R. Rivers, 'Sociology and Psychology', *The Sociological Review*, 9.1 (1916), 1–13 (p. 2).
[90] Rivers, 'Sociology and Psychology (1916)', p. 3.
[91] Rivers, 'Sociology and Psychology (1916)', p. 9.

Rivers was already accustomed to unconventional approaches: In 1911 he had shocked the audience in his presidential address to the Anthropology Section of the British Association for the Advancement of Science by announcing his rejection of anthropological evolutionism in favour of cultural diffusionism.[92] He also aroused Radcliffe-Brown's interest in ethnography and in the role of structures while at Trinity College, Cambridge.[93]

In his article featured in the *Review*, he gave psychologists and sociologists a goal to reach to make the two disciplines more scientific by finding 'generally accepted principles comparable with those upon which other sciences are based': 'It is now our task to establish methods and principles' to build 'one of those systematized and coherent bodies of knowledge which we call science', he argued.[94] At the time, sociology did not yet rest assured on solid scientific grounds, so that it had been possible 'not merely to deny the existence of a science of sociology, but even to deny the possibility of such existence', Rivers observed.[95] In the interwar years, the *Sociological Review* happened to be the most active arena for these discussions to happen.

Following Rivers' article, S. H. Swinny, former chairman of the Council of the Sociological Society and a member of the London Positivist Society, regretted in the *Review* in 1919 that sociology 'gives us no adequate foreknowledge, and therefore no guidance in action' because there was 'no agreement among sociologists as to general principles' which rendered the discipline unscientific and also 'inapplicable to concrete cases.'[96] Swinny also lamented that a

[92] W. H. R. Rivers, 'The Ethnological Analysis of Culture (1911)', in *Psychology and Ethnology*, by W. H. R. Rivers, Grafton Elliot Smith, and Edward B. Schlesinger (London; New York, Harcourt, Brace & Company, Inc.: K. Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., Ltd. ;, 1926), pp. 120–40.
[93] George W. Stocking, *After Tylor: British Social Anthropology, 1888-1951* (London: Athlone, 1996), pp. 308–9.
[94] Rivers, 'Sociology and Psychology (1916)', p. 2.
[95] Rivers, 'Sociology and Psychology (1916)', p. 2 refers to the famous article by H. G. Wells, 'The so-Called Science of Sociology', *Sociological Papers*, 3 (1907), 357–78 (p. 357) which denied the existence of a sociology.
[96] S. H. Swinny, 'Sociology: Its Successes and Its Failures', *The Sociological Review*, 11.1 (1919), 1–10 (pp. 4–5).

proper training in the history of the discipline was not done systematically, thus increasing the state of disciplinary confusion:

> 'Sociology suffers from this peculiar feature, that everyone proposes to start a new sociology of his own. In other sciences, the work already accomplished is taken as the starting point. But we now find students who have never read Comte or Spencer, who perhaps have never even heard of Le Play, starting out to found sociology as if it were virgin land, still untilled or perhaps only just discovered.'[97]

In a short book review in 1921, Farquharson underlined that one author spoke 'throughout of society as based on the mental or spiritual relations between people' but did not seem 'to see or value nothing but the psychic bond in social life' while a social dimension was inherent to society for the proponents of LePlay. Now 'to carry out this view to the limit would be to reduce Sociology to Social Psychology', and therefore 'a separate science would hardly be required.' Yet Farquharson insisted a sociology could not emerge 'until it is recognized that Society, like the individual, has an outer and an inner life,' and concluded that it is studying both dimensions alone that can 'promise scientific results'. A failure to recognize this or to foster co-operation between sociology and psychology could only 'do harm to the progress to the science.'[98]

At the time, the labels of 'psychologist' and 'sociologist' were still almost interchangeable: McDougall published an influential book entitled *The Group Mind* in 1920, while Ginsberg a Professor of Sociology himself wrote an internationally-acclaimed book entitled *Psychology of Society* in 1921 and a chapter in a book entitled *Psychology and Modern Problems* in 1935.[99] This cross-disciplinary aspect was a strength of British social scientists.

But it was also an impediment sometimes and an important source of strife between cognate disciplines in universities, which had to draw solid boundaries between them to be effectively

[97] Swinny, pp. 8–9.
[98] Alexander Farquharson, review of *An introduction to Sociology for Social Workers and General Readers*, by J. J. Findlay, *The Sociological Review*, 13 (1921), 249.
[99] McDougall, *The Group Mind (1920)*; Morris Ginsberg, *The Psychology of Society* (London: Methuen, 1921); Morris Ginsberg and others, *Psychology and Modern Problems* (London: University of London Press, 1935).

taught and researched. In 1923, Branford organised a conference at New College, Oxford, to address the topic of 'The correlation of social sciences' and to promote the activities of the Sociological Society in a prestigious location. The conference brought together academics from various disciplines who delivered papers on the topic and Branford was hopeful this could ease the acceptance of sociology in academia.

The result was unexpectedly counter-productive. One historian explained for instance that while 'History is a science' in 'our methods of enquiry, science in our connexion of cause and effect', sociology was not scientific and both could not co-operate.[100] John Lynton Myres, the Classicist from Oxford, delivered a paper addressing the results of the conference a few weeks later at the British Association and fiercely denied any scientific pertinence to sociology.[101]

Nonetheless, Branford wrote to Arthur Thomson, a Professor of Human Anatomy who had campaigned for the creation of the Diploma in Anthropology at Oxford twenty years before, and boasted that they had 'papers or speeches from many of the "big wigs" – Hobhouse, Marett, MacKinder, Graham Wallas, A. J. Carlyle, Lynton Myres' at the Conference. Although he admitted 'the scientific result was rather negative', he was rather optimistic that it had 'brought home to most of those there the importance of co-relation and the character of the Problem' of correlation.[102]

At the Oxford conference, biology proved extremely ambitious and claimed it could supersede sociology as the universal social science. Julian Huxley, the renowned biologist, stated that 'Biology should, by definition, cover the whole of life, and therefore include Sociology'. The

[100] Alexander Farquharson, 'The Oxford Conference (1923)', p. 59.
[101] Myres.
[102] University of Keele Archives, VB89, Victor Branford to Arthur Thomson, 17 October 1922.

problem of correlation was therefore to find 'what principles, if any, are common both to biology and sociology – i.e., to the single science, not yet defined, which theoretically should exist to embrace both.'[103] For Huxley, that should pertain to eugenics. In the following years, the psychological realm was slowly abandoned and discussions shifted: The enemy for sociology was no longer psychology but rather eugenics and a series of articles in the 1920s and 1930s featured in the *Review* to discuss the role of heredity and of social environment in people's behaviour in society.

2.3.2. 'Eugenicists v. Environmentalists'

After confronting psychology in the 1920s, sociology had to face a new competitor stemming from biology. The *Review* featured a new controversy between eugenicists (those who believed that heredity, or man's biology, accounted for man's social behaviour) gathered around Galton and Pearson at University College, London, and the environmentalists (those who believed that man was also influenced by his social and geographical environment) gathered around Branford and Geddes. The debate partook of a recurring concern about population and social mobility at the LSE and at the Sociological Society.

One article published in 1920 presented the practical aspects of the debate: What should be done about juvenile delinquency? Was it a problem for 'the Eugenists [sic]' who held the opinion that 'heredity counts for everything, and that the influence of the environment, if it exists at all' is 'so infinitesimal that it may be entirely ignored'? Or rather a problem for 'the Environists' [sic] who rather sought 'the remedy for human and social defects' in 'an improvement of the environment?'[104] The *Review* seemed to be the perfect place for the debates between eugenicists and environmentalists.

[103] Alexander Farquharson, 'The Oxford Conference (1923)', p. 53.
[104] Claude C. H. Williamson, 'The Origin and Cure of the "bad Boy"', *The Sociological Review*, 12 (1920), 28–35 (p. 29).

Some biologists, like Julian Huxley and Carr-Saunders, looked for a softer version of eugenics however. Branford warned in a foreword to a book review published by Julian Huxley in 1926 that 'an insidious peril lies in wait for the biologist in his advance from eugenics into the sociological field. He is apt to take conventional criteria of "getting on" and of "success in life" too much at their face value; and we do not think Professor Huxley altogether escapes this danger.'[105] Branford feared as journal editor that people might be misled by Huxley's actual claims that eugenics was 'real sociology' and that society's existence was biologically transmitted. For Branford, on the contrary, sociologists should study how 'social inheritance' worked instead, i.e. how traditions are passed from one generation to another through a cultural and social process and not passed on a biological basis.

These practical aspects were also raised by Henry Mess, then Reader in Sociology at Bedford College for Women, London, in 1936 in an article about unemployment and social services. What should be done about it? 'We are often in danger of confusing social categories and biological categories' and thus, following eugenics, we might be inclined 'to class the pauper and even the unemployed with the physically or mentally defective and to label them indiscriminately as sub-normal', he remarked, while this was a mistake.[106] Considering unemployment as the result of a biological nature meant falling back into social Darwinism and giving approval to Spencer's *laissez-faire* sociology, Mess warned, which in the interwar seemed no longer acceptable.

[105] Julian Huxley, 'The Case for Eugenics', *The Sociological Review*, 18.4 (1926), 279–90 (p. 279).
[106] Henry A. Mess, 'On Spirit and Method in Social Service', *The Sociological Review*, 28 (1936), 187–202 (p. 196).

Mess added nonetheless that 'the biologists have already made, and will make increasingly a great contribution to social reform' because they have 'at least made us aware of capital issues, and especially that fundamental issue for the future of the human race, from what stocks and at what rates future generations are to be recruited.'[107] Mess and Huxley were both in favour of a co-operation between sociology and biology to produce a more progressive version of eugenics. Thus Huxley argued both standpoints were complementary:

> 'The antagonism which often exists at present between the "environmentalist", who believes in education, hygiene, and social and political reform, and the eugenist, who believes in the value of sound stock, is based on wholly false notions. The two are the necessary complements each to the other.'[108]

The debate between eugenicists and environmentalists was pivotal in the *Review* and was a structuring discussion for social sciences in interwar Britain. This was toned down after the new editorial board was setup in 1934. Ginsberg and Farquharson no longer hesitated to recast a paper when the biological bias was too strong, stating that 'ours is a sociological rather than a biological journal'.[109] By the mid-1930s, firm foundations for sociology were established almost simultaneously at the LSE and at the Institute, as the result of their joint efforts. It was the *Sociological Review* that played the most prominent role in fostering the discussions; and the journal represented an arena open to the whole community. Both strands of sociology united to address a third issue: Stratification. This started by examining Marxism in particular, as it was very much in vogue on the Continent. It also provided an opportunity for British sociologists to shape the identity of their national sociology.

2.3.3. Should Marxism be embraced? A structuring debate for British sociology

[107] Henry A. Mess, 'On Spirit and Method', p. 196.
[108] Huxley, p. 289.
[109] LSE Archives, Ginsberg 5, Alexander Farquharson to Dr Charles, 14 July 1934.

In 1913, Rosa Luxemburg published her influential work on Marxist theory in Germany entitled *The Accumulation of Capital* and founded the anti-war Spartacus League two years later.[110] In 1918, the sociologist György Lukács joined the fledgling Communist Party of Hungary and he lay the modern foundations of 'Western Marxism' in his seminal book entitled *History and Class Consciousness: Studies in Marxist Dialectics* published in German in 1923.[111] Antonio Gramsci, the sociologist, also became a leader of the Italian Communist Party and devised the concept of 'hegemony' in the *Prison notebooks* which he wrote between 1929 and 1935 while being imprisoned by Mussolini's Fascist regime.[112]

Marxism was thus indeed a major influence for Continental sociologists in the interwar years, but it was usually dismissed as an unsuitable theory in Britain. Yet sociologists such as T. H. Marshall at the LSE became increasingly interested in Marxism, given its recurring presence in European sociology and because it offered an exciting opportunity, as well as a structuring debate, for the identity of the discipline.[113]

Marshall, then Reader in Sociology, published an article on social classes in the journal in 1934.[114] There, he distanced himself from Marx's analysis of property and institutions interpreted as 'means to servitude' of the labouring classes. On the contrary, 'Property, however small, gives security and insurance against misfortune and liberty for new adventure', Marshall asserted, thus 'cultivating a sense of proprietorship in a civilization, of independence of status' ensured that 'the government appear as servants, not as masters, and institutions as the means

[110] Rosa Luxemburg, *Die Akkumulation des Kapitals: Ein Beitrag* (Berlin: Vorwarts, 1913).
[111] György Lukács, *Geschichte und Klassenbewusstsein: Studien über marxistische Dialektik* (Berlin: Malik-Verlag, 1923) was only translated in English in 1971.
[112] Antonio Gramsci, *Quaderni del carcere* (Torino, 1966) were translated in English in 1971 too.
[113] See 1.4.2.
[114] T. H. Marshall, 'Social Class – A Preliminary Analysis', *The Sociological Review*, 26.1 (1934), 55–76.

to freedom, not to servitude.'[115] Marshall used Marxism as a deterrent but also as a reference point to devise a properly British sociology, in which social theory was consistent with national values and supportive of a democratic form of government.

Like Marshall, many articles featured in the *Review* stated in a foreword that they were going to discuss Marxist ideas although they did not share them. A paper dealing with property and justice which appeared in 1935 stated for instance that 'it is not necessary to be a Marxist to realize the importance of economic conditions in the study of sociology, nor a Communist to believe that the extent and distribution of property in a society will greatly affect that society's welfare and the form of its organization.'[116]

Barker also stated in one of his pieces for the *Review* that 'it is not necessarily Marxianism to interpret political changes in the light of social factors' as he did in his work in political science. What was peculiar to it was rather 'the tendency to interpret political changes in no other light'. A long-time admirer of the Greek philosophers, Barker added that 'as long as Aristotle, we find political forms and political changes ascribed to social causes.'[117] He was here warranting the claims of his discipline, politics, which was developing along these lines and once again discussing Marxism was helpful for social scientists to define their own disciplinary stance.

Branford himself, when surveying 'recent and contemporary sociology', was careful to distinguish between 'the too simply economic determination of history, so emphasised by, and since, Marx' and the 'economic processes of each place and age' which were seen by the (British) sociologist 'to be deeply influenced, often even determined by, preceding as well as

[115] T. H. Marshall, p. 76.
[116] Edward Jenks, 'Property and the Courts of Justice', *The Sociological Review*, 27.1 (1935), 56–74 (p. 56).
[117] Ernest Barker, 'The Social Background of Recent Political Changes', *The Sociological Review*, 28.2 (1936), 117–33 (p. 117).

current ideas and ideals.'[118] Branford was aware that Idealism was an important characteristic of British sociology and safeguarded it against the Marxist threat.

Finally, Marxism also forced British sociology to address untilled fields of studies such as social stratification and to find a distinct way of approaching social classes. While Marx had defined social classes theoretically, ideologically, and according to their occupation, Marshall found an alternative definition of classes. As a result, he defined them empirically, by looking at one's "own society as his field of research" and by using 'intuition and observation as a guide in his analysis' rather than theory.

Social classes for Marshall were not an ideological construction or a theoretical issue, but rather a phenomenon of which one 'has direct personal experience as a force in his own life.'[119] Sociology in Britain was developing an innovative commonsensical and empirical dimension under Marshall. It was turning into an applied discipline useful to understand daily life experience, parallel to the popular Mass-Observation project founded in 1937 or in the various textbooks published in the interwar years.[120]

Two strategies were used to counter Marxism among British sociologists.

First, Max Weber was summoned as an alternative to Marx: 'It is not that class domination as such is dangerous', Werner Falk explained in an article published in 1935, but 'the domination of an economically decaying class whose interests become opposed to the progressive

[118] Victor Branford, 'A Survey of Contemporary Sociology (1926)', p. 317.
[119] T. H. Marshall, p. 57.
[120] See Chapter4 on textbooks.

tendencies of a community'. The positive statement was exemplified by the domination of the English aristocracy which 'had laid the foundation-stones of the British Empire'.[121]

Born in Berlin, Dr. Falk earned a doctorate at the University of Heidelberg before fleeing the Nazi Government in 1933. He earned a Master's degree at Oxford University in 1938 and was a political philosopher. Falk's article introduced Weber's analysis of classes in Britain in the wake of Mannheim at the LSE. For Weber, social domination was neither necessarily bad nor a cultural issue and thus his sociology presented an acceptable theory of class domination for British sociologists. This was an early import of Weber, who had only died in 1920.[122] Yet, he was already discussed in the *Review* as an important contributor to the discipline.

Alternatively, Barker denied all relevance to Marx because his concept of social class was 'indefinite' and inapplicable to reality:

> 'There is hardly any community which can show a definite system of classes, or even anything approaching such a system. Occupations and professions are definite things, but class is a term of rhetoric rather than a term of art. Even the working class, which is most definitely a class, is a collection of different feelings and different movements; and when we turn to the middle class we are turning to something which is even more indefinite.'[123]

Barker thus concluded that 'Class is a dangerous word.'[124]

The discussions in the *Review* popularised Marx's theory in academic circles, at a time when his works were not yet fully translated into English and not easily accessible yet. It also helped British sociologists know where they stood and incidentally accelerated sociology's 'Lab

[121] Werner Falk, 'Democracy and Capitalism in Max Weber's Sociology', *The Sociological Review*, 27.4 (1935), 373–93 (p. 379).
[122] Besides this article by Falk, Weber had been introduced in Britain by Tawney, *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism (1926)* and by the import of his ideas by Karl Mannheim at the LSE in the 1930s; Charles Wright Mills and H. H. Gerth, *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1948) were responsible for really popularising Weber's ideas from America.
[123] Barker, 'The Social Background of Recent Political Changes (1936)', p. 120.
[124] Barker, 'The Social Background of Recent Political Changes (1936)', p. 120.

moulting' in the 1930s.[125] It was also contemporary with political developments in British socialism.

At a time when France could only rely on the ageing *Revue Internationale de Sociologie* founded by René Worms and on the leaflets of the *Annales Sociologiques* irregularly published by the surviving members of the Durkheimian team in the 1930s, the *Sociological Review* was alive, well-established and putting together scholars from different fields and all schools of thought after 1934. This was a prowess in European sociology at the time that testified to the well-being and dynamism of British social sciences.

2.3.4. Amateurs in search of rehabilitation and of a legacy

Why, then, did the amateur-led movement fail to become 'the' dominant school of sociology in Britain? Why was there no enduring 'Geddesian' sociological school in spite of remarkable institutional and scientific advances made in the 1920s and 30s?

The movement headed by Geddes, Branford and Farquharson was not specifically 'amateurish': Although its leaders were without much academic credentials, the movement was federating a large portion of academic and non-academic people interested in the discipline. Branford's role in institutionalising sociology in the early 20th century was also instrumental and he was a successful sociological entrepreneur.

Geddes pioneered important concepts such as 'sustainability'. He distinguished between the 'paleotechnic' stage of industrialism which was characterised by inefficient and polluting technologies from the 'neotechnic' age. He also invented the phrase 'Third Alternative', to refer

[125] Although his ideas had spread as early as the 1880s, Marx's sociology only became known in England through the translation from the Russian of Nikolaï Bukharin, *Historical Materialism: A System of Sociology* (London: G. Allen & Unwin, 1926).

to an intermediary form of government (between centralised socialism and individualistic capitalism) that was consistent with the humanistic ideals of Ruskin, Carlyle and Morris.[126] For Geddes, sociology should not be detached from reality. Sociology should not be an ideologically committed doctrine but it should still engage with the public and take part in debates to foster city planning, set up regional surveys and eventually promote social reconstruction. This can be seen as the beginning of 'public sociology', defined by the British-born sociologist Michael Burawoy in 2004 as a form of the discipline which must have an engagement with the public and keep an applied dimension.[127]

Branford and Geddes' ideas were very forward-looking for the time. Their concepts have nowadays become very popular, even mainstream, in politics and academia. All these developments have to be credited to the amateur movement. With the survey method and their burst of missionary energy, Branford and Geddes stood in stark contrast to Hobhouse and Ginsberg's rather stern social evolutionism developing at the LSE. Indeed, things could have been very different in sociology, had Geddes secured the Martin White chair of Sociology in 1907.[128]

It is strange that Patrick Geddes, who died in 1930, had a similar fate to René Worms, who died in 1926 in France. Both led two of the most important sociological movements in their respective countries (the Institute of Sociology and the *Sociological Review* for the former, the *Institut International de Sociologie* and the *Revue Internationale de Sociologie* for the latter), with gravitas, an international network and a serious journal that was instrumental in

[126] As outlined in Victor Branford and Patrick Geddes, *The Coming Polity: A Study in Reconstruction* (London: Williams and Norgate, 1917).
[127] Scott and Bromley, p. 92; Michael Burawoy, 'For Public Sociology (2004 American Sociological Association Presidential Address)', *The British Journal of Sociology*, 56.2 (2005), 259–94.
[128] See a counterfactual history of British sociology in Renwick, *British Sociology's Lost Biological Roots*.

modernising sociology in the interwar years. They also helped sociology sever its ties with the sometime smothering academic patronage of Hobhouse and Ginsberg in Britain, and of the Durkheimians in France.

Yet they are now quite forgotten in the history of sociology. It is in the interest of contemporary sociologists both in France and in Britain to remember their 'alternative founders', because they still give us so much food for thought and inspiration. They moreover left an enduring legacy to the discipline which has usually remained invisible as sociology moved into a 'modern' phase after WWII.

But the reasons behind the eventual failure of the amateur-led movement are also numerous.

First, their sociology was seen as a dubious discipline dating from Comte and Le Play, born in France, developed through a Scottish-American network and allegedly unsuitable for Britain. Geddes' conspicuous disregard for the traditional boundaries of academic disciplines, despite an admitted genius and mesmerising influence, did not help the furtherance of the subject.

Scott and Bromley argue that he was a typical 'Renaissance man', a humanist and a public intellectual with no enduring interest to sociology proper, despite inspiring a vast community of disciples by his ideas.[129] As a result, his work was often considered 'ideological' and 'propagandist', a description that has plagued his contribution to British sociology for a long time. He certainly was more charismatic than Hobhouse, but he did not have his institutional centrality nor his talent at presenting ideas according to academic standards. Ironically, he is more often remembered for his practical achievements in town planning and in geography than

[129] Scott and Bromley, p. 211.

for the wealth of his sociological legacy. Why did Halsey's seminal book not mention the Institute even once in the comprehensive history of sociology in Britain?[130]

Apart from purely intellectual reasons, amateurs were also marginalised institutionally, despite presenting an increasingly solid definition of their subject in the 1930s. First, Marett, Barker and Gooch used the Institute's publishing facilities and its national audience as a platform for personal disciplinary interests as Presidents, without a genuine commitment to sociology. Second, Carr-Saunders and Ginsberg used the *Review* for their publications while they could, but decided to leave after 1937 in the face of increasing academic commitments. Farquharson on the other hand did not play his cards right and failed to see that he could not manoeuvre alone in this academic setting. The result was a failing encounter and a persistent misunderstanding between both strands of sociology.

But the result was not entirely negative. Nowadays, Britain has three major sociological journals, two of them stemming from this unfortunate misunderstanding (The *Sociological Review* was founded in 1908 and a new series was started in 1955, while the LSE founded on its own the *British Journal of Sociology* in 1950), but enriching the scientific community on the whole. The events unfolding in the postwar era, from the foundation of the British Sociological Association in 1951 to the strife involving its Teacher's section in 1968 and up to the contemporary division between Departments of Social Administration and of Sociology, can somehow be linked to this structuring co-existence of academics and amateurs.

Amateur sociology was therefore not just a stage of British sociology that was suddenly erased after 1945; It represented an enduring philosophy and a tradition of thought that has given birth

[130] Halsey, p. 272 provides an index where there is not a single occurrence of the 'Institute of Sociology'.

to the inspirational perspective of 'public sociology' which is now very much in fashion. It also incorporated a dimension that has been specific to the British sociological movement since its inception: Sociology, in its amateur and extra-mural dimension, was invented in Britain as a discipline meant to help people grasp their individual experience and turn it into a public issue. This would later be defined by C. W. Mills as 'the sociological imagination'.[131]

Stimulating one's sociological imagination is one of the foundational aims of British sociology that was born in Geddes' genius, realised through Branford's effort and expressed in Farquharson's dream. That imagination was also one world-enriching specificity of British sociology that largely developed in interwar sociology textbooks as well as in its survey tradition.

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[131] Charles Wright Mills, *The Sociological Imagination* (New York: Oxford University Press ; Pelican Books [1959], 1970).

Chapter 3 – British sociology and Durkheim

3.0.1. Historiography

Few studies have examined the cross-reception of French and British sociologies between 1895 and 1940. The French reception of British sociology has almost never been studied except in the rather bland account done by Dominique Schnapper, Aron's daughter, in 2005.[1] But the article lacked empirical content and the explanation given for the lack of knowledge was linked to 'a lack of translation' of works from English to French. The British reception of French sociology, on the other hand, has partly been done through Studholme's study of the impact of Durkheim on the British institutionalisation of sociology in 1904 and more consistently in Pizarro-Noël's thesis on the reception of Durkheim in Britain and America between 1893 and 1939.[2]

Durkheim, the leading French sociologist of his time, was subject to a renewed interest in Britain and gave birth to several pieces of scholarship in English in the 1970s.[3] Furthermore, some pieces have examined other intellectual exchanges between French and British sociologists through Aron and Bourdieu's legacy in the UK.[4] Historically, there have been many imports and exports of ideas, works and authors between the two countries – and yet this has constantly been underplayed in the literature, as a reminder of their competition.

[1] Schnapper.
[2] Maggie Studholme, 'Durkheim and the Institutionalization of British Sociology', *Durkheimian Studies*, 1 (1995), 24–34; François Pizarro Noël, *Du Désaveu Du Social À La Présentation Nominaliste : Le Mouvement de La Réception de Durkheim (1893-1939)* (Université du Québec à Montréal: PhD Thesis, 2009).
[3] Steven Lukes, *Emile Durkheim, His Life and Work: A Historical and Critical Study* (London: Allen Lane, 1973); Émile Durkheim and William S. F. Pickering, *On Religion: A Selection of Readings with Bibliographies* (Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1975); Anthony Giddens, *Durkheim* (London: Fontana Modern Masters, 1978).
[4] William Peter Baehr, 'British Sociology and Raymond Aron', in *Sociological Amnesia : Cross-Currents in Disciplinary History*, by E. R. Lybeck and A. Law (London: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2015), pp. 17–36; Nicola Ingram and others, *Bourdieu: The Next Generation: The Development of Bourdieu's Intellectual Heritage in Contemporary UK Sociology* (Abingdon, Oxon ; New York, NY: Routledge, 2015).

3.0.2. Thesis and plan

France and Britain were, around 1914, two world superpowers and yet no one has paid attention to cross-cultural and intellectual exchanges between them in the sociological field. Yet, there is much to say. Through a careful examination of the Franco-British reception of sociology between 1895-1940, this chapter thus argues that it can be characterised as a struggle for world hegemony that partly explains why UK sociology is said to have 'failed', because of its image and interpretation historically given by the Durkheimians in France.

This chapter will thus start in 1895 because of the publication of Durkheim's seminal *Rules of the sociological method* which paved the way for classical sociology in France and sparked the first reception of Durkheim in Britain. This first reception of Durkheim in Britain (1895-1912) will be examined in the first part. The second reception of Durkheim in Britain, from the review of the *Elementary forms of religious life* by Malinowski in 1913 to Durkheim's demise in 1917 will be examined in the second part.

Sociology had long been a British speciality before that. This will uncover the tense relationship between France and Britain in the sociological field, i.e. between Durkheim and Herbert Spencer, the former developing his own thought against him. It was only then that sociology became 'a French specialty'.

The third part will outline the renewed appreciation of French sociology in Britain after WWI, and especially the cooperation between Branford and Mauss for the resurrection of the *Année* in 1924.

The fourth part will describe the growing, although critical, French interest in British sociologists (Hobhouse, the Webbs, Branford) after Durkheim's demise in 1917, owing to a need to 'soften' his intellectual rule and to open French sociology to 'more facts', as an attempt to keep up with an increasingly global competition, and to secure funding from America. The last part will show how the growth of an unapologetic British sociology in the 1930s away from the previous Durkheimian model, owing to Tawney's, Hogben's and Ginsberg's efforts at the LSE, increasingly frustrated the French's will of hegemony over the discipline.[5] Eventually, they were nonetheless forgotten as the alternative Fathers of modern sociology in history.

British and French sociologies alternately dominated the field between 1895 and 1940, and it thus makes sense to articulate their reception across the Channel to enlighten the contours of the two national traditions. The development of the discipline cannot be understood as a closed event or on a purely national scale, even in the interwar years, because it had far-reaching international causes and consequences.

The strategic consideration was a conscious feature of both receptions. The French and the British shared the will to counter the international ambitions of the other, in order to carry over the definition of sociology. The role of the Durkheimians was eventually instrumental in deprecating the image and self-importance of British sociology, then and now seen as 'a failure'. The shaping of a 'modern social anthropology' can be interpreted, in return, as the British answer to their hegemony in the field, as a sociology applied to the Empire.[6] To that extent, it is very important to pay attention to these mutual receptions.

3.0.3. Presentation of the material: The *Année Sociologique* journal

[5] See Chapter 1.
[6] See Chapter 6.

French and British sociologies were world-leading and had numerous publications between 1895 and 1940. However, when it comes to considering their reception, it seems they ignored each other. For a few exceptions, sociologists did not often comment on what was happening on the other side of the Channel. The main issue when studying the reception of the other's sociology is that, because of its peculiar rivalrous nature, it was often implicit and was not easily unveiled. It is not difficult to understand that to write about or even consider British sociology as a Frenchman involved in the field, or the opposite, was tantamount to recognising its centrality.

The British reception of Durkheimian sociology was thus uncovered through a selection of primary sources such as book reviews, journals and letters, while the French reception of British sociology, which is much lesser known and is the most original aspect of this chapter, was systematically investigated by using the 14 volumes of the Durkheimians' journal, the *Année sociologique*, between 1898 and 1925 which amount to about 7,000 pages of book reviews.

The *Année sociologique* was the second journal of sociology historically in France but was the first in critical acclaim and commercial success. It was founded by Émile Durkheim in 1896 and its first issue published in 1898 as a strategic tool to establish the discipline nationally through the publication of a scientific journal, to help devise core concepts in the field at a time when it was still very much in infancy and to promote sociological works internationally.

A typical issue of the *Année* appeared every year between 1898 and 1925 (with a hiatus between 1912 and 1924) and was composed of between 114 book reviews (for the 1898 issue) to 590 book reviews (for the 1924 issue). Reviews included books of sociology from France, England, Germany, Italy, America and even the Netherlands, Sweden or Japan. Each review was 200 to

1,500-word long. The whole was between 300 and 1,000 pages, the rest of the issue was devoted to a selection of free standing articles.

Reviewers included many members of the Durkheimian circle apart from Emile Durkheim himself, such as Marcel Mauss, François Simiand, Célestin Bouglé, Maurice Halbwachs and Henri Hubert. The journal was very popular internationally and gave great impetus to the Durkheimian school. Because the journal appeared regularly and surveyed the world publications in sociology almost comprehensively each time, it provides a great insight into modern sociology and its reception in France. It is a source of primary material that has not been fully used yet.

The first series of the *Année* was set up and organised by Durkheim between 1898 and 1912, when its last issue appeared. It was not carried on due to WWI and owing to Durkheim's death in 1917. But a second series ran from 1924 to 1925 and was setup by Marcel Mauss, Durkheim's nephew. The 1925 volume was prepared but never publicly issued.

The second series of the *Année* was then stopped. After a second hiatus, the journal was restarted under a slightly different name, the *Annales sociologiques,* between 1934 and 1942 and published irregularly as a series of brochures (from 'Series A' on general sociology, to 'Series E' on social morphology, languages, technology and aesthetics). This time it was spearheaded by François Simiand and Maurice Halbwachs.

The period between 1934 and 1942 was thus examined through the six volumes of the *Annales sociologiques*, a poor cousin of the *Année*, which represented about 3,000 pages of book reviews. The journal stopped in 1942 owing to WWII and resumed its publication as the third

series of the *Année sociologique* in 1949, in existence until nowadays. This gives a rather accurate opinion of the Durkheimians on British sociologists between 1895 and 1940.

Finally, one word should be said about the 'French' reception of British sociology, since the chapter focuses on the 'Durkheimian' reception. But given that Durkheim and his school defined themselves as 'the French school of sociology' and were even regarded so by their competitors, it seems that, albeit an *abus de langage*, they can be consistently associated. In the mind of a vast majority of sociologists, domestically and internationally, Durkheimian sociology solely represented French sociology.

This was not entirely accurate as there were at least two other schools vying with it, namely the Wormsians around the *Revue Internationale de Sociologie* and the Leplayians around the journal *La Science Sociale*.[7] By equating French sociology with Durkheimian sociology, this chapter thus operates an unfair but practical association for the sake of demonstration. A fuller description of the French reception of British sociology should take into account, at least, the two other schools in existence in the interwar years.

3.1. Introducing French sociology

3.1.1. The international context and cultural overtones of sociology

Between the 1895 and 1940, France and Britain were the two world superpowers. America was still in a frail state, with strong isolationist tendencies, and Germany their main rival.

They had been colonial rivals for a long time and, following the Fashoda Incident in 1898, struck a gentleman's agreement over Africa. The *Entente Cordiale* was therefore established

[7] These non-Durkheimian schools of sociology are presented in 4.4.1.

between the old British Monarchy and the young French Republic in 1904. In spite of a strong rivalry and a persistent misunderstanding, a common front was put up against the German colonial claims after the Agadir crisis in 1911 especially. They were eventually allies in WWI and emerged as victors of the conflict.

In 1928, France had 41.5 million inhabitants, representing the fourth largest population of Europe, while Britain had 45 million inhabitants. On the other hand, Germany had 63 million and America had a population of 120 million, when it was decided to curb immigration in 1921. France and Britain were comparable powers in the interwar years, although the British Empire was larger in size.

The birth of sociology is usually attributed to Comte in the 1830s. Isidore Auguste Marie François Xavier Comte (1798-1857), better known as Auguste Comte, was a French philosopher. He was influenced by the utopian socialist Henri Saint-Simon, an industrialist, and coined the word *sociologie* in 1837. His social theories culminated in scientific positivism and his 'Religion of Humanity' had a major impact in Britain, where it was upheld by Geddes and Branford and in Brazil (whose motto *Ordem e Progresso* translates as Order and Progress and inspired by Comte).[8] Comte was a major influence on 19th-century thought, inspiring such social thinkers as Karl Marx, John Stuart Mill and George Eliot.

The word of sociology was invented, but the discipline only became a reality with the publication of Durkheim's landmark *Règles de la méthode sociologique* in 1895.[9]

[8] See 2.1.2. about the Comtean inspiration.
[9] Émile Durkheim, *Les Règles de La Méthode Sociologique* (Paris: Félix Alcan, 1895).

David Émile Durkheim (1858-1917) was born in Épinal, a small town located in the Lorraine region in Eastern France, in a devout Jewish family. As the son of Moïse Durkheim, a rabbi, he was expected to succeed him in the task and started studying in a rabbinical school. However, he eventually entered the *École Normale Supérieure* (ENS) in 1879, on his third attempt, and studied philosophy among the most brilliant students of the nineteenth century, with classmates including the socialist leader Jean Jaurès or the Nobel-awarded philosopher Henri Bergson.

Durkheim passed his PhD with a dissertation on the social division of labour in 1893 and became world-famous with the critically-acclaimed journal *L'Année sociologique* which appeared between 1898 and 1925.[10] Such was born 'the French school of sociology' led by those who called themselves 'The Durkheimians' and who spread the Master's theories.

The Durkheimian circle was a tight-knit community of influential academics including Marcel Mauss (1872-1950), Célestin Bouglé (1870-1940), Maurice Halbwachs (1877-1945), François Simiand (1873-1935), Paul Fauconnet (1874-1938) and Lucien Lévy-Bruhl (1857-1939), among many others.[11] The Durkheimians were votaries of the Republic, close to the French socialists, and they dominated the field of sociology in France and internationally.

Sociology was regarded as 'an essentially French science' between 1895 and 1914, and she helped establish the national reputation in science and the arts.[12] The discipline symbolised the

[10] Émile Durkheim, *De La Division Du Travail Social* (Les Classiques des sciences sociales, 1893) <http://classiques.uqac.ca/classiques/Durkheim_emile/division_du_travail/division_travail_1.pdf> [accessed 25 June 2016].
[11] For a full list of collaborators, see Philippe Besnard, 'La Formation de L'équipe de L'Année Sociologique', *Revue Française de Sociologie*, 20.1 (1979), 7–32.
[12] As Durkheim presented it with some complacency in 1915 in America in 'Sociology' in Émile Durkheim and Kurt H. Wolff, *Essays on Sociology and Philosophy*, Academy Library (New York ; London: Harper & Row, 1964), pp. 376–85.

glorious years of the Republic in science as effectively as the Eiffel Tower in architecture, and the period between 1895 and 1914 is usually referred to as the *Belle Époque*.[13]

Sociology in France carried strong moral overtones, and its intellectual developments were linked to domestic necessities. Durkheimian sociology was supposed to bring out a national reconstruction, following the French Revolution, and a moral renewal, following the secularisation of the Third Republic after 1905. Durkheimian sociology was its *morale officielle*. Most jobs offered in sociology were thus as teachers of *Éducation morale et civique* in schools, more rarely as academic researchers and lecturers. Teaching became largely State-organised and funded. The cultivated man of the 19th and 20th centuries was trained in many subjects, with a focus on humanities. This was called *Culture générale*, or general knowledge, and sociology was generally accepted as part of it in France, especially at the prestigious ENS and in the Parisian *salons*.

In Britain, on the other hand, the gentlemanly education delivered at Oxbridge was more focused on the building of 'character', with a strong ethical and humanistic aspect, a particular attention paid to the study of Classics (known as *literae humaniores* or 'Greats' at Oxford) and a focus on sporting and social activities. An increasing interest in the social sciences (with important strides made in psychology, geography and anthropology) was notable in the interwar years, but sociology was a controversial exception. Its applied dimension was favoured in provincial universities and research was limited to London. But Oxbridge, contrary to ENS in France, remained impervious to sociology.

3.1.2. Academic sociology: Was it really different from Britain?

[13] The *Belle Époque* ('The golden times') is referring to the period between 1895 and 1914 in France, at time of economic, cultural and political prosperity following the establishment of the Third Republic in 1870, the definitive retreat of the Monarchists and increasing harmony between social classes. It conveys similar overtones as the Edwardian era (1901-1910) in Britain.

Victorian and Edwardian Britain, on the other hand, frowned upon these French developments. Not only was sociology associated with the notorious theories of Herbert Spencer, conjuring up dull images of the workhouses and the tragic memories of the Corn laws, of *laissez-faire* and of social Darwinism, but on the other hand Idealism was widespread and held that a natural science of man was probably impossible, and if not, at least undesirable. Hobhouse fought to warrant his disciplinary claims and to devise a properly native, Idealist tradition of sociology in Britain in this uncongenial context. Such were his challenges.

Yet surprisingly, the institutional developments of Edwardian sociology were remarkable: A chair, a national Society and a journal were successfully established between 1903 and 1908, paving the way for the rest of Europe. Sociology in Britain knew institutional success, in spite of having intellectual claims denied.

It was the opposite in France. Paradoxically, French sociology knew intellectual success but its institutional claims were denied. Durkheim's intellectual influence was immense and by 1914, he had virtually monopolised the meaning of the word.[14] A quantitative study of writings in France has showed that the discipline was very much *à la mode* (fashionable) at the time of the *Belle Époque*.[15] The intellectual and public prestige of the discipline was very important before WWI.

But the academic opposition to Durkheimian sociology was also strong and even intensified in the interwar years.[16] There was, moreover, a divide between Durkheimian 'teachers' and

[14] Hawthorn, p. 174.
[15] Sébastien Mosbah-Natanson, *« La Sociologie Est À La Mode » : Productions et Producteurs de Sociologie En France Autour de 1900* (Université de Paris Dauphine: Thèse de doctorat, 2007).
[16] See for instance the harsch criticism made by the Communist campaigner and Normalien scholar Paul Nizan, *Les chiens de garde* (Paris: Rieder, 1932).

Durkheimian 'researchers' which left sociology in a precarious state after Durkheim's death.[17] In spite of great intellectual acclaim, Durkheim's sociology was not very successful institutionally: One author famously even spoke of his 'semi failure'.[18]

Indeed, the discipline surprisingly remained minor in universities. The first chair of 'Pedagogy and Sociology' was founded at the University of Bordeaux in 1887 and held by Durkheim, until his departing for the prestigious Sorbonne in Paris, where a chair in Education was established for him in 1902. Durkheim was replaced by Gaston Richard (1860-1945), first a collaborator at the *Année Sociologique* and later one of its opponents, who held the chair in Bordeaux until his retirement in 1930.[19] Max Bonnafous, a *Normalien* and socialist philosopher, succeeded Richard until 1938 when Raymond Aron filled the chair for a six-month interim.

Durkheim's chair at the Sorbonne was renamed a chair of 'Education and Sociology' in 1913, and Célestin Bouglé succeeded him after his untimely death in 1917, at the age of 59. The third chair in 'Pedagogy and Sociology' was held by Georg Simmel, the famous German sociologist, at the Kaiser Wilhelm University in Strasbourg between 1914 and 1918. After WWI, Strasbourg was returned to France and it was Maurice Halbwachs who, at the age of 46, eventually secured the first permanent, single chair of 'Sociology' in France in 1922 later conferred to Georges Gurvitch in 1935 before his emigration to America in 1940, owing to his Jewish-Russian origins. A fourth chair in 'Sociology and Education' was shortly in existence at the University

[17] Victor Karady, 'Stratégies de Réussite et Modes de Faire-Valoir de La Sociologie Chez Les Durkheimiens', *Revue Française de Sociologie*, 20.1 (1979), 49–82.
[18] Victor Karady, 'Durkheim, Les Sciences Sociales et l'Université : Bilan D'un Semi-Échec', *Revue Française de Sociologie*, 17.2 (1976), 267–311.
[19] 'A Note on the Life of Gaston Richard and Certain Aspects of His Work', in *Durkheim on Religion*, ed. by William S. F. Pickering (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1975), pp. 343–59; William S.F. Pickering, 'Gaston Richard: Collaborateur et Adversaire', trans. by Michel Bozon, *Revue Française de Sociologie*, 20.1 (1979), 163–182.

of Montpellier between 1929 and 1935 and conferred to the philosopher Georges Poyer, but was later dismantled.[20] That was all for the most prestigious 'French science'.

3.1.3. Where was it taught?

In the 1920s, sociology was largely under-institutionalised in France contrary to the widespread belief, with departments teaching some form of sociology only in Bordeaux (with Gaston Richard), Strasbourg (with Halbwachs), Montpellier (with Georges Poyer) and Paris (with Paul Fauconnet and Célestin Bouglé).[21] Mauss also held a chair in Sociology at the *Collège de France* from 1931 to 1940, but this was not a degree-awarding institution.[22]

But Durkheim never became a full-fledged Professor of Sociology while he was alive, and the first chair in the subject was only established in Strasbourg in 1922 – while Hobhouse had his proper chair of Sociology established in London as early as 1908, allegedly the first in Europe. In both countries the sociological identity was still floating and some kinds of social science were taught under other headings in France (as in Political Science at Sciences Po in Paris, for instance) or in Britain (as Social Work in Birmingham and Manchester, for instance).[23]

At the Sorbonne, a course entitled 'General Sociology' (but representing exclusively Durkheimian sociology) was taught to students in the Philosophy Department taking the optional Certificate in 'Morals and Sociology', i.e. about 30 students every year. But such a thing as a degree in sociology was non-existent in France until 1958, when the BA (the *Licence*) was eventually introduced: France was surprisingly lagging behind Britain. PhDs in sociology

[20] Jean-Paul Laurens, 'Georges Poyer (1884-1958), Professeur de Philosophie À La Faculté de Lettres de Montpellier de 1922 À 1940', *Le Dit de l'Université Paul-Valéry Montpellier III*, 77 (2004), 3–4.
[21] Johan Heilbron, 'Les Métamorphoses Du Durkheimisme, 1920-1940', *Revue Française de Sociologie*, 26.2 (1985), 203–37 (pp. 204–5).
[22] Fournier, *Marcel Mauss*, p. 273.
[23] Pierre Favre, *Naissances de la science politique en France (1870-1914)* (Paris: Fayard, 1989).

would not even be allowed in France until 1958, while women could already undertake such degrees at the LSE in the interwar years.[24]

Aside from the few universities, sociology was also taught at two other institutions: In the 200 teacher training schools (known as the *Écoles Normales*) and at the *École Normale Supérieure* in Paris (one of the most prestigious *Grandes écoles* selecting the best students of the country on the basis of a competitive examination). As Steven Lukes, one of the early British specialists of Durkheim, put it, the ENS (as it is known today) was 'the French equivalent of Jowett's Balliol' and a prestigious platform for the discipline.[25] Célestin Bouglé, a disciple of Durkheim, headed the School between 1920 and 1940 and benefited from Rockefeller funding throughout. The interwar ENS was the closest equivalent to Tawney's LSE, with a gush of ideas and enthusiasm for politics and social sciences.

At the Sorbonne and at ENS, the lectures given were limited to Durkheimian sociology.[26] In the *Écoles Normales*, on the other hand, sociology was rather considered an applied discipline, like civics in Britain, that teachers used to spread the Republican *morale* in concrete terms. Other, non-Durkheimian, trends such as Catholic sociology, were existent but much less visible academically.[27]

Many Durkheimians were members of faculties or held positions at the Ministry of Public Education like Paul Lapie. As a result of his intervention and after a long battle, sociology was introduced as a compulsory subject in the 200 *Écoles Normales* in 1920 and taught there until

[24] See 1.6.1.
[25] Lukes, p. 45.
[26] As the bibliography given in Célestin Bouglé and Marcel Déat, *Le guide de l'étudiant en sociologie* (Paris: Garnier Frères, 1921) shows.
[27] See 4.3.3.

1940. This ensured that the demand for sociological textbooks was important in the interwar years. The sociology textbooks of the *Écoles Normales* were based on an official curriculum created by the two Durkheimians Bouglé and Fauconnet. But the popular demand for introductions to the subject which was becoming part of the domestic *culture générale* was also increasing, just like in Britain.

3.2. The French reception: Countering the British hegemony in the social sciences (1895-1912)

3.2.1. Thwarting Herbert Spencer in Durkheim's *Rules of the sociological method*

Durkheim first published his doctoral thesis in 1893 as *De la division du travail social* and, two years later, finished his seminal *Rules of the sociological method*. In this short latter book, he defined what he called '*les faits sociaux*', the object of the new discipline called '*sociologie*', for which he proposed guidance, i.e. 'rules' for a scientific method. Durkheim was clearly inspired by the philosopher René Descartes to write his set of *Règles de la méthode*.[28] In that, he purposely chose to assimilate himself with a French tradition, inspired by a rationalist ideal.

Since Espinas' seminal thesis on animal societies published in 1877 in France, many books had been published on sociology.[29] Durkheim could have been just one more attempt at defining the new science. However, one reason why his book turned out to be more successful than others, apart from its inherently original dimension, is that he strategically wrote his book against those who were then the 'stars' of world sociology, namely Auguste Comte and Herbert

[28] René Descartes, *Discourse on the Method of Rightly Conducting the Reason and Seeking Truth in the Sciences*, trans. by John Veitch (Edinburgh: Sutherland & Knox [1637], 1850).
[29] Alfred Victor Espinas, *Des sociétés animales: Etude de psychologie comparée* (Dijon: Darantière, 1877).

Spencer. Spencer was, in the 1890s, the master of sociology. His name was equated with the discipline and, by comparison, Durkheim stood as just an obscure writer.

However, he was clever enough to use Spencer's figure as a 'nemesis' to define his own sociological rules. Durkheim started the opus by indicting Comte and Spencer for not 'leaving the realm of generalities on the nature of societies' and failing to 'define a proper method to be applied to the study of social facts [*faits sociaux*]'. In all of Spencer's works, 'the methodological problem has no place,' he deplored.[30]

As a result, Durkheim claimed that the English sociologist was never preoccupied with facts but always remained 'in ideology' or 'in pre-notions [*prénotions*]', providing sociology with a subject 'which has nothing specifically sociological'. According to Durkheim, Spencer did not define society but studied rather 'the idea which he ha[d] about it', and which included laissez-faire, the spread of workhouses and a fictitious 'struggle of all against all' in society.[31]

Durkheim concluded that, contrary to these 'great thinkers' who had given 'a theoretical formula, rather than a practical application' of sociology, his efforts were driven 'towards instituting this discipline'.[32] Durkheim ended the *Rules* by stating that he wished to bring forward Comte's and Spencer's scientific positivistic ideal into a proper 'discipline', from the realm of ideology into that of facts. That was a pretty ambitious, but practical, aim.

If he 'admired M. Spencer's *First Principles*' for 'the quantity of documents that were accumulated', Durkheim found that the 'external method was just the first step of science',

[30] Durkheim, *Les Règles (1895)*, p. 17.
[31] Durkheim, *Les Règles (1895)*, pp. 26–27.
[32] Durkheim, *Les Règles (1895)*, p. 79.

which required a second step, 'explanation'.[33] Strikingly enough, by 1895 it was Durkheim who criticised British sociology for its 'ideology' and not yet the other way around. Elsewhere, he explained what he meant by this ideology: 'The narrow utilitarianism and utilitarian egoism to be found in Spencer and among the economists' which 'reduces society to being just a large apparel of production and exchange' without 'superior interests towering above individual interests'.[34] At the core of Durkheim's criticism of Spencer's sociology was both a scientific consideration and a political humanism: Society should have a bigger place in economics, and socialism should be taken seriously to counter the tragic consequences of *laissez-faire* policies that were observed in Victorian Britain.

Thus, by 1895, as he was just another young promising Doctor in Philosophy from the Sorbonne, Durkheim was smart enough to use Spencer's figure as a 'nemesis' to define his own stance on the matter, and eventually create his own school of thought. The game was not settled yet and anyone could still have carried over the monopoly of sociology at the time: By targeting Spencer and Britain directly, he set himself above the fray and gave the impression he was towering above internal, domestic debates. By doing so, he avoided mentioning the three other, more actively competing, domestic schools that were opposing his views, namely that of Gabriel Tarde, René Worms and Frédéric Le Play.[35]

3.2.2. Opposing Westermarck and the 'English school of anthropology'

[33] Émile Durkheim, *L'Empirisme rationaliste de Taine et les sciences morales* (Classiques des sciences sociales, 1897), p. 5 <http://www.uqac.ca/zone30/Classiques_des_sciences_sociales/classiques/Durkheim_emile/textes_1/textes_1_07/empirisme_taine.html> [accessed 22 June 2016].
[34] Émile Durkheim, *L'individualisme et les intellectuels* (Classiques des sciences sociales, 1898), p. 4 <http://www.uqac.ca/zone30/Classiques_des_sciences_sociales/classiques/Durkheim_emile/sc_soc_et_action/texte_3_10/individualisme.html> [accessed 22 June 2016].
[35] See 4.4.1.

After the foundation of the *Année sociologique* journal in 1896, Durkheim and his disciples tried to make their way into international sociology by criticising their competitors; One of them being the 'English school of anthropology' that was dominating the field at the turn of the century. On several occasions, Marcel Mauss indeed mentioned 'the English school, or rather (for it has often moved beyond the limits of English science) the anthropological school of comparative science of religions', and the theories of 'those scholars of the English school'.[36] By this he referred to the school of anthropologists from Tylor to Westermarck since 1870.

In a long article published in the *Revue philosophique* in 1895, Durkheim reviewed Westermarck's *Origins of marriage*. He used this occasion to criticise the English school which was then the most advanced. He started by admitting that his was 'an interesting work on the origins of marriage' owing to the accumulation of 'an imposing mass of documents', but then criticised the 'English method' which was 'essentially ethnographic and psychological'.[37]

Durkheim reproached Westermarck for 'uncritically' defining man according to evolutionist 'darwinism' which meant that 'our psychical constitution and even our animal nature' was 'the main source of social life'.[38] That was something Durkheim could not accept, because for the French it was our social nature that was the main source of our psychology and even our animal nature, following Rousseau, and not the other way around. For Durkheim, to base sociology on Darwinism was to base 'science on a hypothesis' or an opinion that ruined its relevance: It was, once again, 'ideological'. And to base social laws such as marriage on 'psychological

[36] Marcel Mauss, review of *An Introduction to the History of Religions - Londres, 1898*, by F. Byron Jevons, *L'Année Sociologique*, 1 (1898), 160–71 (p. 160); Marcel Mauss, review of *The popular Religions and Folklore of Northern India. 1898, Westminster.*, by W. Crooke, *L'Année Sociologique*, 1 (1898), 210–18 (p. 217).
[37] Émile Durkheim, *Origine du mariage dans l'espèce humaine d'après Westermarck* (Classiques des sciences sociales, 1895), pp. 4–5 <http://www.uqac.ca/zone30/Classiques_des_sciences_sociales/classiques/Durkheim_emile/textes_3/textes_3_3/origine_mariage.html> [accessed 22 June 2016].
[38] Durkheim, *Origine du mariage d'après Westermarck (1895)*, p. 6.

instincts' or 'on the biblical conception of the family' was taking the problem the wrong way around in sociology, because then Society was nowhere to be found – and sociology then became useless.[39] This was typically what British critiques thought.

'Mr. Westermarck believes that the amount of information may compensate for their mediocre quality', Durkheim taunted, while for him what mattered in sociology was to have 'facts well established and demonstrative', 'crucial, as Bacon put it, even though they are few.'[40] Interestingly, Durkheim presented himself as more empirical and scientific in mind than the English themselves, deliberately referring to an English philosopher and arguing for the use of historical and ethnographic data for rectification.

Regarding marriage, as opposed to Westermarck who found its basis in man's psychological nature, Durkheim refuted that there should be 'a definite relationship between family and marriage, on the one hand, and social organisation, on the other' and that he could not see this to be the subject-matter of sociology.[41] The discipline should neither be based on an evolutionist assumption, like Spencer, nor on psychological material, like Westermarck, according to him.

As Mauss remarked, among British sociologists, 'the emergence of religious phenomena is neither accounted for by social needs nor by the relevant institutions, but by entirely personal conceptions'.[42] For the British anthropologists of religion, as opposed to Durkheim, religious belief was simply a matter of individual conception and not a social product. Mauss remarked with a measure of surprise that 'a certain intellectualism is the hidden principle of this method' because, for them, "men's actions are supposed to depend on their views of the world". He

[39] Durkheim, *Origine du mariage d'après Westermarck (1895)*, pp. 7–9, 20.
[40] Durkheim, *Origine du mariage d'après Westermarck (1895)*, pp. 6–7.
[41] Durkheim, *Origine du mariage d'après Westermarck (1895)*, p. 21.
[42] Mauss, 'Review of Byron Jevons (1898)', pp. 161–62.

concluded that 'always and everywhere' paradoxically in the English school of anthropology, 'it is again ideas that govern everything'.[43]

Mauss did not realise that the English school of anthropology was following T. H. Green's Idealism which asserted that 'the facts of consciousness are the only facts that we are justified in asserting to exist' and that 'human experience is God gradually made manifest'.[44] Following this, Society, religion and morality were interpreted by Westermarck as issuing from the individual – and not social – consciousness, and there lay the main difference with the French.

As expressed by Marx and following Durkheim, for the French sociologists, 'It is not the consciousness of men that determined their existence, but their social existence that determines their consciousness', while for the British Idealist sociologists, it was the individual and not society which was real. Durkheimianism countered the Hegelian Idealism prevailing in Britain, because it reified society against the individual, as in Hobhouse.[45]

But at the time, Durkheim was seen as a contender defying the English hegemony over anthropology. At the turn of the century, he was slowly establishing his name after the publication of his study of suicide in 1897 and the first volumes of the *Année* in 1898, 1902 and 1906.[46] In it, he got involved in many controversies with English anthropologists such as Robertson-Smith and his theory of sacrifice, Westermarck and his theory of marriage or Hartland and his theory of totemism.[47]

[43] Mauss, 'Review of Byron Jevons (1898)', p. 162.
[44] Article on 'Green, Thomas Hill' in *Encyclopædia Britannica* (1911).
[45] Armand Cuvillier, *Introduction à la sociologie*, 1st edn (Paris: A. Colin, 1936), p. 73 explained that 'It is this sociological point of view which opposes Marx and Engels from the beginning to the Young Hegelians.'
[46] Émile Durkheim, *Suicide: A Study in Sociology*, trans. by John A. Spaulding and George Simpson (Glencoe, Illinois: Free Press [1897], 1951).
[47] Pizarro Noël, pp. 168–202.

The controversy with Westermarck was carried on in a critical review of his *Origins of moral ideas* published in 1906.[48] Durkheim underlined that the author 'remained faithful to the method which the German anthropological school of law and the English school of religious anthropology has followed for so long.' Westermarck assumed that the foundation for morality had to be 'sought among the more general and permanent dispositions of human nature', i.e. in psychology, although he agreed in principle with Durkheim 'that morality is essentially social'.[49]

By 1904, Durkheim's hegemony over sociology had slowly replaced that of Spencer, Westermarck and the school of English anthropologists. In return, his influence on the beginnings of the London Sociological Society was very palpable and, in spite of his physical absence from the first meeting, his intellectual clout proved heavy – if not smothering – for the frail Edwardian British sociology.

3.3. Durkheim's reception in Britain: The refutation of collective consciousness and of his sociological imperialism

3.3.1. A smothering patronage of the Sociological Society

After Spencer's failure to institutionalise sociology in universities, an effort was made to set up a Sociological Society in 1904 to start anew.[50] Durkheim's shadow was floating over the Society: The model of the 'French sociological school' was now internationally recognised. In that context, Durkheim was invited to present before the Sociological Society coincidentally

[48] Émile Durkheim, review of *The origin and development of the moral ideas. Vol I. Londres, 1900*, by Edward Westermarck, *L'Année Sociologique*, 10 (1906), 383–95.
[49] Durkheim, 'Review of The Origin of the Moral Ideas (1906)', p. 384.
[50] See 2.1.3.

with Victor Branford a paper entitled 'On the relation of sociology to the social sciences and to philosophy'. Owing to Durkheim's absence, it was eventually read at the LSE on 20 June 1904 by Pr. Bernard Bosanquet, the Idealist philosopher close to Leonard Hobhouse who was chairing the meeting, and published in the first volume of the *Sociological Papers*.[51]

Durkheim started by claiming that 'the prime postulate of a science of society is the inclusion of human phenomena within the unity of Nature', i.e. that sociology was a deterministic science of human conduct on the model of physics. Only such a conception could retain sociology's scientific aspect, Durkheim thought, because of its 'precise observations which may be resumed in general formulae called natural laws'.[52] Was society natural? For Durkheim, obviously it was.

But this may have been badly received because Durkheim was claiming before two of the most prominent Idealist philosophers Bosanquet and Hobhouse, that sociology was a possible science of man with deterministic laws.[53] An American observer who took stock of the precarious boundaries of sociology in Britain noted in 1927 that, among British academics,

> 'There is still a strong and rather prevalent aversion to thinking of human nature in mechanistic terms and to "prying into the individual's innermost recesses" to obtain those personal documents which are proving so important in advancing sociological knowledge. […] In England the individual will probably not be sacrificed for scientific purposes.'[54]

Durkheim exemplified that, against 'the Comte-Spencer tradition of seeking to discover the general laws of social evolution by speculative [philosophical] rather than observational [scientific] methods', there were increasingly 'conspicuous examples of […] legitimate

[51] There is no evidence as to why Durkheim was missing. However, he was a man with little interest in seminars and conferences, which he avoided whenever possible. His spoken English was apparently not very good and, above all, he would have found himself confronting an antipathetic audience.
[52] Durkheim, 'On the Relations of Sociology to the Social Sciences (1905)', p. 197.
[53] Collini, *Liberalism and Sociology*.
[54] Palmer, p. 761.

sociological specialisms' such as 'Maine and Fustel De Coulanges', the French historians, 'Schmoller and Bücher', the German political economists, and 'Tylor, Frazer and Hartland' the British anthropologists.[55] By reinterpreting all these traditions as 'sociology', including British anthropology, his intervention was probably seen as a sociological imperialism from the French that must have shocked the Society's members such as English anthropologists, eugenicists and ethical philosophers.[56]

Durkheim insisted that 'in no other way can a unified science of society be developed than by the systematisation of all scientific specialisms, which are essentially sociological in character.'[57] Sociology was to be 'the queen of sciences', as Comte had put it, superseding all specialisms. He implied that the only way to achieve this was to 'separate the different categories of phenomena and study each apart', taking as a model the division of labour at work in the *Année sociologique* which was divided between several sections such as 'sociology of religion, 'general sociology', 'sociology of economics', etc.

He thus concluded that 'it is necessary that sociology become a body of particular sciences'.[58] Durkheim precisely behaved as an intellectual colonialist before the Sociological Society, confirming the fear of a French hegemony over sociology and without much subtlety, at a time when British sociology was questioning itself and still looking for advice.

Unsurprisingly, during the discussion that followed, the attention was brought on this hegemonic conception of sociology as a 'synthesis' of particular sciences. The first answer came from L. T. Hobhouse, already a part-time academic but not yet Professor of Sociology at

[55] Durkheim, 'On the Relations of Sociology to the Social Sciences (1905)', p. 198.
[56] Pizarro Noël, p. 151.
[57] Durkheim, 'On the Relations of Sociology to the Social Sciences (1905)', pp. 199–200.
[58] Durkheim, 'On the Relations of Sociology to the Social Sciences (1905)', p. 198.

the LSE, criticising Durkheim's views by stating that 'it is very easy to say that sociology must be a body of truth which is to illuminate social questions, but does this body of truth at present exist?' Hobhouse suggested that the Durkheimian interpretation was just one creed, one school, and not the alpha and omega of sociology by remarking that 'it is easy to say that there must be certain working hypotheses, but we in this society should be very sorry if we had to identify ourselves as a society with the hypothesis of any particular school.'[59] The answer to Durkheim was loud and clear.

Hobhouse concluded that the definitions given by Durkheim and Branford in the paper read before the Society 'refer to the position of sociology at the present moment. I do not think that they endeavour to lay down an ideal of what sociology is to be in the future.' In spite of thanking both authors for their effort, Hobhouse underlined that it only purported to show 'what sociology claims to be at the present time, and therewith have indicated the next steps which investigation ought to take.'[60] These next steps probably appeared clear to those in the room: Sociology in Britain had to become an autonomous discipline in the future, without a foreign influence or interference, and could not reach out to the French for help.

This characterized the first reception of Durkheim in Britain, which was at the time more a reflection of his hegemonic personality rather than of his ideas. The controversial question of the 'conscience collective' (collective consciousness) only came after the reception of Durkheim's *Elementary Forms of Religious Life* in 1913 by the LSE anthropologist Bronislaw Malinowski.

3.3.2. A sense of urgency among the French

[59] Hobhouse's intervention in the discussion subsequent to Durkheim, 'On the Relations of Sociology to the Social Sciences (1905)', p. 216.
[60] Hobhouse after Durkheim, 'On the Relations of Sociology to the Social Sciences (1905)', p. 216.

In the 1910s, colonial tensions were at a height in Europe and so was the competition in sociology and anthropology. In 1911, a survey of the literature showed that there were only 14% of titles written in French, 31% in English and 45% in German. Durkheim had 72% of his quotations in the *Elementary forms* referring to works in English.[61] He also turned to American thought himself in the lectures he delivered at the Sorbonne in Paris on *Pragmatism and sociology* in 1913-14.[62] There was a feeling of increasing world competition and a sense that France was losing its supremacy in the field to the Germans and the Anglo-Saxons.

Marcel Mauss, Durkheim's nephew and an anthropologist himself, surveying 'ethnography in France and abroad' in 1913, conceded that 'let's not compare the state of ethnography in France with the developments it has known abroad. This comparison, which is not at our advantage, would risk to seem systematic.'[63] To testify to the apparent superiority of the ethnography of the English over that of the French, he remarked in his survey that as a 'It is a humiliating thing to notice that, even for Madagascar, for the New Hebrides, the best information is to be sought in English books,' while these were French colonies.[64]

While most colonial governments had an ethnographic bureau exploring their territories, France was lagging behind. However, one reason to celebrate was that as far as Germany, its archenemy, was concerned 'comparison should be more in our favour' Mauss congratulated

[61] Victor Karady, 'Durkheim et les débuts de l'ethnologie universitaire', *Actes de la recherche en sciences sociales*, 74.1 (1988), 23–32 (pp. 25, 30).
[62] Émile Durkheim, *Pragmatisme et sociologie : Cours inédit prononcé à la Sorbonne en 1913-1914* (Classiques des sciences sociales, 1955) <http://www.uqac.ca/zone30/Classiques_des_sciences_sociales/classiques/Durkheim_emile/pragmatisme_et_socio/pragmatisme_et_socio.html> [accessed 22 June 2016].
[63] Marcel Mauss, *L'ethnographie en France et à l'étranger* (Classiques des sciences sociales, 1913), p. 21 <http://www.uqac.ca/zone30/Classiques_des_sciences_sociales/classiques/mauss_marcel/oeuvres_3/oeuvres_3_10/ethnographie_en_france.html> [accessed 23 June 2016].
[64] Mauss, *L'ethnographie en France et à l'étranger (1913)*, p. 19. Madagascar was then a French colony and the New Hebrides was a Franco-British condominium in the Pacific Ocean.

himself.[65] However, compared to the multiple chairs in existence in the United States, in England, Germany and Austria, Mauss lamented that '*chez nous, c'est le néant*'. Paris certainly had the *Musée du Trocadéro* but it was largely underfunded: 'It is urgent to organise science; one will see to its teaching later', he concluded.[66]

Mauss ended his paper on a note of urgency sent to all ethnographers: 'Facts themselves, which one must observe, are vanishing every day. [...] Time, day after day corrodes the life of races, of things, of stuff, of facts. And it acts very swiftly.'[67] For that he praised the British for lobbying their institutions and universities in favour of the discipline: 'It's nor or never that facts must be recorded. *Now or never* [sic], declared, in a dramatic address to the Government of Great Britain, M. Ridgeway, the Cambridge archaeologist, pleading before his country the cause which we are defending here.'[68] Britain, America and Germany were seen as new, successful models of anthropology that were now seriously competing with the Durkheimians.

3.3.3. Malinowski's critique of Durkheim's *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life* in 1913

On the other hand, the book entitled *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life* was one very successful book written by Durkheim. The book was somewhat similar to Hobhouse's study of primitive societies, describing the totemic system among the Australian aborigines.[69] Initially published in France in 1912, it was rapidly translated into English in 1915 while *Rules of the Sociological Method* had to wait until 1938.[70]

[65] Mauss, *L'ethnographie en France et à l'étranger (1913)*, p. 21.
[66] Mauss, *L'ethnographie en France et à l'étranger (1913)*, p. 26.
[67] Mauss, *L'ethnographie en France et à l'étranger (1913)*, p. 36.
[68] Mauss, *L'ethnographie en France et à l'étranger (1913)*, p. 36.
[69] Hobhouse, Wheeler, and Ginsberg.
[70] Émile Durkheim, *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life: A Study in Religious Sociology*, trans. by Joseph Ward Swain (London; New York: G. Allen & Unwin; Macmillan, 1915); Émile Durkheim, *The Rules of Sociological Method*, ed. by George Edward Gordon Catlin, trans. by Sarah A Solovay and John Henry Mueller, 8th edn (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press [1895], 1938).

At the time, the Durkheimian school of sociology was now firmly established in the field. Bronislaw Malinowski had recently moved to London and just turned 29. As a young graduate student registered at the LSE who had just published a major work of ethnography in English (supervised by Westermarck), *The Family among the Australian Aborigines* in 1913, Malinowski published an influential review of the *Elementary Forms* that year. The piece appeared in *Folklore,* a journal of anthropology devoted to the study of traditional cultures.

Admirably enough, Malinowski read the book in French, as it was not translated yet, and was also very familiar with Durkheim's untranslated book, *Rules of the Sociological Method*. That gave him a first-hand knowledge of Durkheimianism that many of the later critics lacked.

He initiated the review by placating the French, underlining 'the importance of Prof. Durkheim's new work, for the appearance of a large volume from the pen of the leader of the French sociological school is a scientific event'.[71] He was laudatory of the piece on the primitive religion of Australian aborigines, describing it lyrically as 'the systematic and final expression of the best organized sociological school extant on a subject specially important to, and specially well-mastered by, this school.'[72]

After this praising introduction, Malinowski recalled that in *Rules*, which were not yet available in English, Durkheim had 'strenuously insisted upon the treatment of social phenomena "as things"', i.e. insisted 'upon the necessity of excluding all forms of psychological explanations from sociology'. The exclusion of psychology from the study of society was specific to French

[71] Bronislaw Malinowski, review of *Les Formes Élémentaires de la Vie Religieuse. Le Système Totémique en Australie. (Bibliothèque de Philosophie Contemporaine)*, by Émile Durkheim, *Folklore*, 24.4 (1913), 525–31 (p. 525).
[72] Malinowski, 'Review of Les Formes Elémentaires (1913)', p. 526.

sociologists and this appeared to many 'rather artificial and barren in its practical applications, – and especially to British anthropologists, who prefer psychological [and historical] explanations of origins.'[73] To sum up Malinowski's remarks on the book, Durkheim's generic and exterior approach of society undoubtedly provided a refreshing conception of religion but thus laid too much stress on the social, as opposed to the psychological, nature of the religious.[74]

Apart from the 'very serious objections' levelled at *Elementary Forms* on scientific grounds such as 'basing most far-reaching conclusions upon practically one single tribe, the Arunta', Malinowski could not agree with Durkheim that the origins of religion should be found merely in 'crowd phenomena'.[75] Just like Durkheim had done to establish himself as a reference against Spencer earlier, Malinowski now claimed against Durkheim that 'it is not admissible to base a system upon a mere assumption, instead of on certain knowledge', i.e. suggesting that the book embodied Durkheim's prejudice rather than science.[76]

More crucially his point was that Durkheim's conception of religion turned Society into 'an active being endowed with will, aims, and desires' because '*elle est à ses membres ce qu'un dieu est à ses fidèles*' [sic] and '*parce qu'elle a une nature qui lui est propre, différente de notre nature d'individus*' [sic].[77] This, Malinowski insisted, had to be labelled 'an entirely metaphysical conception' which in Britain was the worst possible insult for a scientist. 'Society conceived as a collective being, endowed with all properties of individual consciousness' could not be accepted at all, 'even by those sociologists who accept "collective consciousness" in

[73] Malinowski, 'Review of Les Formes Elémentaires (1913)', p. 526.
[74] See 3.2.2.
[75] Malinowski, 'Review of Les Formes Elémentaires (1913)', p. 526.
[76] Malinowski, 'Review of Les Formes Elémentaires (1913)', p. 527.
[77] Malinowski, 'Review of Les Formes Elémentaires (1913)', p. 527.

sense of a sum of conscious states' such as 'McDougall, Simmel and Wundt', Malinowski argued.[78] Durkheim and the French were alone.

Malinowski thus concluded that Durkheim reified Society as a concrete being and divinised the collective consciousness which he imposed on individuals. Although he sympathized with Durkheim's emphasis on the social, as opposed to psychological, origins of religion which was a refreshing view for the English school of religious anthropology, he wrote that 'Prof. Durkheim's views present fundamental inconsistencies' with 'a metaphysical conception deprived of any empirical meaning; or is society itself the "god"'?, which 'reminds one somewhat of Hegel's Absolute, "thinking itself"' for Malinowski, and probably of French Absolutism.[79] That was definitely unpalatable.

From this ethical judgment on Durkheim's *Elementary Forms* in the review, one may easily infer what the British reception of Durkheim was at the time of his death in 1917: A mistrust of his concept of collective consciousness and an aversion towards his sociological imperialism, that were equated with a typical reflection of French Absolutism. Steven Lukes reported in his biography that 'When told that the facts contradicted his theories, [Durkheim] used to reply: "the facts are wrong".'[80] Durkheimianism epitomised the reported French bias towards rationalism and intellectualism, as opposed to British empiricism and common sense.

More than just a scientific controversy, the battle opposed two national traditions and superpowers vying in the field of social sciences. At the end of the period, as Geoffrey Hawthorn put it, 'Durkheim's intellectual victory before the First World War had been a purely

[78] Malinowski, 'Review of Les Formes Elémentaires (1913)', p. 528.
[79] Malinowski, 'Review of Les Formes Elémentaires (1913)', p. 529.
[80] Lukes, p. 33.

verbal one': The word 'sociology' was virtually monopolised by the French, Durkheimian understanding of the discipline.[81] Palmer later confirmed that 'the interest of the French in the science at that time was sufficient cause for British disapproval.'[82]

The inter-national dimensions of world sociology before 1914 cannot be sidelined. Too often they have been, as if the developments of sociology in Britain or in France could be solely understood on a domestic level. Already before WWI intellectual exchanges were globalised and competition between the two countries was very strong in all fields, in spite of gentlemanly conduct under the Entente. These transnational considerations have to be excavated, so that the quest for a properly British version of sociology at the LSE in the interwar years, away from Durkheimianism, could be understood in light of this competition and smothering patronage of Durkheim.[83]

The difficult institutionalisation of interwar sociology can partly be explained by the unfortunate association between 'Sociology', 'a French science' and 'the Durkheimian orthodoxy' in Britain before 1917. Tragically, this prejudice endured well after WWI as Hawthorn, one of the finest observer of the history of sociology, exemplified in his depiction of the Durkheimian circle as late as 1976:

> 'The spirit of the *équipe* of the *Année* had been above all an *esprit de système*. The circle had been convinced that Durkheim's conceptions were so fundamental and all-embracing that it was perfectly natural that those infected with them should attempt to apply them elsewhere.'[84]

3.4. 'Rates of exchange' rather than intellectual exchanges: Mauss and Leplay House in 1923-24

[81] Hawthorn, p. 174.
[82] Palmer, p. 758.
[83] This quest is described in full details in Chapter 1 in Hobhouse's and Ginsberg's efforts especially.
[84] Hawthorn, p. 173.

On 15 November 1917, Durkheim died of a heart attack, following a long period of nervous distress caused by the death of his son André at the front two years before. A page was turned, a chapter was closed, and a new order could arise. As the disciples of Durkheim tried to soften his intellectual grip over French sociology in the interwar years, they found themselves increasingly interested in the British and American examples in getting more facts, less ideology and more funding. Yet the new leadership of Marcel Mauss, Durkheim's nephew, proved uneasy.

After the First World War, the state of French sociology was dramatically altered, and so was the competition with the British model. WWI claimed a great toll among French sociologists, leaving Durkheimian sociology, after the loss of many supporters, researchers and of its master, in an 'appalling state' as Marcel Mauss described it.[85]

In these troubled times, Durkheimianism appeared shaky. At the same time, British sociologists at the Sociological Society were active, as was testified to by the establishment of Leplay House and Leplay House Press in 1920 to promote sociology and extend Geddes' work in Britain. While l'*Année Sociologique* had stopped publishing since 1913, the *Sociological Review* continued uninterrupted even during WWI. With these new assets, it was unexpectedly British sociologists that fostered the rebirth of French sociology in 1923.

3.4.1. A fickle Durkheimian taking over his uncle's leadership: Marcel Mauss

After 1917, Mauss had to take over from his uncle Émile Durkheim as the new leader of the French sociological school but did not seem particularly happy to do so. Just like his uncle, he was born in Épinal (in 1872, when Durkheim was aged 14), and like much of the Parisian élite,

[85] Marcel Mauss, 'Foreword', *L'Année Sociologique*, NS 1 (1924), p. 1.

he was trained as a philosopher and took the *Agrégation* exam the same year Durkheim published his book, *Rules of the Sociological Method*, in 1895. A socialist like his uncle, he was not a *Normalien* scholar however and, after a while at the University of Bordeaux where Durkheim looked after him, he moved to Paris to study Sanskrit and started a thesis on prayer in 1909, which he never completed.

When the War broke out, Mauss' fluency in English led him to an appointment as an interpreter with the 27th division of the British army where, he wrote to his mother, 'living exclusively with Englishmen without real friends is a boring thing'. In June 1916, he moved to the Vth Australian division where he could 'speculate on the sociology of the Australians' given he had 'several authentic specimens' in front of him, he wrote to his mother.[86] He took part in the battle of the Somme in the Summer of 1916 with the Australians but was never seriously wounded.

It seems Mauss enjoyed life under wartime, which he found so much more exciting than academia: 'Morals, better war than the *Année*!', he declared in December 1916. His punctuality and intelligence were praised and he was even awarded the 'medal for distinguished conduct on the field' and the 'military cross' for his actions.[87]

These only go to show how Mauss' personality stood in stark contrast with his uncle's rather stern and cold rationalism. His knowledge of English served him many times in his career, mostly as an anthropologist, and he enjoyed such prestige in the community that he was even made an Honorary Fellow of the Royal Anthropological Institute in 1925, as a testimony of his

[86] Fournier, *Marcel Mauss*, pp. 372–95.
[87] Fournier, *Marcel Mauss*, pp. 372–95.

good relations with the English anthropologists.[88] His friendship and good relations with Britain have been largely examined and commented in the literature.[89]

Just like Branford for sociology in Britain, Mauss was responsible for most of the developments of anthropology in France: He was involved with the *Année* as early as 1901 and headed its rebirth in 1924. But Mauss could never strongly commit himself to the amount of work required for the new series of the journal, which led to its demise after an aborted second volume in 1925. That year, however, he founded the *Institut d'Ethnologie de Paris*, published a seminal *Essai sur le don* and eventually published his lecture notes from the Institute as a popular *Manuel d'ethnographie*.[90] Although he taught sociology from 1931 onwards at the prestigious *Collège de France*, he appeared to have thrived more in anthropology and he trained a whole generation of famous ethnographers such as Alexandre Koyré, René Maunier and Michel Leiris. In 1934, Maurice Halbwachs and François Simiand started a new series of *Annales sociologiques*, a poor cousin of the *Année*, because Mauss had failed to take matters in hand.

He relentlessly promoted his mother discipline and taught almost 300 ethnologists at the *Institut d'Ethnologie* between 1936 and 1938.[91] Of Jewish denomination, he was persecuted by the Vichy regime and, although he remained in Paris and resumed his activities after WWII, he died all but forgotten in 1950. Nowadays, his prestige in France is almost equivalent to that of Malinowski in Britain.

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[88] Fournier, *Marcel Mauss*, p. 563.
[89] Wendy James, Marcel Mauss, and N. J. Allen, '"One of Us": Marcel Mauss and "English" Anthropology', in *Marcel Mauss: A Centenary Tribute* (New York ; Oxford: Berghahn Books, 1998), pp. 3–26.
[90] Marcel Mauss, *Essai sur le don: Forme et raison de l'échange dans les sociétés archaïques* (Classiques des sciences sociales, 1925) <http://www.uqac.ca/zone30/Classiques_des_sciences_sociales/classiques/mauss_marcel/socio_et_anthropo/2_essai_sur_le_don/essai_sur_le_don.html> [accessed 27 June 2016]; Marcel Mauss, *Manuel d'ethnographie* (Classiques des sciences sociales, 1926) <http://www.uqac.ca/zone30/Classiques_des_sciences_sociales/classiques/mauss_marcel/manuel_ethnographie/manuel_ethnographie.html> [accessed 27 June 2016].
[91] Fournier, *Marcel Mauss*, p. 694.

3.4.2. The resurrection of the *Année* with 'a little help from our British friends'

The resurrection of the *Année* in France did not occur until 1923 when a special subsidy of 'something between 8,000 and 9,000 Frs yearly' was offered to Mauss by the *Confédération Générale des Sociétés Scientifiques*. The news triggered an enthusiastic reply from Branford who offered some support, probably financial, to Mauss who thanked him in return for his 'kind and generous initiative'.[92] Marcel Mauss received their offer with sympathy, at a time when French sociology was in great distress: 'It is very touching for me, he replied in perfect English to Branford in June 1923, and for all of us to see how you and our British friends are willing to help us. We do not find in our own country such an autonomous sympathy.'[93] Mauss' appeal to the generosity of his 'British friends' to revive the *Année* was interpreted as a mark of confidence for Leplay House: At last someone, and not less than the nephew of the 'founding father' himself, was grateful to them.

The situation for the *Année* was different in 1923 from the first series of the journal in 1898, when it was so popular and central to the development of the discipline that financial considerations were not really taken into account. The most important problem was that Mauss thought it now 'impossible to inflict on younger generations the same task as on DURKHEIM [sic] and us' and had to 'find means in order to be able to pay very modestly a secretariat and fees to the authors'. He thus concluded that it was now necessary to 'make the *Année sociologique* as rentable as possible' and the only way to do this was to 'raise a fund of 60 to even 70.000 Frs' because their publisher was 'not willing to give any payment' and the team

[92] It was impossible to locate a copy of the initial letter from Branford to Mauss in the archives. The quotation is taken from the latter's answer to Branford, quoted below.
[93] University of Keele Archives, LP/11/1/23, Marcel Mauss to Victor Branford, 28 June 1923.

had now 'to pay very high prices for books which publishers, and for reviews which editors will not send us before the first volume has appeared.'[94]

Mauss seemed optimistic in his letter to Branford as he observed that 'it has progressed satisfactorily' with a capital of about 40.000 Frs. 'Help from British friends would perhaps be a little thing for them and for us a very efficient and important one, the rate of the exchange being so much on your side,' Mauss hinted. Before writing to his new allies at Leplay House, Mauss indicated to Branford he had already lobbied 'his friend SELIGMANN, the Anthropologist' who got his letter but was 'unable to do anything for them, being himself busy raising big funds for the Royal Anthropological Institute', of which he was the Chairman.[95]

But Mauss did not realize that, contrary to France, there were absolutely no connections between the Oxbridge anthropologists and the amateur sociologists at Leplay House when he suggested that to Branford that 'if you like him to assist you in anything you would do for us, he would be, very likely, very pleased to join his name to yours.'[96]

The question was not immediately financial but it was 'a sort of promise of subscriptions which we want actually'. One way, Mauss suggested, could be 'a permanent subscription to our "*Institut Français de Sociologie*", which we are now just founding and in which we would be very pleased to have a certain number of our British colleagues amongst us'.[97] The move encouraged new, possibilities of cooperation between the two countries.

[94] Marcel Mauss to Victor Branford, 28 June 1923.
[95] Mauss to Branford, 28 June 1923.
[96] Mauss to Branford, 28 June 1923.
[97] Mauss to Branford, 28 June 1923.

Branford hastened to reply by suggesting greater co-operation with the *Année sociologique* team. He thought about a scheme 'by which the *Sociological Review* could have the benefit of translating and publishing some of the Abstracts made for the Année' and raised further 'the question of co-operation between the Belgian [Solvay] Institute, your Group, and the Sociological Review' which he hoped Mauss may 'think this worth some thought and planning' as an attempt to promote intellectual co-operation in European sociology. Branford added the co-operation could even be brought forward within the League of Nations through its 'Committee of the League on Intellectual Co-operation'.[98] The chairman was Henri Bergson, the world-famous French philosopher, at the time and Geddes had been in touch with him about his succession.[99]

It seemed both sociological interests aligned perfectly in 1923. Branford was looking for Mauss' intellectual support and clout with a view to increasing his weight in British sociology, which was fair given Mauss' little interest in Leplay House prior to Branford's financial offer. Both had domestic considerations in mind when it came to bridging a gap across the Channel.

Yet, little ensued. The contribution of British sociologists to French sociology remained mostly financial, although Mauss did put the name of Victor Branford forward as a benefactor in the foreword to the new volume of the *Année* in 1924 and made him a member of the *Institut Français de Sociologie* as promised. Geddes also founded a *Collège des Ecossais* (Scots College) to accommodate Scottish students in Montpellier in 1924 and made several trips there in the following years. Apart from that, the integration of 'British colleagues' into the French Institute in the 1920s was minor, and it seems that the French were more interested in the British for their exchange rates than for intellectual exchanges.

[98] The Committee of the League of Nations on Intellectual Co-operation was the ancestor of the UNESCO.
[99] University of Keele Archives, LP/11/1/23, Victor Branford to Marcel Mauss, 10 July 1923.

3.4.3. 'Merging the traditions of Comte and Le Play': Branford's own ambition for Britain

Branford finished his reply to Mauss by expressing the concern that the rebirth of the *Année* could mean a return to Durkheimian orthodoxy rather than a softening of his rule.

In a meeting from the French Institute of Sociology dated from 5 March 1924 sent by Mauss, one member urged that it 'should remain closely linked to the traditions of Durkheim'. Branford took this opportunity to indicate Leplay House's opinion: 'I hope the Institute will interpret the Durkheim tradition in the broad rather than the narrow sense', because they on their side had 'a definite criticism to make'. 'We in this country do not sufficiently realise that sociology is a French science and must be developed in the way defined by Durkheim', he granted but insisted that from their point of view 'Sociology is a French science in a double sense'. It came from Comte but was also 'of French origin dating from Le Play'. He recalled the fact to Mauss and the Durkheimians, who were keen to play this down given the permanent competition with the Leplayians to carry over the definition of the discipline since the 1890s in France. Branford concluded that their own effort in British sociology showed that 'the two synthetic traditions, those of both Comte and Le Play, can themselves be combined into a large frame-work of synthesis.'[100]

This criticism reflected Branford's own ambition for his sociology: To yield a British synthesis of the two French traditions. He confirmed this in an article for the *Britannica Encyclopaedia* in 1926:

> 'The two formative French schools, continuing and developing the initial impulses of their respective founders, are manifestly complementary. But owing to the sharp division in France between […] the doctrines of Comte and of Le Play […], these have, unfortunately for the progress of science, run independent courses, with little or no interpenetration. […] No serious attempt seems as yet to have been

[100] University of Keele Archives, LP/11/1/23, Victor Branford to Marcel Mauss, 23 July 1924.

> made in France to integrate their respective methods and products. But a third school (initiated in Edinburgh about 1890 by Patrick Geddes, and continued by V. Branford and other members of the Sociological Society) has laboured continuously towards uniting and developing both these main French traditions, viewpoints and methods.'[101]

Understanding the complex relationship of sociologists in Britain and the Durkheimians is thus illuminating. One thing appears clearly: In 1908 British sociology split over a sharp division between two trends: Those who followed Patrick Geddes and Victor Branford in the Sociological Society considered that their task was to adapt the French 'native traditions' of Comte and Le Play to Britain, whereas those who followed Hobhouse at the London School of Economics wanted to recreate a specifically *British* sociology in the guise of Idealist-inspired philosophy (in continuation of the tradition of thought ushered in by T. H. Green and J. S. Mill), without any reference to 'the present state of sociology' existing in France or Germany.[102]

3.5. Putting the French '*à l'école des faits*': A renewed interest in British sociologists (1925-1933)

By suggesting Durkheimian sociology should get closer to other trends for modernising the discipline, Branford set the finger on something that was controversial the Durkheimians: How to deal with the past and deal with Durkheim's smothering father figure over the discipline? Instead of reaching out to the competing Leplayians and Wormsians, the French formative school found it easier to look at the British and American examples. The result was an increasing interest in British sociology and social surveys in the 1930s to counter Durkheim's 'iron rule'. As Bouglé put it, it was now time to put the team *à l'école des faits*: Hence a renewed interest in British sociology.

3.5.1. 'Softening Durkheim's rule': A wish shared by sociology's 'Young Turks'

[101] Victor Branford, 'A Survey of Contemporary Sociology (1926)', p. 316.
[102] As Hobhouse suggested in the discussion following Durkheim's communication in Durkheim, 'On the Relations of Sociology to the Social Sciences (1905)'.

Several of Durkheim's disciples, following his death in 1917, started calling his doctrine into question and called for a modernisation of the discipline. What was true at the time of the *Belle époque* (the primacy of Society over the individual, the importance of social division of labour on a national scale, the preparation of the next war with Germany and the sacralisation of the individual sacrifice in the name of the Republic) and all hopes to change the world, including with Sociology, had now been wiped out. It was time for a new order, political and intellectual, to emerge and Durkheimianism was no exception with its 'Young Turks': Marcel Mauss, Maurice Halbwachs, Gaston Richard, Raymond Aron, Daniel Essertier and René Maunier.[103]

Mauss himself appeared unsatisfied with sociology and increasingly was interested in anthropology and ethnology, for the promotion of which he founded the Institute in Paris in 1925. He popularised fieldwork with a textbook, *Manuel d'ethnographie* in 1926.[104] Although he never voiced a clear criticism of Durkheim's ideas, his correspondence shows how patronizing his uncle was and that his grip over the nephew was hard to accept.[105] Mauss seems to have found it difficult to bear Durkheim's influence over his life. Seceding from his ideas might have been a way for Mauss of escaping his uncle's grip.

Although he can be described as an 'armchair anthropologist', Mauss encouraged his pupils to go in the field as he was unsatisfied with the ethnography available in France in the 1920s.[106] Testimonies from former students at the Institute showed how stimulating his classes were and how, despite remaining his whole life in Paris, excellent his understanding of ethnography and

[103] Heilbron, p. 225.
[104] Mauss, *Manuel d'ethnographie (1926)*.
[105] Durkheim, *Lettres À Marcel Mauss*.
[106] Fournier, *Marcel Mauss*, p. 611; Camille Tarot, *Sociologie et Anthropologie de Marcel Mauss*, Repères (Paris: La Découverte, 2003), pp. 18–35.

life in the colonies was.[107] His correspondence shows how active he was in promoting exchanges of students with Malinowski at the LSE.[108]

Maurice Halbwachs, Professor of Sociology at the University of Strasbourg between 1919 and 1935 and a close friend of Mauss, declared his interest in the psychological explanations of social facts, contradicting Durkheim's prescriptions in his book *Rules of the sociological method*. In 1924, he wrote a manual of statistics for social sciences to get closer to 'facts'.[109] While in Strasbourg, he defined a new discipline which he called *la psychologie collective* at the intersection of individual psychology and objective sociology. *Les Causes du suicide* published in 1930 reinstated the centrality of individual life in the causes of suicide, as opposed to Durkheim's purely statistical and rather cold approach in his book in 1897.[110] Mauss wrote in the preface to Halbwachs' book that he could determine 'to what extent there was a need to complement, modify, or even relinquish this or that thesis of Durkheim' and that Halbwachs had even 'suggested his own theories wherever it was needed' instead.[111]

Other followers of Durkheim physically seceded from his doctrine such as Gaston Richard, who moved to Bordeaux and became the head of the competing *Revue Internationale de Sociologie* in 1926 while René Maunier wrote both for the *Année* and the *Revue Internationale* but moved to a professorship in Cairo and later to Algiers.[112] Raymond Aron, one of the most promising members of the team, did not follow Durkheim uncritically while at ENS and recalled in his

[107] Heilbron, p. 230.
[108] LSE Archives, Malinowski 8/5 (Rockefeller Papers), Malinowski to Hofstra (15 March 1932), Tracy B. Kittredge to Malinowski (21 July 1932) and Malinowski to Kittredge (1 February 1933).
[109] Maurice Fréchet and Maurice Halbwachs, *Le Calcul Des Probabilités À La Portée de Tous* (Paris: Dunod, 1924).
[110] Maurice Halbwachs, *Les Causes Du Suicide* (Paris: Félix Alcan, 1930); Émile Durkheim, *Le Suicide : Étude de Sociologie* (Paris: Félix Alcan, 1897).
[111] Marcel Mauss and Victor Karady, *Oeuvres, tome 3 : Cohésion sociale et divisions de la sociologie*, Les Editions de Minuit (Paris: Le sens commun, 1969), p. 455 quoted in Fournier, Mauss, p. 633.
[112] William S.F. Pickering.

autobiography that he was not convinced by 'Durkheim's formula "God or society".'[113] Aron led a whole generation which reacted against the pre-war Kantian rationalism of their Masters, which they still found professed at the University and ENS, and rebelled against Durkheim's orthodoxy in the interwar years.[114]

Just like Mauss, these backbenchers found more common points with Anglo-Saxon sociologists than with those of their own country. Daniel Essertier, a disciple of Bergson who was close to Célestin Bouglé, called for closer links between sociology and psychology and for ascribing a brand-new role to the individual against Durkheim's prescriptions: 'We would almost even say [...] that the best point of view to study social phenomena is the individual', Essertier wrote in his PhD thesis.[115]

Maunier developed a new science he called *psychologie coloniale* (colonial psychology) inspired by Frederic Bartlett's *Psychology and primitive culture* (1923) and H. A. Miller's *Races, nations and classes: The psychology of domination and freedom* (1924).[116] Bartlett was a British psychologist who filled a chair in Experimental Psychology at Cambridge in 1931 and edited a successful textbook on the study of society with Morris Ginsberg in 1939, while Miller was a Professor of Sociology at the State University of Ohio in America. Both were new sources of inspiration for the disillusioned Durkheimians of the interwar years.

[113] Raymond Aron, *Mémoires. Cinquante Ans de Réflexion Politique* (Paris: Julliard, 1983), pp. 93–94.
[114] Jean-Christophe Marcel, *Le Durkheimisme Dans L'entre-Deux-Guerres* (Paris: PUF, 2001), p. 248.
[115] Daniel Essertier, *Psychologie et sociologie, essai de bibliographie critique.* (Paris: F. Alcan, 1927), p. 23.
[116] Pierre Singaravélou, 'De la psychologie coloniale à la géographie psychologique Itinéraire, entre science et littérature, d'une discipline éphémère dans l'entre-deux-guerres', *L'Homme et la société*, 1 (2008), 119–48 (p. 143); Frederic Charles Bartlett, *Psychology and Primitive Culture* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press [1923], 1970); Herbert Adolphus Miller, *Races, Nations and Classes: The Psychology of Domination and Freedom* (Philadelphia; London: J.B. Lippincott Company, 1924).

When in 1930 it was suggested that the *Année* should be resumed under the title *Annales sociologiques*, Halbwachs took matters at hand to avoid further procrastination from Mauss, and after a trip to Chicago that impressed him. 'Can we still save the *Année*?', he asked Mauss. 'It seems to me that depends on you. It would be good to show our American friends that we exist. In America, sociology is truly a reality.'[117] The *Annales* were eventually restarted in 1934 as brochures (and no longer as cumbersome volumes) but never knew the same success as the *Année*. It remained in existence, albeit published irregularly, until 1942.

The increasing importance of American sociology meant that the French hegemony over the field was receding. The Durkheimians were looking for new sources of inspiration and turned to British and American sociologists in the climate of growing dissatisfaction with Durkheim's orthodoxy and in their quest for renewal. In that context, the Rockefeller foundation was crucial in re-orienting its development in the 1930s because it was willing to fund social surveys.

3.5.2. The Rockefeller Foundation and the need for a 'more inductive' social science

John D. Rockefeller (1839-1937) was an American industrialist and philanthropist. In 1870, he founded the Standard Oil Company which subsequently became the first business trust in America. Rockefeller revolutionized the petroleum industry, became a billionaire and ushered in a new era in philanthropy along with the Scottish-born steel magnate Andrew Carnegie.

In 1918, he founded the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Foundation in memory of his wife, a philanthropic organisation to fund research in economics and the social sciences. The foundation proved central in the developments of teaching and research in America and Europe in the interwar years.

[117] Maurice Halbwachs to Marcel Mauss, 24 November 1931 quoted in Fournier, *Marcel Mauss*, p. 639.

Led by the American political scientist Charles Edward Merriam, the Social Science Research Council was inaugurated in New York in 1923 to coordinate funding from the Rockefeller foundation. In 1926, it offered to fund a chair in Sociology at the University of Cambridge owing to the belatedness of its developments in Britain, but the offer was politely declined.[118] Most centres of research in social sciences in America (Chicago, Harvard, Columbia, Yale etc.) were funded by Rockefeller and schools such as the LSE in London (where Lancelot Hogben's Department in Social Biology was established in 1936) and the *Deutsche Hochschule für Politik* in Berlin secured funds through the organisation.

France was no exception, although it came in as a late contender. Following a series of meeting with Merriam in June 1929, Mauss sent him an ambitious '*Projet de création d'un Institut de sciences sociales*' in Paris.[119] The Foundation deemed the project unrealistic and considered Mauss suspiciously on account that he was 'essentially a politician who has never produced anything himself', the French co-ordinator of the programme bluntly put it.[120] His links with socialism were notorious and were an obstacle to further co-operation with the Americans.[121]

Mauss seemed annoyed by the Americans' wait-and-see attitude and lamented: 'Why would the Foundation spend millions in subsidising research programmes in England and Germany while, for much less, Paris could be allowed to produce much more important and satisfactory scientific results?'[122] Mauss was aware that there were new schools of social sciences emerging in London and Berlin, and Paris too had to secure funding from Rockefeller not to lose pace.

[118] Bulmer, 'Sociology in Cambridge in the 1920s (1981)'.
[119] Brigitte Mazon, 'La Fondation Rockefeller et Les Sciences Sociales En France, 1925-1940', *Revue Française de Sociologie*, 26.2 (1985), 311–42 (p. 323).
[120] Mazon, p. 325.
[121] See his political writings in Marcel Mauss and Marcel Fournier, *Écrits politiques* (Paris: Fayard, 1997).
[122] Conversation with Mauss, 23 October 1931 quoted in Mazon, p. 326.

The French hegemony was now falling apart and France could only keep up with neighbours by getting inspiration from British social surveys thanks to American funding.

A *Centre de Documentation Sociale* (CDS) was therefore founded in 1920 at the *École Normale Supérieure* in Paris to promote empirical research on contemporary social issues, the first of its kind in France. The Centre was funded by the Laura Spelman Foundation from 1932 to 1940 (when it was dismantled) and headed by Célestin Bouglé. This central position at ENS enabled him to fund empirical research projects and send some of his *protégés* abroad for inspiration. Raymond Aron spent three years in Cologne and Berlin from 1930 to 1933 and later popularised Max Weber in his book, *La sociologie allemande contemporaine* (1935) which imported German sociology in France. Georges Friedmann, a young philosophy *Agrégé* and a Communist, took several trips to the USSR funded between 1932 and 1936 to study the organisation of work in the Soviet industry, while Jean Stoetzel, another promising *Agrégé*, spent one year in New York where he studied advertisement and met Georges Gallup, of the Gallup polls. Upon his return in 1938 he founded the 'French Institute of Public Opinion' (IFOP), the equivalent of the British Institute of Public Opinion founded at the same time.

The insistence of the Rockefeller Foundation on developing an inductive sociology, substantiated in field work, was crucial in encouraging the moulting of French sociology in the interwar years. Bouglé proved the kingpin of change in these developments.

3.5.3. The kingpin of change at ENS: Célestin Bouglé

Bouglé is usually described as a '*propagandiste*' and an '*entrepreneur de la sociologie*' in the literature which are certainly not flattering descriptions for an academic in French.[123] Armand

[123] Marcel, p. 221.

Cuvillier, one of his students in the 1930s at the CDS and a talented expositor of sociological theories, acknowledged that 'even among the sociologists […] not everyone agreed completely with the master's [Durkheim], sometimes narrow, dogmatism. […] Such was the case of Bouglé.'[124] Despite remaining distant from Durkheimianism his whole life and having a personal agenda (he was classified as a teacher, as opposed to a researcher), he was responsible for much of the institutional and intellectual renewal of sociology and his importance have to be recognised.

Just like Halbwachs, Bouglé was present at the inauguration of the Social Science Research Building in Chicago in December 1929.[125] In the *Annales sociologiques* in 1934 he praised the Americans' large-scale enquiries and 'the development that this kind of sociographical works has taken in the United States'. He added it would be 'easy to guess what benefit there would be if we, in France, were able to undertake such works.'[126] In the same issue, he tellingly noted that, to him, 'two or three cases well studied are worth in our view more than twenty treatises on methodology.'[127] In the 1930s, this showed that Bouglé knew what American sociology looked like and recognised its work was now a model.

Within a growing dissatisfaction with Durkheimian aloofness from reality, Bouglé and Aron edited three volumes of conferences organised at the CDS entitled *Inventaires I, II, III* between 1936 and 1939.[128] These purported, as the Rockefeller Foundation advised, 'to help those who

[124] Armand Cuvillier, *Manuel de Sociologie, Avec Notices Bibliographiques*, 3rd edn (Paris: PUF, 1950), p. 38 quoted in Marcel, Le durkheimisme, p. 269.
[125] As testified by Célestin Bouglé, 'The Present Tendency of the Social Sciences in France', in *The New Social Science*, by L.D. White (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1930), pp. 64–83.
[126] Célestin Bouglé, review of *Chicago, expérience ethnique, 1932*, by Maurice Halbwachs, *Annales Sociologiques, Série A*, 1 (1934), 93–96 (p. 96).
[127] Célestin Bouglé, 'Notes Sur La Méthode Expérimentale En Sociologie', *Annales Sociologiques, Série A*, 1 (1934), p. 83.
[128] Inventaires means stock-taking. Raymond Aron and others, *Inventaires I : La crise sociale et les idéologies nationales* (Paris: F. Alcan, 1936); Raymond Aron and Célestin Bouglé, *Inventaires II : L'économique et le*

pursue research in the field of inductive sociology, applied to the contemporary economic and social realities'.[129] The first volume dealt with 'the social crisis and national ideologies', the second with 'the economy and polity' and the third with 'the middle classes'. In the latter, Bouglé and Aron detailed the state of the middle classes in various countries and proposed a collective inquiry on the subject.

Henri Mougin, another ENS philosopher who was born in 1912, was responsible for staging the research project on the middle classes and deplored that 'Certain habits of sociological research in France may not be alien to the difficulties which presently occupy us'. Although 'Durkheim, in the study he gave of the rules of his sociological method, laid out a program for social morphology' which was useful for preparing the enquiry 'apart from primitive societies, these problems [...] are still discussed in our country from the point of view of method, they have not yet been transformed into facts', as opposed to 'the somewhat scattered, but considerable, theoretical and practical effort [by] the American sociologists'. Mougin summed up the characteristics of sociological works in France in 1939: 'Rarity of collective projects, a taste for sociological essays centered on a notion, a preference for introspective research whose purpose is simply to make known facts that were unknown previously, as opposed to investigations closer to reality'.[130] As a war was looming, the concern was palpable.

He suggested that for conducting research on the middle classes, they should take example on the Anglo-Saxon sociology which was now becoming a point of reference: 'Our enquiry, if one had to define it by analogy, would look like one of those *Surveys* [sic] of which English or

politique (Paris: F. Alcan, 1937); Raymond Aron and Célestin Bouglé, *Inventaires III : Classes moyennes* (Paris: F. Alcan, 1939).

[129] Aron and others, *Inventaires I*, p. 1.

[130] Aron and Bouglé, *Inventaires III*, pp. 293–94.

American sociology have sometimes brought us the example'.[131] Paul Vaucher, a historian specialising in English studies, surveyed the literature on poverty in the same volume and wrote that one could 'certainly gather a lot of instructive data from the splendid series of social investigations, these local "*Surveys*" [sic] that the English have published in recent years', in particular from the *New Survey of London* published by H. Llewellyn Smith between 1930 and 1935 'the most complete and wealthiest of all'.[132] Vaucher went so far as to mention A. F. Wells' 1935 textbook on surveys as well as 'similar surveys, especially those led in the Cumberland and the Lancashire which enlighten social life of contemporary England.'[133]

As it appears, the English social survey was becoming a new point of reference for the Durkheimians, along with American sociology, prompted by the Rockefeller Foundation. Bouglé thought it necessary to develop fieldwork and a modern sociology in France to bridge the gap between the Durkheimian and the Leplayian tradition. Bouglé had the notorious reputation of being '*un sociologue libéral*' in the French sense, i.e. supporting *laissez-faire* and not socialism like the rest of his colleagues at ENS. This translated into a wish for a cross-party cooperation in sociology between the right-wing Catholic school of Le Play and that of the left-wing socialist Durkheimians. He owned this up in his unexpectedly laudatory review of Paul Bureau's textbook *Introduction à la méthode sociologique* (1923).[134]

Bureau (1865-1923) was a Catholic sociologist who identified with the school of Le Play while remaining open to the ideas of Durkheim at the same time. Just like Bouglé, he was an exception. In his textbook, he lamented 'the separation into two isolated camps of the men of

[131] Aron and Bouglé, *Inventaires III*, p. 324.
[132] H. Llewellyn Smith, *The New Survey of London Life and Labour*, 9 vols (London: P. S. King, 1935).
[133] A. F. Wells, *The Local Social Survey in Great Britain* (London: Le Play House Press, 1935); Aron and Bouglé, *Inventaires III*, pp. 114–15.
[134] Paul Bureau, *La science des moeurs : Introduction à la méthode sociologique* (Paris: Bloud & Gay, 1923).

study and the men of science'. He deplored the divide between 'les *Enfants de la Tradition* et les *Enfants de l'Esprit nouveau*', i.e. the conservative Monarchist Leplayians and the socialist Republican Durkheimians.[135]

When reviewing the book for the 1924 *Année*, Bouglé supported him by regretting 'the kind of divorce that [Bureau] sees in France between the team that is attached to Le Play and the one that is attached to Auguste Comte'. Bouglé underlined it was necessary 'to place oneself deliberately in the present and in the individual in order to understand how institutions live' and hoped 'the tradition of the School of social science [*l'École de la science sociale*]' would 'thankfully correct the tendencies of the French school of sociology'.[136]

'Is this to say that it suffices to use the monographic method as defined by Le Play?' No, for Bouglé concluded on 'the dangers of an exclusively monographic method' and recalled 'the need to keep in mind [...] the "total" perspective and that of the "collective" [*du collectif*]'.[137] Bouglé did not think it useful to relinquish Durkheimianism completely either.

Eventually when surveying the state of French sociology for the International Conference of the Social Sciences held in Paris, he recognised that 'one should insist on the necessity of conducting "sociological" investigations' and the solution seemed to be 'to get the traditions of Le Play married with that of Durkheim'.[138] Bouglé was confident that the 'School of Durkheim'

[135] Bureau, p. 10 The italic emphasis is from Bureau.
[136] Célestin Bouglé, review of *La science des mœurs, 1923*, by Paul Bureau, *L'Année Sociologique*, NS 1 (1924), 200–202.
[137] Bouglé, 'Review of Bureau'.
[138] Raymond Aron, A. Demangeon, and J. Meuvret, *Les sciences sociales en France : enseignement et recherche* (Paris: Hartmann, 1937), p. 24.

had finally found 'a way of becoming more efficient than merely in the field of philosophical discussions' and claimed: '*Les collaborateurs de* l'Année *se sont mis à l'école des faits*.'[139]

3.5.4. A renewed sense of urgency

In a way, Branford's wishful thinking that 'both traditions of Comte and Le Play should merge' in Britain was increasingly called for by Bouglé and Mauss in France too – if not yet in reality in the 1930s.

In 1933, the volumes on *La Science Française* initially written for the San Francisco Expo in 1915, were reissued and Marcel Mauss had a piece in it to introduce 'Sociology in France since 1914'.[140] Mauss was careful to present French sociology as more co-operative and open intellectually to the world than before.

Mauss first admitted that 'the school of Le Play represents in France the tradition of the investigation', as opposed to 'the French School of sociology' of Durkheim which adopted a deductive, philosophical approach. 'None of us has ever denied the value of these studies', he claimed apologetically, since it had only been about 'adding other crucial studies, which had to be made perfect in the name of other [rationalist] principles'.[141]

Mauss betrayed a renewed sense of urgency after his 1913 account of 'Ethnography in France and abroad'.[142] 'Should the advancement of our theories suffer and be delayed, as is the case in our country, we must participate in this work of immediate observation, direct it' because as

[139] Aron, Demangeon, and Meuvret, p. 40.
[140] Marcel Mauss, *La sociologie en France depuis 1914* (Classiques des sciences sociales, 1933) <http://www.uqac.ca/zone30/Classiques_des_sciences_sociales/classiques/mauss_marcel/oeuvres_3/oeuvres_3_11/sociologie_en_france.html> [accessed 27 June 2016].
[141] Mauss, *La sociologie en France depuis 1914 (1933)*, pp. 12–13.
[142] See 3.3.2. Mauss, *L'ethnographie en France et à l'étranger (1913)*.

sociologists and anthropologists 'that is our function', he argued. The reason why Mauss felt so anxious was no longer because of facts 'being lost' in the colonies as in 1913, but because they 'had to be multiplied' to document the development of 'all our large societies, of […] our towns, the country, our races and our families'. Reflecting the urgency of the situation with an accumulation of adjectives, Mauss longed for 'descriptions that are new, detailed, encoded, mapped or plotted on small scales, photographed, cinematographed, expressed in curves and diagrams, etc.'

With a sense of tragedy typical of modern societies, and some would say of the French, Mauss alarmingly concluded it was high time 'that the fundamental traits of the societies in which we live' were now 'fixed with all the resources of our sciences' for both 'theory and practice, for today's science and that of tomorrow'.[143] Mauss shared this concern for culture both with Georg Simmel in Germany and Malinowski in Britain.[144]

Mauss rejoiced that the team became 'less preoccupied' with general ideas and principles than, 'say, the German sociologists.' However, the publication of documents on contemporary social issues had not reached 'in our country the perfection of the United States in the sociological analysis of the life of some large cities' such as Chicago. But Mauss also praised the big sociological strides made in Britain with the perfection 'which characterises the survey which has started in London and that is being published right now' [i.e. *The New Survey of* London by H. Llewellyn Smith, 1930-35]. His paper ended on a hopeful note for the future: '*En tout cas, en France du moins, l'idée de la sociologie chemine*.'[145]

[143] Mauss, *La sociologie en France depuis 1914 (1933)*, pp. 12–13.
[144] Georg Simmel, *The Conflict in Modern Culture, and Other Essays* (New York: Teachers College Press, 1968). About Malinowski's concern for culture, see 6.5.3.
[145] Mauss, *La sociologie en France depuis 1914 (1933)*, p. 14.

By 1939, the French disciplinary hegemony had come to an end. This may be explained both domestically and internationally. On a domestic scale, the moral disillusionment after WWI and dissatisfaction with the Durkheimian orthodoxy following his demise in 1917, an inducement by the Rockefeller Foundation's financial contributions and the generation of Young Turks led by Raymond Aron in the 1930s rebelling against the Masters' Kantian rationalism led to a 'more inductive social science' and to 'more facts, less doctrine'. On an international scale, the rising influence of the Americans in the sociological field, of German sociologists imported in France by Aron after 1933 and of the British social survey after 1935 were unsettling French sociology on the brink of War.

3.6. The Durkheimian reception of British sociologists in the *Année* (1895-1940)

Did the French really ignore the vibrant sociological community active in Britain? Contrary to what they held themselves and to what is commonly held in the literature, the Durkheimians did not. On the contrary, they were very much aware of what was happening in British sociology as a survey of the 590 reviews of the 1924 *Année* showed that 18% concerned books published in Britain (in third position after French sociology, second with 26%, and German sociology, first with 31%). Nearly one in five books bought by the Durkheimians in the interwar years came from Britain, which shows how important British sociology was for the definition of their own thought.

Yet this centrality of Britain never appeared and has never been acknowledged. Was this out of shame from the Durkheimians, was it just unconscious, born out of condescension for their neighbours or simply a strategic move? All these motives were good enough to avoid

recognising the importance of Britain in the shaping of French thought. This section will therefore examine this paradox and try to unravel the reasons at stake behind it.

3.6.1. Outward self-righteousness before 1914

In the 1909 volume, a French review of L. T. Hobhouse' *Morals in Evolution*, a philosophical study of evolutionary ethics, explained that 'this work reflects, in a pleasant and sometimes elegant manner, the generous, perhaps somewhat naive, aspirations of English neo-liberalism today'. The reviewer lectured Hobhouse for 'such a work would doubtless exceed a man's strength, if it were to be done in a scientific spirit. In reality this book belongs to the philosophy of history, not to sociology'. The judgment was severe and implied that Hobhouse's effort was not scientific but an antipositivist, rubbish attempt at writing sociology.[146] Even though Hobhouse was acknowledging difficulties in defining his discipline autonomously, this was very harsh and arrogant.

Another review of a British work by Mauss in 1909 noted that the author's "conception of sociology is remarkably ambiguous, like that of many English scholars" wherein 'politics, morals and science are intertwined with theological concerns'.[147] That seemed hard to swallow for the French while the normative and philanthropic dimensions of British sociology had been a regular feature since the establishment of the Social Science Association in 1857. The two traditions were back to back.

This condescension even confined to self-righteousness in the interwar years. Daniel Essertier taunted Frederic Bartlett's alleged conservativism for 'he does not dare to give the community

[146] Robert Hertz, review of *Morals in evolution. A Study in comparative ethics. Londres, 1900*, by Leonard T. Hobhouse, *L'Année Sociologique*, 11 (1909), 276–77.
[147] Marcel Mauss, review of *The tree of life. A study of religion. Londres, 1905*, by E. Crawley, *L'Année Sociologique*, 10 (1906), 204–9 (p. 204).

as such the power to create' while according to him 'the French Sociological School has sufficiently proved that a certain boldness in hypothesis can be fruitful'.[148] The French sociologist patronized the psychologist for not following the Durkheimians on the path to 'collective consciousness', while McDougall had published a seminal book popularising the concept in Britain in 1920.[149]

Yet even this bridge did not go far enough for Essertier, who wrote again in 1924 that Durkheim was 'more willing [than psychologists] to acknowledge the pertinence of collective representations on institutions' defined as 'collective consciousness distinct from individual consciousnesses'. Essertier commented that 'this fact is what puzzles many minds, who fear entities' [*qui craignent les entités*], sarcastically referring to MacDougall and other social scientists in Britain who, owing to an alleged pusillanimity, resisted the assumption.[150]

3.6.2. Increasing frustration in the 1920s

This self-righteousness also hid frustration from the French in the interwar years. At a time when British sociology was now completely severing its ties with Durkheim and securing an autonomy under Hobhouse, Ginsberg and Geddes, they found hard to acknowledge the existence of a full-fledged, native tradition of sociology in Britain.

They strove to maintain their former hegemony whenever possible in the *Année*. Bouglé described Branford's book *Science and sanctity*, which skilfully defined the links between his sociology, social reconstruction and the religion of humanity, as the mere initiative 'of moral

[148] Daniel Essertier, review of *Psychology and Primitive Culture. – Cambridge, 1923*, by F. C. Bartlett, *L'Année Sociologique*, NS 1 (1924), 236–41 (pp. 240–41).
[149] McDougall, *The Group Mind (1920)*.
[150] Daniel Essertier, 'Sociologie et Psychologie', *Annales Sociologiques, Série A*, 1 (1934), 121–71 (p. 145).

faith-driven town planners' inspired by Thomas Carlyle 'and beyond Carlyle, by the tradition of Saint-Simon', i.e. French Comtism and utopian socialism.[151]

In the same volume, a book review on British anthropology recognised that 'here again is spontaneously applied the impartial and objective method of depersonalization advocated by M. Lévy-Bruhl to understand the primitive mentality'.[152] Lucien Lévy-Bruhl (1857-1939) was a French scholar trained in philosophy, who made a substantial contribution to the budding fields of sociology and ethnology with two world-famous studies of 'primitive mentality'.[153] Lévy-Bruhl was inspired by Durkheim and devised the concept of 'collective representations'.

Reviewing Hobhouse's seminal book published in 1924, *Social development,* Célestin Bouglé frustratingly underlined that, although 'in many pages, the author's conceptions get close to those of the contributors of the *Année Sociologique* […] it seems that he would rather ignore Durkheim's works on that account and on many others'. Bouglé rejoiced that both schools reached similar conclusions across the Channel: 'Compare for instance what Hobhouse says about institutions as being the subject-matter of sociology to what Mauss and Fauconnet said in the *Grande Encyclopédie*'s article about Sociology' in France, he wrote. In spite of this, Bouglé ultimately deplored, 'Mr. Hobhouse does not even point out these coincidences himself. If they result from entirely independent research from each other, then they are even more

[151] Célestin Bouglé, review of *Branford (Victor). – Science and Sanctity – A Study on the scientific Approach to Unity. – Londres, 1923*, by Victor Branford, *L'Année Sociologique*, NS 1 (1924), 218–19. Auguste Comte was secretary to Henri de Saint-Simon, his mentor, in the 1820s.
[152] Georges Davy, review of *The home of an eastern clan. A study of the Palaungs of the Shan States. – Oxford, 1924.*, by Leslie Milne, *L'Année Sociologique*, NS 1 (1924), 604–5.
[153] Lucien Lévy-Bruhl, *Primitive Mentality*, trans. by Lilian A Clare (London; New York: George Allen & Unwin Ltd.; Macmillan Co. [1922], 1923); Lucien Lévy-Bruhl, *How Natives Think*, trans. by Lilian A Clare (London: G. Allen & Unwin [1910], 1926).

significant' for the future developments of sociology.[154] But the tables had turned since his first reception in 1909, and it was the Durkheimians who now asked for Hobhouse's cooperation.

3.6.3. A genuine admiration for the Webbs

There was one exception to the mistrustful reception of British sociologists by the Durkheimians: Beatrice and Sidney Webb.

As early as 1898, their work entitled *Industrial Democracy* was reviewed in the *Année* by François Simiand, the economist of the team.[155] Simiand praised the fact that 'their work seems to be the true model of a sociological study in contemporary economic and social matters' using 'a methodical observation of social facts, practicing induction and generalization with prudence and every scientific reserves'.[156] The review also contained a detailed criticism of their methodology which, contrary as in Hobhouse's case, did not matter greatly.

In the 1924 *Année*, Maurice Halbwachs reviewed the Webbs, for their book *The Decay of Capitalist Civilisation.*[157] From the outset he warned that the book was 'no longer constructive, as the first one' because it was now 'a critique of the industrial capitalist *régime*, like a propaganda pamphlet that should provide arguments to the English Labour Party as it is engaged in party politics'. The author concluded this was 'an endearing book' which was 'rather rich in contents, just like every book the authors have written' but where it was a shame that 'history and sociology should all but disappear in the shadow of social policy'.[158]

[154] Célestin Bouglé, review of *Social Development. Its nature and conditions. Londres, 1923*, by Leonard T. Hobhouse, *L'Année Sociologique*, NS 1 (1924), 192–95 (p. 195).
[155] Sidney Webb and Beatrice Webb, *Industrial Democracy* (London: Longmans, Green [1897], 1911).
[156] François Simiand, review of *Industrial Democracy, Londres, 1897*, by Sidney and Beatrice Webb, *L'Année Sociologique*, 2 (1898), 486–506 (p. 506).
[157] Sidney Webb and Beatrice Webb, *The Decay of Capitalist Civilisation* (Westminster: The Fabian society, 1923).
[158] Maurice Halbwachs, review of *The decay of capitalist civilisation. Londres, 1923.*, by Sidney and Beatrice Webb, *L'Année Sociologique*, NS 1 (1924), 896.

A political alignment with the Webbs' Labour Party and a distrust of Hobhouse's Liberalism was clear, as it seemed obvious from these reviews that the political dimension coloured the reception of British sociology. The Durkheimians, and Mauss especially, felt more at ease with the Labour Party (which they saw as a socialist party like the SFIO, which was founded in 1905, in France) than with Hobhouse, not to say Spencer, which they understood as *laissez-faire* campaigners.[159]

Mauss was openly an admirer of the Webbs, 'whose name will be for many centuries known to historians and peoples, while that of the masters who exploit us and lead us will have fallen in oblivion', he stated in his political writings.[160] But more deeply, he felt sympathetic owing to their association with the Fabian Society, which purported to develop sociology for the direct improvement of society through the founding of the LSE in 1895 and through reformist legislation. As sociologists, 'our practical conclusions will be rare and of little relevance?', Mauss asked his readership in a long paper in 1927. That constituted 'one more reason to disseminate them liberally and energetically' he wrote, before concluding that it would not be until then 'that the cause of sociology will ultimately be won'. 'The usefulness of sociology will prevail', he hoped with the Webbs, as a testimony that so far it had remained useless.[161]

Because Mauss could not see reformism happen in his own country and because he had to sever his commitment to socialism from sociology, contrary to the British sociologists who conducted

[159] '*Libéralisme*' in French exclusively means 'laissez-faire' and being called '*un libéral*' is like being called 'an intellectual' in Britain: it is almost an insult.
[160] Marcel Mauss, *Écrits Politiques - Textes Réunis et Présentés Par Marcel Fournier*, 3 vols, 1997, II, p. 104 <http://classiques.uqac.ca/classiques/mauss_marcel/ecrits_politiques/12283288t2.pdf> [accessed 28 January 2017].
[161] Marcel Mauss, *Divisions et proportions des divisions de la sociologie* (Classiques des sciences sociales, 1927), pp. 52–54 <http://classiques.uqac.ca/classiques/mauss_marcel/essais_de_socio/T2_divisions_de_socio/divisions_de_la_socio.html> [accessed 25 June 2016].

sociology and politics hand in hand and openly, he hoped the Webbs would show the way in Britain. Aside from their political allies, the Durkheimians admired the Webbs for the practical outlook of their sociology which they could not find actual in France.

Secondly, the Durkheimians also admired British sociologists with Geddes' sociology for its innovative method. Reviewing 'his new pamphlet entited *Civics as concrete and applied Sociology*, M. Geddes indicates his method and his programme more clearly'. 'We are with him when he urges sociologists to give up hasty generalizations and to set themselves under the rule of facts [*se mettre à l'école des faits*]', although they wondered whether 'the study of contemporary facts, travel, is perhaps not the most direct means for the sociologist to come into contact with the observable reality'. 'We have no objection in principle against the monographic method', Paul Fauconnet concluded.[162]

This was not so easy to admit for the Durkheimians in France, owing to the unfortunate association of the method with Frédéric Le Play's *monographies de familles*, the competitor. Coming to terms with Geddes' Leplay-inspired *monographies de cités* helped the Durkheimians reconnect with its past and foster a modern sociology, thanks to its native British adaptation.

3.6.4. Appeasement and Insularism: Reflecting the state of international relations after 1933

It is fascinating to see how the state of international tensions impacted on the reception of British sociology in France: First as a tentatively new 'Entente' between France and Britain to counter Nazi Germany and second as an indictment of British insularism. All this led to an ultimate catastrophe in 1940, both intellectually and militarily.

[162] Paul Fauconnet, 'Sociological Papers, Published for The Sociological Society. Volume II, Londres, 1906', *L'Année Sociologique*, 10 (1906), 188–90 (p. 189).

At the 1936 annual conference of the Institute of Sociology, Ginsberg reviewed the state of sociology and for once acknowledged that 'the influence exerted by Durkheim on the social sciences appears to have been very great' and had been 'a vitalising thought, even though the particular form of the theory of society as a supra-individual reality may turn out to be unacceptable' to British sociologists.[163] Ginsberg compared Hobhouse's and Durkheim's efforts and thus declared that 'both are concerned with the problem of reconciling individual autonomy and social order', despite 'a fundamental difference in philosophical background' between Hegelian Idealism and Kantian Rationalism. But that 'should not obscure the ground they have in common' which left the door open to 'the possibility of real co-operation between the French School of sociology and that which is growing up in England' in 1936, he sincerely hoped.[164]

Ginsberg could now look for appeasement with France, as 'his' sociology in Britain was now securely established domestically after the setup of common editorial board for the *Sociological Review* in 1934 and increasingly successful with its social surveys, such as the *New Survey of London*: The hegemony of the French was at a low ebb – and that of Nazi Germany was at a high internationally. It was time that both traditions should stick together.

In France, too, the search for an intellectual appeasement with Britain was palpable. One Durkheimian reviewed the same conference of the Institute which looked at how correlation should take place between the various specialisms. The author noted that 'there is a double concern' in correlating sociologists, that 'of research which involves the collaboration of specialists' and that 'of teaching which requires the regrouping of disciplines' which was a

[163] Institute of Sociology, p. 201.
[164] Institute of Sociology, p. 205.

growing concern for the Durkheimians. Both traditions were now speaking the same language, and the need for correlation between national sociologies incidentally echoed that between Britain and France. The review satisfactorily concluded that, for once, 'On these two points, aspirations, difficulties, partial results appear the same in England as in France' in 1938.[165]

At the same time, it seemed paradoxical to the French that Britain should be more self-centred, internationally and sociologically. That betrayed in the reviews.

In the *Annales sociologiques* in 1934, for instance, François Simiand reviewed several British works in economics. In one of them he reproached the author for theorizing wage setting within a 'strictly English interpretation of facts which are not specifically English', which he ascribed to the author's alleged '*insularisme*' [sic], while in reviewing Keynes' *Treatise on money* (1930) in the same volume he regretted the fact that his book looked 'insular' because he seemed 'not to know or even to ignore (possibly not know rather than consciously ignore) the works and economic orientations that are not written in English, and which do not relate to the Cambridge school and to the tradition of the great British economists'.[166] Indicting the so-called 'insularism' was in fact admitting that British social scientists did no longer need their own theories to evolve, and that led to widespread frustration and a fear of abandonment perhaps.

Another evidence is found in the review of Muir's *How Britain is governed* initially published in 1930.[167] Ramsay Bryce Muir (1872-1941) was a British historian, Liberal politician and

[165] Anonyme, review of *The Social Sciences: Their relations in theory and in teaching. – Londres, 1936. Further papers on the social sciences. – Londres, 1937*, by Institute of Sociology, *Annales Sociologiques, Série A*, 4 (1938), 30–32 (p. 30).
[166] François Simiand, review of *Wages in practice and theory – London, 1928*, by J.W.F. Rowe, *Annales Sociologiques, Série D*, 1 (1934), 259–63 (p. 262); François Simiand, review of *A treatise on money. Vol 1 et 2. 1930*, by John Maynard Keynes, *Annales Sociologiques, Série D*, 1 (1934), 158–72 (p. 169).
[167] Ramsay Muir, *How Britain Is Governed: A Critical Analysis of Modern Developments in the British System of Government* (New York: R. R. Smith, 1930).

thinker who contributed significantly to political philosophy. In an anonymous review of it in the *Annales*, the author lamented that Muir 'should have strictly limited himself to a monography of the English system' while 'looking at the outside world would have allowed him to get all the sociological meaning out of several of the facts he witnessed'.[168] This testified to the fact that British social science was now, for better or for worse, running its course independently from the Continent.

3.7. Intermediary conclusion: Whose failure?

That, in a way, was a *juste retour des choses* and the logical consequence, among others, of Durkheim's initial patronizing and arrogance towards 'the naïve British sociologists'.

The cross-reception study of French and British sociology had never been done systematically before, yet is crucial to understand their national destinies. Hence this chapter started much earlier than usual, in 1895. But one could not understand the interwar years without going back to the roots of Durkheimianism at the time of the *Belle Époque*.

In the interwar years, the Durkheimians increasingly turned to their neighbours for help and inspiration: Mauss reached out to Branford for financial help in restarting the *Année*, Bouglé and his team at the CDS were increasingly interested in British and American social surveys in their quest for 'more facts' while the Webbs appeared as a viable model of political relevance for the discipline. Slowly, but surely, the French were coming to terms with their loss of hegemony over the sociological field and by 1939, although deploring Britain's intellectual 'insularism', the general context led both sides to look for an appeasement and further co-

[168] Anonyme, review of *How Britain is governed. – A critical analysis of modern developments in the British system of Government, Londres, 1933*, by Ramsay Muir, *Annales Sociologiques, Série C*, 1 (1935), 131–34 (p. 133).

operation. The times were ripe for a shared leadership of European sociology at a time when Germany and Italy were threatening France and Britain's international place and interests. Yet it was too late, reflecting their diplomatic procrastination at making new alliances in all fields at a time when it was needed.

As Hawthorn acknowledged, 'Durkheim's intellectual victory before the First World War was a purely verbal one' because until 1914 the word 'sociology' was virtually monopolised by the French, much to Britain's frustration.[169] The Durkheimians were thus instrumental in deprecating the image and later importance of British sociology historically, installing the enduring assumption that it was an outright 'failure'. Yes, the first battle for society was internationally won by the French. But the second was discretely won by the British; Although all eventually failed in June 1940.

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[169] Hawthorn, p. 174.

Chapter 4 – British and French Sociology Textbooks

4.0.1. Definition

Textbooks can mean three things according to OED: First, it can be a book used as a standard work for the study of sociology and as a timeless source of inspiration for practitioners.[1] However, no such work was unanimously accepted in interwar Britain, as were Durkheim's *Rules of the sociological method* for interwar France for instance.

Secondly, in a derogatory sense, textbooks can convey the idea of a mechanical adherence to an ideology and to interpretations dictated by the Master. They refer to introduction books to a particular creed or 'school', such as Geddes' regional planning.[2]

More generally, a textbook is defined as a written medium used for transmitting the history and methods of a discipline to future generations of students who use them to be instructed in the field. Textbooks instruct about the classic works of the discipline and teach the sociological point of view to people who may not have learnt or experienced it otherwise. They serve as tools to teach the memory and the instruments of sociology, and are often popular works.[3]

Interwar Britain produced many sociological textbooks in this sense, and these works have neither been exhaustively examined yet, nor compared to their French counterparts. This will be the topic of this chapter.

[1] One example of these 'classic/textbook works' in contemporary British sociology is Anthony Giddens, *The Constitution of Society: Outline of the Theory of Structuration* (Cambridge: Polity, 1984).
[2] See Branford, Farquharson, and Cities Committee.
[3] See for example James Fulcher and John Scott, *Sociology*, 4th edn (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).

4.0.2. Historiography

A whole issue of *Current Sociology* was dedicated to the subject in 2008. In postwar Britain, sociology textbooks have usually been described as constituting a 'tradition'. An article by Jennifer Platt underlined the increasing convergence between the British and American approaches to the discipline, with a user-friendly and accessible, less elitist tone prompted by the opening of universities after 1968 and the globalisation of ideas.[4] Another article compared the postwar British and French textbooks and found that the main difference lay in the application of sociology to real life or to academic problems, respectively.[5]

The comprehensive list of sociological textbooks published in Britain between 1900 and 1968 has been given by John Scott.[6] But no attention has ever been paid to the French textbooks. There is no single work dealing with the subject, and they have not been comprehensively listed except between 1895 and 1914, at the time of the *Belle Époque*.[7] Two papers have partly addressed interwar textbooks, but they were limited to school manuals and excluded about 85% of all textbooks.[8] The interwar years thus remain a grey area in France.

Yet the period was crucial for the sociological discipline in both countries, as it entered a phase of modernisation. Sociology entered academia and was increasingly used to train professionals, both for practical and for academic purposes, after WWI. This represented an increasing demand for sociological teaching, i.e. for textbooks, and entailed a rapid expansion of the

[4] Jennifer Platt, 'British Sociological Textbooks from 1949', *Current Sociology*, 56.2 (2008), 165–82.
[5] Cherry Schrecker, 'Textbooks and Sociology: A Franco-British Comparison', *Current Sociology*, 56.2 (2008), 201–19.
[6] John Scott, 'Building a Textbook Tradition: Sociology in Britain 1900-1968', in *The Palgrave Handbook of Sociology in Britain*, ed. by John Holmwood and John Scott (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), pp. 211–35.
[7] Mosbah-Natanson.
[8] Suzie Guth, 'The First French Sociology Textbooks (1920-45)', *Current Sociology*, 56.2 (2008), 183–99; Hervé Terral, 'L'enseignement de la sociologie dans les écoles normales d'instituteurs (1920-1940) à travers quelques manuels (Bouglé, Davy, Hubert, etc.)' (presented at the Colloque international : Trois figures de l'école durkheimienne : C. Bouglé, G. Davy et P. Fauconnet, Caen, France, 2007), pp. 39–56.

market. How could sociologists benefit from the popularisation of the subject? What strategy did sociologists embrace in this rapidly changing setting? Did they use the interwar textbooks to spread the sociological point of view among the general public, or rather to strengthen the academic claims of the discipline?

These are the questions raised by the interwar textbooks, and the way in which the French and the British reacted to this changing context differed. This chapter will thus examine the sociological textbooks produced in both countries between 1920 and 1940 and show that, as a rule, British sociologists were more interested in promoting their ideas among the general public through their textbooks than their French counterparts, who tended to confine themselves to academia.

4.0.3. Thesis and plan

This chapter will argue that textbooks helped crystallise two very distinct national traditions in sociology, either presented as a disciplinary knowledge with strong academic claims in France or as a point of view pertaining to the individual experience in interwar Britain. If French textbooks were largely academic-oriented and put a strong emphasis on presenting the history of the discipline as a marker of scientific identity, British textbooks were usually devised as extra-mural courses and presented 'the sociological imagination' as a point of view applicable to daily life, rather than as a full-fledged academic activity.

As a result, British sociology was increasingly popular but lacked an academic identity, notably owing to the lack of effort in presenting its story consistently. On the other hand, French sociology benefited from a strong identity based on its *story-telling* but lacked a publicly relevant and empirical dimension and was limited to academia, much to Marcel Mauss'

chagrin.[9] Both approaches proved helpful in advancing the state of European sociology in their own way though, and left a strong mark on postwar sociology.

This chapter is organised in five parts which first present the textbooks and then the sociological market, then focus on the 24 French and on the 11 British textbooks before concluding on the importance of history in the definition of a scientific discipline.

4.1. The situation of the sociological market

4.1.1. The textbook supply

This is how the situation is conveniently depicted in the literature: Interwar French sociology is said to have been 'a success' while British sociology remained 'a failure', embodying 'the many lacunae in British intellectual life'.[10] However, figures have not been called for evidence in the debate and this section provides some.

1920-1940	Britain	France
Size of the academic market[11]	900	1500
Student concentration	20% in the capital	60% in the capital
Female ratio[12]	70% in the capital	40% in the capital
Number of 'Sociology' chairs	3	5
Number of textbooks	11	24
Textbooks per chair[13]	3,6	4,8

[9] Mauss was Durkheim's nephew. He took over the leadership of the French sociological school after his death in 1917, and lamented the lack of political relevance of French sociology. See 3.6.3.
[10] Goldman, 'A Peculiarity of the English? (1987)', p. 133.
[11] This is an estimation of the total number of students in sociology in universities (i.e. those registered for the degrees of BA, BSc and Certificates of social science in Britain and in the 'Certificat de morale et de sociologie' of the 'Licence de philosophie' in France). The figures were obtained from various sources and compiled by the present author.
[12] Available for the capital city only.
[13] The number of textbooks produced per chair.

Textbook differential[14]	-6	+3,4
Number of students per manual	82	62,5

The first striking fact is the large number of manuals (11 for Britain, 24 for France). It seems that in both countries 'everyone wanted his textbook' and that represented a lot of publications given the rather small size of the sociological markets.

The number of sociology students at the LSE and Bedford was recently estimated at 200 (i.e. all men and women graduating with a BA or a BSc) between 1907 and 1939.[15] However, this estimation did not take into account all the provincial universities which have often be left off the history of the discipline.[16]

A comprehensive survey of the discipline including the universities of Liverpool, Birmingham and Manchester (with students registered for the 'Certificates of Social Science' which taught some sociology) puts the number at 900 for the whole of Britain between academic year 1918 and 1940. Britain had 3 chairs teaching some sociology (LSE, Liverpool, Bedford).

In France, the teaching of sociology was limited to students registered for the *Certificat de morale et de sociologie* of the *Licence de philosophie* (BA in Philosophy). Its number is thus easier to estimate for the 5 universities which taught it: 1,500 students pursued sociology degrees in academia in France in the interwar years, 60% of them being in Paris (at la Sorbonne and at *Ecole pratique des Hautes Etudes* with the Durkheimians, Marcel Mauss and François

[14] If both countries had the same number of students, the differential would be thus. This gives an idea of the market concentration and dynamism of the textbook community.
[15] Christopher T. Husbands, 'Rescuing from Oblivion: Social Characteristics and Career Destinations of Early British "sociology" Graduates, 1907-39', *The British Journal of Sociology*, 66.4 (2015), 645–72 (p. 654).
[16] See Chapter 1.

Simiand). This is due to French centralisation. France had 5 chairs teaching some sociology (2 at the Sorbonne, one Strasbourg, Bordeaux and Montpellier).

While only 20% of the sociology students studied in the British capital, the female ratio was much more important in London (70%) than in Paris (40%). This shows that sociology degrees attracted many female students with more jobs offered to women graduates, secondly that the emancipation of women was more established in interwar Britain than in France with voting rights granted after 1918 (against 1944 in France) and thirdly that the acceptance of women in academia, even in research degrees, was more certain in Britain than in France, some of them even taking Sociology PhDs at the LSE in the 1920s while the diploma did not exist until 1958 in Paris.[17]

The textbook production was stronger in France (4.8 manuals per chair) than in Britain (3.6 manuals per chair) which gives an idea of the sociological concentration in the country. Projections show that if both countries had 1,000 students and the same intensity, Britain would 'lack' 6 textbooks while France would yield a '+3.4 textbook' additional value. The publishing productivity in France was thus stronger. However, this led to a more competitive market as each textbook could only sell 62,5 copies in France as opposed to 82 in Britain. Most of these published manuals were probably losing money, but it testifies to the prestige of the discipline and wish of everyone 'to have one's sociology textbook' in France. This shows that the French academic market and community were more active, textbook-wise.

Despite this apparent intellectual success, sociology was not seriously institutionalised in interwar France. In Britain, on the contrary, sociology did not enjoy a prestigious reputation but

[17] See 1.6.1.

was enshrined academically and secured popular interest.[18] The specificity of Britain was that its market was looser because the institutional boundaries of sociology were more flexible – and thus larger than the 'strictly-academic' number given above. Since many sociology classes were taught extra-murally and because several textbooks were devised as adult courses initially, they could be sold to the general public and did not aim at academia only, as in France. The reprints of several British interwar textbooks testified to this.[19]

4.1.2. The textbook demand

Why was the number of textbooks written in France greater than in Britain? Does that mean it was more successful?

In the 1920s, sociology was largely under-institutionalised in France contrary to the widespread belief, with departments teaching some form of sociology only in Bordeaux (with Gaston Richard), Strasbourg (with Halbwachs), Montpellier (with Georges Poyer) and Paris (with Paul Fauconnet and Célestin Bouglé).[20] Mauss also held a chair in Sociology at the *Collège de France* from 1931 to 1940, but this was not a degree-awarding institution.[21] In both countries the sociological identity was floating and some kind of social science was taught under other names in France (as in Political Sciences at Sciences Po, for instance) and in Britain (as in Social Work in Birmingham and Manchester, for instance).[22]

At the Sorbonne in Paris, a course entitled 'General Sociology' representing exclusively Durkheimian sociology was taught to students in the Philosophy Department taking the optional

[18] See Chapter 5 on social surveys.
[19] F. C. Bartlett, M. Ginsberg, and others, *The Study of Society: Methods and Problems*, Reprint (London: Routledge [1939], 2016); Richard Thomas Evans, *Aspects of the Study of Society*, Reprint (n.s.: Forgotten Books [1923], 2016).
[20] Heilbron, pp. 204–5.
[21] Fournier, *Marcel Mauss*, p. 273.
[22] Favre.

Certificate in 'Morals and Sociology', i.e. to about 30 students every year. Such a thing as a degree in Sociology was non-existent in France until 1958, when the BA was eventually introduced: France surprisingly lagged behind Britain. PhDs in Sociology would not even be allowed in France until 1958, while women could already undertake such degrees at the LSE in the interwar years.[23]

Aside from the few universities, sociology was also taught in two other institutions: In the 200 teacher training schools (known as the *Écoles Normales*) and at the *École Normale Supérieure* in Paris. The ENS (as it is known today) is one of the most prestigious *Grandes écoles* selecting the best students of the country on the basis of a competitive examination. As Steven Lukes, one of the early British specialists of Durkheim, put it, ENS was 'the French equivalent of Jowett's Balliol' and a prestigious platform for the discipline.[24] Célestin Bouglé, a close disciple of Durkheim, headed it between 1920 and 1940 and benefited from Rockefeller funding throughout.

At the Sorbonne and at ENS, the lectures delivered were almost exclusively dealing with Durkheimian sociology.[25] Paris had about 900 students (out of 1,500). In the *Écoles Normales*, on the other hand, sociology was considered rather as an applied discipline, like civics, that teachers used to spread the Republican *morale* in concrete terms to the 11-13 years old preparing for the *Brevet Supérieur*.[26]

[23] See 1.6.1.
[24] Lukes, p. 45.
[25] As the bibliography given in Bouglé and Déat shows.
[26] Roger Geiger, 'La Sociologie Dans Les Écoles Normales Primaires: Histoire D'une Controverse', *Revue Française de Sociologie*, 20.1 (1979), 257–67. The most probable equivalent is today's British GCSE or the French 'brevet' examination.

Many Durkheimians were members of faculties or held positions at the Ministry of Public Education like Paul Lapie. As a result of his intervention and after a long battle, sociology was introduced as a compulsory subject in the 200 *Écoles Normales* in 1920 and taught there until 1940. This ensured that the 'official' demand for sociological textbooks was more important in the interwar years than in Britain. In spite of this, the estimated number of copies a textbook would sell was lower in France (62,5) than in the UK (82) which means that the textbook market was saturated. The market linked to the *Écoles Normales* is not taken into account here as figures are not available.

4.2. Introducing the textbooks

As far as British textbooks are concerned, Scott surveyed the British Library database to provide a comprehensive list of manuals published between 1900 and 1968.[27] He found nine for the interwar period and argued that 'a distinct textbook tradition crystallised during the 1920s, as the number of students grew and an interested general audience began to appear.'[28]

To compile this list, Scott defined a sociology textbook as 'a book published with students—formal and informal—as its principal intended audience and aiming to give a more or less comprehensive introduction and overview or critical assessment of the subject.' These were identified in the database thanks to 'additional markers of textbook status' such as when a keyword like '"sociology" or one of its cognates appears in the title of the book' or when such terms as '"society", "social structure", or "social group" appear in conjunction with a qualifier such as "Introduction", "Outline", or "Elements".'[29] There were no such textbooks published

[27] Scott.
[28] Scott, p. 211.
[29] Scott, pp. 211–12.

in 19th century Britain and the first occurrences appeared in 1905.[30] American (or foreign) textbooks did not become popular until the 1950s.

Below is a list of all sociological textbooks published between 1920 and 1940 in Britain, arranged chronologically.[31]

4.2.1. UK textbooks (N=11)

Table 1. Scott's 2014 list of British sociological textbooks

Year	***Title***	**Author(s)**
1920	*An Introduction to Sociology for Social Workers and General Readers*	Joseph John Findlay
1920	*Social Theory*	George Douglas Howard Cole
1921	*The Elements of Social Science*	Robert Morrison MacIver
1923	*Aspects of the Study of Society*	Richard Thomas Evans
1932	*Methods of Social Study*	Sidney and Beatrice Webb
1934	*Sociology*	Morris Ginsberg
1938	*The Science of Society: An Introduction to Sociology*	Judah Rumney
1939	*The Study of Society*	Frederick C. Bartlett, Morris Ginsberg, Ethel J. Lindgren, Robert H. Thouless (eds.)
1940	*Social Groups in Modern England*	Henry Adolphus Mess

Two pieces were included to supplement this list.[32]

Table 2. Additional British sociological textbooks

Year	***Title***	**Author**
1920	*The Social Worker*	Clement Richard Attlee
1937	*Principles of Social Administration*	Tom Spensley Simey

Although none of the two above included strictly 'theoretical' content and concerned themselves with 'applied' sociology as social work and social administration, they were

[30] Scott's comprehensive list can be found in Scott, p. 213.
[31] These were: J. J. Findlay, *An Introduction to Sociology for Social Workers and General Readers* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1920); G. D. H. Cole, *Social Theory* (London: Methuen, 1920); R. M. MacIver, *The Elements of Social Science* (London: Methuen, 1921); R. T. Evans, *Aspects of the Study of Society* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1923); Sidney Webb and Beatrice Webb, *Methods of Social Study (with an Introduction by T. H. Marshall)* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press [1932], 1975); Jay Rumney, *The Science of Society: An Introduction to Sociology* (London: Duckworth, 1938); Bartlett, Morris Ginsberg, and others; Henry A. Mess, *Social Groups in Modern England*.
[32] Those were: Clement Richard Attlee, *The Social Worker* (London: G. Bell, 1920); Simey.

included to reflect the diversity of the field, and because they were used at the LSE and in Liverpool, the two most important centres for the discipline.[33] They also represented an important strand of 'social science' specific to Britain which had dominated since the 19th century, popularising the subject within the general public and among women.

4.2.2. French textbooks (N=24)

Though a comprehensive survey of sociological teaching in Britain has been done, it has never been carried out before in France.[34] The following list of interwar textbooks is thus a brand-new effort to reassess the contours of interwar French sociology.

Since Scott's pioneering work on British sociology, a similar enquiry was conducted online on the BNF (*Bibliothèque Nationale de France*) website and it yielded a total of 24 manuals published between 1920 and 1940. Books were selected according to their titles, which comprised words such as '*Eléments*', '*Notions*', '*Introduction*' or '*Manuel*' as well as '*Sociologie*' or '*Science sociale*'. Textbooks written in French but from other Francophone countries (i.e. Belgium, Switzerland, Luxemburg) were not taken into account despite some textbooks (such as by the Belgian Guillaume de Greef or by the Swiss André de Maday) being popular in interwar France. Finally, all books were consulted in their original first editions.

Given the large number of textbooks, they were more conveniently arranged by sub-categories: 6 school manuals (Table 3), 7 university textbooks (Table 4), 4 specialised manuals (Table 5), 2 methodological textbooks (Table 6) and 5 sociological treaties (Table 7) for a total of 24.

Table 3. List of the 6 school manuals published in France[35]

[33] See 1.6.1.
[34] For Britain it has been done by Husbands, 'The First Sociology "Departments"'.
[35] Michel Souriau, *Notions de sociologie appliquée à la morale et à l'éducation (2e année des écoles normales)* (Paris: Nathan, 1921); André Hesse and A Gleyze, *Notions de sociologie appliquée à la morale et à l'éducation* (Paris: Librairie Félix Alcan, 1922); A Lorton, *Notions de sociologie* (Paris: J. de Gigord, 1923); René Hubert,

Year	*Title*	Author(s)
1921	*Notions de sociologie*	Michel Souriau
1922	*Notions de sociologie appliquée à la morale et à l'éducation*	André Hesse, A. Gleyze
1923	*Notions de sociologie conformes au programme de Brevet supérieur*	Fr. Lorton
1925	*Manuel élémentaire de sociologie*	René Hubert
1927	*Notions de sociologie*	Louis Contardarin
1934	*Précis de sociologie*	Frs. Lemonnyer, J. Tonneau, R. Troude

This category refers to manuals that were written specifically for pupils in middle schools (aged 11-13 and preparing the *Brevet supérieur*) and for teachers training courses given at the *Écoles Normales*. These were based on an official curriculum created by the two Durkheimians Bouglé and Fauconnet in 1920 and contained many practical examples of sociology on the family, *la patrie* (motherland), work, etc. with strong moral overtones linked to the needs of the IIIrd Republic.

They limited themselves to long introductions and a repetition of Durkheimian interpretations, which rendered them quite redundant, albeit commercial successes with reprints.[36] Two of them (by Fr. Lorton and Fr. Lemonnyer) were Catholic introductions to the subject which opposed Durkheimianism.

Table 4. List of the 7 university textbooks published in France[37]

Year	*Title*	Author(s)
1920	*Manuel bibliographique des sciences sociales et économiques*	René Maunier
1921	*Le Guide de l'étudiant en sociologie*	Célestin Bouglé, Marcel Déat
1925	*Sociologie*	Marcel Déat
1926	*Eléments de sociologie*	C. Bouglé, J. Raffault.

Manuel élémentaire de sociologie. Programme des écoles normales primaires. Baccalauréat. Certificat de morale et sociologie pour la licence ès lettres (Paris: Delalain, 1925); Louis Contardarin, *Notions de sociologie* (Paris: Delagrave, 1927); A Lemonnyer, J Tonneau, and Robert Troude, *Précis de sociologie* (Marseille: Publiroc, 1934).

[36] By 1938, Contardian's introduction reached its 3rd edition, Hubert's manual its 5th and Hesse' textbook its 7th.

[37] René Maunier, *Manuel bibliographique des sciences sociales et économiques* (Paris: Librairie de la Société du recueil Sirey, 1920); Bouglé and Déat; Marcel Déat, *Sociologie* (Paris: F. Alcan, 1925); Célestin Bouglé and J Raffault, *Éléments de sociologie, textes choisis et ordonnés*, 3rd edn (Paris: F. Alcan [1926], 1939); René Maunier, *Introduction à la sociologie* (Paris: F. Alcan, 1929); Célestin Bouglé, *Bilan de la sociologie française contemporaine* (Paris: F. Alcan, 1935); Cuvillier, *Introduction à la sociologie*.

1929	*Introduction à la sociologie*	René Maunier
1935	*Bilan de la sociologie française contemporaine*	Célestin Bouglé
1936	*Introduction à la sociologie (1st ed.)*	Armand Cuvillier

This category refers to manuals specifically written for university students or for researchers (such as bibliographies or student guides).

Table 5. List of the 4 specialised manuals published in France[38]

Year	***Title***	**Author**
1924	*Eléments de Sociologie (Vol. I) – Sociologie Politique (1st ed.)*	Georges Davy
1932	*Sociologie coloniale (Vol. I) : Introduction à l'étude du contact des races*	René Maunier
1935	*Eléments de sociologie religieuse*	Roger Bastide
1940	*Eléments de sociologie juridique*	Georges Gurvitch

This category refers to manuals teaching about sociological sub-specialisms such as sociology of religion, sociology of law or colonial administration.

Table 6. List of the 2 methodological textbooks published in France[39]

Year	***Title***	**Author**
1923	*La Science des mœurs : Introduction à la méthode sociologique*	Paul Bureau
1933	*La Sociologie expérimentale*	Paul Descamps

This refers to textbooks presenting methodological aspects of the discipline such as statistics, interviewing or conducting sociological experiments.

Table 7. List of the 5 sociological treaties published in France[40]

Year	***Title***	**Author**
1921	*La Sociologie, sa nature, son contenu, ses attaches*	René Worms
1924	*Manuel de sociologie et d'économie sociale : Les principaux problèmes sociaux étudiés aux lumières de la théologie, du droit naturel et de l'histoire*	Abbé L. Garriguet

[38] Georges Davy, *Éléments de sociologie - 1. Sociologie politique*, 1st edn (Paris: Delagrave, 1924); René Maunier, *Sociologie coloniale, tome 1 : Introduction à l'étude du contact des races* (Paris: Domat-Montchrestien, 1932); Roger Bastide, *Eléments de sociologie religieuse* (Paris: Armand Colin, 1935); Georges Gurvitch, *Éléments de sociologie juridique* (Paris: Aubier, 1940).

[39] Bureau; Paul Descamps, *La sociologie expérimentale* (Paris: Marcel Rivière, 1933).

[40] René Worms, *La Sociologie : Sa Nature, Son Contenu, Ses Attaches* (Paris: Giard, 1921); Louis Garriguet, *Manuel de sociologie et d'économie sociale : Les principaux problèmes sociaux étudiés aux lumières de la théologie, du droit naturel et de l'histoire* (Paris: Bloud & Gay, 1924); Charles Lalo, *Éléments de sociologie* (Paris: Vuibert, 1925); Georges Davy, *Sociologues d'hier et d'aujourd'hui* (Paris: F. Alcan, 1931); Guillaume Léonce Duprat, *Esquisse d'un traité de sociologie* (Paris: Librarie générale de droit & de jurisprudence, 1936).

1925	*Eléments de sociologie*	Charles Lalo
1931	*Sociologues d'hier et d'aujourd'hui*	Georges Davy
1936	*Esquisse d'un traité de sociologie*	Guillaume-Léonce Duprat

These were sociological treaties in epistemology which offered an alternative source of teaching in the subject but were less often used in academia as they took more philosophical forms.

The Durkheimian ideas were the main concern at the time (90% of these 24 textbooks devoted at least some pages to Durkheimianism) and it is still the main concern in the history of French sociology today.[41] This reflects its pivotal role in the development of the discipline but it has also inhibited research in other, lesser-known, strands of French sociology such as the Le Play school or that of René Worms at the *Institut International de Sociologie*. Thus, a comprehensive survey of the two traditions of textbooks in Britain and in France is necessary for revising the state of scholarship on interwar sociology.

4.3. Oppositions and differences

4.3.1. The public/academic divide

This difference in terms of public reflects in the diversity of authors.

Most writers of textbooks in France were trained as philosophers (Worms, Hubert, Bastide, Davy, Déat, Bouglé and Cuvillier all had passed their prestigious *Agrégation* in philosophy at ENS – only Maunier, Bureau and Gurvitch had a background in law) and never exercised a

[41] The best representative papers and books on Durkheimianism in France have been chronologically Karady, 'Durkheim et l'Université'; Heilbron; Fournier, *Marcel Mauss*; Laurent Mucchielli, 'Heurs et Malheurs Du Durkheimisme. Problèmes Historiographiques, Enjeux Épistémologiques et Pédagogiques D'une Mémoire Disciplinaire', *Politix*, 8.29 (1995), 55–79; Marcel; Marcel Fournier, *Émile Durkheim: 1858-1917* (Paris: Fayard, 2007).

vocational job or had a practical training.[42] Two thirds of all 24 textbooks were written by '*Agrégés de philosophie*' from ENS, the elite of interwar French academia.

By contrast, the academic origins of textbook writers in Britain were more diverse: At the time of writing, Cole was involved with the Labour Party and not yet an academic, Evans taught political science in Wales, Findlay was the Sarah Fielden Professor of Education in Manchester, Ginsberg was a Professor of Sociology at the LSE while Rumney was a graduate in Economics who had recently moved to America. This meant that sociology textbooks were more accessible and had a wider scope in Britain.

One crucial difference lay in the applied dimension of the discipline. While in France sociology was never taught as social work, British sociology strongly retained this dimension. One telling example is the account given by Scottish Prison Departments that in 1926 'Sociology lessons are given in the senior classes and discussions are organised on the subjects that come under review' in prisons and that 'every effort is made to make inmates understand their proper relation to the State'.[43]

A year later, the same report stated 'Sociology lessons and discussions are taken with senior classes dealing with the social conditions of the present time' with the chief aim 'to give inmates a proper perspective of modern conditions, and to remove many wrong ideas that prevail among this type of youth on admission'.[44] Sociology was used in prisons 'to discuss social problems',

[42] The British PGCE has two equivalents in France : The 'Certificat d'Aptitude au Professorat de l'Enseignement du Second degré' or CAPES and the more prestigious 'Agrégation'. Both similarly afford a lifetime job as teachers for the French-State in middle schools and high schools for those who pass the annual national examination known as 'concours', the difference being in terms of prestige and, of course, salary.
[43] HCPP, 'Annual report of the Prison Commissioners for Scotland for the year 1925 to the Right Honourable Sir John Gilmour, Baronet, D.S.O., M.P., His Majesty's secretary for Scotland', 1926, Cmd. 2689, p. 81.
[44] HCPP, 'Annual report of the Prison Commissioners for Scotland for the year 1926', 1927, Cmd. 2873, p. 88.

have inmates' 'false ideas corrected' and favour the ethical character of man.[45] The 1931 report indicated that classes now intended to 'present some of the important issues that confront the nation from time to time, and the duties and responsibilities of citizenship' and even moved towards 'such subjects as the method of electing Members of Parliament, the work of Parliament, and the duties of the various Cabinet Ministers'.[46] The teaching of sociology in Scotland in that case was very close to that given to French pupils who learnt about the Republican institutions and their duties as citizens in their *Éducation civique* classes.[47] The same kind of sociology was taught to Scottish inmates and to French pupils, ironically.

In any event, the demand for textbooks was greater outside academia in both countries. In France, sociology was taught in schools to 11-13 years old between 1920 and 1940. There was thus an important need for school textbooks in sociology, both for students and teachers of the *Ecoles normales*. This explains why the category 'School manuals' has 6 of them, including one by the Durkheimian René Hubert and one by catholic sociologists Frs. Lemonnyer, Tonneau and Troude. However, the presence of sociology teaching at middle school age was highly controversial in France, given the attacks on sociology as perverting morals and conveying a Republican ideology.[48]

On the other hand, Britain had an important market for 'adult education' which did not exist in France because education was 90% public there after 1880. In particular, J. J. Findlay, then Professor of Education at the University of Manchester, wrote *Introduction to Sociology* for 'that wider circle of readers who are eager to study social questions, but hesitate because of

[45] HCPP, 'Annual report of the Prison Commissioners for Scotland for the year 1932', 1933, Cmd. 4336, p. 68.
[46] HCPP, 'Annual report of the Prison Commissioners for Scotland for the year 1930', 1931, Cmd. 3866, p. 92 ; HCPP, 'Annual report of the Prison Commissioners for Scotland for the year 1931', 1932, Cmd. 4063, p. 83.
[47] These classes are still taught nowadays in middle and high schools as *Éducation morale et civique* classes.
[48] About the debates, see Geiger; The fiercest attacks of Durkheimianism came from the Communist Normalien writer Nizan.

their lack, or supposed lack, of qualifications of an academic kind' which should not prevent them from acquiring a sociological mindset.[49] As for R. T. Evans, then Art Lecturer in Economics and Political Science at University College of South Wales, he turned his 'weekly talks to groups of miners and school-teachers in a number of towns and villages in South Wales during the winter 1922-23' into *Aspects of the study of society*.[50] Manuals specifically designed for continuing education or extra-mural courses were far less common in France.

As for the general public, H. A. Mess' 1940 *Social Groups* was composed of a number of articles which appeared in *The Listener*, a weekly magazine established by the BBC in 1929 for advertising the following week's literary and musical broadcasts and which reviewed a series of books. There was no single equivalent of this in France as no textbook was specifically written for the general audience, despite sociology being popular. The closest was Davy's *Sociologues d'hier et d'aujourd'hui* (1931) which reprinted a series of articles published between 1923 and 1930 in the *Revue philosophique*, the *Journal de Psychologie* and in English in *the Monist*. But these were aimed at an academic audience and not at the general public.

4.3.2. Sociology as theory/applied

As a rule, British sociologists were more interested in promoting their ideas and making their discipline more accessible to the public through their textbooks than their French counterparts, who confined themselves to academia. This lends credit to Abrams' argument that in Britain, sociologists advantageously became public because 'universities were closed' to them, while continental sociologists were confined to academic circles and thus developed the academic aspects of their work.[51]

[49] Findlay, p. viii.
[50] R. T. Evans, p. v.
[51] Philip Abrams, *The Origins of British Sociology (1968)*; Goldman, 'A Peculiarity of the English? (1987)'.

This was seen in the British approach of manuals as teaching about 'society' (e.g. with chapters teaching about the state of the 'population', 'race' or 'social classes') while in France they were largely teaching about 'sociology' (e.g. with chapters on 'the history of the discipline', 'main authors', 'methods').[52] The aims and the public targeted were different: In Britain, sociology was inspired by social work and was presented with a practical outlook that was not in the case of their French equivalents, in which the applied dimension was seen as an impediment to real knowledge. For instance, Déat wrote that 'although it might be necessary to come back to action, sociology remains an objective knowledge' while Worms held that 'sociology is not a practice, it is not an art, it is a scientific inquiry'.[53]

Worms also distinguished in his manual social arts such as 'eugenics and civics in England', he wrote, from the point of view of objective science which stemmed from such disciplines as 'law, politics, economics and sociology'.[54] Worms denied the relevance of social work for sociology. He thus declared,

> 'As regard the services that the social arts may provide sociology, they do not appear to us clearly. [...] It would undoubtedly be interesting for the sociologist to have been embedded into social action. [...] But practice is not art: the latter is theory, while the former is realisation.'[55]

He added that 'the public, even the literate public, believes in general that sociology aims at the reform of social institutions, that it aims directly at a reorganization of society. For the public, the sociologist is the one who makes "good socialism"'.[56] On the contrary though, Déat underlined with a hint of jeer that 'in America, sociology often takes a practical character (education, social hygiene, urbanism, etc.)'.[57] Only in France was it claimed that sociology should attain the status of a proper science.

[52] See Schrecker for more on this distinction.
[53] Déat, p. 26; Worms, p. 11.
[54] Worms, p. 148; Worms, p. 3.
[55] Worms, p. 152.
[56] Worms, p. 6.
[57] Déat, p. 24.

Unsurprisingly, Attlee's 1920 textbook for the social workers and Simey's *Principles of public administration* showed the greater interest of the British in the field. One may get an idea of the difference by taking a look at the contents of Simey's book which purported to deal with 'House Property Management, Unemployment Relief, Pensions and Lunacy and Mental Deficiency' in 180 accessible pages while Bouglé and Raffault presented 'General sociology, domestic sociology, political sociology, sociology of morals and law, sociology of economics and ideological sociology' in their massive 510-page, partly small-printed, introduction to the discipline.[58]

However, one could find the same disparaging attitude for social workers in Britain too when T. H. Marshall, then a Reader of Sociology, said of the discipline at the LSE in 1935 that 'not many students were interested, and they were mostly women who wanted to take up social work'.[59] The tension between sociology and social work was conscious among the British social scientists, the latter being criticised by Bloomsbury Marshall because, as he said, it did not lead to research and ultimately knowledge.

However, sociology in France was not entirely devoid of an applied dimension. If sociology was not to develop into social work proper, it was still supposed to become general knowledge in the nation and ultimately to found scientific morals.

Contardarin's 1927 manual included a section on 'work contracts', one on 'duties among families for fathers, mothers and children', one on 'women and the feminist movement', one

[58] Simey, p. 6; Bouglé and Raffault, pp. 501–10.
[59] Fincham, p. 85.

on ‘credit’, ‘the State’ and ‘marriage’ and ‘fatherland and patriotism’.[60] Contardarin explained that ‘At the present time, it is no longer possible for anyone who prides himself on a culture a little above the elementary not to possess at least the basic notions’ of sociology.[61] Paul Bureau, the empirically-oriented Le Playian, explained that ‘even if the two founders of sociology [Comte and Spencer] recommended that we should apply ourselves to developing science for itself, entirely disinterestingly’, the human mind ‘never consents entirely to detach itself from the practical applications of the knowledge he develops’.[62] As a result, ‘rather quickly we may wonder about the practical services that sociology can offer’ although his answer was surprising: In its applied dimension, sociology should not less be ‘a science that lends itself to lead humanity, by founding morals and by superseding religion’, in a true lay, Comtean fashion.[63]

Thus, Bureau called for a sociology that would ‘be established as a true rational social art [*un véritable art social rationnel*]’ providing a set of practical solutions for dealing with social issues. Just as engineers knew that, ‘in order to cross a river with a predetermined width, one had to build in such manner’, so the sociologist ‘would make known the conditions for the reduction of alcoholism or for the stability of marriage, of the balancing of budgets or the development of the colonial domain, the raising of the birth rate or the prosperity of the navy Merchant’. And so the sociologist should ‘help us get rid of those improvisations suggested by a gross empiricism, this useless gibberish, these so-called remedies, always incapable of curing the evil which their factitious authors boasted of eliminating’.[64] In a French context, sociology remained wishful thinking because it did not have an applied dimension. It remained an

[60] See table of contents at Contardarin, pp. 289–94.
[61] Contardarin, p. v.
[62] Bureau, pp. 242–43.
[63] Bureau, p. 244.
[64] Bureau, p. 281.

academic practice since the social services were taken up by the State in France and did not require social workers or applied sociologists as much as in Britain.[65]

4.3.3. The critiques of Durkheimian sociology's immorality

French sociologists, overall, considered that sociology would help in superseding religion by founding a *morale rationnelle*, in providing general knowledge to the public and directions to society. However, some French Catholic sociologists resented this dominating view because it swiped away Christian morals and replace the Church and the Monarchy by *la laïcité* and the Third Republic.[66] Frs. Lemonnyer, Tonneau and Troude criticised Durkheimianism by stating that 'E. Durkheim built his system on far too narrow a basis. [...] As for his disciples and continuators [i.e. Bouglé at CDS], if they have extended his documentation, they have so far failed to escape from the ideological grip where the powerful spirit of Durkheim seems to have locked them'.[67]

A second strand of fierce opposition came from Communist sociologists who, ironically, sided with the Catholics on this. Nizan was its main opponent. Paul-Yves Nizan (1905-1940) studied at Lycée Louis-le-Grand in the latin quarter of Paris where his schoolmate was Jean-Paul Sartre, and became yet another promising *Agrégé de philosophie* from ENS, where he met Raymond Aron in 1924. He became one of the spokesmen for the PCF, the French Communist Party, in the 1930s and wrote a manifesto entitled *Les chiens de garde* (The watchdogs) in 1932 to denounce all the generation of 'bourgeois philosophers' and intellectuals in France, including

[65] Schools were nationalised and State-funded with the Jules Ferry laws in 1881-2, the Workers' Compensation Act was adopted in 1898 and the first compulsory pension scheme for workers and farmers was passed in 1910. In 1936, the *Front Populaire* government led by the socialist Léon Blum introduced an exhaustive range of social laws benefiting the working classes, limiting weekly working hours to 40, introducing the first *congés payés* (paid holidays) on a national scale and building many sport facilities still in use today.
[66] *La Laïcité* refers to the non-denominational form of the French state. It was established by the *loi de séparation de l'Eglise et de l'Etat* (law of separation between the Church and the State) adopted in 1905. The principle is still in existence today.
[67] Lemonnyer, Tonneau, and Troude, pp. 32–33.

Henri Bergson and the Durkheimian sociologists. For him, Durkheim and his clique at the Sorbonne epitomised the disease of the French elite. Nizan was of the same generation as Aron and was a prominent member of the 'Young Turks' who led the rebellion against the still dominating Kantian Rationalism he met in academia and learnt in post-WWI ENS.

In 1932 he thus wrote that 'the introduction of sociology [which was done in 1920] into the *Écoles normales* has consecrated the victory of this official morality'. He drew a parallel between Durkheim's work while he was alive and his interwar successors which he indicted for 'encouraging class collaboration' and 'patriotism'. Against the '*penseurs bourgeois*' of the *Année Sociologique* which team were 'a sort of resistance battalion formed expressly to block the road to true socialism', Nizan fulminated that,

> 'There were years [in the 1890s] when Durkheim built his work and spread his teaching with great obstinacy, with great authoritarian rigor, by giving this work the laudable guises of science: In the name of these gestures, in the name of this science, teachers teach children to respect the French Fatherland, to justify the collaboration of classes, to accept everything, to communicate in the cult of the Flag and bourgeois democracy.'[68]

'In the Durkheimian work, socialist stupidity follows the step of radical stupidity, the stupidity of M. Déat does not overcome that of Fauconnet', he concluded.

If the concept of 'collective consciousness' had been subject to many criticisms in the 1890s in France as in Britain, Durkheimianism was now criticised for destructing morality and trying to replace it with a *morale scientifique*, largely because it was now taught in schools after 1920.[69] For Bouglé and Raffault, because sociology, or scientific morals, was still 'a science in formation', people argued that it should not be taught to the '*jeunes esprits*' in schools.[70] Bouglé further alluded to this in his *Bilan de la sociologie française contemporaine* when he reported

[68] Nizan, pp. 97–98.
[69] Bureau, p. 99 recalled that the concept of 'collective consciousness' remained 'cette étrange théorie, contredite par l'expérience et à l'appui de laquelle on n'apporte aucune observation concrète'.
[70] Bouglé and Raffault, p. vii explained that many argued 'A contested science, a science in formation, sociology has alledgedly not yet set up a system of positive truths which young minds can fathom.'

that 'Mr. Izoulet said at the end of his life: "The obligation to teach M. Durkheim's sociology in two hundred *Écoles Normales* of France is the most serious national peril that our country has known for a long time".'[71]

Because Durkheimianism had discarded God as the source of moral obligation. 'God having been put aside', wrote Bureau the Catholic, there was no other alternative than 'to leave morality unexplained or to make it a system of collective states', i.e. an immanent product of society and this entailed moral relativism.[72] This conception of a secularised sociology was unpalatable to many, both in Britain and in France.

Worms added that Durkheimian sociology was arguing that *la morale* 'was not the invention of a few individuals, who could be geniuses […] or imposters', alluding to Jesus Christ, but that it was 'the collective invention of humanity; […] the product of a continuous elaboration carried on in all times and all places'.[73] Durkheimian sociology was thus destroying morals by stating that it was a relative, empirical and arbitrary construction in various places, societies and times and no longer the product of geniuses like the Christ. Cuvillier further held in 1936 that sociologists and anthropologists had indeed produced 'a wealth of material conveying the feeling of the relativity of human institutions' and remarked that 'even among the milieus previously the most resistant to this idea, the point of view of the relativity in time and space has eventually prevailed'.[74]

[71] Bouglé, *Bilan de la sociologie*, p. 168. Jean Izoulet (1854-1929) was a Normalien scholar and an 'Agrégé de philosophie', just like Durkheim. He was one of his arch-enemies. He secured a chair in 'Social Philosophy' in 1897 at the Collège de France, to the detriment of the latter.
[72] Bureau, p. 256.
[73] Worms, p. 150.
[74] Cuvillier, *Introduction à la sociologie*, pp. 24–26.

Bureau recalled that if, with Durkheim, one 'accepted the existence of laws in the social realm as in the physical realm', then free will, and consequently individual responsibility would be annihilated with sociology. The individual becomes as responsible for his acts as 'the tree is responsible for its growth' or 'a rock for its falling'.[75] One solution, for those who did not believe Durkheim, was to turn to British social anthropology. For René Maunier, who incidentally spent most of his career abroad, betrayed his frustration when he stated, at the beginning of his 1929 manual, that 'People call sociology everything one says and writes on politics and morality: We mix, under this word, science and art, observations and judgments. Is called "sociologist" any ideologist, and any reformer, and any prophet.'[76] While 'science is a discipline', sociology turned into 'a storage tray [*vide-poche*]' by 1934, according to the Catholic sociologists.[77]

Maunier thus indicated that, on the contrary, the English had precisely 'invented social anthropology to avert any confusion between the positive and the "normative" study', and he saw this happening under the name 'ethnology in a very close meaning' in France, he noted.[78] He concluded that 'he would like the latter two phrases' although 'they have no chance of prevailing in France' because, in the competition of words, '"sociology" has the advantage of being brief'.[79] As opposed to the divisive sociological discipline, Maunier thought social anthropology was more neutral and unanimously acceptable.

It is no wonder then that Maunier did not define himself as a sociologist but founded a new discipline which he called 'colonial psychology' to suit his needs, and spread colonial

[75] Bureau, p. 274.
[76] Maunier, *Introduction à la sociologie (1929)*, p. 8.
[77] Lemonnyer, Tonneau, and Troude, p. 7.
[78] Maunier, *Introduction à la sociologie (1929)*, p. 10.
[79] Maunier, *Introduction à la sociologie (1929)*, p. 10.

administration in France, inspired by the British.[80] He went so far as to define sociology as 'a branch of the positive knowledge of man, or *anthropology*, under its current and non-Kantian understanding of the word'.[81] Like Mauss, Maunier tended to take British social anthropology as a model for his sociology, which, as a discipline, appeared confusing and confused. Anthropology, with its focus on the Empire and primitive peoples, seemed both interesting, applicable to contemporary societies and less subject to controversies than sociology.[82] Interestingly, and undoubtedly indirectly, a 'Memorandum on Anthropology' drafted at the University of Oxford in 1934 stated that 'Sociology' should now be included in the curriculum as 'a branch of Social Anthropology'.[83] Both interests aligned.

Surprisingly, the opposition to sociology in France was much stronger and voiced more openly than in Britain, given its publicly recognised status.

4.4. Changing for the better?: An analysis of French interwar textbooks

Given this publicly prestigious status of the discipline, it seemed a necessary step for French writers to have their own textbook as participation in the debates about interwar sociology. As a result, France counted more than twice the number of textbooks produced in Britain and was livelier in that respect than British sociology at the time. However, in this section will be argued that if it was livelier, it was not in a positive sense because French sociology was much more conflictual. The subjects under debate enable us to understand why it was so lively, but also why it was not exported to British textbooks and had so little impact there after 1920.

[80] Singaravélou.
[81] Maunier, *Introduction à la sociologie (1929)*, p. 3 The italics were added.
[82] See 6.5.
[83] Oxford University Archives, UR6/ANT/1, 'Memorandum on the work now done in anthropology in the university of Oxford with suggestions for its future development', 1935, p. 5.

4.4.1. Three schools in French sociology: The Durkheimians, Leplayians and Wormsians

France counted four major stands in sociology before and after 1914.[84]

First, the Durkheimians represented the most prestigious school and accounted for the most important source of textbooks (Bouglé, Déat, Davy, Hubert, Lalo, Bouglé and Raffault, Cuvilier), that is to say 9 textbooks. They specialised in presenting first and foremost Durkheim's writings and his sociological ideas.[85]

Academic debates were the staple of French textbooks. This was shown in the interpretation of Durkheim's role in the development of sociology in France, which varied largely. His role was praised among the Durkheimians: Armand Cuvilier, a disciple of Bouglé at ENS, wrote in 1936 that 'Durkheim had succeeded in gathering around him a plethora of researchers who [...] continue to bring to the edification of a positive sociology contributions of the highest importance. [...] In France, if the notion of a distinct social science [has] finally become accepted, it is mainly due to the school of Durkheim.'[86] On the other hand, his reception was far less warm among the catholic sociologists who called him a 'vigorous philosopher but a poorly informed ethnologist'.[87] These further blamed the interwar 'disciples and followers of Durkheim' who, 'if they have extended his documentation', had so far 'failed to escape from the ideological grip in which the powerful spirit of Durkheim seems to have locked them'.[88]

[84] For a presentation of these in English see Terry Nichols Clark, *Prophets and Patrons: The French University and the Emergence of Social Sciences* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1973).
[85] These were introduced in Chapter 3.
[86] Cuvillier, *Introduction à la sociologie*, p. 70.
[87] Lemonnyer, Tonneau, and Troude, p. 32.
[88] Lemonnyer, Tonneau, and Troude, p. 33.

However, even the Leplayian Paul Bureau (1865-1923), both a Republican and a Catholic, and later Law Professor in Paris, acknowledged in 1923 that 'more than anyone in France, for the past thirty years, Emile Durkheim has had the rare merit of contributing to the progress of sociological studies. [...] If Emile Durkheim had not lived, sociology, no doubt, would be very far from the point which it has reached'.[89]

Second, the Leplayians constituted a school following the Catholic engineer-turned-sociologist Frédéric Le Play (1806-1882) and the influential ideas expressed in *Les Ouvriers européens. Études sur les travaux, la vie domestique et la condition morale des populations ouvrières de l'Europe* in 1855.[90] Before 1914, his ideas were diffused through the work of Henri de Tourville (1842-1903) and Edmond Demolins (1852-1907). In the interwar years, it was carried on through the journal *La Science Sociale* and through Paul Bureau's and Paul Descamps' textbooks.[91]

The school specialised in doing fieldwork and in developing the survey technique (via the production of 'monographies'). Both interwar textbooks were thus dedicated to promoting 'the sociological method' or 'the experimental method'. As a school interested in empirical data collected in the field with the study of the 'Lieu-Travail-Famille' trinity, promoting paternalist conservativism and based in rural France, they opposed progressive, theoretically-oriented and Parisian Durkheimians. They were influential outside France, where they received a much more congenial welcome than Durkheimianism through the work of Patrick Geddes (1854-1932) in the UK, through that of Victor Brants (1854-1917) in Belgium and Léon Gérin (1863-1951) in French Canada.

[89] Bureau, pp. 8–9.
[90] Le Play, *Les Ouvriers Européens*.
[91] Bureau; Descamps.

Third, the Wormsians (also known as the 'internationalist school of sociology') supported the ideas of René Worms (1869-1926) who, in 1893, founded the *Revue Internationale de Sociologie*, the International Institute of Sociology and the Paris Sociological Society founded two years later.[92] Worms was extremely active within the journal and was instrumental in the genesis of French sociology, gathering a very prestigious membership for his Society: Politicians (Sir J. Bryce, G. Clémenceau) and academics and sociologists (Hobhouse, Von Wiese, Duprat) all intended to promote the discipline internationally before 1914.[93] In spite of this activism, the Wormsians did not thwart the Durkheimian advances.

In the interwar years, the Wormsians published five textbooks: Worms published one himself, while René Maunier published three and Guillaume-Léonce Duprat one.[94] Gaston Richard (1860-1945), a Durkheimian-turned-Wormsian sociologist, succeeded Worms at the head of the journal in 1926, although it stopped its publication during the Second World War. The 'internationalist school' was characterised by the promotion of organicism and of Spencerian sociology in France, although Worms' interwar followers in the journal broke away from extreme social Darwinism.

The specificities of the sociological debates in France were that schools upheld opposing (political) views of society. To caricature, the Durkheimians were socialist thinkers while the Le Playians were catholic Conservatives and the Wormsians laissez-faire Darwinists. In Britain,

[92] Terry Nichols Clark, 'Marginality, Eclecticism and Innovation: René Worms and the Revue Internationale de Sociologie from 1893 to 1914', *Revue Internationale de Sociologie*, 3.1–3 (1967), 12–27.
[93] Roger Geiger, Marie-France Essyad, and Philippe Besnard, 'René Worms, L'organicisme et L'organisation de La Sociologie', *Revue Française de Sociologie*, 22.3 (1981), 345–60.
[94] Worms; Maunier, *Manuel bibliographique (1920)*; Maunier, *Introduction à la sociologie (1929)*; Maunier, *Sociologie coloniale, tome 1 (1932)*; Duprat.

there were no such debates between schools as most textbooks adopted a more open and less critical approach of others, when they did not simply ignore completely school-based debates.[95]

4.4.2. 'Sociologists in rebellion' against Durkheim and specialised manuals

Finally, there were independent manuals such as Davy's textbook in 1924, Maunier's in 1932, Bastide's in 1935 and Gurvitch's in 1940 which were manuals specialised in one sub-discipline: Political sociology, colonial sociology, religious sociology and sociology of law, respectively.[96] Although they discussed Durkheim or Lévy-Bruhl for instance, these manuals rather drew inspiration from alternative sources such as Max Weber's concepts of law or Henri Bergson's vitalist philosophy.

Georges Davy (1883-1976) was a disciple of Durkheim and worked with Mauss. He was Dean of the Faculty of Arts at the University of Dijon when he published his textbook in 1924, which was supposed to be in several volumes. The remaining volumes were never published although a successful edition of *Éléments de sociologie* was released in 1950. He pioneered the study of political sociology in France but still made frequent references to Durkheimian sociology. His object was new, but not his subject-matter.

On the other hand, Roger Bastide (1898-1974) was a young '*Agrégé de philosophie*' teaching in *lycées* since 1924 without being of Durkheimian obedience. In 1931 he published *Les Problèmes de la vie mystique,* a sociological essay, and four years later his textbook *Éléments de sociologie religieuse* before securing a chair of Sociology at the University of Sao Paulo, Brasil in 1938.[97] His career was marked by a sincere interest in sociology, spiritual life and

[95] Manuals such as R. T. Evans; Webb and Webb, *Methods of Social Study (1932)* do not mention any author. Morris Ginsberg, *Sociology* (London: Oxford University Press, 1934) only is mentioning them in terms of schools.
[96] Davy, *Éléments de sociologie - 1. Sociologie politique*; Maunier, *Sociologie coloniale, tome 1 (1932)*; Bastide, *Elements de sociologie (1935)*; Gurvitch, *Éléments de sociologie juridique (1940)*.
[97] Roger Bastide, *Les problèmes de la vie mystique* (Paris: Armand Colin, 1931).

psycho-analysis and he did not return to France until 1957, therefore geographically and intellectually breaking away from the dominant Durkheimian paradigm.

His textbook was an attempt at defining a 'positive religious sociology' in France set against the fact that 'Unfortunately, too many researchers, unequally prepared, who wanted to write on this subject, have mixed quite a few adventurous or arbitrary hypotheses with well-established facts'.[98] He knew the work of Durkheim on religion, such as *The Elementary forms of religious life* from 1912, but was critical of it and deplored that 'the sociologists of the *Année* have an unfortunate tendency to want to eliminate, up to a point, the individual fact'. He also warned that 'we must avoid the accumulation of similar details borrowed from all peoples and epochs (a method honored by English anthropologists, and sometimes also by us).'[99]

Bastide strove to define an independent version of the sociology of religion by conjuring up Bergson's '*sympathie intuitive*' and 'introspection' and applying them to religious phenomena and ethnography by resorting to 'the comparative method'.[100] Just like Gaston Richard, with whom he entertained a correspondence, he can be called an 'independent sociologist', if not a sociologist in rebellion against Durkheim.[101]

As for René Maunier (1887-1951), he was a colonial sociologist who taught law in Egypt, Algeria and Paris. He published both in the Durkheimian *Annales sociologiques* and in Gaston Richard's *Revue internationale de sociologie* in the 1930s. He was part of the 'Young Turks' of French sociology.

[98] Bastide, *Elements de sociologie (1935)*, p. 1.
[99] Bastide, *Elements de sociologie (1935)*, pp. 4, 9.
[100] Bastide, *Elements de sociologie (1935)*, p. 9.
[101] See a part of this correspondence in Cécile Rol, *Gaston Richard (1860-1945): Un Sociologue En Rébellion* (Lendemains, 2015), 2/3, pp. 113–40.

Maunier's 1932 textbook was the first volume of his introduction to colonial sociology entitled 'an introduction to the study of the contact between races'. It consisted in a practical manual for colonial administrators dealing with 'integration and assimilation' of the colonised races, seen from a sociological point of view: 'What happens between them, what is created between them, by the effect of contact: It is a problem of sociology, which one must examine', he argued.[102] Maunier was another scholar independent from the Durkheimian school especially when he declared that 'having lived for a long time in the Orient, and not being an armchair colonialist or a lawyer of writing, I speak here of things seen and things lived. And I give them to those who are fond of observations more than of judgments, and who want documents on which to base their appreciations'.[103] Just like Bouglé at ENS between 1920 and 1940, Maunier looked for facts to back his judgement on colonial matters.[104] In this, he was clearly not under the influence of any specific school.

Finally, Georges Gurvitch (1894-1965) was a Russian sociologist who took French citizenship in 1928. He introduced phenomenology (which he studied in Germany in the 1920s) to France and succeeded Maurice Halbwachs at his chair of Sociology at the University of Strasbourg in 1935. In 1938 he published *Essais de sociologie*, a series of essays, and developed a brand-new sociology of law in his textbook in 1940, before fleeing to America during WWII after being revoked by the Vichy Régime as a naturalised Russian Jew.[105] He returned to France after 1945

[102] Maunier, *Sociologie coloniale, tome 1 (1932)*, p. 12.
[103] Maunier, *Sociologie coloniale, tome 1 (1932)*, p. 9.
[104] See 3.5.3. on Bouglé.
[105] Georges Gurvitch, *Essais de sociologie: Les formes de la sociabilité. Le problème de la conscience collective. La magie et le droit. La morale de Durkheim.* (Paris: Librairie du Recueil Sirey, 1938).

and proved instrumental in institutionalising post-war sociology in France and in importing American references there.[106]

Gurvitch pressed for the development of the sociology of law as a sub-discipline which had suffered from 'encountering formidable antagonists both in the camp of jurists and in the camp of sociologists, who, whilst coming from two opposing horizons, united in denying the possibility of such a sociology of law'.[107] Gurvitch preferred the use of Max Weber to that of Durkheim, although he did not reject the team entirely but rather praised their 'ethnological works [when] undertaken according to a vigorous sociological method'.[108] His '*sociologie du droit*' claimed to be novel because 'it is only the synthesis of the teaching of Durkheim and Weber that can lead the sociology of the Spirit, and in particular legal sociology, to its full potential.'[109] Gurvitch praised Weber for his 'modesty' and for having 'removed all conquering spirit' from sociology's "too broad and unjustified claims" which it had since its beginnings in the 19th century and, admittedly, by Durkheim.[110]

4.4.3. 'Looking for facts': Methodological manuals, statistics and sociological experiments

Interwar French sociology increasingly looked for facts and for less ideology. These 'sociologists in rebellion' both at ENS (Aron, Nizan, Bouglé and Halbwachs) and in their textbook writing (Maunier, Bastide, Cuvilier and Gurvitch) proved more influential on post-WWII sociology than Durkheim. At the time they did not represent a self-conscious community of writers or an autonomous 'school' but rather a kaleidoscope of writers and a disorganised current of ideas.

[106] See in particular his influential account of world sociology after WWII in Georges Gurvitch and Wilbert Ellis Moore, *Twentieth Century Sociology* (New York: Philosophical Library, 1945).
[107] Gurvitch, *Éléments de sociologie juridique (1940)*, p. 1.
[108] Gurvitch, *Éléments de sociologie juridique (1940)*, p. 72.
[109] Gurvitch, *Éléments de sociologie juridique (1940)*, p. 24.
[110] Gurvitch, *Éléments de sociologie juridique (1940)*, p. 21.

René Worms deplored the many disagreements between sociologists who all wanted to 'introduce a new conception of sociology, and provide an original definition' without cooperation or coordination.[111] In this, 'non-specialists' only saw confusion. Paul Bureau underlined how difficult it had become to fight against '*la sociologie de M. Tout le Monde*'.[112] Bouglé and his disciple Déat hoped their 'student guide' would eventually prove the reader that studying 'unionism is not less interesting than totemism', i.e. that sociology was not limited to Durkheim and *The Elementary Forms* but purported to deal with current-day politics. 'If sociology could prepare young people for informative and methodical reflection on the present itself, it would certainly not be time wasted', they argued in 1921.[113]

Yet surprisingly, most French textbooks remained distrustful of statistics. Paul Bureau's methodological textbook published in 1923 paradoxically contained a lot of information about *qualitative* research but very few on statistics which only rendered 'mediocre services to the unfortunate investigators', according to him.[114] Rather unexpectedly for a Leplayian, he defended psychology because statistics 'are restricted to external signs and prohibits any exploration in the field of psychological causes and ends' while this remained 'a crippling defect in the eyes of the sociologist; Since social life consists entirely of representations'. He advocated 'personal and oral' enquiries to fathom out these representations which could not be interpreted through figures.[115] 'One cannot be a sociologist if one does not feel able to be a penetrating and wise psychologist' he concluded, almost in agreement with L. T. Hobhouse, Ginsberg and McDougall in Britain.[116]

[111] Worms, p. 2.
[112] Bureau, p. 24.
[113] Bouglé and Déat, p. 7.
[114] Bureau, p. 160.
[115] Bureau, p. 160 ; 226.
[116] Bureau, p. 153.

In his textbook, Paul Descamps (1872-1946), then Professor at the Faculty of Law, University of Coimbra in Portugal, devoted three chapters to 'methods' and six to 'examples of research' he had conducted in his methodological textbook *La sociologie expérimentale* published in 1933. Yet there were hardly any mentions of statistics. Truly a Leplayian interested in 'Place-Work-Folk', he advocated the use of 'the direct method', i.e. observation of the workplace and of daily life, and certainly not 'interviews, questionnaires or the use of general statistical data'.[117]

Although Bastide called for more ethnographical facts in 1935, he added that there were 'major issues of method' regarding the 'recommended' statistical treatment of 'our personal experience of religious life'.[118] He advocated instead for the development of a Bergsonian sociology in the vein of the intuitive (or comprehensive) method of Max Weber.[119] Guillaume-Léonce Duprat, Professor of Sociology in Geneva, added in his sociological treaty in 1936 that 'the calculus of social probabilities appears wrongfully rigorous' and that the statistical methods can hardly be applied to sociological data because these were 'too few and too heterogeneous'.[120]

However, one surprising thing is that whereas Paul Descamps supported the use of sociological 'experiments' by the researcher in a 'laboratory' where it was possible to try 'a new form of salary, [or] a school that is looking for a new system of education', Worms and Bureau were not of that opinion.[121] The latter clearly deterred students and researchers from experimenting

[117] Descamps, p. 17.
[118] Bastide, *Elements de sociologie (1935)*, p. 7.
[119] The difference between Durkheim and Weber is usually depicted as an opposition between an objective, statistical (and rather cold) approach of social facts and a subjective, sympathetic (and rather warm) understanding of individual behaviour in society. At least this is how the opposition is presented to French undergraduate students!
[120] Duprat, p. 19.
[121] Descamps, p. viii ; 17 ; 20.

with sociology. This was justified by the fact that 'social organisation is a thing too serious, too precious, for one to change it' or that 'man is not a thing, and the difference is infinite'.[122] Kantian rationalism was back under a different, and rather unexpected, guise in these authors.

Just as in the 11 British textbooks, very few mentions of statistics or even practical considerations of methodology in sociology were present. The divorce between facts and theory was present in both countries and prevented the discipline from improving its scientific credentials in the interwar years, thus hindering its furtherance in academia.

4.5. UK textbooks: The lack of an academic culture, but a wider perspective

Britain did not have such specialised manuals on sub-disciplines such as eugenics, civics or biological sociology, although books such as Hogben's *Political Arithmetic* published strong pieces of empirical research.[123] Researchers in France were more advanced in their conception of the discipline than their British counterparts, because they were able already to define more specific sub-disciplines of sociology which required specialist textbooks to be taught.

4.5.1. The lack of sociological schools: A chance or an obstacle?

If sociological schools were central to the discipline in interwar France, the opposite was true in Britain, where textbooks were much less enshrined in school debates. This led British sociology textbooks to look empirical and teach about society (as facts and themes), rather than about sociology (the discipline). While British textbooks usually approached the subject

[122] Worms, p. 98; Bureau, p. 287.
[123] Lancelot Thomas Hogben, *Political Arithmetic (1938)*.

thematically, the French would take a more distant, abstract way of presenting the discipline to the readers Below is a table comparing the table of contents of two textbooks:

UK: Evans (1923).[124]	France: Maunier (1929).[125]
'I. The Scope and Method of Sociology	'1. Notions of sociology Definition, Delimitation, Naming
II. The Evolution of Society	2. Definition of social facts Concept of Societies, Concept of Social Facts, Sanction of Social Facts
III. The Psychology of Social Life	3. Division of Social Facts I Human Groupings: Biological, Geographical, Sociological.
IV. Racial Factor in History	4. Division of Social Facts II Human Behaviours: Life of Production, Life of Relationship, Life of Worship
V. Nationality	5. Methods of Sociology The Description of Facts, the Comparison of Facts, the Explanation of Facts
VI. The Economic Organisation of Society	6. History of Sociology I Preparation: Biblical and Critical Comparison, Mediterranean, Universal.
VII. Population	7. History of Sociology II The Foundation: The Comparison of Facts, the Assertion of Causes, the Demonstration of Causes
VIII. Economic Basis of Social Well-Being	8. Bibliography'
IX. The Political Organisation Of Society	
X. A Short List of Books'	

Table 8. Table of contents of Evans (1923) and Maunier (1929)

If British textbooks surveyed the problems of the day such as nationality, race and population, the French never mentioned current events – the only exception being a passing reference to workers' unions in Bouglé and Déat in 1921 and to Nazism in 1934 by the Catholic sociologist Lemonnyer.[126] This showed that, if not inclined to deal specifically with methodology, UK

[124] R. T. Evans, p. vii.
[125] Maunier, *Introduction à la sociologie (1929)*, p. i.
[126] Bouglé and Déat, p. 7; Lemonnyer, Tonneau, and Troude, p. 10 states that 'Collective manifestations, such as the feelings and passions which arouse a nation, or the spectacle recently given to us by the German national revolution of January and May 1933, are far more than the juxtaposition of individual emotions'.

textbooks were not discarding current events as objects of sociological investigation nonetheless.

French textbooks did not introduce UK sociology and although they always started by introducing their subject historically, British sociology was left out. The only exception out of the 24 textbooks is a footnote by Worms in 1921 which stated that 'Eugenics [*l'eugénique*] gives precepts for the good genesis of individuals; Civics [*la civique*] gives it for the good construction of cities. Their names came from England (*eugenics, civics* [sic]) and the second is not very widespread in France.'[127] Some texts from Giddings, Spencer, Frazer and Marx were included in the selection by Bouglé and Raffault in 1926, but Maunier surprisingly did not refer to British works in his 250-page bibliography of works in the social sciences published in 1920, for instance.[128]

British sociology was not known in France because it was not organised in terms of schools, contrary to France. The argument is backed by the fact that the only 'British sociology' ever taught in these textbooks was, precisely, its 'school of anthropologists and of social psychologists'. Worms, one of Durkheim's arch-enemies, was cunning enough in 1921 to present 'the school of Emile Durkheim, which was inspired by the great English anthropologists and folklorists' while Marcel Déat mentioned Westermarck and Frazer in his 1925 textbooks to recall that, even in France, 'it is not possible to open a book of sociology without immediately encountering one of these names'.[129] Maunier, one of the few allies of British sociologists, underlined that 'the British invented social anthropology' in 1929 while Cuvillier insisted in

[127] Worms, p. 148.
[128] See the table of contents from Bouglé and Raffault, pp. 501–11; Maunier, *Manuel bibliographique (1920)*.
[129] Worms, p. 31; Déat, p. 16.

1936 that on presenting the history of the discipline, 'a special place must be given to the research of the English anthropological school'.[130]

Déat noted that 'the Anglo-Saxons provide social psychology with an important contingent of researchers, with Lester Ward, Giddings, Small, Ross, Coffin, J. M. Baldwin, and others' and underlined that, for French sociologists, it was 'often difficult to distinguish between them and the anthropological school'.[131] 'If their scholarship is valuable, their conclusions are often debatable, and French sociologists do not fail to discuss them,' Déat criticised.[132] The most often quoted British social scientist was William McDougall, the social psychologist responsible for popularising Durkheim's concept of collective representation in his book, *The Group Mind*, published in 1920.[133] George Davy, the only textbook writer to have sometimes published in English, even had one chapter of his 1931 book on 'McDougall and Durkheimianism'.[134]

While interwar sociologists such as L. T. Hobhouse, A. M. Carr-Saunders or H. A. Mess were never mentioned at all in all the 24 textbooks, there were frequent references to Spencer who, along Comte, was seen as the forefather of the discipline. Paul Bureau regretted in 1923 that '"The writer who deals with social science, as well as the citizen who practices it, must above all justify his method by the result." The warning is wise, and what a shame it is that most of our contemporary sociologists, starting with Auguste Comte and Herbert Spencer, did not keep this in mind.'[135] As a testimony of Spencer's posthumous influence, Davy described the

[130] Maunier, *Introduction à la sociologie (1929)*, p. 10; Cuvillier, *Introduction à la sociologie*, p. 24.
[131] Déat, p. 24.
[132] Déat, p. 16.
[133] McDougall, *The Group Mind (1920)*.
[134] See 'Troisième partie : la psychologie sociale de McDougall et la sociologie durkheimienne' from Davy, *Sociologues d'hier et d'aujourd'hui (1931)*.
[135] Bureau, pp. 6–7.

sociological field in interwar France as being divided between four schools, 'Comte and Durkheim; Le Play and Paul Bureau; Espinas and Spencer; Tarde'.[136] And Descamps lamented in 1933 that 'the multiplicity of schools, and especially of theories, is even greater among the successors of Auguste Comte and Herbert Spencer than among those of Le Play'.[137]

British sociology was not taught in French manuals because, excepting the anthropologists, it was not organised in 'theoretical' schools while French textbooks rather enjoyed presenting the discipline historically and teleologically from Plato and Aristotle to Le Play, Durkheim and Worms.

Louis Contardarin, in his 1927 *Notions de sociologie* for the *Écoles normales*, described the history of the subject as follows: 'Every century had had its sociologists. [...] Some, following Plato, have made ideologist sociology [*de la sociologie idéologiste*]; Others, following Aristotle, experimental sociology'.[138] Déat in his 1925 textbook, started with 'the precursors' of sociology, i.e. Plato, Aristotle, Montesquieu and English empiricism then moved on to 'the founders', i.e. Malthus, Ricardo, Saint Simon, Quételet and Comte and concluded with 'the producers', i.e. Marx, Spencer and Durkheim.[139] According to the French, because interwar British sociology (following Hobhouse and Ginsberg) purported to develop its own native tradition, different from that of the Continent, it did not fit in this story, except for the pre-war anthropologists.[140]

[136] Davy, *Sociologues d'hier et d'aujourd'hui (1931)*, p. 1.
[137] Descamps, p. vii.
[138] Contardarin, p. 11.
[139] Déat, pp. 1–10.
[140] See Chapter 6.

As the 510 pages of extracts compiled as a university textbook by Bouglé and Raffault showed, the discipline was understood as a consistent whole unfolding in history and culminating in French, Durkheimian sociology. Interwar French sociology was, much more than in Britain, already constituted by 'Classics' that referred to a coherent story for the discipline. This gave French sociologists a much stronger 'disciplinary/sociological identity' than their British counterparts who were looking for new boundaries for their discipline in the interwar years at the LSE.[141] French sociologists presented a much firmer professional ethos to competing disciplines, something that British sociologists lacked in academia.

However, the positive aspect of this lack of sociological schools and identity was that the discipline in Britain was still very flexible and, by looking for its own boundaries without reference to the Continent, interwar British sociology gained a modern dimension that proved increasingly attractive to all after 1945.

4.5.2. A democratic, but untechnical, discipline

Because they could not rely on strong academic support and prestige, British manuals were less interested in presenting ideas, authors and methods to students – as they were supposed to do as textbooks – than in introducing sociology to the general public. These manuals were thus performative attempts at creating the discipline rather than 'mere textbooks' transmitting a sociological tradition to passing generations of students.

UK interwar textbooks were not so much aimed at students than at the general public, used in asserting the discipline as performative acts. These textbooks should be seen as essays in themselves rather than as books teaching about a discipline, which was still stammering. The

[141] See Chapter 1.

definition of the discipline was still not very clear. The variety of authors and of themes (from 'nation and race' to 'social groups in society') showed that these publications were helping sociology mature. The number of different textbooks testified to this lively aspect rather than to its alleged weakness or dry intellectual content.

One telling example came from Findlay's textbook. Joseph John Findlay (1860-1940), an educationist, was a Professor of Education at the University of Manchester when he published his textbook *An Introduction to Sociology for Social Workers and General Readers* in 1923. He published several essays on classroom teaching but it was his interest in adult education that brought him to 'practical' sociology teaching. Findlay explained that his textbook was targeting the general public rather than academics, 'partly because sociology is a comparatively new study' and needed new energies to make progress, partly also 'because young scholars are inclined to be too timid, afraid of making mistakes or of breaking with tradition', while the discipline needed bold new experiments to develop. According to him, 'there are many men and women' (including those without academic qualifications, or 'those associated with the W. E. A.') who had 'mental habits […] quite consistent with an approach to psychology of sociology [sic], if they can be brought to realize that the subject-matter of these studies lies all round them'.[142]

As a result, rather than strengthening an academic identity, his wish was to raise a democratic awareness towards sociology. In his textbook Findlay set out to attract the attention of 'that wider circle of readers who are eager to study social questions' towards the new discipline sociology. Because native sociology was new in Britain it appeared as exciting and democratic, rather than academic and prestigious as in France. This democratic dimension of British

[142] Findlay, p. viii.

sociology, as opposed to the academic, elitist French sociology, could be seen in the diversity of backgrounds found in interwar textbooks authors. While in France, two thirds of all 24 textbooks were written by '*Agrégés de philosophie*' at ENS, in Britain their authors were more diverse: At the time of writing, Cole was involved with the Labour Party and not yet an academic, Evans taught political science in Wales, Findlay was Professor of Education in Manchester and Rumney was a young graduate in Economics. This gave sociology textbooks a more accessible outlook and a wider scope in Britain on the other hand.

If we except the Webbs' *Methods* in 1932 and Ginsberg's *Sociology* in 1934, they were written by people who were not professed or institutional sociologists but came from alternative backgrounds (in education, economics, politics) and who strove to define their own intellectual standpoint towards sociology via a textbook. Thus, a native British sociology was emerging by a process of trial and error.

As a rule, French sociology writers were characterised by their strong academic culture and sociological identity (as schools of thought) while British sociology appeared more open, both in its writing (which appealed to individual experience and to daily life) and in its professorial background and concrete context (adult courses, prisons, extra-mural classes and Sunday schools). While British textbooks taught about society, French textbooks taught about sociology (about the discipline).

4.5.3. Performative attempts at defining the discipline

One downside of this open outlook and these various backgrounds was that, as a democratic discipline sociology could not be too technical. This explains why so little sociological method was present in these textbooks; It was too technical or remote for the general public and inaccessible to students of philosophy or education. Only in the Webbs' *Methods of Social*

Study was method specifically dealt with in Chapter 4 on 'The art of note-taking' and Chapter 9 on 'The use of statistics'.[143] Richard Evans glossed over 'The scope and method of sociology' in Chapter 1 of *Aspects of the Study of Society* in 1923.[144]

Just as in France, textbook writers were unaware or unfamiliar with statistical methods although Ginsberg wrote one quantitative paper in 1929 which was a turning point of his career.[145] Like MacIver, some even thought it impossible for statistics to be a suitable method for sociology. MacIver wrote in *Elements of Social Science* that 'it is a common view that science begins and ends with measurement' but while 'this is true of physical science it is certainly not true of social science', he argued.[146] MacIver shared with the French sociologists a disbelief in figures, and imported some of their ideas in the process.[147]

There were references to American studies of social stratification such as Sorokin's *Social Mobility* and the Lynds' *Middletown* in Chapter 7 of Rumney's *The Science of Society* about 'Methods and techniques of social study' but no technical considerations were apparent in either.[148] He wrote that 'the sociologist has […] established certain techniques for the collection of data [but] we shall confine our attention to a few of these', i.e. 'the social survey, social case-analysis and the questionnaire', citing Booth's *Life and Labour of the People in London* as a model but relinquishing statistics. Rumney added that it was 'foolish to expect always measurement' which was 'not essential to sociology and a good deal of sociological information is not quantitative – as, for instance, the theory of evolution or the diffusion of culture'.[149]

[143] Webb and Webb, *Methods of Social Study (1932)*, chap. 4 ; 9.
[144] R. T. Evans, chap. 1.
[145] Ginsberg, 'Interchange between Social Classes (1929)'.
[146] R. M. MacIver, p. 15.
[147] See Robert M MacIver, *Community: A Sociological Study* (London: Macmillan, 1917).
[148] Rumney, *The Science of Society (1938)*, chap. 7.
[149] Rumney, *The Science of Society (1938)*, pp. 93–95.

Furthermore, in his book, Rumney addressed three criticisms levelled at sociology, which was supposed first to be indistinct, second unnecessary and third too general for securing autonomy – thus clearly 'performing the discipline'.

The first criticism was that 'there is no special field for sociology since its subject-matter has been parcelled-out to a number of specialisms such as economics, politics, psychology, etc.', and that it was an indistinct discipline.[150] The second was that 'Sociology borrows from the other sciences. It is a labour-saving device for knowing everything without learning anything', and was thus unnecessary.[151] Thirdly, 'Sociology is merely an assemblage of miscellaneous studies having a social content', and was thus too general.[152] He retorted that 'this criticism ignores the essential nature of science, which can only grow by borrowing', especially since sociology came last.[153] But it had already 'produced a great deal of valuable information about social institutions such as the family, property, church and the State', indicating that 'none of these topics is adequately treated elsewhere'.[154] Sociology was thus legitimate and independent, his book showed in the following chapters on the class structure, biology or techniques of social study.[155] Rumney believed that 'the departmentalization of knowledge is only made for our convenience. There are no water-tight compartments in science or reality', and sociology was that discipline which called into question these arbitrary academic divisions.[156] This was one additional reason why sociology was hardly palatable to the well-established Oxbridge academics.

[150] Rumney, *The Science of Society (1938)*, p. 12.
[151] Rumney, *The Science of Society (1938)*, p. 13.
[152] Rumney, *The Science of Society (1938)*, p. 12.
[153] Rumney, *The Science of Society (1938)*, p. 13.
[154] Rumney, *The Science of Society (1938)*, p. 12.
[155] Rumney, *The Science of Society (1938)*, chap. 4 ; 5 ; 7.
[156] Rumney, *The Science of Society (1938)*, p. 12.

Rumney's *Science of Society* showed that interwar textbooks were asserting the possibility of sociology through their writing rather than providing a teachable set of concepts and authors, as in France. R. T. Evans concluded *Aspects of the study of society* in 1923 by stating that 'no attempt was made to reach a final solution of any particular [sociological] problem'. Rather, his goal was 'to demonstrate that social problems are amenable to scientific treatment and to inculcate a philosophical attitude of mind towards them'. The textbook aim was epistemological rather than concrete.[157] The idea was to make the audience (miners and school-teachers) sensitive to the scope of sociology as a means to deal with applied social problems, rather than bringing them a specific knowledge which would have strengthened its academic credentials. This was the price to pay for a democratic science.

Interestingly, this democratic aspect of sociology was dual: It was democratically teachable, but also supposed to foster citizenship, and democracy. The book expressed 'a conviction that the problems of society cannot be solved by frequent repetition of cant phrases and fascinating formulae', and was also performative in this sense.[158] Evans, who became a Liberal MP after the 1931 general election, believed that sociology was more useful than political controversies to foster public good. He thus stated that if politicians could 'introduce into our legislature the scientific spirit of dispassionate research [found in sociology] to replace the endless conflict of group egoism and class interests there would be some ground for optimism in the future'.[159] There was a serious hope that social science would help building modern Britain and, like

[157] R. T. Evans, pp. v–vi.
[158] R. T. Evans, p. vi.
[159] R. T. Evans, p. 24.

Radcliffe-Brown the social anthropologist hoped it in 1923, that 'future generations will be able to apply it in the building of a civilization nearer to our heart's desire'.[160]

4.6. 'Sociology has a long past, but a short history'[161]

4.6.1. The history of the discipline in Britain

What added to the feeling that British textbooks were performative is that little of the history of the subject was presented in them. Although French manuals always related the historical unfolding of sociology from the origins to Durkheim in the introductory chapters, only Rumney had such a chapter on 'The Development of sociology'.[162] From Comte to Spencer, he described the destiny of sociology in Britain by arguing that 'the attitude of the universities towards Sociology partly derives from the time of Herbert Spencer, whose teaching was regarded as […] a dangerous solvent to ancient beliefs and religion. […] The effect upon the development of sociology in this country was unfortunate.'[163] This gave textbook sociology in Britain a present-day dimension which differed greatly from France, where it was always presented as a cumulative process.

As a result of this lack of a story for the discipline, there were only little references to international sociologists. Only three textbooks out of 11 (MacIver, Ginsberg and Rumney) spoke about Durkheim, Marx, McDougall and Veblen outside Britain.[164] This gave a very British turn of mind to sociology in these textbooks. There were two hypotheses: Either writers were very parochial and Britain-centred, or more likely they were striving to define British sociology away from competing definitions and without references to the Continent and the rest

[160] Alfred Reginald Radcliffe-Brown and M. N. Srinivas, 'The Methods of Ethnology and Social Anthropology (1923)', in *Method in Social Anthropology* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1958), pp. 3–38 (p. 30).
[161] Bulmer, 'The Development of Sociology (1985)', p. 30.
[162] Rumney, *The Science of Society (1938)*, chap. 8.
[163] Rumney, *The Science of Society (1938)*, p. 115.
[164] Rumney, *The Science of Society (1938)*, p. 11.

of the world. Few references were made to sociologists outside the British Isles, and overall to theories at all if one excepts Ginsberg's *Sociology*. A proper version of sociology independent of foreign influences was being elaborated in interwar textbooks, as in interwar LSE.[165]

They were about to succeed, had it not been for the war. The 1939 textbook by F. C. Bartlett, Morris Ginsberg and R. H. Thouless entitled *The Study of Society* showed that the co-operation of 'psychologists, anthropologists, and sociologists who were known to be actively interested in the social implications of their respective fields of work' was now possible. Frederic C. Bartlett (1886-1969) was a psychologist who became the first Professor of Experimental Psychology at Cambridge from 1931 until he retired in 1952. Robert Henry Thouless (1894-1984) was a psychologist who helped establish psychology at the universities of Manchester (1921-6) and Glasgow (1926-38), before joining Cambridge as a Reader in Educational Psychology until his retirement in 1961.

Although it was still 'not infrequently said that when psychologists, anthropologists, or sociologists meet, little but disagreement emerges', the book 'may be regarded as a practical rebuttal of such a charge' and encouraged greater co-operation between specialists.[166] The 19 chapters were thus another attempt at 'performing' the discipline by showing that it could concretely bring together academics from competing disciplines and make them work all together.

There were frustratingly, however, few novel concepts from the interwar years to be found in them. There was nothing consistent on social mobility, stratification or education as developed at the London School of Economics between the wars in the work of T. H. Marshall, Lancelot

[165] See Chapter 1 on the LSE.
[166] Bartlett, Morris Ginsberg, and others, p. viii.

Hogben and David Glass. Not only were these textbooks not aimed at academic researchers but they did not make the latest sociological knowledge available to the public. The fact that most authors were specialists of other disciplines explains that they were less interested in developing these insights than in popularising 'performative attempts' in the budding discipline. As a result, no specialist manuals on eugenics, social biology or social mobility emerged, contrary to France.

If these books dealt with 'problems' rather than 'concepts', which made them useful for popularising social work and the sociological point of view, they were less efficient at defending the academic identity of sociology which transpired in France through the existence of disciplinary classics, founding fathers and a coherent story. Because of this lack of a consistent story to tell about their discipline, British sociologists could hardly be exported to France, where the disciplinary debates were so dynamic – some would say chaotic – for the young British voice to be heard in the field. The picture of interwar British sociology given in these 11 textbooks was clearly hopeful but precarious and this lack of academic identity had serious consequences which entailed a lack of international recognition until the 1960s.[167]

Because these manuals failed to present clear schools or founding fathers (Spencer was mentioned only in one third of all textbooks while Hobhouse was never mentioned), British sociology did not export to France and was not taught in French textbooks. These 11 textbooks conveyed the idea that sociology was an empirical, problem-oriented and vocational discipline rather than suitable for research and academia, which was ironically confirmed by the institutional success of social work degrees at Liverpool and Bedford College and by the difficulties of the LSE sociologists at establishing their discipline as a serious academic

[167] See the surprisingly apologetic account of British sociology given in 1945 in Rumney, 'British Sociology (1945)'.

specialism. In France, on the contrary intellectual debates were so thriving and empirical relevance so lacking that its sociology also failed to export on the other side of the Channel.

French textbooks were also a failure because they did not provide the sociological discipline with useful methodological tools, in spite of developing specialised manuals, and thus could not foster its scientific foundation. Furthermore, despite being forcibly taught in schools, textbooks did not eliminate the criticisms towards 'Durkheimian' sociology. The discipline therefore did not know any significant institutional advancement in the interwar years thanks to these textbooks. The sociological field remained largely, and much more than in Britain, divided and divisive.

4.6.2. The introduction of German sociology in Britain and France

The lack of a consistent story and of specialised schools explains why British sociology, apart from the occasional footnote, was never presented in French interwar textbooks. A more serious reason is that no one in France really cared about it. No French sociologist seemed to be acquainted enough with the variety of British sociological strands to be able to provide an account of them. This would have favourably helped it, just like when ENS *Agrégé* Raymond Aron introduced Max Weber and German sociology to France when his book *La sociologie allemande contemporaine* was published in 1935. In it, he reported extensively on Weber, Tönnies, Vierkandt and Von Wiese, and popularised German sociology at the time when it was still very much unknown.[168] His chapter on Max Weber established him as another founding father of sociology along Durkheim and Spencer, despite his not having a school of his own and not calling himself a 'sociologist'.[169]

[168] Raymond Aron, *La Sociologie allemande contemporaine* (Paris: F. Alcan, 1935).
[169] Aron, *La Sociologie allemande contemporaine*, chap. 3.

Since the 19th century, it had been Germany, rather than Britain, which was fashionable among French intellectuals and sociologists. Durkheim himself spent a year in Germany in 1885-1886 and later published a book on the country, *L'Allemagne au-dessus de tout*, while Bouglé did the same in 1893-1894 and also published a book on German sociology entitled *Les Sciences sociales en Allemagne*.[170] This German craze was still alive in interwar France, when Aron, then a young *Agrégé* and a student of Bouglé at the Centre de Documentation Sociale at ENS, spent the years from 1930 to 1933 at the Universities of Cologne and Berlin and later published *La sociologie allemande contemporaine* popularising Weber.

Even in the 1930s, the intense rivalry with Germany was not without a genuine interest in its sociology and philosophy. French sociologists were less interested in British sociology and, except for René Worms and Guillaume-Léonce Duprat, who were Anglophiles, British sociology received little attention in France (except in the *Année*) and was never formally introduced.[171]

Unsurprisingly, Britain treated French sociologists with the same lack of consideration. British sociologists were also more interested in German sociology than in what was happening across the Channel in the interwar years. Given the state of division of French sociologists, this was understandable. There was for instance no specific introduction of Durkheim in Britain. Albeit loosely considered 'common knowledge' in academia, Durkheim remained largely ignored in Britain: His manifesto, *The Rules of the Sociological Method*, originally published in 1895, was only translated into English by the British philosopher George Edward Gordon Catlin in 1938. Le Play received a stronger mark of interest from Geddes and Branford but the circle was

[170] Émile Durkheim, *L'Allemagne au-dessus de tout, la mentalité allemande et la guerre* (Paris: A. Colin, 1915); Célestin Bouglé, *Les sciences sociales en Allemagne: les méthodes actuelles* (Paris: F. Alcan, 1896).
[171] This is ironically still largely the case nowadays.

getting older and Farquharson developed his own version of the social survey without being interested in the later French developments.

On the contrary, German sociology was known in the UK thanks to the German sociologist Karl Mannheim (1893-1947), who introduced it at the LSE after 1933, at about the same time as Aron in France, and later became Professor of Sociology at the Institute of Education in London.[172] Vilfredo Pareto, the Italian sociologist, was also introduced in Britain thanks to Ginsberg in 1936.[173] Americans sociologists always kept a keen interest in British sociology and saw its interwar developments with curiosity.[174] Talcott Parsons stopped for a year at the LSE in 1924-1925 on his way to Heidelberg, where he attended Georg Simmel's lectures, and Earle Edward Eubank took a comprehensive survey of European sociology on his trip in Europe in 1934.[175] To sum up, Britain and France virtually ignored each other, in spite of their super-power, on the interwar sociological map, and both preferred to look towards Germany.

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[172] See its formal introduction in Mannheim, 'German Sociology'.
[173] Morris Ginsberg, 'The Sociology of Pareto', *The Sociological Review*, 28.3 (1936), 221–45.
[174] See Palmer; Harper.
[175] Käsler.

Chapter 5 – Social Surveys: The Birth of Public Sociology

'Social administration', 'social accounting', 'social investigation', 'empirical' or 'applied' sociology, 'sociological research', etc. have been the various names associated with the practice of the social survey. Given the numerous ways of calling it, this shows how important, yet how controversial, the notion of 'surveying' has been throughout history.

5.0.1. Definition

The OED historically defined a survey as 'the formal or official inspection of the particulars of something, e.g. of an estate, of a ship or its stores, of the administration of an office, etc.'. This went back to its historical definition that derived from the Domesday Book in 1086, also incidentally known in the literature as 'The Great Survey', or to Graunt and Petty's 'political arithmetick' founded in the 1660s in London.

But the modern definition, also given in the OED, as 'a systematic collection and analysis of data relating to the attitudes, living conditions, opinions, etc., of a population' stemmed from a social survey that became especially popular at the turn of the 20th century, Charles Booth's *Life and Labour of the People in London* (1889-1903). From then on, the social survey has been recognised as a British speciality.

In the interwar years, social investigations became a nation's favourite and a thriving activity. This can be seen through the massive number of surveys conducted between 1920 and 1940 (about a hundred and fifty), and through the fact that their success was specific to Britain.[1]

[1] This figure was adapted from Table 1.1. in Martin Bulmer, Kevin Bales, and Kathryn Kish Sklar, *The Social Survey in Historical Perspective, 1880-1940* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), p. 18.

Surveys were also done in America, Germany and France, but these did not receive such attention and public success.[2] It was only in Britain that a real continuity shows through, from Booth in 1900 to the 1960s social research.

5.0.2. Historiography

As a result, the historiography of British 'empirical sociology' is rich, starting with A. F. Wells' 1935 and 1936 pieces which mapped out the history of the notion for the first time.[3] Mark Abrams, Philip's father, wrote a book delineating the links between surveys and social action in 1951.[4] Anthony Oberschall, the American sociologist, wrote another in 1972 on behalf of Paul Lazarsfeld, the Austrian-American pioneer of the technique.[5] In Britain Raymond Kent initiated the re-assessment of the tradition in the UK in his 1981 history of the subject, while Martin Bulmer became a world specialist in the field.[6] Finally, pieces were written in the 1980s on Mass Observation, and its comprehensive history was written in 2006.[7] It seems that all has already been said on the subject.

However, there are two reasons why writing a chapter on social surveys between 1920 and 1940 remains necessary and crucial for the history of sociology. First, because the period offers an interesting source of material to document the development of the social survey tradition in the UK. Second, all accounts of social surveys focus on the same question: Why did social surveys

[2] See respectively Chapters 8, 11 and 12 in Bulmer, Bales, and Sklar.
[3] A. F. Wells, *The Local Social Survey (1935)*; A. F. Wells, 'Social Surveys and Sociology', *The Sociological Review*, 28 (1936), 274–94.
[4] Mark Abrams, *Social Surveys and Social Action* (London: Heinemann, 1951).
[5] Anthony Oberschall, *The Establishment of Empirical Sociology: Studies in Continuity, Discontinuity, and Institutionalization* (New York: Harper & Row, 1972).
[6] R. A. Kent, *A History of British Empirical Sociology* (Aldershot: Gower, 1981); Martin Bulmer, *Essays on the History of British Sociological Research* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985); Bulmer, Bales, and Sklar.
[7] N. S. Stanley, '"The Extra Dimension" : A Study and Assessment of the Methods Employed by Mass-Observation in Its First Period 1937-40' (unpublished Ph.D., City of Birmingham Polytechnic, 1981); Summerfield; Hubble.

not connect with academic sociology to drive the discipline forward? Why was there no connection between empirical sociology and theory that could have advanced the survey?

Therefore, one may conclude from the literature that social surveys were a failure. Two trends emerged, one was academic, the other voluntary; Empirical on the one hand and theoretical on the other, and they failed to connect. It is easy to understand why social surveys have been so controversial in the history of the discipline opposing those for whom they embodied the 'real' British tradition in sociology with others stressing that they were 'merely a sociological tool for investigators' which could not produce a discipline by itself. In a nutshell, these were British analysists versus Continental ones.

5.0.3. Thesis and plan

This chapter will argue that interwar social surveys and Mass Observation were neither meant to remain just a primitive version of the discipline nor to connect to academia. Instead, they constituted a distinctive UK strand of sociology that is nowadays described as 'public', as opposed to 'professional' (or academic), that were clearly sociological in developing the 'sociological imagination'. That is what made these surveys so successful and typically British, but they were not aimed at becoming established or institutionalised in any way, contrary to the popular interpretation. Interwar social surveys and the success of the Mass Observation project embodied the birth of public sociology in Britain and were instrumental in developing the sociological imagination; but they never required, nor could have survived, institutionalisation and introduction in Oxbridge.

The first section will examine the history of the social survey and the explanations given in the literature that it was a long-standing but failing tradition in the UK. The second section will discuss the various definitions and aims of the social survey which will testify to its 'public'

dimension in the interwar years, while the third section will elaborate on its additional 'educational' value. The fourth section is a case-study of 13 interwar unemployment surveys to show their concrete role in arousing the national 'sociological imagination'. A short conclusion will recall that social surveys could not be institutionalised lest they lose their specific 'public' dimension. Consequently, they should not be interpreted as a failure but rather as a distinct British tradition or way of doing sociology. Social surveys, not unlike Amateurs described in Chapter 2, were one of Britain's world-enriching sociological specificities born domestically between 1920 and 1940.

5.1. Social surveys in the UK: A long-standing but failing tradition?

This section will examine the origins of the social survey in Britain and discuss the widespread assertion in the literature that it was a long-standing, but failing, tradition.

5.1.1. A short introduction to 'the Founding Fathers': Booth, Rowntree and Bowley

The first histories of the British social survey date back to Wells in 1935, Caradog Jones in 1949 and Mark Abrams in 1951.[8] They all presented it as initiated by Booth, Rowntree and Bowley at the turn of the 20th century. Although Jones went back to the Domesday Book in 1086 and although the 1801 Census, statistical societies in the 1830s and the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science (NAPSS) from 1857 to 1886 all popularised 'social science' in Britain, the work of Charles Booth was seen as a starting point.[9]

[8] A. F. Wells, *The Local Social Survey (1935)*; D. Caradog Jones, *Social Surveys* (London: Hutchinson's University Library, 1949); Mark Abrams.
[9] For a comprehensive history of the NAPSS, see Lawrence Goldman, *Science, Reform and Politics in Victorian Britain : The Social Science Association, 1857-1886* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

Charles Booth (1840-1916) was a successful shipowner from Liverpool who engaged in philanthropic social research on poverty and on the population of London over a 17 year-long project starting in 1886 and in 1903 eventually published (in 17 volumes), *Life and Labour of the People in London*. Along with Benjamin S. Rowntree and Arthur L. Bowley, Charles Booth was instrumental in attracting public attention on the extent of urban poverty and in prompting government intervention against it, notably through the Old-Age Pensions Act 1908, the People's Budget of 1911 and the introduction of free school meals for poor children.

Booth's survey on 'the condition and occupations of the inhabitants of London' purported to confront the media's "sensational stories" about working-class poverty (which was described as the realm of 'alcoholism, violence and prostitution' since Henry Mayhew's grim description of London in 1851) to statistics, with a view to avert more social unrest in London.[10] Booth shocked the nation by concluding that in London about 1,300,000 people (that is 30.7% of the population) lived in poverty in the 1890s.

In the provinces, Benjamin Seebohm Rowntree (1871-1954) was born in York as the second son of Joseph Rowntree, a philanthropist and Quaker businessman who had made fortune with his chocolate factory. Briggs' biography argued that Rowntree developed an interest in working-class poverty through an acquaintance with his father's factory workers.[11] Inspired by his father, he investigated York's urban poverty in 1899, the results of which were published in 1901. The book entitled *Poverty: A Study of Town Life* had a major impact on the national perception of poverty as well as on social legislation.[12]

[10] Charles Booth, *Life and Labour of the People in London* (London: Macmillan, 1889), I, p. 1 ; 6; Henry Mayhew, *London Labour and the London Poor* (London, 1851).
[11] Asa Briggs, *A Study of the Work of Seebohm Rowntree 1871-1954* (London: Longmans, 1961).
[12] B. S. Rowntree, *Poverty: A Study of Town Life* (London: Macmillan, 1901).

Rowntree's goal was to emulate Booth in London by applying his method to a provincial town to see whether his conclusion about poverty stood in York. He stated in the introduction that his goal was 'to throw some light upon the conditions which govern the life of the wage-earning classes in provincial towns, and especially upon the problem of poverty'. Moreover, he added that a similar investigation conducted in a provincial town might be of use 'as it was impossible to judge how far the general conclusions arrived at by Mr. Booth in respect of the metropolis would be found applicable to a smaller urban population'.[13] Rowntree's conclusion was that 20,302 people (i.e. 27.8% of York's total population) lived in poverty, a result comparable to Booth's.[14]

Rowntree's main contribution to the study of the phenomenon was to distinguish between 'primary' and 'secondary' poverty; the former being due to an insufficiency of income while the latter was linked to 'improvidence' or 'vices' such as gambling or drinking.[15] His major contribution to the study of poverty compared to Booth was to define an official 'poverty line', i.e. a minimal wage below which it was impossible to secure a correct caloric input to live in good health. Although he shocked the nation with such results, his work was instrumental in defying the popular Victorian opinion on poverty by explaining that in York and London it was largely due to 'primary causes' rather than to a lack of education, of thrift or to idleness. Rowntree concluded that 'wages paid for unskilled labour in York are insufficient to provide food, shelter and clothing adequate to maintain a family of moderate size in a state of bare physical efficiency'.[16]

[13] Rowntree, *Poverty (1901)*, pp. vii–viii.
[14] Rowntree, *Poverty (1901)*, pp. 298–99.
[15] Rowntree, *Poverty (1901)*, pp. viii–x.
[16] Rowntree, *Poverty (1901)*, p. 133.

Arthur Lyon Bowley (1869-1957) was an English statistician and economist who worked on economic statistics at the LSE from its opening in 1895 until his retirement in 1936, and who can be considered one of the School's founding fathers. Bowley pioneered the use of sampling techniques in social surveys in 1915.[17] While Booth and Rowntree had endeavoured to visit every working-class household in the East End and in York to gather their data, Bowley pioneered sampling techniques in his seminal 'five towns study' in 1915, the same year he became a Professor, and that was pivotal in improving the social survey.[18]

Both Booth and Rowntree, along with Bowley, are now considered 'the Founding Fathers of the British social survey' before 1914. However, can we really speak of a 'marked continuity' with interwar social surveys?

5.1.2. The specificity of interwar investigations: The *New Survey* and the second York study

The interwar period was characterised by a large number of surveys (110 between 1921 and 1935 against only 40 between 1886 and 1920 – an 8 to 1 per-year ratio) with a lesser impact than their glorious ancestors.[19] Social surveys were popular and multiplied, but at the same time remained rather 'primitive' and 'less impactful'. Although the tools were already available, they were primitive because they failed to connect with the statistical advances made at the LSE, especially by Bowley, to make the most of their data with the appropriate scientific tools. Survey sampling was not adopted widely in Britain until after WWII.

Social surveys also failed to be brought into academia, despite Bowley's connections at the LSE. Booth and Rowntree did not commit to the early 20th century sociological movement

[17] A. L. Bowley, *Livelihood and Poverty: A Study in the Economic Conditions of Working-Class Households in Northampton, Warrington, Stanley and Reading* (London: G. Bell & sons, 1915).
[18] Bowley, *Livelihood and Poverty (1915)*.
[19] See Table 1.1. in Bulmer, Bales, and Sklar, p. 18.

either, which hindered their potential contribution as social surveyors.[20] Bulmer lamented that the interwar surveys did not represent 'much progress beyond that achieved by Booth, Rowntree and Bowley […] either conceptually or methodologically' and remained limited scientifically.[21]

Surveys were conducted by amateurs and non-professional investigators who lacked university posts or who did not want them. They were inspired by Geddes and Leplay House after 1920 or the extra-mural movement Mass Observation and its leaders Jennings, Madge and Harrisson after 1937. Finally, they did not make much progress compared to Booth's and Rowntree's effort because they remained largely voluntary, i.e. not funded by official bodies and humbly relying on philanthropy. But crucially they remained essentially local studies not supported on a national basis and by governmental funding. It was not until 1942 that the Wartime Government Social Survey, later called the 'Social Survey Division of the Office of Population Censuses and Surveys', was established and that surveys were taken seriously and undertaken on a national scale.[22]

Secondly, they had less impact. Indeed, the most important interwar social surveys were repeats of pre-war surveys: *The New Survey of London Life and Labour* was carried out by H. Llewellyn Smith at the LSE between 1927 and 1932 and emulated Booth's model investigation and object – poverty in London – 40 years later, while Rowntree himself undertook a second York study in 1936, *Poverty and Progress* published in 1941. Bowley also repeated his 'five towns study' using random sampling ten years later, in 1925.[23]

[20] Although Booth chaired a meeting at the Sociological Society and a discussion of Geddes in July, according to Patrick Geddes, 'Civics: As Applied Sociology', *The Sociological Papers*, 1 (1905), 103–29 (p. 103).
[21] Bulmer, Bales, and Sklar, p. 41.
[22] See Frank Whitehead, 'The Government Social Survey', in *Essays on the History of British Sociological Research*, by Martin Bulmer (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), pp. 83–100.
[23] Llewellyn Smith, *The New Survey*; B. S. Rowntree, *Poverty and Progress* (London: Longmans Green, 1941); A. L. Bowley, *Has Poverty Diminished?: A Sequel to 'Livelihood and Poverty'* (London: P. S. King, 1925).

Nonetheless, according to Bulmer 'their impact on sociology was negligible' while Marsh found them 'dull'.[24] There had even been some suggestions in 1931 that a quinquennial Census led by the Registrar-General could yield more comprehensive information than social surveys because it was argued that 'apart from income figures, nothing obtained by the Merseyside or the new London Survey is not obtainable from a Census with far greater completeness, certainty and detail' and this would render them quasi-useless, although the suggestion was never implemented.[25] Finally, Bulmer depicted *The New Survey of London Life and Labour* as 'dramatic proof of the proposition that the cost of social research is in no way related to its scholarly value', a study now 'largely forgotten, and [which] left little residue', also calling it 'intellectually most unexciting'.[26]

Although the *New Survey* is much less famous than Booth's, it was an important piece of social investigation based at the LSE between 1927 and 1932 spearheaded by Hubert Llewellyn Smith, one of Booth's original assistants. Smith had recently retired as permanent Secretary of the Ministry of Labour and conducted the enquiry with the help of a consultative committee including Sidney Webb and A. L. Bowley who were responsible for the random sampling of the 12,000 households, interviewed by 181 different school attendance officers.[27] The survey was funded by the Laura Spelman Foundation but was dismissed by Bulmer as just 'a massive inductive catalogue of social conditions in the capital, following Booth's methods far too closely'.[28]

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[24] Bulmer, *Essays on British Sociological Research (1985)*, p. 9; Catherine Marsh, *The Survey Method: The Contribution of Surveys to Sociological Explanation* (London; Boston: Allen & Unwin, 1982), p. 30.
[25] D. Caradog Jones, 'The Social Survey of Merseyside: An Analysis of Material Relating to Poverty, Overcrowding, and the Social Services', *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society*, 94.2 (1931), 218–66 (p. 253).
[26] Bulmer, *Essays on British Sociological Research (1985)*, pp. 17–18; Bulmer, Bales, and Sklar, p. 40.
[27] Simon T. Abernethy, *Deceptive Data? The New Survey of London Life and Labour 1928-31* (Unpublished paper: University of Cambridge, 2013) <http://www.econsoc.hist.cam.ac.uk/docs/CWPESH_number_16_Oct_2013.pdf> [accessed 11 July 2016].
[28] Bulmer, *Essays on British Sociological Research (1985)*, p. 17.

In the first volume sub-titled 'Forty years of change', the central question was 'what has been the change in the numerical relation of poverty to well-being [since Booth]?' while the main aim of the survey was 'to study the relative amount of actual poverty and sufficiency in wage-earning households'.[29] In this regard the *New Survey* studied working-class poverty and raised Booth's poverty line from 21 to 40 shillings a week for a moderate family, owing to the raise of real wages and of the size of middle-class households in the interwar years.

Repeating Booth's definition of poverty and adapting it to a rise in real wages yielded an optimistic picture of London, since the percentage of the population below the poverty line was now only one-third that found by Booth 40 years earlier. On the whole, the press welcomed the result because 'the picture we get from the *New Survey* is more hopeful than might have been expected. It is certainly a much happier one than that presented by Charles Booth', since education and leisure were now 'raising the standard of life all around'.[30]

As for Rowntree's second York study, comparison showed that working class poverty remained at a 31% high with a 43-shilling poverty line in 1936 for a family with three children. However, when compared with 1899, the percentage of 'primary poverty' among the whole population had fallen from 10 to 4, a quarter of which being attributable to rising unemployment in 1936.

Despite the remaining 'poverty', 'progress' was also visible in York as stressed by the book's title. Just like Llewellyn Smith, Rowntree noted an advance in 'mental and spiritual' activities with the rise of leisure with colourful statements regarding church attendance and the increase

[29] H. Llewellyn Smith, *The New Survey, I, 'Forty Years of Change'* (London: P. S. King, 1930), p. 55; H. Llewellyn Smith, *The New Survey, III, 'Social Survey, I, Eastern Area'* (London: P. S. King, 1932), p. 34.
[30] L. Eyles, 'London's Leisure', *Times Literary Supplement* (London, 4 July 1935); See chapter 11 on 'Leisure between the wars' in Pugh.

of gambling. But he also attracted attention to the 'poverty cycle' in individual lives, with parents being penalised materially when they have children, then living more comfortably when these leave, before relapsing below the poverty line as the old age sets in. The introduction of family allowances was Rowntree's remedy to this vicious cycle, and it was one of the items proposed by the Beveridge Report in 1942.

Although the *New Survey* fell into oblivion and was not repeated after the war, York's second poverty study was more exciting intellectually and followed by a third opus in 1951 under the new Welfare State.[31] Both traditions were brought together in Peter Townsend's poverty studies and the foundation of the Institute of Community Studies in 1954 by Michael Young to carry on urban studies.[32] This shows how inspiring their work was and that, indeed, social surveys have been a long-standing tradition in the UK.

However, the question remains: why did these 'founding fathers' and their classical social surveys stay outside the sociological movement?

5.1.3. Social surveys and academia: A failed encounter?

The story of social surveys and academic sociology, and why they did not connect, is depicted in the literature as that of a failing encounter. This section will examine the various explanations brought to this apparent 'failure' and will conclude that the problem is improperly stated.

The first social surveys were characterised by their 'non-cumulative quality'.[33] Statisticians from the statistical societies and the NAPSS lacked a common arena (except the *Journal of the*

[31] B. S. Rowntree, *Poverty and the Welfare State: A Third Social Survey of York Dealing Only with Economic Questions* (London: Longmans Green, 1951).
[32] Peter Townsend, *The Family Life of Old People: An Inquiry in East London* (London: Routledge & K. Paul, 1957); Young and Willmott.
[33] Bulmer, Bales, and Sklar, p. 11.

Statistical Society) and culture, occupations, agreement on common problems and methods and as a result their work remained fragmented and not scientifically cumulative.[34] Following Abrams, this was linked to the lack of institutionalisation of British empirical social research during the 19th century and to the fact that if 'government and party politics were open to them, the universities were closed'.[35] As a result, this tradition did not become an academic sociology.

Selvin gave another potential explanation: according to him, the social survey's lack of theoretical scope could be explained by the non-diffusion of George Udny Yule's tool of statistical correlation that would have greatly advanced Durkheim and Booth's conclusions.[36] Yule was a young Scottish mathematical physicist who was a student of Karl Pearsons in the 1890s. He computed a coefficient of correlation between two variables used by Booth in a 1895 article and showed that their correlation coefficient was r=0.30, and not zero, as assumed by Booth.[37] Against the latter, Selvin thus showed there was a strong link between them and concluded that Booth, who was president of the Royal Statistical Society, should have been acquainted with Yule's statistical work but was 'a man of limited intellectual powers'.[38] Yule's correlation was thus not used in his work.

In the same volume, Raymond Kent pushed the argument forward and discussed whether Booth and Rowntree's surveys should be considered as 'sociography' or as actual sociology.[39] He distinguished between those 'accumulating facts' and 'looking for sociological causes', not in

[34] Thomas S. Kuhn, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962); Bulmer, *Essays on British Sociological Research (1985)*, p. 11.
[35] Philip Abrams, *The Origins of British Sociology (1968)*, p. 148.
[36] Hanan C. Selvin, 'Durkheim, Booth and Yule: The Non-Diffusion of an Intellectual Innovation', in *Essays on the History of British Sociological Research*, by Martin Bulmer (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), pp. 70–82.
[37] Selvin, p. 74.
[38] Selvin, p. 77.
[39] R. A. Kent, 'The Emergence of the Sociological Survey, 1887-1939', in *Essays on the History of British Sociological Research*, by Martin Bulmer (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), pp. 52–69.

yet more facts but in their 'interpretation'. Kent's argument was that Booth, Rowntree and every social survey of the interwar years failed to identify elaborate explanations of immediate poverty because they did not distinguish between different causes of poverty (i.e. employment, death or disability versus mere social habit).

For Kent, the cause of unemployment was largely sociological and this Booth and Rowntree could not see because 'they did not have at their disposal any statistical technique for the measurement of the degree of correlation between variables' and, he added, 'they even had no clear notion of what a "correlation" was'.[40] As a result, if social surveys since Booth had been 'standardised affairs, strong on the collection of empirical data of a largely quantitative kind' they remained 'decidedly weak on subsequent analysis of the correlations between variables' and 'on their bearing on any form of general theory whose significance went beyond the immediate findings'.[41]

Therefore by 1940 the social survey failed to connect to contemporary statistical advances and to attract the attention of academic sociology while, to become more sophisticated and efficient, they required the kind of theories 'being proposed by political economists or academic sociologists of the day'.[42] One tragic consequence of this lack of connection between social surveys and academic sociology was that when they proposed remedies to poverty, it was usually about curing its worst symptoms (such as alcoholism, violence, promiscuity) than acting on its deeper sociological causes (such as power inequalities between social classes or the lack of education).

[40] Kent, 'The Emergence of the Sociological Survey (1985)', p. 62.
[41] Kent, 'The Emergence of the Sociological Survey (1985)', pp. 65–66.
[42] Kent, 'The Emergence of the Sociological Survey (1985)', p. 68.

The absence of connection between academia and social surveyors may also be explained by the fact that Rowntree, like Booth, were philanthropists based outside Oxbridge. However, Booth was for a time President of the Royal Statistical Society and a founding member of the Sociological Society in 1903. Yet for some reason, he did not get further involved with the budding sociological movement and the same could be said of Bowley, Caradog Jones and Llewellyn Smith who were attached to universities and not involved with the Society either. Bulmer goes so far as to argue that the success of social anthropology under Malinowski in the interwar years was due to this failure of the social survey to connect with theory. 'Theory and research were woven together [in social anthropology] in a way not achieved in sociology, social biology or social investigation at the time', Bulmer argued.[43]

While in America the social survey was institutionalised as early as 1924 with the foundation of the Social Science Research Council, and could rely on influential academic mouthpieces such as Paul Lazarsfeld and Samuel Stouffer, the divorce between social surveys and social theory in Britain remained surprising. As there has been no satisfying account yet in the literature of this strange co-existence, it suggests that the problem is improperly stated. To understand that two apparent traditions did not combine, one has to underline that they were never meant to. Interwar social survey was not an 'anomaly' that should have merged with social theory while social theory was not 'handicapped' by this: they both produced the birth of a public sociology, a specifically British tradition, as will be shown in the next section.

5.2. The definitions and aims of social surveys: The birth of a 'public' sociology in the interwar years

[43] Bulmer, *Essays on British Sociological Research (1985)*, p. 20.

As described in the previous section, social surveys had been a long-standing tradition in Britain since the days of Charles Booth at the turn of the 20th century. Yet, they did not become institutionalised although they proved extremely popular in the interwar years. In this section their specific nature will be outlined by examining their definitions and aims. It will appear that interwar social surveys constituted a 'public sociology' that was never intended to be institutionalised, but represents instead a British exception.

5.2.1. What is a social survey? From 1991 back to 1935

To identify what was specific about the British social survey, it will be necessary to examine its definition from the most recent in 1991 to the earliest in 1935. In this way, one will 'deconstruct' the various layers of definitions throughout history and connect the survey with its interwar roots. From this angle, a surprising change becomes apparent.

To start with, Martin Bulmer, historian of the social survey, gave in 1991 what is regarded as its now 'classical' definition. He distinguished the social survey as 'involving field work, the collection of data at first hand by a social investigator rather than reliance upon reports by others or on pre-existing data'.[44] He added that 'social surveyors varied in their degree of detachment from the issues of the day, but almost all were concerned not simply to anatomise and classify in the manner of early anthropologists, but to throw light on matters of current social and political controversy and to promote social amelioration if not social intervention'. In the vein of the NAPSS, the social survey was interpreted in 1991 as a means to promote 'ameliorism' in society and involved collection of first-hand data.

[44] Bulmer, Bales, and Sklar, p. 3.

David Glass, the LSE sociologist, gave another definition in *Chamber's Encyclopaedia* back in 1968 as 'a scientific study of social conditions and social problems, within a limited geographical setting, the objectives of that study being implicitly or explicitly related to social policy' while Mark Abrams, Philip Abrams' father and a social researcher himself, wrote in 1951 that 'occasionally surveys originate in an abstract desire for more knowledge about the structure and workings of a society; more frequently, however, they are carried out as an indispensable first step in measuring the dimensions of a social problem, ascertaining its causes, and then deciding upon remedial action. […] Most surveys have been concerned with curing obviously pathological social conditions.'[45] In the political context of the 1960s, the social survey was interpreted as 'a scientific study of social problems' with the purpose of implementing social policies.

Going back further in time, Caradog Jones, a colleague of Carr-Saunders at Liverpool, famously defined the social survey as 'to make an accurate and impartial collection and presentation of facts, the results of careful observation not of hearsay, it is not a collection made merely to satisfy a collector's whim, a picture painted to please only the eye of the imagination [i.e. theory]: there is a definite purpose always in view.'[46] By this he meant that 'the administration of government, the development of new ideas to be translated into action, the reform of evils, all depend upon accurate knowledge of existing conditions: otherwise we work in the dark'. Jones concluded that 'in short, in dealing with phenomena in the natural world, the appeal to facts and figures [through a social survey], whether to support old theories or as a basis for new ones, is the final appeal'.[47] Jones' post-WWII definition of the survey was associated with the

[45] Both are quoted in Bulmer, Bales, and Sklar, p. 3.
[46] D. Caradog Jones, *Social Surveys (1949)*, p. 11.
[47] D. Caradog Jones, *Social Surveys (1949)*, p. 11.

optimistic, rational ideal of scientific planning in society and a tool for reconstruction. It was supposed to enlighten the governing authorities and to direct experience to test theories.

As it appears, all definitions from 1948 to 1991 mentioned some kind of 'political' or 'reform-driven' purpose of the social survey. All also agreed that it should be as accurate and systematic as possible when collecting data to present objective 'facts' to the social reformer. And they all underlined that the survey should aim for 'social amelioration, if not social intervention', a 'remedial action', 'social policy' or have 'a definite purpose always in view'. However, it is not clear to what extent this description of the political dimensions of the social survey was descriptive (of the existing material) or normative, i.e. how they *should* be done.

5.2.2. The public dimension

Now, to turn to the original statement, its earliest 'official' definition is found in a seminal textbook. In April 1934, Alan Frank Wells, then 27, was tasked with presenting a report to the Committee of the British Institute of Social Service (constituted of Farquharson and of several academics linked with the Institute of Sociology such as Carr-Saunders, Morris Ginsberg and H. A. Mess) on the various social surveys undertaken in the UK since Booth, with a view to supporting some of them financially. The results of his inquiry were published as a book in 1935 for 'all those concerned with social problems and in particular to those who are contemplating initiating or assisting new social survey projects'.[48] Wells' presentation of the social survey in 1935 was thus the first of its kind in Britain and remains a valuable source of material for historians and sociologists.

[48] A. F. Wells, *The Local Social Survey (1935)*, p. 8.

Wells gave several complementary definitions of the social survey. First, he defined it classically as 'a fact-finding study, dealing chiefly with working-class poverty and with the nature and problems of the community'.[49] He added that its aim was 'the collection of facts relating to social problems and conditions in order to assist directly or indirectly the formulation of practical measures with reference to such problems'.[50] Here it seems that Wells was in agreement with subsequent specifications of the survey: An objective collection of facts about social problems destined to formulate practical measures.

However, he added that 'it does not, as a rule, itself put forward any specific scheme of action'; It merely 'collects facts, which others may use as they please'.[51] This differed from later definitions of the survey: For Wells, its political or reform-driven purpose was not sought. Social surveys were descriptive, albeit not devoid of practical considerations, but they were not normative: They were a tool to present the facts objectively to others who then were free to 'use them as they please'. Moreover, if they were generally not concerned with evolving any comprehensive sociological theory as a conscious aim, they were nonetheless not 'devoid of reference to social theory', Wells indicated.[52] Theory was not the goal of surveys, but they were supposed to use it as a means to better understand and interpret the facts collected. If one believes this description, the so-called divorce between empirical research and social theory was not so obvious in interwar social surveys as it was later.

But more interestingly, Wells set out a third definition: The social survey had to 'provide information for the interested but ill-informed' and thus had an informative dimension as

[49] A. F. Wells, *The Local Social Survey (1935)*, p. 13.
[50] A. F. Wells, *The Local Social Survey (1935)*, p. 18.
[51] A. F. Wells, *The Local Social Survey (1935)*, p. 18.
[52] A. F. Wells, *The Local Social Survey (1935)*, p. 18.

regards the public.[53] From this angle, its aim could be said to be 'the description of the social conditions under which the workers live', and it was useful in that respect because they may be not completely well-known by the public.[54] And on the other hand, this description was an attempt 'to arouse interest and action directed by the inhabitants of the locality studied towards their own social problems'.[55] Wells therefore concluded that the survey 'has been definitely successful, both in fact-finding and in stimulation to activity'.[56]

The author of these pages indeed suggested that the social survey was made to stimulate interest and action. But contrary to the post-WWII suggestions, these were to be aroused among the inhabitants of the locality and the readers, not among the government or the authorities. It may be inferred from this that interwar social surveyors did not have a political platform in mind; instead their work was a tool to stimulate insiders' activity.

There are two options: Either the aim of social surveys changed between 1935 and 1991 and this would explain why all definitions overstate the political/policy dimension of social surveys after Wells, or there is strong evidence that this 'practical' or 'political' dimension of past social surveys was misconstrued and exaggerated. Arguing like Goldman that 'academic sociologists on the Continent were frustrated reformists' or as Abrams that 'while politics was open to them, universities were closed', putting forward like Annan a 'positivist bias in the English temper' or that 'there is no need to explain the lack of academic sociology because in Britain sociology was mere common-sense', as Hawthorn suggests, that the literature on empirical sociology is

[53] A. F. Wells, *The Local Social Survey (1935)*, p. 18.
[54] A. F. Wells, *The Local Social Survey (1935)*, p. 80.
[55] A. F. Wells, *The Local Social Survey (1935)*, p. 80.
[56] A. F. Wells, *The Local Social Survey (1935)*, p. 80.

biased towards defending the idea that the social survey was 'political', based on 'facts', 'empirical and un-theoretical' and thus typically British.[57]

Yet its history in the interwar years shows that sociologists and social surveyors in Britain did not look for political involvement or direct practical efficiency.[58] On the contrary, sociologists and social researchers were not particularly interested in promoting social reform. As the examination of first-hand historical material such as Wells' textbook shows, social surveys were not instrumental or political but they produced the birth of a public sociology in the interwar years.

5.2.3. The reflexive dimension

But what precisely is 'public sociology'? Although the idea had been floating around in American and British sociology since the 1930s, the phrase was officially coined by Michael Burawoy in a presidential address to the American Sociological Association in 2004.[59] In his address Burawoy, a British sociologist born in 1947 who graduated from Cambridge and obtained his PhD in Chicago, distinguished between 'professional' and 'public' sociology. Professional sociology produces instrumental knowledge and addresses an academic audience familiar with theoretical and methodological issues. Public sociology on the other hand addresses the wider, non-academic audience, engages in conversations with the public and yields reflexive knowledge. The distinction is recent but can be fruitfully applied to the interwar years.

[57] See the introduction and the historiography for more on these approaches. They are rephrased from Goldman, 'A Peculiarity of the English? (1987)'; Philip Abrams, *The Origins of British Sociology (1968)*; Annan; Hawthorn.
[58] Michael Kenny, 'The Case for Disciplinary History: Political Studies in the 1950s and 1960s', *The British Journal of Politics and International Relations*, 6.4 (2004), 565–83.
[59] Burawoy.

The point of public sociology is to target the non-academic public, to raise their awareness on social issues and ultimately aim to 'change society', not through advocacy of political reform or social intervention (which pertain to instrumental sociology), but through its own action. Interestingly, raising the attention of the public sphere and of the local authorities were, crucially, the aim of the social surveys described by Wells in 1935.

In his concluding remarks he noted that if 'the survey has been definitely successful, both in fact-finding and in stimulation to activity', 'the potential value of survey work has by no means been fully attained'.[60] By this he drew attention to the fact that 'the effect which the survey makes upon its readers is more important than its effect upon its authors' but that the former had not yet fully grasped its value yet.[61] Wells added that, according to him, it would be most desirable that the survey combine the 'use of the precise and elaborate technique introduced by Booth, Rowntree, and Bowley', and at the same time 'make that appeal to local interest and action.'[62] The idea was to use science to induce local change as well as on the social environment through reflexive knowledge and by raising public awareness.

Reflexivity is a concept formalized by Anthony Giddens, also of British origin, in his book *Constitution of Society* in 1984. He defined sociology's domain as 'neither the experience of the individual actor, nor the existence of any form of societal totality, but social practices ordered across space and time'.[63] Structuration is the interplay between 'agency' and 'structures'. Reflexivity is the way sociology impacts on reality by its practical implications on individual behaviours, resulting from their knowledge of society.

[60] A. F. Wells, *The Local Social Survey (1935)*, p. 80.
[61] A. F. Wells, *The Local Social Survey (1935)*, p. 81.
[62] A. F. Wells, *The Local Social Survey (1935)*, pp. 81–82.
[63] Giddens, *The Constitution of Society: Outline of the Theory of Structuration*, p. 189.

This is better illustrated by Caradog Jones, who lamented that the difficulties of interpreting scientific results were considerably greater in the social realm than in the natural sciences. In the former, 'events have to be observed just as they happen, subject to a large number of uncontrolled factors, and where the human element is so uncertain and often seemingly capricious *in its reaction to these factors*.'[64] Humans tend to react to things that they are told about their own behaviour, so that it cancels the 'seeming certainty' of these results in the social realm as opposed to their stability in the natural sciences.

Evidence of this public, rather than policy-oriented dimension of interwar social surveys is given in Wells' chapter on 'The value of the survey'.[65] While reporting on the positive consequences of a social survey led near Newcastle, he underlined that, based on 'unanimous testimony in a number of prominent citizens of the locality' that it had '"stirred the waters"' by showing 'the need for reforms' and by 'quickening interest in undertaking them'.[66] An official of one of the local authorities stated that 'the investigation had been of much service to him' as a tool, partly because it had 'provided him with new facts' (informative value) and also because it stated facts which he, 'as an official, was not in a position to make public'.[67] The concrete value of the survey was that it had stimulated a campaign of house building, and the foundation of a public utility society for the renovation of houses for the working-classes in Newcastle. The social survey enlightened both the local authorities about facts beyond their reach and raised public awareness about the situation.

Social surveys were not fundamentally instrumental. Some indeed suggested policy as a result of their investigations (e.g. in a study of South Wales in 1936, the author suggested 'lengthening

[64] D. Caradog Jones, *Social Surveys (1949)*, p. 11.
[65] A. F. Wells, *The Local Social Survey (1935)*, pp. 61–79.
[66] A. F. Wells, *The Local Social Survey (1935)*, p. 72.
[67] A. F. Wells, *The Local Social Survey (1935)*, p. 72.

school life, improving the youth employment mechanism and a creative use of leisure' to fight against juvenile unemployment).[68] But these were not a political platform or implementation procedures, rather suggestions to be transmitted to the authorities for attention. If they had practical consequences, it was not as an aim but as a consequence of their attention to social problems. Wells recalled that a few years after the completion of the survey, the Chairman of the Newcastle Slum Clearance Committee stated publicly that 'he did not think the big programme undertaken by the City Council could have been carried' if it had not been 'for the effect made on the public mind by the survey' which in particular called attention to the heavy tuberculosis death-rate in the area of two Tyneside towns.[69]

Finally, it was useful in attracting the attention of the community to its needs in terms of social services. Two ex-Lord Mayors of Newcastle for instance testified to Wells that 'the survey made the people realize their responsibility' to the smaller and poorer towns along the river. This was particularly the case for community surveys. As a result of an enquiry, the Tyneside Council of Social Service was brought into existence and established a good deal of social service in towns where previously there had been little. It was moreover run by unemployed men and women which, albeit a controversial fact, was a 'temporary measure' prompted by the survey and valued by the community.[70]

5.2.4. French professional sociology versus British public sociology

A closer examination of the practical consequences of social surveys therefore shows that they were not an instrumental tool embodying any 'empirical temper', but rather expressed the birth of a distinctive tradition attracting the public and media attention to social problems which they did not seek to solve themselves. The seemingly incomprehensible co-existence between an

[68] G. Meara, *Juvenile Unemployment in South Wales* (Cardiff, 1936), pp. 110–15.
[69] A. F. Wells, *The Local Social Survey (1935)*, p. 72.
[70] A. F. Wells, *The Local Social Survey (1935)*, pp. 72–73.

academic and a voluntary research was specific to the British case and had to do with the development of a reflexive and public sociology outside universities. Co-existence was therefore not a failure but testified to the healthy state and wealth of the sociological field in interwar Britain, which did not exist elsewhere.

Such social surveys did not exist on a comparably large and popular scale on the Continent. The only well-known example was Paul Lazarsfeld's study of unemployment in the small Austrian town of Marienthal in 1933.[71] Its Austrian-born instigator fled to America afterwards and thrived there as a quantitative sociologist in the 1940s. Meanwhile, his ex-research assistant Marie Jahoda, to whom he was briefly married, fled to Britain after being released from prison in Austria in 1937 thanks to Farquharson.[72] She even published a paper in the *Sociological Review* a year later.[73]

Compared to France, where sociologists could rely on a strong academic basis and could therefore devote themselves to free, unimpeded theoretical activities, in Britain social researchers were mostly un-academic and privately funded, on the model of 'the English chocolate sociologists' Booth and Rowntree.[74] It made sense that privately-funded individuals embedded in daily activities wished to induce changes in the society they observed, by attracting the public attention on social problems. In Britain, the birth of its public dimension was dually linked to a philanthropic interest in informing the public about society, as well as constrained by a lack of professionalism in academic sociology.

[71] Marie Jahoda, Paul Lazarsfeld Felix, and Hans Zeisl, *Die Arbeitslosen von Marienthal; ein soziographischer Versuch über die Wirkungen langdauernder Arbeitslosigkeit* (Leipzig: S. Hirzel, 1933); Ross McKibbin, 'The "Social Psychology" of Unemployment in Inter-War Britain', in *The Ideologies of Class : Social Relations in Britain 1880-1950* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), pp. 228–58 (p. 229) explained that it was 'the single most influential study of the unemployed of the inter-war years'.
[72] David Evans, pp. 44–45.
[73] Marie Jahoda, 'Some Ideas on Social and Psychological Research', *The Sociological Review*, 30.1 (1938), 63–80.
[74] Halsey, p. 31.

If France was well-known for its strong support to sociology and could rely on a heavy professional culture and history, Britain developed a lively public one.[75] There were Leplayians in France interested in practical social research, such as Paul Descamps and Paul Bureau, just like there were academic sociologists in Britain, like H. A. Mess and Tom Simey who came from social work. Although British sociologists may have suffered from a lack of a professional identity as compared to France with its strong emphasis on the history of the discipline and a common culture, this was also an opportunity because it gave birth to a new discipline: Public sociology.

5.3. 'Encouraging good citizenship' and moral edification: The secondary educational value of the interwar social survey

5.3.1. Regional surveys and good citizenship

A second important aspect of interwar social surveys was their educational value, which was an indirect consequence of their public dimension. Beyond a reflexive impact on the public sphere, the value of the survey was also 'for general education, and more particularly for that of the participants', as Wells stressed.[76] In the vein of the Geddes-Branford approach to the survey, it not only constituted 'a new approach to the study of geography, of history, and of sociology' useful intellectually, but also represented practical work which afforded 'means of applying and understanding knowledge gained elsewhere'. Surveys undertaken by universities and local groups such as WEA classes, while they did 'not take the place of a systematic

[75] See 4.5. on British textbooks.
[76] A. F. Wells, *The Local Social Survey (1935)*, p. 73.

theoretical training' albeit 'indeed founded upon it', had a serious practical value for the practitioners and surveys 'could play no small educational rôle'.[77]

Following the Geddes-Branford ideal of 'social reconstruction', regional and community social surveys were supposed to encourage 'good citizenship' among the participants. Wells first explained that there were two kinds of surveys: the 'community and regional' ones and the 'general and typical' ones. While the former described a region, a town or a village in geographical or sociographical terms and favoured the educational aspect of the investigation, the latter used 'rather elaborate statistical undertakings directed by experts' which made them less accessible to volunteers and 'the ordinary member of the community'.[78]

This function was so important that in some surveys 'the provision of original facts was no part of the aim' because the work upon the survey was more important than 'the quality of the published material'. Learning by doing was the key to the importance of these surveys, although they had to secure some kind of scientific warranty to remain efficiently 'educational' and to promote good citizenship. Wells warned that if the aim of obtaining 'true facts' was not 'seriously and energetically pursued', the survey would merely become a 'less valuable collection of inchoate and not original facts' and its educative value would 'itself disappear'. He added that the map-work entailed by a simple community survey could even be 'a very useful discipline for school children'.[79]

[77] A. F. Wells, *The Local Social Survey (1935)*, p. 74.
[78] A. F. Wells, *The Local Social Survey (1935)*, p. 74.
[79] A. F. Wells, *The Local Social Survey (1935)*, p. 75.

To understand the educational survey, reference was made to a book entitled *Social Survey: A Guide to Good Citizenship*.[80] The 'civic survey' was very important to Geddes and Branford too. The most representative work of Leplay House, founded in 1920 in London, was precisely its production of 'regional' or 'community' surveys undertaken during about 80 field-work trips abroad between the wars.[81] Foreign tours were organised in the 1920s and 1930s to very varied places such as Austria, Algeria, Finland and Czechoslovakia. The results of these trips were sometimes published and included maps, charts and lanternslides.[82]

Also, these foreign tours turned out to be a valuable source of experience and of income for Leplay House and following a highly successful tour to Norway in 1923, an independent organisation renamed the Foreign Fieldwork Committee was set up. Most fieldwork lasted for two weeks with 20-30 students recruited by leaflets and advertisements in journals such as the *Sociological Review*. Groups were led by academics such as Marie Jahoda the sociologist or C. B. Fawcett the geographer in the 1930s.[83]

In its foreign fieldwork, the team put into practice the Geddes-Branford model of the 'regional survey'. The first official presentation of the survey from Leplay House was made in the book *Introduction to Regional Surveys* prepared in 1924 by Farquharson and Sybella Branford, Victor's wife, for the Cities Committee.[84] The introduction recognised that such surveys should be undertaken by volunteers, 'people without much specialised knowledge and skill', who would basically describe the relationship between the 'town-folk-work' aspects of the towns and regions under scrutiny. The authors suggested the use of novel techniques in social research,

[80] George Peverett, Alfred T Pike, and National Adult School Union (Great Britain), *Social Survey: A Guide to Good Citizenship* (London: National Adult School Union, n.d.).
[81] See Appendix D of David Evans for a comprehensive list of their fieldworks.
[82] See for instance Leplay House, *Norwegian Studies* (Westminster: Leplay House Press, 1923); Marett and Marett.
[83] David Evans, pp. 31–32.
[84] Branford, Farquharson, and Cities Committee.

such as fieldwork ethnography, the preparation of exhibitions to be displayed where the survey had been done and the record of institutions' activities in 'series of photographs'.[85] These methods were truly experimental.

5.3.2. The 1927 split at Leplay House over the institutionalisation of surveys

Tours led by Farquharson focused more on history and culture than on the environment. Specifically, Farquharson tried to develop the professional and sociological aspects, as opposed to the geographical and educational aspects, of the social surveys organised at Leplay House by Branford and Geddes.

Indeed, as Farquharson wrote to Branford in 1927, 'we have already secured some recognition as authorities on surveys in connection with the early stages of the [Sheffield] scheme' and if 'we could negotiate a sound scheme of co-operation [with the LSE], we shall I think have taken a decisive step in securing our position with regard to the further development of the survey movement'.[86] Farquharson was more interested in institutionalising and professionalising the survey movement than Branford and Geddes. He added in another letter that Ginsberg 'thought it would be good to extend and make known our survey activities, which he thinks useful and on lines which the LSE is unlikely, indeed unable to touch'.[87] This shows that the two origins of British sociology were getting closer after 1927 with a view to a common institutionalisation of the survey, at the expense of the amateur and educational aspects emphasised by Geddes and Branford at Leplay House.

However, from 1927 onwards, disagreement arose at Leplay House over the organisation of foreign fieldwork. The problems were partly personal owing to bad relationships between

[85] David Evans, p. 29.
[86] University of Keele Archives, AF160, Alexander Farquharson to Victor Branford, 20 February 1927.
[87] University of Keele Archives, AF160, Alexander Farquharson to Victor Branford, 9 December 1927.

Margaret Tatton, the secretary, and others involved with the educational tours, and partly intellectual as the Leplay House Students Committee moved increasingly towards geography. Farquharson tried to downplay the biological and ecological aspects of the survey within the organisation. These disagreements culminated in the split between the Institute of Sociology, led by academic-looking Farquharson and the Leplay Society, led by the ageing Patrick Geddes and the geographer C. B. Fawcett, in 1931.[88]

Revealingly, an internal brochure produced by Farquharson for the Leplay House Council in 1927 shows a marked difference in approach from Branford.[89] In it, Farquharson specifically talked of the 'civic' rather than the 'regional' survey with a reduced emphasis on environmental factors and greater emphasis on the social life of the area, its social services and its needs. This testified to the growing association of Leplay House with professional survey work and social services, away from geography. Just like Wells, he defined three types of survey: The 'general social survey', covering 'all the main aspects of the social life of a town or city', 'special surveys' of some particular feature, institution or problem, and the 'sample survey' for larger towns and cities, with studies of selected areas.[90]

Farquharson repeated that the conduct of a survey should involve the researcher as well as the subjects of research, i.e. 'a local community survey can be – should be – a survey of the community, by the community, for the community' which value depended 'largely upon the share taken in it by the citizens of the locality'.[91] Farquharson firmly believed in the value of sociology as self-help and as an activity which should be participatory and remain essentially

[88] See an account of the disagreement in Beaver.
[89] University of Keele Archives, VB242, 'Scheme for a Civic Survey' (Internal Leplay House Paper) by Alexander Farquharson, 1927.
[90] David Evans, p. 42.
[91] Alexander Farquharson, *Social Surveys and Community Organisation - A Guide to the Making of Social Surveys with Special Reference to the Formation of Community Councils* (London: Leplay House, 1930), p. 3.

amateur. To his mind, social surveys promoted better citizenship and greater community cooperation, because ultimately 'each organisation finds its part to play when a view of the whole field has been obtained showing in detail the extent and character of the problems to be tackled and the work already being done.'[92] However, for him the outcome of a survey should be practical as he recalled that 'the best written survey report will be largely ineffective unless it includes some simple, clear and definite suggestions for future action.'[93] Methodologically, Farquharson rejected quantitative techniques because they could not be carried out effectively by amateurs, but he was aware of them.

This impacted on the scientific value of the surveys conducted by the Institute of Sociology. As the secretary noted in 1932 after the Shetlands survey, 'we do not seem to have made up our minds whether we are aiming at results of real scientific value, or at training students, either in general openness of mind or in definite survey method'.[94] The amateurish and practical dimensions of the survey were emphasised by Farquharson but surveys lacked a clear methodology. Marie Jahoda, who led a tour to Denmark in August 1939 described them as 'more like a school trip of reasonably bright and motivated children than anything to do with any serious sociological approach'.[95]

5.3.3. On the public nature and the failed institutionalisation of the interwar social survey

Out of the examination of interwar social surveys' aims and definitions it firstly appeared that their lack of institutionalisation was not a failure, but was intrinsic to their public nature. By becoming professional, they would have changed profoundly. How Farquharson's Regional

[92] Alexander Farquharson, *Social Surveys and Community Organisation*, p. 6.
[93] Alexander Farquharson, *Social Surveys and Community Organisation*, p. 13.
[94] University of Keele Archive, VB209, 'IOS Executive Minutes', 4 November 1932.
[95] Interview with Marie Jahoda in 1982 quoted in Evans, *Le Play House and the Regional Survey Movement*, 1986, p. 44.

Survey Movement was marginalised once it merged with the LSE in 1934, increasingly losing its specificity and eventually leading to the demise of the Institute of Sociology in Malvern in 1940 showed how this eventually occurred.[96]

Secondly, the interwar social survey was not instrumental because it was neither political nor official – it came from philanthropy and had little grip over policies until the establishment of the official Wartime Government Social Survey in 1942. Neither did it have the aim in mind nor the means at hand to reform, because it was voluntary, local and privately funded in the interwar years. Social surveys were sociology coming from private individuals or institutions, as opposed to the French case, ex cathedra.

Thirdly, social surveys were social research 'of the people, by the people, for the people': Wells wrote that 'the "community" survey is a private undertaking of members of the community, which can best – indeed only – be comprehended by them, and that any attempt at advice by outsiders would be out of place': Social surveys were a particular strand of sociology from society by society for society with the aim of changing itself by means of reflexive knowledge and by raising public awareness.[97] This may be explained by the specificities of the public culture and the salience of philanthropy in Britain. 'Public sociology', as defined by Burawoy, was a British trend that was not to be found nowhere else in the interwar years, especially not in France.

5.4. Unemployment surveys: Arousing the national 'sociological imagination'

[96] See Chapter 2 for the history of the Institute of Sociology.
[97] A. F. Wells, *The Local Social Survey (1935)*, pp. 80–81.

To show how this was done, a case study will be drawn on actual social surveys on interwar unemployment. There were surveys focusing on issues such as nutrition and diseases, but these were a minority and did not receive strong attention. Therefore, this section will be limited to studies devoted to unemployment which were in large numbers. One last way of addressing interwar social surveys is to demonstrate their modern, sociological dimension through a study of 13 of them.

5.4.1. The list of the N=13 surveys

This section will argue that social surveys were central to British sociology because they helped turn unemployment from a personal trouble into a public issue requiring national remedies. Unemployment was a social phenomenon that was made public through these social surveys which connected personal experiences and were clearly sociological because they aroused the British 'sociological imagination', as defined by Charles Wright Mills in 1959.[98] Below is the list of surveys studied.[99]

Year	Author	Title	Area
1928	H.A. Mess	*Industrial Tyneside: A Social Survey made for the Bureau of Social research for Tyneside*	Newcastle
1933	E. W. Bakke	*The Unemployed Man: A Social Study*	N/A
1934	D. Caradog Jones (ed)	*The Social Survey of Merseyside, 3 vols*	Merseyside
1934	P. Ford	*Work and Wealth in a Modern Port: an Economic Survey of Southampton*	Southampton
1934	H. L. Beales and R. S. Lambert (eds.)	*Memoirs of the Unemployed*	
1935	H. L. Smith	*The New Survey of London, 9 vols.*	London

[98] Charles Wright Mills.

[99] Henry Adolphus Mess; E. W. Bakke, *The Unemployed Man: A Social Study* (London: Nisbet, 1933); David Caradog Jones; Percy Ford, *Work and Wealth in a Modern Port: An Economic Survey of Southampton* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1934); H. L. Beales and R. S. Lambert, *Memoirs of the Unemployed* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1934); Llewellyn Smith, *The New Survey*; Royal Institute of International Affairs, *Unemployment: An International Problem* (London: Oxford university press, H. Milford, 1935); Meara; Herbert Tout, *The Standard of Living in Bristol: A Preliminary Report of the Work of the University of Bristol Social Survey* (Bristol: Arrowsmith, 1938); The Pilgrim Trust, *Men Without Work* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1938); Ruth Durant, *Watling: A Survey of Social Life on a New Housing Estate* (London: P. S. King, 1939); Rowntree, *Poverty and Progress (1941)*; The Carnegie United Kingdom Trust, *Disinherited Youth: A Report on the 18+ Age Group Enquiry Prepared for the Trustees of the Carnegie United Kingdom Trust* (Edimbourg: Carnegie Trust, 1943).

1935	Royal Institute of International Affairs	*Unemployment: an International Problem*	N/A
1936	G. Meara	*Juvenile Unemployment in South Wales*	South Wales
1938	H. Tout	*The Standard of Living in Bristol*	Bristol
1938	The Pilgrim Trust	*Men Without Work*	N/A
1939	R. Durant	*Watling: A Survey of Social Life on a New Housing Estate*	London
1941	B. S. Rowntree[100]	*Poverty and progress: A second social survey of York*	York
1943	The Carnegie United Kingdom Trust[101]	*Disinherited Youth: A report on the 18+ Age group enquiry prepared for the trustees of the Carnegie United Kingdom Trust*	Edinburgh

Total: 13

The list is not comprehensive as many local and minor surveys were conducted all over Britain, but it nonetheless includes the most important ones from the interwar period.[102]

Social surveys were a UK tradition certainly, but to what extent were they really *sociology*? What was new about unemployment that we did not already know and which was not covered by novels? What was specific about the sociological point of view? These are the questions tackled in this section.

5.4.2. What was new about interwar unemployment?

The phenomenon of unemployment had been known since Antiquity and was already a 'problem' in Victorian Britain when statistics started to be collected.[103] However, the notion of interwar unemployment was new in several respects.

First, the problem social investigators had tackled in the 19th century was 'poverty' rather than 'unemployment'. Booth had for instance identified that the latter was only responsible for 34-

[100] Although it was only published in 1941, the second York study was conducted in 1936.
[101] Although it was only published in 1944, the Carnegie Trust study was conducted in 1936-39.
[102] For the full list of surveys at the time, see the bibliography section of A. F. Wells, *The Local Social Survey (1935)*, pp. 89–105.
[103] Yves Zoberman, *Une histoire du chômage: de l'Antiquité à nos jours* (Paris: Perrin, 2011).

47% of poverty as opposed to matters of habit and circumstance, which were more important.[104] Unemployment was studied via its tragic consequences and not as a mechanism. Both Booth and Rowntree had defined poverty as the 'problem of all problems' and unemployment was not seen as its major cause, because it was still a temporary, although recurring, state. What mattered to both authors was 'abject poverty'. Unemployment was not yet a cause for concern until the interwar years.

Second, as the Pilgrim Trust put it, 'long unemployment' was now 'a new problem, dating from the slump and the years following'.[105] The concern in the interwar years was long unemployment, i.e. the fact that some men and women, generally working-class, stayed in unemployment for more than a year after the 1929 depression, some being unemployed for more than 2 or 3 years. Surveys focused on the working classes, which were struck by massive unemployment (about 22% in 1932). This was new because the Victorian faith in natural economic progress and reduction of unemployment was shaken. Through Rowntree's and Booth's work, it could no longer be interpreted as being the consequence of the 'sin' of indolence, i.e. as a personal flaw.

Third, the accent on unemployment was new because the phenomenon had passed unnoticed. Most surveys listed above dealt with distressed areas such as the industrial North, Wales, the Liverpool area and Scotland. Only two of them surveyed unemployment in the South, namely in Southampton and Bristol.[106] The new universities and the ship-building industry developed there suffered from unemployment but the affluent South remained less affected than the North. From the upper class to the working-class people, between the North and the South, the whole

[104] Kent, 'The Emergence of the Sociological Survey (1985)', pp. 64–65.
[105] The Pilgrim Trust, p. 181.
[106] Ford; Tout.

nation did not feel the consequences of unemployment as acutely. The interwar years were characterised by the paradoxical co-existence of a general rise in living standards and the distress of the unemployed working classes. Despite mass unemployment in the industrial regions, most people in the 1920s and 1930s witnessed falling prices and rising real wages which greatly improved their diet, housing, life expectancy and leisure.[107] 'Abject poverty' as witnessed by Booth and Rowntree at the turn of the century had ostensibly regressed (from 15.46 to 6.8% in in York between 1899 and 1936, for instance). Paradoxically, then, unemployment was not felt equally all over society and it was hard to draw the line between a personal trouble and a public issue.

This is where the social surveys were instrumental in developing the national 'sociological imagination'. The phrase was coined by the American sociologist Charles Wright Mills in 1959 to describe the insight offered by the discipline of sociology and its relevance to daily life. Mills defined it as 'the vivid awareness of the relationship between personal experience and the wider society' and the value of sociology lay as 'it enables us to grasp history and biography and the relations between the two within society'.[108] Mills specifically took the example of unemployment in his book.[109] One man's unemployment is a personal trouble but if hundreds of thousands of people across a nation are unemployed, it is no longer a matter of 'personal failure', it becomes a public issue that requires a political and economic intervention. Mills believed in the power of the sociological imagination to connect 'the personal troubles of the milieu' to 'the public issues of social structure' and this was exactly the consequence of these surveys.[110] They were therefore certainly 'sociological' if modern sociology can be defined as

[107] Derek Fraser, *The Evolution of the British Welfare State: A History of Social Policy since the Industrial Revolution*, 4th edn (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan [1973], 2009), p. 219; See also Pugh.
[108] The quote is taken from Richard Giulianotti, *Routledge Handbook of the Sociology of Sport* (Routledge, 2015), p. xx although the original sentence could not be located; Charles Wright Mills, p. 12.
[109] Charles Wright Mills, p. 15.
[110] Charles Wright Mills, p. 14.

this intersection of biographies and history made by scientific tools, methods and academic books arousing reflexivity.

Sociological imagination appeared, among others, in Beveridge's work on unemployment which has been largely commented upon elsewhere.[111] He was not only in favour of the establishment of Unemployment Exchange Bureaus but also of unemployment benefits, and was conscious of the duties of the State towards its citizens in hardship in the 1930s. As he argued, 'the fact that social progress may involve unemployment of individuals is the justification of social measures for dealing with and relieving unemployment'. Unemployment was not only an issue that was worrying economically, but it could entail many other plagues in the country, which led him to rather ominously state: 'There can be worse things than unemployment in a country.'[112]

5.4.3. Uncovering the unknown sociological dimensions of unemployment

What did sociology specifically bring to the understanding of employment? What was the added value of these social surveys to the understanding of the phenomenon and to society? The national imagination was prompted by these surveys because they showed how long unemployment represented a moral and spiritual decay for the nation, a threat to citizenship and ultimately a threat to the Parliamentary régime. Through these surveys, the issue moved long unemployment from regional 'poverty' to deal with on a private basis with local social services, to a cause for national concern calling for government intervention.

The economic consequences of unemployment were well-known and partly solved through insurance benefits. The first unemployment benefit scheme was introduced in the National

[111] Jose Harris, *William Beveridge: A Biography* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1977).
[112] William Henry Beveridge Beveridge, *Causes and Cures of Unemployment* (London: Longmans, Green, 1931), p. 10.

Insurance Act in 1911 under H. H. Asquith. The Unemployment Insurance Act in 1920 established a dole system of payments for the unemployed workers, which provided 39 weeks of unemployment benefits to over 11 million workers. Concretely, as Bakke recalled in his 1933 study of unemployment, the effects of insurance had 'alleviated the worst physical effects of unemployment' by keeping 'the diet from falling to unhealthful levels' and 'workers from falling in arrears on their rent'.[113]

Yet what was unknown previously, and was the specifically sociological contribution of those surveys to the debate, was that the insurance had not 'relieved, however, and cannot by its very nature relieve, the mental and moral fatigue and discouragement which result from having no job'. The social and psychological aspects of unemployment which had been ignored or invisible before was now brought out by sociology which, aside from economics, showed that money 'cannot supply the loss of status and the sense of self-respect which vanish with the job'.[114] What sounds obvious to us nowadays was completely unknown and novel then, and was more dangerous than just the economic downside of long unemployment.

As the report made to the Pilgrim Trust in 1938 remarked, with the 'long unemployed', 'it would seem that we are confronted with a problem new in character' because 'it is not only a question of an economic burden to be carried by the country, but of a real danger of moral decay.'[115] Christian socialists were strongly worried, hence their involvement of religious bodies in unemployment social surveys. One side of moral decay was destitution and psychological insecurity during what should be 'a time of recreation, and a time of hope'.[116]

[113] Bakke, p. 251.
[114] Bakke, p. 251.
[115] The Pilgrim Trust, p. xi.
[116] The Pilgrim Trust, p. 396.

What the Church especially feared in unemployment and which appeared in interwar surveys was a 'major crisis in the history of man' which aroused and bred 'an atmosphere of social indignity and cynicism among those concerned', i.e. it brought the unemployed further away from the Anglican Church: It was the fear of dechristianization, especially of the working classes.[117] Unemployment was seen as a danger by Anglican Ministers and rightly so, as one of the unemployed explained to the Carnegie Trust in 1939 that 'turning to the spiritual side, I must state that decay is obvious. […] I can see no immediate return to the Church on behalf of the Unemployed.'[118]

The third sociological dimension of unemployment was the loss of citizenship. Two surveys of youth unemployment raised the issue. In *Juvenile Unemployment in South Wales* published in 1936, G. Meara explained that 'the most serious results, as I see it, will be a definite lowering of the standard of citizenship, a poorer nation in every way, a nation less able to make a fitting contribution to the solution of the problems of a world order.' This was a dangerous warning, at a time when international relations were increasingly challenging the country's commitment with fascism and communism. The author added 'that is, or should be the concern of everybody, not only of those who live at close quarters with the problem. […] We must not imagine that the questions raised are only of local significance, that they concern South Wales only, or Lancashire only, or Tyneside.'[119] Youth unemployment had to be tackled not at a local level but on a national scale, uniting the nation.

[117] V. A. Demant, *This Unemployment: Disaster or Opportunity? An Argument in Economic Philosophy Submitted to the Christian Social Council by Its Research Committee* (London: Student Christian Movement Press, 1931), pp. 6–14; Matthew Grimley, 'Citizenship, Community and the Church of England: Anglican Theories of the State, c.1926-1939' (D.Phil. thesis, 1998).
[118] The Carnegie United Kingdom Trust, p. 9.
[119] Meara, p. 109.

The Carnegie Trust's survey of 'disinherited youth' in Edinburgh carried out in 1939 also warned that 'there are no more important years in life for the formation of character and good citizenship than those from 14 years up to 21' when the young 'reach the full stature of manhood and are accorded a vote as responsible citizens in our democratic society.'[120] And yet, at this age, the young were particularly hit by unemployment. As a result, the nation's attention was gripped with the loss of political culture and a generation of 'bad' citizens. The report *Memoirs of the Unemployed*, published in 1934, compiled the reflections of 'unemployed men and women on politics, or trade unions and similar bodies', and 'those whose interests are political' had to keep in mind 'the variations between disillusion, indifference, and anger that holds a revolutionary impulse in its scope.'[121]

5.4.4. Moving from theoretical economics to practical sociology

As Harris recalled, in the interwar years the orthodox economists such as Arthur Cecil Pigou and the Cambridge Neoclassical School dominated the field of pure economics.[122] Their motto was that unemployment 'did simply not exist' in theory and was a consequence of the lack of elasticity of wages, not of a lack of jobs. If people accepted a decrease in their wages, then the job market would naturally lead to a new equilibrium where the unemployed would only be the people who did not want to work. In a way, the orthodox model was inspired by the Victorian ideal of the workhouse. John Maynard Keynes opposed this view by inventing 'macro-economics' and inserting State intervention into economic theory in the 1930s and 1940s.

Yet, this was insufficient and unsatisfactory. Neoclassical economics was powerless to fight unemployment in the 1930s. In the short run, economics was useless and provided no practical

[120] The Carnegie United Kingdom Trust, p. 14.
[121] Beales and Lambert, p. 46.
[122] José Harris, *Unemployment and Politics: A Study in English Social Policy, 1886-1914* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972), pp. 9–11.

solutions: This fell to sociology and social work. From economics to sociology, social surveys reshaped the unemployment problem from an intellectual point of view by introducing a more humane dimension into the dehumanising political economics that John Ruskin had criticised in his 1862 essay *Unto This Last*.[123] Unemployment was a 'human problem' that could not be understood or cured by a merely economic approach. Some kind of sociology was needed in order to understand its mechanisms, and practical social work required to deal with it afterwards.

Several surveys thus noted that the strict orthodox interpretation of unemployment was harsh and required social inquiries to enlighten it in all its dimensions. Bakke denounced the economists' self-righteousness when they tried to soothe public opinion by stating that 'there is no basis for this fear, no real danger that the maladjustment will be permanent, for you must remember that taking the country and the process as a whole what is lost in one way is gained in another.'[124] And as Davison argued in 1929, the economist's 'eagle vision needs to be supplemented by the humbler, more close-grained study of the actual persons who are workless and of the conditions which have brought them low.'[125]

The Royal Institute of International Affairs wrote in 1935 that to assert that 'unemployment is not a problem in itself, but an aspect of a much wider question of maladjustments in the economic system may sound heartless in view of the suffering inflicted on millions in the world to-day because of unemployment.'[126] The Carnegie Trust also put forward that 'unemployment

[123] John Ruskin, *Unto This Last* (London: Harrap, 1862).
[124] Bakke, pp. 299–300.
[125] Ronald C. Davison, *The Unemployed: Old Policies and New* (London: Longmans, Green and Co, 1929), p. 162.
[126] Royal Institute of International Affairs, p. 5.

due to conditions of world trade, or technological changes in industrial organisation, meant nothing to them. Such explanations left them cold', and yearning for more radical solutions.[127]

In this context of powerless political economics, the practical value of social surveys stood out clearly. The unemployed were not 'abstractions' but were going through actual suffering, as the Pilgrim Trust report explained, and surveys managed to get 'much closer to the real difficulties than a purely economic approach could have done'.[128] Vigo Auguste Demant (1893-1983) was an Anglican theologian who was confident that the facts adduced led the country 'to see the present world crisis, not so much as a pure economic approach, but rather as a problem of practical sociology'. Consequently, questioning 'the social worth of those objectives themselves' was healthy.[129]

Interwar unemployment left a scar in British history, something that resonated for long as a time of despair and destitution; 'For a job is the symbol of a free man, a necessity dictated alike by the claims of self-respect and the urge to replace frustration by purpose', as the Carnegie Trust recalled.[130] Social surveys were instrumental in attracting attention to the unexpected consequences of unemployment on national faith, the political culture and individual psychology. Social surveys were not only useful in documenting previously unknown dimensions of private lives, they also led to the birth of a public sociology in the sense that private matters came to the front on the public agenda.

[127] The Carnegie United Kingdom Trust, p. 5.
[128] The Pilgrim Trust, pp. vii–x.
[129] Demant, p. 150.
[130] The Carnegie United Kingdom Trust, p. 68.

Some of the listed social surveys were best-sellers.[131] They added to the success of the socialist non-fiction literature, as testified by the success of the Left Book Club, a left-wing publishing society active in the UK between 1936 and 1948, and of working-class testimonies in interwar novels depicting the lives of the unemployed.[132] These novels and social surveys gave an insight into the working classes, arousing national sympathy for the unemployed and the strife it caused.

Social surveys, Mass Observation and working-class novels were all part of the same concern of British intellectuals for its people, and were instrumental in building a public sphere wherein everyone felt involved, something that was a solid foundation for the difficult decade to come.

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[131] Such as Bakke; David Caradog Jones; The Pilgrim Trust.
[132] See for example W. Greenwood, *Love on the Dole* (London: Vintage, 1933); J. B. Priestley, *English Journey: Being a Rambling but Truthful Account of What One Man Saw and Heard and Felt and Thought during a Journey through England during the Autumn of the Year 1933* (London: W. Heinemann & V. Gollancz, 1934); G. Orwell, *The Road to Wigan Pier* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1937).

Chapter 6 – Social Anthropology: The real school of British sociology?

6.0.1. Definition

The OED reports that sociology, meaning 'the study of the development, structure, and functioning of human society', was borrowed from the French *sociologie* and first appeared in England in 1851. On the other hand, Anthropology, meaning 'the study or description of human beings or human nature', goes back to 1517 in Italy and first appeared in England in 1656 as 'a speaking or discoursing on men'. It is easy to understand, from this simple presentation, that anthropology seemed more appropriate than sociology to Britain.

Owing to its association with Durkheim before 1914, sociology suffered from being considered a foreign, metaphysical product unsuitable to Britain and to academia, a prejudice that endured well between the wars.[1] Hobhouse thus tried to yield a specifically British and Idealist version of the discipline, without referring to the dominant Durkheimianism or Continental, i.e. Marxist, ideas, but it remained unconvincing; At any rate, did he not stir much enthusiasm for his discipline and failed to produce an enduring school of sociology. Anthropology on the other hand remained untarnished, appeared prestigious thanks to the Empire's support and could rely on a long tradition since E. B. Tylor's seminal *Primitive Culture* published in 1871.[2]

It is all but legitimate then that sociology should be seen as 'a failure' in Britain, while anthropology on the other hand seemed thriving and turned into a national speciality in the interwar years.

[1] See the reception of Durkheim in Britain in Chapter 3.
[2] Edward Burnett Tylor, *Primitive Culture: Researches into the Development of Mythology, Philosophy, Religion, Art, and Custom* (London: J. Murray, 1871).

6.0.2. Historiography

One evidence of this is palpable in the number of books published, and of pages written, on the history of British sociology as opposed to British anthropology. The histories of British sociology are very few and quite recent, starting in 1968.[3] All in all, this must represent about 1,000 pages. On the other hand, histories of anthropology are countless and started back in 1910.[4] Overall, this must represent 5,000 pages. In concrete terms, the history of sociology numerically stands for 20% that of anthropology which, as Martin Bulmer rightly pointed out, shows that sociology in Britain indeed has 'a long past but a short history'.[5] Does that mean it still has to be written or that it is non-existent is a question that this thesis is addressing.

Yet the parallel developments of sociology and anthropology have surprisingly never been examined in the literature.

6.0.3. Thesis and plan

This chapter will thus shed a brand-new light on this matter and show that if Britain could not yet take pride in its sociology in the 1920s and had to wait for the post-WWII era to do so, its historians have understandably overlooked the world-acclaimed success of interwar social anthropology under Malinowski and Radcliffe-Brown, as if it were two different worlds. This chapter will thus argue that social anthropology was Britain's "real school of sociology".

[3] The first history of sociology appeared in 1968 by Philip Abrams, *The Origins of British Sociology (1968)*; Followed by, among others, Fletcher; Alan Swingewood, *A Short History of Sociological Thought* (London: Palgrave, 1984); Halsey.

[4] Alfred Cort Haddon, *History of Anthropology*, 1st edn (London: Watts, 1910); See for instance Adam Kuper, *Anthropology and Anthropologists: The Modern British School*, Rev. ed. (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1983); Henrika Kuklick, *The Savage within: The Social History of British Anthropology, 1885-1945* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991); Jack Goody, *The Expansive Moment: The Rise of Social Anthropology in Britain and Africa, 1918-1970* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995); Stocking; Fredrik Barth, *One Discipline, Four Ways: British, German, French and American Anthropology*, Halle Lectures (Chicago ; London: University of Chicago Press, 2005); Peter Rivière, *A History of Oxford Anthropology* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2007); David Mills.

[5] Bulmer, 'The Development of Sociology (1985)', p. 30.

The first section will tell the reasons why a new anthropology was prompted in Britain in the interwar years under the pressure of Radcliffe-Brown and Oxford. The second will outline the specificities of Brown's 'new social anthropology', i.e. the taking into account of structures as inspired by Durkheim's *sociologie*.

The third section will argue that social anthropology also throve at the LSE under Malinowski at the expense of sociology, because of his despotism and hegemonic claims against other disciplines at the School. He also founded an enduring circle of disciples, as opposed notably to Hobhouse, and made his discipline which he called 'the science of Man' as the best representative of interwar British social sciences.

The last section will explain that anthropology was more successful than sociology in Britain because, as the science of the Empire flourishing intellectually and institutionally under Malinowski and Radcliffe-Brown, it received good institutional support from imperial authorities and the classically-inclined ancient universities. Britain capitalised on its long-standing tradition of anthropology, rather than its short-lived sociological experience, to develop an autonomous discipline suited to the needs of her Empire, rather than French *sociologie* which was suited to the needs of her Republic.

But the conclusion will recall that despite philosophical and political differences, French *sociologie* and British social anthropology shared many similarities, which may make the latter, in the ecology of disciplines, its best replacement as an indigenously-born and academically acceptable construction. Only, as opposed to *sociologie*, anthropology seemed more suitable to

the British history, mind-set and academic tradition for reasons that will appear in the course of the chapter, and thus both took different names as different native traditions.

6.1. Dissatisfied with Oxford, looking for a new anthropology: A. R. Radcliffe-Brown

Alfred Reginald Brown was born near Birmingham in 1881. He was educated at Trinity College, Cambridge, from 1902 to 1906 where he studied psychology and anthropology under W. H. R. Rivers and A. C. Haddon, then moved to do field-work first in the Andaman Islands and later in Australia between 1910 and 1912.[6] Both were inspiration for his book *The Andaman Islanders* published in 1922 and *The Social organization of Australian tribes* published in 1930.[7]

6.1.1. Radcliffe-Brown and Durkheim

As his DNB biographer remarked, Brown was 'seemingly possessed by a *wanderlust*', spending half of his life outside England. He was a fellow of Trinity College from 1908 to 1914 and in 1917 changed his name to Radcliffe-Brown. The Director of Education in the Kingdom of Tonga in Oceania from 1918 to 1919, he became the first Professor of Anthropology at the universities of Cape Town in South Africa from 1921 to 1925, Sydney in Australia from 1926 to 1931, and Oxford from 1937 to 1946, succeeding Marett. He held chairs at Chicago in America from 1931 to 1937, Alexandria in Egypt from 1947 to 1949, and was also a visiting professor at Yanjing University in China from 1935 to 1936, the University of São Paulo in Brazil from 1942 to 1944 and Rhodes University in South Africa in 1952. At Oxford, he

[6] The Andaman Islands form an archipelago in the Bay of Bengal between India, to the west, and Myanmar, to the north and east, and are now part of the Andaman and Nicobar Islands Union Territory of India.
[7] Alfred Reginald Radcliffe-Brown, *The Andaman Islanders: A Study in Social Anthropology (Anthony Wilkin Studentship Research, 1906)* (Cambridge: The University Press, 1922); Alfred Reginald Radcliffe-Brown, *The Social Organization of Australian Tribes* (Melbourne: Macmillan & Co., 1931).

founded the Institute of Social and Cultural Anthropology (which is still in existence today) and died in London in 1955.

Intellectually, he is remembered for founding the influential school of 'structuralism' in sociology and anthropology, i.e. advocating taking into account the permanent social structures of society in which transient individuals and colonials evolve, to understand how contemporary societies work. As an outsider, Brown was not only a perceptive observer of his society but also interested in foreign ideas.

Radcliffe-Brown was one of the earliest scholar to introduce Durkheim across the Channel in 1910, in his lectures on 'Australian Ethnology' at the LSE and on 'Comparative sociology' at Trinity College, Cambridge.[8] In a letter to Mauss dated 6 August 1912, Brown confided that he was 'in complete agreement with the view of sociology put forward in the *Année sociologique*' and that he was 'the first person to expound those views in England', thus finding himself 'somewhat out of sympathy with English writers'.[9] His infatuation with Durkheimianism was ignited by Rivers at Cambridge and meant that, wherever he travelled, Brown carried with him only the cumbersome volumes of the *Année sociologique*. With his unconventional style and a disdain for his own people which he called 'barbarians and traders', 'Anarchy Brown' (as he was known at Trinity until 1914 for his interest in the anarcho-communist writer Peter Kropotkin) was a well-known Francophile who 'dressed like a Paris *savant*'.[10]

Throughout the interwar years, he entertained a close friendship with Marcel Mauss, Durkheim's nephew, who also felt like an outsider anthropologist in France and who shared his

[8] Stocking, pp. 308–9.
[9] Letter from Radcliffe-Brown to Marcel Mauss, 6 August 1912 quoted in *Durkheimian studies*, 4 (1979).
[10] Stocking, pp. 304–9.

interest in developing a new anthropology. In 1924, Radcliffe-Brown was made a member of the *Institut Français de Sociologie* and an honorary member of the *Année sociologique* team, for which he wrote several book reviews in French.

Both anthropologists went through a honeymoon. Alfred Métraux, a disciple of Mauss, met Brown in America in 1936 and remarked that 'of all foreign scholars, he is the one whose thought and ideas get the closest to you'.[11] Mauss wrote back that 'Radcliffe-Brown describes himself as a French sociologist. And we take him as such.'[12] When he applied to the new chair of Social Anthropology created in Oxford in 1936, Radcliffe-Brown asked for Mauss' recommendation. Mauss confidently wrote back that 'I am happy to be able to do this for you. I hope you will be elected, and it will be my pleasure to see you get closer to us.'[13] But that made Radcliffe-Brown suspicious: No wonder then that his election at the new chair in Oxford was feared.

6.1.2. Radcliffe-Brown and Oxford

Anthropology had been taught at Oxford since E. B. Tylor began lecturing on it in 1883, and the subject was then dominated by the classically-educated who regarded 'scientific' social anthropology as a dangerous competitor. In 1910, when Robert R. Marett, a classicist himself, became Reader in Social Anthropology, the department was divided between three specialities: Marett taught social anthropology, Henry Balfour taught prehistory and material culture while Arthur Thompson taught physical anthropology. 'Given their multiple responsibilities of curating, demonstrating and teaching colonial probationers' who soon settled at the University,

[11] In a letter from Alfred Métraux to Mauss from Hawaii on 17 March 1936 quoted in Fournier, *Marcel Mauss*, p. 635.
[12] In a letter from Mauss to Alfred Métraux on 24 February 1938 quoted in Fournier, *Marcel Mauss*, p. 635.
[13] Letter from Mauss to Radcliffe-Brown, 22 September 1936, quoted by William S. F. Pickering, 'Four Letters to Radcliffe-Brown from Durkheim and Mauss', *Journal of the Anthropological Society of Oxford*, 2.25 (1994), 169–78 (p. 175).

research was not a priority there. There was little dynamics in Oxford anthropology compared to Malinowski's LSE, an increasingly attractive competitor which even lured Evans-Pritchard, one of Marett's most promising students, away from Oxford in 1924.[14]

Compared to his England-based competitors, Radcliffe-Brown proved much less deferential to Oxford and lamented in 1931, while still in Chicago, that in Britain,

> 'For the man in the street anthropology is the study of skulls or stone implements or of the ethnological specimens that we collect in our museums, or else theories about the travels of ancient Egyptians round the world in search of pearls.'

He added that, 'and indeed, if he judges by the subject as treated in universities', these things did 'constitute the major part of what is known under that name'. However, he further indicated that he 'did not wish for a moment to suggest that these studies are not of academic and scientific value', only that they were 'of no value in the practical business of governing and educating dependent peoples' while this was a most pressing concern for the Empire and for those who were interested in the discipline.[15]

Brown went further in his indictment of Oxford Classic-dominated anthropology when remarking that 'there seems to be little difficulty in raising very considerable sums of money every year for archaeological investigations' while at the same time 'our British universities will not be likely to take any real active interest in the subject' of social anthropology until 'it will be too late to do the work' to study and conserve 'the living cultures that are being destroyed by the encroachment of the white man.' He concluded rather disillusionedly that

> 'I feel sometimes ashamed that the great British Empire has to go begging to America for the few hundreds of pounds with which to carry out a little of that work which it is the primary duty of the Empire to undertake if it is ever to rule its dependent peoples with justice based on knowledge and understanding.'[16]

[14] David Mills, pp. 30–31; Rivière.
[15] Alfred Reginald Radcliffe-Brown and M. N. Srinivas, 'The Present Position of Anthropological Studies (1931)', in *Method in Social Anthropology* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1958), pp. 42–95 (pp. 92–93).
[16] Radcliffe-Brown and Srinivas, 'The Present Position of Anthropological Studies (1931)', p. 94.

Because social anthropology, like so many social sciences in Europe, were funded through the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Foundation and could not do without it, Radcliffe-Brown warned.

It was in this context of growing dissatisfaction with the 'old' anthropology taught in Oxford and with a view to renewing it that Radcliffe-Brown suggested a new platform for the discipline in the 1930s which paradoxically opened him the doors of the noble institution as he was finally appointed the first Professor of Social Anthropology there in 1937. But the establishment of such a chair in replacement of Marett's was subject to long and tough discussions between proponents of the 'Trinity', as was called the long-established partition of disciplines, who thought it 'undesirable' that 'anthropology should be dominated by one of its sections'.[17] This explained why Radcliffe-Brown's return to England in 1937 was seen by some as 'a major disaster for anthropology'.[18]

6.1.3. Three suggestions for a 'new anthropology'

It was probably in Durkheim's work that Radcliffe-Brown first found food for thought to develop his own in Britain. The turning point was 1912, when Durkheim's book *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life* on Australian totemism was published in French.[19] Although regretting that Durkheim had retained some of the ideas and terminology of the 'older social anthropology' he was trying to eschew, Radcliffe-Brown found a breath of fresh air in the book. He recognised that 'some of the most important steps of the passage from the old to the new methods are to be seen in Durkheim's treatment of this subject [totemism] in his "Elementary Forms of the Religious Life."'[20] Brown rejected three things in old anthropology: Evolutionism, diffusionism and psychological explanations.

[17] David Mills, p. 39.
[18] The phrase is Mills' title for his section on Radcliffe-Brown in Rivière, pp. 83–97.
[19] Durkheim, *Elementary Forms (1915)*.
[20] Radcliffe-Brown and Srinivas, 'The Present Position of Anthropological Studies (1931)', p. 63.

First, he opposed evolutionism which was particularly prominent in pre-WWI England. While evolutionary anthropologists had a tendency to 'look at everything from the point of view of development, and tended to look upon the development of culture as a process of unilinear evolution', this had become 'more and more difficult to defend, Brown argued, as our knowledge of the peoples of the earth and the diversity of their culture has increased'.[21] The discussion of Australian totemism and the growing emphasis on the relativity of cultures and of morals added to this opposition.

Second, Radcliffe-Brown opposed diffusionism when it was blindly embraced by those disciples of '"culture-history"' which studied 'almost exclusively phenomena of the transfer of culture elements from one region to another' and rejected or 'were not interested in the notion of evolution'.[22] The *Kulturgeschichte* school founded in Germany by the geographer Friedrich Ratzel in the 1880s was at stake.

Third, he opposed psychological explanations. He insisted 'most emphatically', against his own tradition of social thought in Britain, that 'social anthropology is a science […] independent of psychology'.[23] If 'theories of the older social anthropology often took a psychological form', Brown maintained, on the contrary his position as a 'comparative sociologist' was that 'any explanation of a particular sociological phenomenon in terms of psychology, i.e. […] of individual mental activity, is invalid'.[24] Brown campaigned instead for the taking into account

[21] Radcliffe-Brown and Srinivas, 'The Methods of Ethnology (1923)', pp. 10–12.
[22] Radcliffe-Brown and Srinivas, 'The Methods of Ethnology (1923)', p. 12.
[23] Radcliffe-Brown and Srinivas, 'The Methods of Ethnology (1923)', p. 16.
[24] Radcliffe-Brown and Srinivas, 'The Present Position of Anthropological Studies (1931)', p. 64.

of 'structures', a word he would not systematically use until a famous address on the topic in 1940 though.[25]

Individual psychology could not account for the meaning and sustainability of the social structures through time – thus a specifically sociological position was required. Brown repeated that his anti-psychological perspective was 'by no means novel' as 'Durkheim and the important school of the *Année Sociologique* have insisted upon it since 1895'.[26]

Interestingly, he was not alone in looking for new insights in the works of the French sociologists: Marett also recognised in his autobiography in 1941 that, because 'the British school of anthropology […] was addicted to a one-sided method derived from the psychology of the individual', it needed 'a strong hint from across the Channel before any of their humble successors, those *Epigoni*, of whom I am one, could be persuaded to reform his ways'.[27]

Against psychological individualism in vogue in British anthropology, the social and holistic aspects of French *sociologie* proved a refreshing insight on the working of institutions for both Marett and Radcliffe-Brown, because Durkheim took society as a '*sui generis*' reality independent from individual psychology. For sociologists, and for Radcliffe-Brown, society was real; while for Ernest Barker and Idealists, society was 'an illusion' and therefore sociology remained unnecessary. And as Marett owned up in a private letter in 1934, to make progress 'We sociologists had far better treat a Human Society as something *sui generis*.'[28] Durkheim was that alternative source of inspiration to renew British social anthropology.

[25] Radcliffe-Brown and Srinivas, 'The Methods of Ethnology (1923)', p. 18; Alfred Reginald Radcliffe-Brown, 'On Social Structure', *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*, 70.1 (1940), 1–12.
[26] Radcliffe-Brown and Srinivas, 'The Methods of Ethnology (1923)', p. 16.
[27] R. R. Marett, 'Greeting to l'Année Sociologique, N.S. Vol. I', *The Sociological Review*, 18.2 (1926), 89–90.
[28] Exeter College, Oxford, L.IV.13 (Marett Papers), R. R. Marett to Macmurdo, 26 April 1934.

6.2. 'Social structures are just as real as individuals': Brown's "comparative sociology" and the French renewal of British anthropology

Yet, Mauss did not realize that Radcliffe-Brown was not just another 'British' emanation of Durkheim but aimed to devise his own perspective in turn. Radcliffe-Brown only took inspiration from Durkheimian ideas to supersede them with his own 'new social anthropology'.

6.2.1. The new structural-functionalist approach

Thus Brown effectively called his discipline 'the new anthropology', i.e. 'comparative sociology as the generalising science of culture'.[29] Why he did not simply use '"sociology" instead of the decidedly more cumbersome "social anthropology"' or 'comparative sociology' phrase, was because 'a good deal of what is commonly called sociology in English-speaking countries is a somewhat formless study whose votaries' looked lazily for '*des vérités larges, éternelles, valables pour toute l'humanité, comme prix de quelques heures de spéculation somnolente*'.[30] This quote from an address to the South African Association for the Advancement of Science in July 1923 denied social philosophers' claims that sociology was unnecessary because 'social philosophy could yield "eternal truths, valid for the whole of humanity as the fruit of a few hours of lazy speculation"', without engaging seriously with field-work like social anthropology did.

Ethnology was the 'hypothetical reconstruction of the past history of civilization' with a varying degree of probability which could but 'supply social anthropology with a few, very few, new

[29] Radcliffe-Brown and Srinivas, 'The Present Position of Anthropological Studies (1931)', pp. 56, 85.
[30] The quote is from Sebald Rudolf Steinmetz, the father of Dutch sociology, and appears untranslated in French in Radcliffe-Brown and Srinivas, 'The Methods of Ethnology (1923)', p. 8.

facts'. Radcliffe-Brown concluded that if 'the bare facts of history are often very interesting in themselves' in ethnology, 'mere knowledge of the events of the past cannot by itself give us any guidance in our practical activities.' [31] Yet against the bias of disciplines such as social philosophy or ethnology for which 'we can only claim an academic interest', Brown campaigned for a more practical and inductive science which he called the 'new anthropology'.[32]

On the other hand, Radcliffe-Brown did not call his discipline 'sociology' either because he was critical of the discipline world-wide: In Germany, he noted, 'a great deal of what is called sociology is really better described, I think, as social philosophy or philosophy of history' while in the United States a considerable part of the work in the departments of sociology 'consists of what would be called civics in this country and in studies connected with social welfare work'. 'In England we have very little of anything that is called sociology. Hobhouse, who stood for sociology in this country, was a philosopher rather than a scientist', he attacked.[33] He understood the reticence of British universities at admitting sociology as a subject of study, 'in strong contrast with the popularity of the subject in the United States' because, he blamed the sociologists, 'to some extent that caution has been a wise one. The subject is still in its formative stages.'[34]

How different was 'social anthropology' from sociology, then? At one point, Radcliffe-Brown called it as 'a science of human society' while on other occasion he described its aims as 'to understand the nature of human institutions and […] how they work' and interested itself 'in

[31] Radcliffe-Brown and Srinivas, 'The Methods of Ethnology (1923)', pp. 26–27.
[32] Alfred Reginald Radcliffe-Brown and M. N. Srinivas, 'Historical and Functional Interpretations of Culture in Relation to the Practical Application of Anthropology to the Control of Native Peoples (1929)', in *Method in Social Anthropology* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1958), pp. 39–41 (p. 40).
[33] Radcliffe-Brown and Srinivas, 'The Present Position of Anthropological Studies (1931)', p. 85.
[34] Radcliffe-Brown and Srinivas, 'The Present Position of Anthropological Studies (1931)', p. 86.

the development of institutions in human society'.[35] Specifically, he defined 'comparative sociology' as having 'grown out of social anthropology', and thus differing from Malinowski. Comparative sociology meant 'a science that applies the generalising method of the natural sciences to the phenomena of the social life of man and to everything that we include under the term culture or civilisation'.[36] While Radcliffe-Brown defined social anthropology as 'the study of human society', 'some' (i.e. Malinowski) defined it 'as the study of culture'.[37] Both disagreed.

The interpretation of totemism was crucial to understand this specific definition. While Durkheim looked for its origins and social meaning in Australian tribes, Brown on the other hand took it as a 'a phenomenon much more widespread', to demonstrate that totemism was not specific to Australian aborigines but 'universal in human society'. For this purpose, Brown compared totemism among the primitive aborigines with 'all other possibly related institutions in all cultures' in order to prove, using the comparative method, that 'it is merely a special example' of 'ritual relations established by the society between human beings and objects of nature' which was found under many names in different times and spaces.[38] The characteristic of his sociological method was that 'any problem, however small, is part of a general fundamental problem of the nature of culture and of human society.'[39] Brown's sociology was a general science; It studied the universal laws of human conduct found in primitive societies, at the origins of man, to apply them to modern societies afterwards.

[35] Radcliffe-Brown and Srinivas, 'The Present Position of Anthropological Studies (1931)', pp. 71, 49.
[36] Radcliffe-Brown and Srinivas, 'The Present Position of Anthropological Studies (1931)', p. 55.
[37] Radcliffe-Brown, 'On Social Structure (1940)', p. 2.
[38] Radcliffe-Brown and Srinivas, 'The Present Position of Anthropological Studies (1931)', p. 58.
[39] Radcliffe-Brown and Srinivas, 'The Present Position of Anthropological Studies (1931)', p. 60.

Once arrived at a 'satisfactory conception of the nature of totemism' or whatever social institution under scrutiny by the anthropologist, 'we can proceed to a study of its functions' explained Radcliffe-Brown. By the function of an institution he meant 'the part it plays in the total system of *social integration* of which it is a part'.[40] By using the phrase 'social integration' Radcliffe-Brown shared Durkheim's concern for social stability through the establishment of 'a binding *morale*' in order to foster integration to society. But while Durkheim looked for integration to society, Radcliffe-Brown believed that integration was 'the function of culture as a whole' to 'unite individual human beings into more or less stable social structures'. Structures were binding mechanisms which provided 'such external adaptation to the physical environment, and such internal adaptation between the component individuals or groups', as to make possible 'an ordered social life'.[41] Social structures 'are just as real as are individual organisms', Brown insisted, and they were the subject-matter of his 'comparative sociology'.[42]

If both Durkheim and Brown agreed that institutions were the subject-matters of sociology, the difference was that for Brown these social institutions held a psychological meaning and proceeded from the individual needs and human nature, while for Durkheim they were 'all the beliefs and modes of conduct instituted *by the collectivity*'.[43] For Durkheim, integration had to be done by society, which duty was to be binding to foster the individual development while for Brown integration had to be fostered in culture, by regulating a natural process not by forcing it. Culture was thus defined 'as an integrated system' at the centre of social life, and his functionalism was to study 'the functions of social institutions, customs and beliefs of all kinds

[40] Our emphasis.
[41] Radcliffe-Brown and Srinivas, 'The Present Position of Anthropological Studies (1931)', p. 62.
[42] Radcliffe-Brown, 'On Social Structure (1940)', p. 3.
[43] As quoted and translated by Lukes, pp. 14–15 (Our emphasis).

as parts of such a system' in order to foster and streamline the integration of future generations.[44]

Radcliffe-Brown's analysis of society was thus called structural-functionalism because it studied the primitive integration of structures, and its hindrances in modern societies, through the functions they performed for individuals. It was only by rejecting the psychological meaning and sources of institutions that social anthropology could become 'the purely inductive study of the phenomena of culture, aiming at the discovery of general laws, and adapting to its special subject matter the ordinary logical methods of the natural sciences' that he hoped for.[45] This required a detachment of the observer in the field, and a brand-new training for researchers.

6.2.2. The new training for researchers

Radcliffe-Brown saw the difference between sociology and his social anthropology as centred on 'the division of labour between observer and theorist' which had been 'unsatisfactory'. He felt that 'this divorce of observation and hypothesis is all wrong, and that social anthropology will never make the progress that it should until they are combined.' To sum up, Radcliffe-Brown criticised Hobhouse's Idealist discipline as unscientific and hoped to produce a really scientific discipline of social institutions and of human cultures. Thus, he remarked: 'If social anthropology is to progress, it must follow the rules of all induction' and base itself on the facts collected in the field by the researcher. As opposed to armchair anthropologists in Oxford and Idealist social philosophers following Hobhouse, Radcliffe-Brown claimed to develop a distinct discipline where theory and observation were constantly intertwined.[46] The fieldworker had to be autonomous.

[44] Radcliffe-Brown and Srinivas, 'The Present Position of Anthropological Studies (1931)', p. 65.
[45] Radcliffe-Brown and Srinivas, 'The Methods of Ethnology (1923)', p. 25.
[46] Radcliffe-Brown and Srinivas, 'The Methods of Ethnology (1923)', pp. 33–34.

He sided with the French when he concluded in 1931, in a provocative statement for a British social scientist, that it was 'the development of sociological theory which will afford a guide to the field-worker in his studies and assist him to obtain both objectivity and completeness in his observations.'[47] Against the older conception of armchair anthropology practiced at Oxford which left the interpretation of the data collected in the field to 'others who would make it their business', his wish was to encourage the autonomy and independence of the field-worker by entrusting him with both roles.[48] In that regard, especially, he found himself at odds with Mauss who, as just the 'last and the greatest of all armchair anthropologists', confidently asserted in 1924 that 'one needs sociologists and ethnologists: the former to enlighten [*éclairent*], the latter to enquire [*renseignent*]'.[49] Mauss reserved himself the realm of theorizing and never left his *Collège de France* office in Paris to go into the field himself, although he suggested incredible innovations in the training of fieldworkers at the *Institut d'Ethnologie* in 1926, such as using a '*journal de route*' systematically or resorting to cinematography.[50]

So, against the usual division of labour effective both in 'old' French and British anthropology between those gathering data and those who, back in the Metropole, who 'enlightened' them, Radcliffe-Brown recommended that the field-worker develop his own skills.[51]

First, he should be equipped 'with a thorough knowledge of all the latest developments of theoretical sociology' which at the present time 'cannot be obtained from books, but only by personal contact with those who are working in the subject.' By this, Brown recommended to

[47] Radcliffe-Brown and Srinivas, 'The Present Position of Anthropological Studies (1931)', pp. 70–71.
[48] Radcliffe-Brown and Srinivas, 'The Present Position of Anthropological Studies (1931)', p. 67.
[49] Quoted without source in Fournier, *Marcel Mauss*, p. 611; Marcel Mauss, review of *Anthropology. – Londres, 1923*, by A. L. Kroeber, *L'Année Sociologique*, NS 1 (1924), 324–30 (p. 329).
[50] See the section on the 'Méthodes d'observation' in Mauss, *Manuel d'ethnographie (1926)*, pp. 9–16.
[51] The next paragraphs will only use the masculine pronoun (he) to refer to fieldworkers, as Brown did himself in his writings. Although he never mentioned female fieldworkers, he did not exclude them either.

spend time in the field and exchanging with fellow anthropologists rather than passively learning from books, from second-hand contact with the natives.

Second, he should have 'learnt the technique of field-work, both as to observation and interpretation' relying on 'a knowledge of all that has been so far learnt about the culture of the region in which he is to work', and if possible 'some knowledge of the languages also'. The creation of the School of Oriental and African Studies in 1916 and of the International Institute of African Languages and Cultures in 1926 in London were part of the official strategy to get to know the natives better. Finally, the success of a field-worker in ethnography depended 'on certain qualities of temperament and character' because 'not everyone can win the confidence of a native people.'[52] Radcliffe-Brown emphasised the character-building aspects of social anthropology. This moral dimension of anthropology was something that, for instance, Mauss did not mention at all in his manual.

With his emphasis on the role of theory and criticism of English sociologists on similar lines as Mauss and the Durkheimians, Radcliffe-Brown felt at odds with his own indigenous tradition of thinking – and consequently found a home with his French colleagues. Therefore, he officially declared in 1931, that 'what is called sociology in France, or at any rate at the University of Paris, is the same study precisely as that which I have been describing as comparative sociology', and it was 'largely owing to the work of the French sociologists Durkheim, Hubert, Mauss, Simiand, Halbwachs, Hertz, Granet and Maunier, to mention only some of them, that the subject is as far advanced as it is.'[53] He concluded that he had found allies in France to develop his own inspiration in Britain because what he defined as comparative sociology had, according to him, 'except in France, been left by the anthropologists

[52] Radcliffe-Brown and Srinivas, 'The Present Position of Anthropological Studies (1931)', p. 74.
[53] Radcliffe-Brown and Srinivas, 'The Present Position of Anthropological Studies (1931)', p. 85.

to sociology, and by the sociologists to anthropology.'[54] Radcliffe-Brown sided with the French, but did he really betray his own people?

6.2.3. The French renewal

Yet, Radcliffe-Brown did not sever the ties with his country completely to produce a distinctive and personal version of 'comparative sociology', inspired by the French but respectful of his native English tradition of anthropology.

In his 1931 address, he explained that as France had 'led the way in the development of the theoretical study of comparative sociology' since 1912, one might have expected it would be there that 'the new methods of field-work would be elaborated'. However, despite the work of René Maunier on colonial sociology and Marcel Granet on China, French anthropological works remained 'based rather on the study of […] documents than on observation of the living culture'. Radcliffe-Brown thus disappointingly concluded that since Durkheim's *Elementary Forms* in 1912 'the French apparently are not drawn very strongly towards ethnographical research.'[55] Thus interwar French sociology proved rather disappointing, often limiting itself to an exegesis of the Master's intuition which, albeit works of scholarship, did not offer much new insights to the discipline.

As it were, Durkheimianism fell short of providing an enduring inspiration to the one who was now bringing forward the autonomous field of 'comparative sociology' by carrying on a very English tradition. Indeed, although his newer anthropology rejected 'much of the methods of the older, and rejects all the theories of origins with the elaboration of which the latter was so much concerned', yet he recalled, 'the new anthropology has grown out of the old, would not

[54] Radcliffe-Brown and Srinivas, 'The Present Position of Anthropological Studies (1931)', p. 86.
[55] Radcliffe-Brown and Srinivas, 'The Present Position of Anthropological Studies (1931)', pp. 69–70.

be possible without it, and starts with valuable knowledge of social phenomena' which had been provided by English anthropologists before him.

Thus, Radcliffe-Brown paid homage to his predecessors – 'such men as Tylor, Robertson Smith, Frazer, Westermarck, to mention only some of the greatest and of this country only' – who had 'paved the way for the advance we are now making'. Although he rejected their 'unsound method', he was grateful to them for 'the first systematic exploration of the regions we now seek to survey more exactly and with new instruments'.[56] Therefore, despite a French inspiration, Radcliffe-Brown eventually came to terms with his roots and inscribed himself in a long-established tradition of English anthropology.

In a way, Durkheimianism, a foreign trend, helped Radcliffe-Brown think social institutions in terms of autonomous, *sui generis* structures framing culture, against the shortcomings of the psychological and individualistic tendencies of his predecessors which could not account for their subsistence in time and variety in space. 'The problem is: how do structural systems persist? What are the mechanisms which maintain a network of social relations in existence?', Brown explained in 1940.[57] Although he did not espouse Durkheim's conception of God-Society (which indeed held about Society that '*elle est à ses membres ce qu'un dieu est à ses fidèles*') to explain this, he did find inspiration in it to reform his own tradition of thinking.[58]

But just like British social anthropology proved useful to counteract the hegemonic tendencies of Durkheimianism in interwar France, coincidentally French sociology proved a breath of fresh

[56] Radcliffe-Brown and Srinivas, 'The Present Position of Anthropological Studies (1931)', p. 65.
[57] Radcliffe-Brown, 'On Social Structure (1940)', p. 6.
[58] Which translates as '[Society] is to its members what a god is to its worshippers' in Émile Durkheim, *Les Formes Élémentaires de La Vie Religieuse : Le Système Totémique En Australie* (Paris: Félix Alcan, 1912), p. 295.

air for Radcliffe-Brown in order to devise his 'new social anthropology'.[59] Both disciplines headed towards the same goal.

This was even recognised by Marett who, 'at the risk of being thought unpatriotic', welcomed the publication of the new series of the *Année sociologique* in 1926 by emphasising that 'no British student of social anthropology to-day is likely to feel that he and his French colleagues are pursuing any but the same path.'[60] At the same time in France, René Maunier, the colonial administrator and sociologist striving to develop a sociology independent from Durkheim, declared his admiration for the British social anthropologists in whom he found so much inspiration:

> 'The English invented social anthropology precisely to avert any confusion between the positive and the "normative" study. Something that goes under the name ethnology in a very close meaning in France. I admit I would like the latter two phrases; but they seem to me of having no chance of prevailing in France. [...] "Sociology" has the advantage of being brief.'[61]

Just like British sociology was divided between a French-abiding tendency (Geddes and Branford followed August Comte and Frédéric Le Play, both French) and a native tradition (Hobhouse and Ginsberg strove to devise a specifically British, Idealist version independently of Continental influences), one key to understand the competition between Malinowski and Radcliffe-Brown between 1920 and 1940 lay in the acceptance or the rejection of the French model. Radcliffe-Brown accepted the Durkheimian influence. By rejecting it however, Malinowski turned out to be more securely accepted in academia but also more successfully remembered as 'the founding father of the British social anthropology', much at the expense of the latter in the history of the discipline. In his book *History of ethnological theory* published

[59] See the importance of UK textbooks at 4.5.
[60] R. R. Marett.
[61] Maunier, *Introduction à la sociologie (1929)*, p. 10.

in 1937, for instance, Robert Lowie the well-known American anthropologist, placed Radcliffe-Brown in the section on French sociology and considered him a mere avatar of Durkheim.[62]

6.3. Malinowski's revolution

In parallel to Radcliffe-Brown at Oxford, Malinowski revolutionised anthropology at the LSE and turned his functionalist school into a world-wide intellectual and academic success. Malinowski succeeded in the interwar years at superseding Hobhouse's discipline with his own 'empirical sociology'. How did he manage to supersede sociology and make his own school so successful in contrast?

Just like Radcliffe-Brown, first he found himself dissatisfied by 'old anthropology' and thus devised a 'modern research' protocol in opposition to it. The 1920s were particularly fertile for his thought, he defined the contours of his 'empirical sociology' and climbed up the academic ladder at the LSE.

6.3.1. Against Durkheim and the 'antiquarian interests' of English anthropologists

Bronisław Kasper Malinowski (1884-1942) was a Polish-born anthropologist initially trained in philosophy at the University of Cracow in Poland and at the University of Leipzig in Germany. He came to England in 1910 to study at the LSE under Westermarck and Seligman, the anthropologists, and never returned. His epiphany can also be identified in his reading of Durkheim.

While Radcliffe-Brown found so much food for thought in Durkheim's *Elementary Forms*, it was the same book that Malinowski harshly criticised for its 'metaphysical' excesses and

[62] Robert Harry Lowie, *The History of Ethnological Theory* (London: Harrap, 1937).

overemphasis on 'the group mind' in his review in 1913.[63] Durkheim's book thus represented a dividing line in British thought which ideas (social structures, group mind, superiority of mind and society over facts and individuals), either accepted or rejected, produced two very different social anthropologies in interwar Britain.

Malinowski used his time in the Trobriand Islands and his observations of the indigenous culture of the Melanesians during WWI (He was stranded there for the duration of the War, owing to his being of Austro-Hungarian origins an enemy of the British Commonwealth). Upon his return in England he published his main work as a result, *Argonauts of the Western Pacific*, in 1922 which established his reputation as an original thinker and cutting-edge anthropologist.[64]

Just like Radcliffe-Brown, Malinowski took this opportunity to define his position towards the classic school of English anthropologists dominating since Tylor and Frazer. He thus explained that 'Professor Radcliffe-Brown is all too correct when he says "that theories of the form of conjectural history, whether "'evolutionary' or 'diffusionist' exert a very pernicious influence on the work of "the field ethnologist"' and on 'the fact-blindness to which this leads.'[65] Both found the evolutionary and the diffusionist points of view, then dominating in England, unsatisfactory because it left away the latest discoveries in ethnography. In particular, they blamed old anthropology for its 'armchair' aspect.

Malinowski recalled that he was 'not indiscriminately criticizing old anthropology or trying to revolutionize it' because 'the comparative methods of old anthropology have produced work

[63] See 3.3.3. for an examination of his arguments in Malinowski, 'Review of Les Formes Elémentaires (1913)'.
[64] Bronislaw Malinowski, *Argonauts of the Western Pacific: An Account of Native Enterprise and Adventure in the Archipelagoes of Melanesian New Guinea* (London; New York: G. Routledge & Sons; E.P. Dutton & Co., 1922).
[65] Bronislaw Malinowski, '17. Kinship', *Man*, 30 (1930), 19–29 (p. 19).

and special studies of the greatest importance for the practical man'. Yet, if these studies could 'supply us with excellent material for that new branch of anthropology' he advocated, he objected that 'more observations will have to be collected from the point of view of how institutions function, and not how they "originated" or "diffused".'[66] Elsewhere he advocated a more 'realistic' and empirical approach to culture, explaining against classic ethnologists that 'the facts have to be observed and studied as they now exist and work, and not as a pretext for reconstruction and hypothesis.'[67]

Malinowski shared with Radcliffe-Brown a keen interest in the natives but also a strong belief in the inadequacy of their conception. While Brown urged his audience to keep in mind 'the great cultural differences between the various peoples whom we thus lump together' mistakenly under the name 'savages', Malinowski indicted 'this branch of anthropology' fascinated by 'the explanation of customs which appear to us strange, quaint, incomprehensible', which he described as dominated by 'sensational or antiquarian interests'. He thus blamed 'those phantastic kinship anomalies so beloved of the speculatory anthropologist', who disregarded the importance of 'the organization of the family' as the basis of primitive social organisation.[68] For Brown and Malinowski, the old anthropologists mimicked the prejudice widespread among the colonial authorities that primitive peoples were 'savages'.

This mistake of the old anthropologists was particularly felt in their conception of primitive family as a biological unit only: 'All kinship is biological; the cohesion of a clan is based on kinship; ergo, clanship has a direct biological basis' for them, Malinowski explained. This was an intuitive understanding of primitive societies which was false for Malinowski, and 'the

[66] Bronislaw Malinowski, 'Practical Anthropology', *Africa*, 2.1 (1929), 22–38 (p. 28).
[67] Malinowski, 'Practical Anthropology (1929)', p. 33.
[68] Radcliffe-Brown and Srinivas, 'The Present Position of Anthropological Studies (1931)', p. 80; Malinowski, 'Practical Anthropology (1929)', p. 27.

perpetrators of these and similar' were 'no lesser anthropologists than Fison, Spencer and Gillen, Briffault, and Rivers', he deplored.[69] This generation of anthropologists believed primitive social organisation was directly inspired by nature and driven by biology, and thus that a specific study of society, i.e. a sociology, was unnecessary. In this, for Malinowski, lay the errors of English anthropologists.

In particular, Malinowski protested against 'the dominant idea of the continental school of jurisprudence', i.e. 'Bachofen, Post, Bernhoft, Kohler, Durkheim', that in primitive societies 'the individual is completely dominated by the group-the herd-the clan-the tribe, and that he obeys the laws and customs of his community with an absolute and passive obedience'. 'Now as modern research is leading us to see, he replied, such an assumption is entirely unwarranted.' For Malinowski, primitive peoples were adults and not children to be ruled and colonised, and their social organisation required a specific, non-biological science to be understood. Following his study *Crime and Custom in Savage Society* in the Trobriands published in 1926, Malinowski crucially realised that 'behind the apparently chaotic welter of savage rules, there can be distinguished certain clear principles'.[70] The study of these principles should precisely be called 'empirical sociology' and be done through fieldwork.

6.3.2. The specificities of his 'empirical sociology'

In 1922, at the time when Malinowski moved anthropology from 'old' ethnology to 'modern research' more interested in savages, Lord Lugard, the former Governor-General of Hong Kong and of Nigeria, coincidentally published *Dual Mandate*, his seminal book which moved the administration of African colonies from the old, Chamberlain-inspired, organisation to the new 'Indirect Rule' system.

[69] Malinowski, 'Kinship (1930)', p. 25.
[70] Bronislaw Malinowski, *Crime and Custom in Savage Society* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner, 1926); Malinowski, 'Practical Anthropology (1929)', p. 26.

His theoretical concerns were not devoid of practical considerations. Malinowski complained that 'whole departments of tribal law and morality, of custom and usage, have been senselessly wiped out by a superficial, haphazard legislation, made in the early days often by newcomers unused to native ways and unprepared'.[71] The old method echoed Joseph Chamberlain statement that 'You cannot have omelettes without breaking eggs; you cannot destroy the practices of barbarism, of slavery, of superstition, which for centuries have desolated the interior of Africa, without the use of force' and avoid deaths, which were the price to pay for 'the gain to humanity', 'the cause of civilization and the prosperity of the people'.[72] Just like times were ripe for a new mode of administration of the colonies (Lugard's Indirect Rule), a new training of colonial probationers was required (Malinowski's empirical sociology).

Against the bias of the old administration, Malinowski insisted on the enlightening knowledge brought by his 'new anthropology' to the administration, as testified to by several of his applied interwar publications.[73] He emphasised the importance of 'the direct application of ethnology to colonial legislation and policy', and for this got involved with the International African Institute founded in London in 1926 (and chaired by Frederick Lugard himself) in order to 'promote the education of the public in the study of Africa and its languages and cultures'.[74] He insisted that 'the study of a native language must go hand in hand with the study of its culture' lest it meant 'a waste of time and an amateurishness in most aspects of the work'.[75]

[71] Bronislaw Malinowski, 'Ethnology and the Study of Society', *Economica*, 1922, 208–19 (p. 209).
[72] Quote from a speech by Joseph Chamberlain, the British Secretary of State for the Colonies between 1895 and 1903, at the annual dinner of the Royal Colonial Institute on 31 March 1897 (available at http://www.urome.be/fr2/ouvrag/1897chamberlain.pdf, consulted on 16 January 2017).
[73] Such as Bronislaw Malinowski, 'Anthropology and Administration', *Nature*, 118.2978 (1926), 768; Malinowski, 'Practical Anthropology (1929)'; Bronislaw Malinowski, *The Scientific Basis of Applied Anthropology* (Roma: Reale Accademia d'Italia, 1938).
[74] As officially stated in the initial objectives of the organisation on the Institute's website (At http://internationalafricaninstitute.org, consulted on 16 January 2017).
[75] Malinowski, 'Practical Anthropology (1929)', p. 29.

The aim of modern anthropology and 'the real practice of a modern field worker should become to study the savage […] influenced by European culture', i.e. as included in modernity.[76] It was not, as hypothetical ethnologists did, 'to reconstruct native culture as it existed or exists independently of European influence, but study the social and mental phenomena which Western culture produces in the African'.[77] Observing social change in the colonies could only appear by fully integrating to the culture under scrutiny, by learning the language and ultimately practice 'participant observation' systematically: 'Cutting oneself off from the company of other white men, and remaining in as close contact with the natives as possible' to penetrate their mindset and habits.[78]

Without this, 'Slavery, "dispersing of natives", indiscriminate "punitive expeditions", and the grossest forms of reckless injustice to natives', which were 'things of the very recent past', would continue and eventually entail, Malinowski feared, 'black bolshevism' in the colonies.[79] He despaired that, 'with such an attitude prevalent, it was not to be hoped that a scientific management of natives or native affairs could become the guiding force in colonial policy'.[80] At the same time, Radcliffe-Brown concluded himself that if 'the bare facts of history' yielded by old ethnology were 'often very interesting in themselves', they 'cannot by itself give us any guidance in our practical activities' and remained 'at best [only] of academic interest'.[81]

[76] Malinowski, 'Practical Anthropology (1929)', p. 27.
[77] Malinowski, 'Practical Anthropology (1929)', p. 36.
[78] Although Malinowski never used the phrase 'participant observation' himself in the book; Malinowski, *Argonauts of the Western Pacific: An Account of Native Enterprise and Adventure in the Archipelagoes of Melanesian New Guinea*, p. 6.
[79] Malinowski, 'Ethnology and the Study of Society (1922)', p. 208; Malinowski, 'Practical Anthropology (1929)', p. 27.
[80] Malinowski, 'Ethnology and the Study of Society (1922)', p. 208.
[81] Radcliffe-Brown and Srinivas, 'The Methods of Ethnology (1923)', pp. 26–27.

To 'become really useful in human affairs', 'a general science of Man in his mental and social nature' was required and, Malinowski stated,

> 'Whether we call such a science Sociology or Social Psychology, or Philosophy of History or Politics, is of no great importance as long as we agree that it must be based on a purely empirical basis and that it must aim at real utility in the conduct of affairs.'[82]

The goal was to devise a universal science of man at the LSE, whatever its name and whatever the cost. In the course of his career at the LSE which started in 1923 as Lecturer in Social Anthropology, Malinowski promoted 'empirical sociology' fiercely against his competitors, convinced that his discipline was 'the real science of Man'. The object of this new 'empirical science' was to be human culture, studied among the primitives by imperatively resorting to fieldwork. Both Brown and Malinowski thus agreed in the interwar years that a more practical, sociological and inductive science, which they both called their 'new anthropology', was needed.[83]

Yet their efforts were dispersed and they never collaborated; On the contrary their enmity was well-known. The main reason was that Radcliffe-Brown never accepted Malinowski's despotism and refused to be associated with the latter's current of thought: 'This Functional School does not really exist; it is a myth invented by Professor Malinowski' and it should not be 'his business to make disciples', Brown rebutted.[84] Yet, Malinowski's proactivity and imperialism led British social anthropology to thrive and became eventually recognised as an international and academic success, much to the latter's, Mauss' and Hobhouse's expenses.

6.4. 'The trouble about Anthropology is its name': Malinowski, the (unquestioned) father of 'empirical sociology' at the LSE

[82] Malinowski, 'Ethnology and the Study of Society (1922)', p. 215.
[83] Radcliffe-Brown and Srinivas, 'Interpretations of Culture', p. 40.
[84] Radcliffe-Brown, 'On Social Structure (1940)', p. 1.

Shortly after the publication of *Argonauts*, Malinowski declined the offer of Chair in Ethnology in Cracow to settle in London for good, where in 1923 he secured a lectureship in Social Anthropology at the LSE. He later became a Reader and a Professor in 1927. He spent a long part of his career at the LSE and had to fight against Hobhouse, Ginsberg and Hogben to impose his definition of anthropology as the dominant British social science, until he moved permanently to America in 1940, where he died two years later.

6.4.1. Malinowski and Hobhouse

As he entered the School, Hobhouse seemed not to realize Malinowski's hegemonic project for the discipline and his rising importance in the field, potentially threatening his own discipline, Sociology. In a letter to Malinowski in 1922 who did not yet hold a tenure at the School but had recently published his successful book *Argonauts*, Hobhouse wrote that he had found the subject-matter of his book 'extremely interesting', so much so that 'I sympathise very much with your method and general ideas'. But Hobhouse was aware that Malinowski was already moving away from the typical 'old' anthropology, as he noted that 'there are many elements in Frazer's theory and I do not suppose you would adhere to them all with equal certainty.'[85] In the 1920s, relationships were still harmonious between the two, as Malinowski even thanked Hobhouse in the preface to *Argonauts* for 'proofreading' and 'advising' him while he was writing the book.[86]

Yet, as he boasted, Malinowski was almost solely responsible for coining the phrase 'social anthropology' in Britain. In 1924, as he was promoted from a lectureship to a readership at the LSE, University College, London, had just founded one in 'Cultural Anthropology'. Writing to

[85] LSE Archives, Malinowski 28/2, L. T. Hobhouse to Malinowski, 14 February 1922.
[86] Bronislaw Malinowski, 'Foreword', in *Argonauts of the Western Pacific: An Account of Native Enterprise and Adventure in the Archipelagoes of Melanesian New Guinea* (London; New York: G. Routledge & Sons; E.P. Dutton & Co., 1922), pp. xv–xviii (p. xvii).

Beveridge, then Head of the School, Malinowski suggested for the appointment 'the title Social Anthropology, so that we are distinct from the University College people, who no doubt will insist on being Cultural since Cultural is their *mot d'ordre*.'[87] The term 'social' would, according to him, 'also indicate that our interest is mainly sociological' to distinguish between 'the science of primitive culture and Physical Anthropology', the School being 'the centre for sociology and all that pertains to it'. He also recalled in an attempt at influencing Beveridge that 'Social Anthropology has also its good English tradition by now' since Edward Tylor lectured in Oxford and Frazer at Liverpool. Malinowski concluded his letter by stating that 'Cultural is really borrowed from German, where *Kultur* means civilisation with its fine shade of meaning not implied in the English Culture', thus implying that UCL was importing a foreign tradition while he, Malinowski, was carrying forward a well-established British trend.[88]

It was only as Malinowski's thought slowly broke away from Hobhouse's in the second half of the 1920s that more caution emerged between the two. In a book review published in *Nature* in 1925, for instance, he criticised Hobhouse's 'old' conception of primitive law (expressed in *Morals in evolution* published ten years before) as an irrationally compelling force. Malinowski mocked writers like Hobhouse who held that '"instinctive submission" and some mysterious "group-sentiment" account for law, order, communism and sexual promiscuity alike!' which sounded 'altogether too much like a Bolshevik paradise' where collectivity dictated everything, and reminding of Durkheim's group mind.[89]

Albeit critical of Hobhouse, Malinowski remained conscious of his debt towards him and tactfully placated 'even such acute and well-informed sociologists as Prof. Hobhouse and Dr.

[87] Letter from Malinowski to Beveridge in 1924 quoted in Kuper, p. 19.
[88] Letter from Malinowski to Beveridge in 1924 quoted in Kuper, p. 19.
[89] Bronislaw Malinowski, review of *Primitive Law*, by E. Sidney Hartland, *Nature*, 116.2911 (1925), 230–35 (p. 231).

Lowie' who nonetheless followed 'the general bias'. He thought 'futile to blame these writers, who have treated the material available with all the necessary acumen and the soundest scientific methods', but hastened to add that his experience 'in reference to Melanesian societies, which I know at first hand' showed him that 'that there is a mine of facts which will, when available, force us to recast all current conclusions'.[90] That was a serious, but implicit, rebuttal of those founding fathers.

When Hobhouse passed away in 1929, having failed to develop his own discipline sociology very far academically, Malinowski was getting securely leading social anthropology in Britain and threatening to replace and swallow sociology at the School in the 1930s.

6.4.2. Malinowski's 'despotism' and his enduring school in the 1930s

Malinowski became a British citizen in 1931, which proved symbolically a turning point in his career: He was now solely at the commands of British social anthropology. While at the LSE, he attracted large numbers of students and exerted a great influence on the discipline, notably debating with Radcliffe-Brown. Among his students at the time were such promising anthropologists as Raymond Firth, Edward Evan Evans-Pritchard and Meyer Fortes. Malinowski published several important ethnographic works such as *The Sexual Life of Savages in North-Western Melanesia* prefaced by the physician and sexologist Havelock Ellis in 1929, as well as a study of their magical rites and politics in 1935, *Coral Gardens and Their Magic*.[91]

[90] Malinowski, 'Primitive Law', pp. 233, 231.
[91] Bronislaw Malinowski and Ellis Havelock, *The Sexual Life of Savages in North-Western Melanesia: An Ethnographic Account of Courtship, Marriage, and Family Life among the Natives of the Trobriand Islands, British New Guinea* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World [1929], 1962); Bronislaw Malinowski, *Coral Gardens and Their Magic: A Study of the Methods of Tilling the Soil and of Agricultural Rites in the Trobriand Islands* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1935).

Malinowski was getting so unapologetically confident about his discipline in Britain that Radcliffe-Brown complained about it. In a letter to Mauss in 1934, Brown, then in Chicago, hoped 'to be soon back in Europe' but, he regretted, 'Malinowski seems to be willing to lead anthropology in England and not want any competitor', i.e. him especially.[92] Mauss confided back to Radcliffe-Brown that 'I know Malinowski's despotism', whose success was caused, he thought, by 'Rockefeller's weakness towards him'.[93] It is true that Malinowski was largely funded by Rockefeller grants and the International African Institute: Of the thirteen fellowships awarded by the Institute in 1931-2, all went to his students.[94]

Mauss was at the time both frustrated by Malinowski's advances in world social anthropology and by his inability to attract more of the Rockefeller funding for his own Institute in France.[95] He concluded his letter to Brown by warning him that 'you may be sure of one thing, even the young men he protects know how to judge him. These are kingships [*des royautés*] that do not last.'[96] In writing this, he hoped for Radcliffe-Brown's eventual success at Oxford that would foster his own interests. But Mauss was eventually proved wrong as Malinowski's kingdom far from declined in the 1930s. His hegemonic claims over the field of anthropology were increasing at the LSE and in Britain.

Malinowski was a real 'sociological entrepreneur' in London, as Jean-Christophe Marcel called the Durkheimian Célestin Bouglé at the *Centre de Documentation Sociale* at ENS in Paris, to further his subject academically.[97] Both were in competition for Rockefeller funding too. His

[92] Radcliffe-Brown to Mauss, 17 December 1934, quoted in Fournier, *Marcel Mauss*, p. 650.
[93] Mauss to Radcliffe-Brown, 2 January 1935, quoted in William S. F. Pickering, 'Four Letters to Radcliffe-Brown', pp. 172–73.
[94] David Mills, p. 34.
[95] See 3.5.2.
[96] Letter from Mauss to Radcliffe-Brown, 2 January 1935 quoted in Fournier, *Marcel Mauss*, p. 637.
[97] Marcel, p. 221.

strategy was to employ a number of returning students as research assistants, to secure as much funding as possible to send them abroad and to lobby Beveridge for the furtherance of social anthropology at the School, against the claims of Hogben's social biology and of Ginbserg's sociology.

He founded an enduring school at the LSE through his LSE seminars, in which 'if he did not demand discipleship, he did demand allegiance'.[98] Seminars played a significant role in developing his ideas and spreading his theories, were compulsory and were often led by senior students such as Siegfried Nadel and Meyer Fortes who Malinowski called his 'mandarins'. Those who missed them or disagreed with him were scolded. His obituarist recalled that he gave his time generously and demanded theirs in return and, if they were 'never bored', they might be 'irritated by his intolerance, or inspired by his enthusiasm'.[99]

While Radcliffe-Brown had a divisive reputation in Oxford, the 'Tsar of anthropology' was decried for his imperialism and despotism. Yet he founded a 'Functional school of anthropology' which became world-acclaimed after 1940 and is still nowadays a framework for disciplinary affiliation of practitioners in Britain, something that Hobhouse failed to do for sociology. Even abroad, many anthropologists still speak about 'British social anthropology', as if it were a single entity or unified 'school'. While Malinowski proudly claimed that 'the magnificent title of the Functional School of Anthropology has been bestowed by myself, in a way on myself, and to a large extent out of my own sense of irresponsibility', Radcliffe-Brown strongly denied such a claim.[100] 'This Functional School does not really exist; it is a myth invented by Professor Malinowski', Brown claimed, because 'there is no place in natural

[98] Quote from Stocking in David Mills, p. 35.
[99] David Mills, p. 35.
[100] Quoted in Radcliffe-Brown, 'On Social Structure (1940)', p. 1.

science for "schools" […], and I regard social anthropology as a branch of natural science'. In a true English fashion, he declared that there was 'no place for orthodoxies and heterodoxies in science'. In a true anti-Malinowskian fashion, he added that 'nothing is more pernicious in science than attempts to establish adherence to doctrines' because 'it is not his business to make disciples'.[101]

Radcliffe-Brown, because he opposed a structuralist approach to Malinowski's cultural-functionalist approach, unwillingly imported sociological debates in Britain and reluctantly fuelled school frictions; So much so that in histories of anthropology, he was frustratingly described as 'either the follower of Professor Boas or the predecessor of Professor Malinowski'.[102] With Malinowski, the boundaries of interwar British social anthropology were thus, for good or bad, set, at the time when those of sociology were still shaky. No wonder why the former won the academic battle at the LSE.

6.4.3. The new battle for institutionalisation

Sociology was not yet a full-fledged discipline but taught as part of the B.Sc. in Economics at the LSE in the interwar years.[103] The creation of a specific degree had been asked as early as 1924 by Hobhouse but to no avail.

In 1936, a proposal for a B.Sc. in Sociology was pushed forward again by Morris Ginsberg and the suggested curriculum was typically Hobhousian in essence: Four general subjects should be offered, namely 'Contemporary and Comparative Social Institutions, Contemporary Social Conditions and their Development and Problems of Population'.[104] The degree was supposed

[101] Radcliffe-Brown, 'On Social Structure (1940)', p. 1.
[102] Radcliffe-Brown, 'On Social Structure (1940)', p. 1.
[103] See Chapter 1.
[104] LSE Archives, LSE Central Filing Registry / 876 (Box 0504), 'Preliminary suggestions for B. Sc. in Sociology', 28 February 1936.

to bring together the various trends of social science then offered at the LSE (Social Anthropology, Social Biology, Social Administration and Sociology) but left in fact everyone unsatisfied. The proposal aroused a long controversy between Ginsberg, Malinowski and Hogben who all wanted to secure a bigger place for their Department.

A Department of Social Biology was eventually founded by Beveridge for Lancelot Hogben, owing to a personal wish and Rockefeller funding, and he thus withdrew from the discussions.[105] Only Malinowski was left and the suggestion that the B.Sc. should not offer any paper in Social Anthropology threatened his masterplan and ambitions. Criticising Ginsberg's Department, he wrote to Beveridge that 'Anthropology as we are teaching it at the School is a training in the only really empirical approach to sociology', which could thus supersede the latter in the syllabus and at the LSE.[106]

In another letter, he also declared to Beveridge that the syllabus contained papers which 'we field-workers describe as armchair subjects' which had better 'be approached from the point of view of actual observation' by combining the 'anthropological and sociological type' in his social anthropology.[107] The furtherance of his subject would foster his 'special interest, namely, in the empirical or field-work approach to sociology', and 'to supply the modest comparative basis for Modern Humanism, for which the School in its theoretical role stands, if I understand it rightly', Malinowski candidly wrote to Beveridge.[108]

[105] See Chris Renwick, 'Completing the Circle of the Social Sciences? William Beveridge and Social Biology at London School of Economics during the 1930s', *Philosophy of the Social Sciences*, 44.4 (2014).
[106] LSE Central Filing Registry / 876 (Box 0504), Malinowski to Beveridge, 22 February 1936.
[107] LSE Central Filing Registry / 876 (Box 0504), Malinowski to Beveridge, 15 November 1935.
[108] Malinowski to Beveridge, 15 November 1935; As Malinowski had put it in a letter to Beveridge early in 1924 quoted in Kuper, p. 19.

Malinowski thus argued that only his discipline could be universal and relevant, because 'as you know in my department we draw upon modern societies and modern anthropological field-work as well as that of exotic natives,' as opposed to old and classic ethnology in Oxford and to Ginsberg's modern-only sociology.[109] Nothing stemmed out of these discussions, either for Social Anthropology or for Sociology, and the scheme failed to go further owing to the alleged jealousy of Ginsberg towards Malinowski's anthropological success.[110] The B.Sc. in Sociology was eventually introduced at the LSE in 1951.[111]

If, as Geoffrey Hawthorn put it, 'Durkheim's intellectual victory before the First World War had been a purely verbal one' because the word 'sociology' was virtually monopolised by the French, one might paraphrase him by saying that 'Malinowski's intellectual victory in the interwar years had also been a purely verbal one'.[112] After 1923, the phrase 'British social anthropology' became associated with his functional analysis. Malinowski not only imposed himself in social anthropology, against Radcliffe-Brown, but also in sociology, against Hobhouse.

He even found support from Oxbridge academic political scientist Ernest Barker who wrote to Malinowski in 1926 that 'I have such a high regard for your writings that I do indeed feel disconsolate to have missed the chance of having you to deliver a lecture – when the chance was in my hand'.[113] In the following years, the whole British academic tradition therefore tended to identify with Malinowski's "empirical sociology" rather than Hobhouse's, and interpret sociology as an anthropological study, Ernest Barker defined it in 1937:

[109] LSE Central Filing Registry / 876 (Box 0504), Malinowski to Beveridge, 15 November 1935.
[110] Dahrendorf, p. 248.
[111] Dahrendorf, p. 371.
[112] Hawthorn, p. 174.
[113] LSE Archives, Malinowski 29/2 (Correspondence Letter B), Ernest Barker to Malinowski, 12 August 1926.

> 'Sociology means a study or consideration of the behaviour of men in society [and not a science]. […] We may say that Sociology is that branch or aspect of Anthropology which is concerned with the particular phenomena presented to our observation by man when he lives and acts in any form of society.'[114]

For Barker, following Malinowski, '(empirical) sociology' and 'anthropology' in the English senses became interchangeable words. Radcliffe-Brown foresaw this. He told Malinowski that 'the trouble about Anthropology is its name', and should encompass all accessible knowledge about Man. And he added 'You and I and anybody else who will help us ought to build up the new sociology or anthropology that is needed.'[115] A British sociology was emerging as a native tradition in the interwar years, in the sense of 'comparative' or 'empirical' sociology, much different from Durkheim's *sociologie* and stemming from colonial anthropology.

This new, reinterpreted definition of sociology, was getting a firm grip on academia as a memo drafted in 1934 for the University of Oxford regarding the future developments of Anthropology suggested that sociology could now properly be implemented in the new curriculum of a 'Faculty of Human Sciences' as 'a branch of Social Anthropology' examining

> 'The comparative study of social phenomena, their geographical distribution and historical development: social organisations, including marriage customs, economics, government and law; moral ideas and codes, magical and religious practices and beliefs including treatment of the dead. The psychology of primitive peoples, including the relation of language to thought.'[116]

The memorandum effectively led to the establishment of a Rockefeller-funded lectureship in 'African Sociology' bestowed upon E. E. Evans-Pritchard in 1935 at Oxford. For the first time after the LSE precedent thirty years before, a post in Sociology was created at a major university as a sign of its resurrection.

[114] Barker, 'Foreword in Further Papers (1937)', p. 9.
[115] Radcliffe-Brown to Malinowski, 3 December 1929 as quoted in David Mills, pp. 41–42.
[116] Oxford University Archives, UR6/ANT/1, 'Memorandum on the work now done in anthropology in the university of Oxford with suggestions for its future development', 1935, p. 5.

An anthropologist, Evans-Pritchard, secured it as sociology was defined as one of Anthropology's specialist branches. Evans-Pritchard had been Professor of Sociology at King Fuad I University in Cairo, Egypt, between 1932 and 1934 and recalled that 'when I was appointed to the chair of sociology in Egypt I wrote to ascertain whether the University meant by a sociologist, an Anthropologist, or an Economist, and was informed that by sociologist they meant a philosopher!'.[117] By the end of the tenure at Cairo, as he was replaced by his colleague Arthur M. Hocart, the meaning of the word was now clearer at Oxford where he was appointed: By a sociologist they meant a modern anthropologist.

Hobhouse's, Ginbserg's, Malinowski's efforts were eventually crowned with success in reinterpreting sociology as a native tradition away from Durkheim and from the Continent. This 'British' sociology became a branch of anthropology rather than the other way around in interwar France. One additional reason explaining Malinowski's success over the Durkheimian Radcliffe-Brown is that he favoured a properly 'British' tradition in his social anthropology. His discipline was all the more acceptable and seen favourably in academia because it developed indigenous ideas.

6.5. Anthropology, 'The Science of Man': An indigenous and more acceptable discipline

To understand why social anthropology was more successful than *sociologie* in Britain, one must examine first the criticisms of anthropologists and second the reason why it appealed to 'the British mindset'.

6.5.1. The criticisms of the Classicists levelled at sociology: J. L. Myres and E. Barker

[117] Evans-Prichard, p. 67.

John Linton Myres (1869-1954) was a British archaeologist and historian who conducted excavations in Cyprus in 1904. He held the first Wykeham Professorship in Ancient History at the University of Oxford from 1910 until his retirement in 1939. He was a popular expositor of early civilizations, especially the Ancient Greeks, and was known for his skills at elucidating problems of antiquity by modern analogies. He was interested in anthropology and political sciences and close to Marett at Oxford and Ernest Barker at Cambridge, with both whom he shared a strong interest in Classics. He also founded the journal *Man* and edited it between 1931 and 1946.

With his varied background, Myres kept a keen eye on the development of modern social sciences in Britain. In a speech delivered at the British Association in 1923 and published in *Man*, Myres exposed all his grievances against sociology and 'the haphazard way in which a Science of Man comes into being.'[118] While Myres was in favour of a such a science of Man, he denied that sociology could claim the title and thought it was an inappropriate discipline for Oxbridge and Britain generally. Instead, anthropology was the most suitable study of man's nature, in primitive societies.

While the most appropriate word to designate 'the scientific study of human life' was 'biology', it had already been appropriated by the zoologists long ago, 'while humanists slept', Myres sneered. As a result, the only remaining contenders for 'human study' was 'either anthropology or the monstrous hybrid *sociology*', which was only born as 'an accident of terminology'.[119] Indeed, for Myres sociology was a word of 'barbarous origins', born as an unnatural and

[118] Myres, p. 162.
[119] Myres, p. 162.

inelegant mixture of the Greek word *logos* and of the Latin word *socius* under the pen of the French philosopher Auguste Comte in the 1830s.

Myres implied that not only the word, but also the science, was born *ex nihilo* as it were, without legitimately stemming from a long past or well-established tradition of thought. Sociology was an accident of science, like the French Revolution was an accident of history; which had fathered the discipline in the 19th century according to Durkheim: Two good reasons to distrust it for Myres, the British-born classicist.[120] On the other hand, anthropology relied on a long history dating from the 16th century and a tradition in English thought since Tylor and Frazer. Anthropology was thus favoured as the indigenous, more appropriate version of the science of Man suitable to Britain and originating from British history.

Sociology was not only foreign, but it was also anti-Idealist. The second motive for distrusting the discipline is that it claimed to be a scientific knowledge of man's mind in society. This belief came up against British Idealism which claimed that the individual was autonomous and self-conscious. For British Idealists, it was the individual who determined society's institutions out of his own psychology, while for the French Kantian Rationalists, it was society which imposed collective institutions born historically to the individual and thus coined its psychology. As expressed by Marx, for the French, following Durkheim, it was not 'the consciousness of men that determined their institutions, but their social existence that determined their consciousness', while for the British Idealists, it was the opposite.

[120] Émile Durkheim, 'La Sociologie', *La Science Française*, I (1915) <http://classiques.uqac.ca/classiques/Durkheim_emile/textes_1/textes_1_04/durkheim_sociologie.pdf> [accessed 19 August 2016].

'Except that the one has hitherto specialised in modern and civilised behaviour, and the other in ancient and barbaric', both 'Sociology, or Social Anthropology' (as he equated them) were concerned with the study of beings 'who are self-conscious […] and capable […] of estimating the "value" of the behaviour of themselves […] on standards political and moral', which did not require a scientist to tell them what to do. Yet the conception of a rational, sociological knowledge of men, involved "some conception of value" of men's actions which appeared unpalatable to Myres and his fellow Idealists.[121] Should any such 'science of Man' be possible, then a rational knowledge of individual purposes would be possible and their scientific and moral control likely.

Yet, as Ernest Barker put it in complete agreement with Myres,

> 'I don't see how any "science" of social life can be other than an attempt to analyse and understand. To go beyond analysis & understanding, into the region of "art" and advice – truly it is what Plato wanted, and what generous spirits will always want; but, alas, they will never be listened to by those who are "doing" things; and if they were, any scientific or "artistic" control [of individual life] is a thing which, on the whole, I don't want. I like the multitudinous diversity of private and voluntary endeavour.'[122]

Myres thus disliked the idea that a science of Man could 'commend the honesty, the veracity, or the taste, of this or that people.'[123] It would also undermine science in return because such a science would allow social scientists to have 'his own opinions in politics or morals to affect his statement of the facts.'[124] Hence the many concerns that were voiced at Oxbridge, from Myres, Barker and Marett about the nocuous dimensions of sociology, should it be popularised in Britain as in France.[125] As J. A. Hobson noted about social sciences, they were precisely 'not a science, only an art' which could 'not be divorced from ethic'. 'Modern economists are trying to make it a science but I think it must, by its very nature, remain an art', Hobson underlined.[126]

[121] Myres, p. 165.
[122] University of Keele Archives, VB302, Ernest Barker to Alexander Farquharson, 27 January 1933.
[123] Myres, p. 166.
[124] Myres, pp. 165–66.
[125] For a good exposition of this, see Robert Ranulph Marett, 'Fact and Value in Sociology'.
[126] Käsler, p. 37.

The long-standing ethical concerns for a science of Man stemming from T. H. Green's Idealism still very much dominated interwar academia and were a strong obstacle to their developments in Oxbridge – except for social work which claimed to be just an art, and not a science. These were the obstacles Hobhouse, the Idealist philosopher-turned-sociologist also faced in the 1920s.

As a result of this fear it would supersede ethics by systematically controlling man's behaviour and inducing automatic moral improvement, sociology, that 'normative science of conduct and of thought' which claimed 'to make better men, or to make men better' could more aptly be replaced by 'philanthropy', Myres suggested, or by a 'specialised branch of philosophy, comparable to aesthetic', as Barker put it.[127] 'A sociologist becomes a philosopher who has given special attention to the problems of society', Barker concluded while Myres agreed that 'there is scope for a systematic science which might be called "sociology"' only if it was to replace 'that long-established phrase "the philosophy of history".'[128] In all cases, the scientific claims of sociology were completely denied.

6.5.2. Anthropology, the natural science of man's nature

The only acceptable 'Science of Man' was thus either yielded by a philosophical contemplation of Man (a social philosophy), a practical effort at improving man's life (social work or philanthropy) or the contemplation of the nature of man in all his productions in space and time (social anthropology). Anthropology was this all-encompassing discipline. It was not to a science but a study, and it was not deterministic but interpretative because it merely surveyed 'the development and distribution of man's needs, aspirations, and ideals', i.e. the best of the race, Myres argued.[129]

[127] Myres, p. 166; Barker, 'Political Theory and the Social Sciences (1936)', p. 98.
[128] Barker, 'Political Theory and the Social Sciences (1936)', p. 98; Myres, p. 164.
[129] Myres, p. 165.

Anthropology, the real Science of Man, stemmed from the nature of man and of a humanistic concern for the past that Myres and Barker, versed into the love of Classics, strongly advocated. That study of man in all cultures and at all epochs were done by the various acceptable specialisms developing in the interwar years; namely 'modern geography, modern psychology and modern anthropology', Myres indicated.[130] Those incidentally were the social sciences that knew the most successful developments in interwar Britain and which were about to be introduced at Oxford 'within the scope of a faculty of Human Sciences' in 1935, a confidential memo stated.[131]

Yet modern anthropology as developed by Malinowski and Radcliffe-Brown in the interwar years did not pass uncriticised for focusing on primitive societies while contemporary problems were more acute, and left to sociology. One reader urged Malinowski for instance that 'anthropology should become detached and objective' and should 'give up troubling about the "character of past or primitive societies", and study "prohibition or divorce reform" instead' in order to be more useful to their contemporaries.[132] Malinowski cunningly answered, 'I do not think there is any hope, either, that the science of primitive man should give up studying primitive man, any more than the astronomers should give up studying stars, when advised to turn their attention to turnips and potatoes, since this "is more useful"'.[133]

[130] Myres, p. 167.
[131] Oxford University Archives, UR6/ANT/1, 'Memorandum on the work now done in anthropology in the university of Oxford with suggestions for its future development', 1935, p. 11.
[132] Bronislaw Malinowski, 'Reply to Mr. Soal', *Nature*, 114.2860 (1924), 274–75 (p. 275).
[133] Malinowski, 'Reply to Mr. Soal'.

For him, the study of past civilisations and that of primitive cultures was relevant to modern societies because there was something universal of man's nature to be found in them and studied in social anthropology, he argued

> 'In no two savage tribes, in no two types of civilisation, do we find exactly the same sexual morals, marriage customs, or systems of kinship, while on the other hand we have to recognise that the underlying instincts and tendencies do not essentially differ throughout humanity.'[134]

Incidentally, the French Nobel-prized philosopher Henri Bergson wrote something very similar in his 1932 book on morality, against the claims of sociology and in favour of ethnography: 'Humanity may have become civilized, society may have transformed itself, but we claim that the organic tendencies in social life have remained what they were at the origin. We can find them, observe them.'[135]

For Malinowski, Radcliffe-Brown and Bergson, social anthropology did not sideline contemporary problems by focusing on primitive societies, or focus on minute, useless details while real problems were at stake in modern Europe. Contrary to old ethnology, social anthropology was not just about archaeological findings to be added to museum collections or sheer scholarship. For them, if social anthropology studied primitive cultures, it was only because in return they taught us something about humanity universal. For Malinowski, following the whole English tradition of anthropology, there was a unity of mankind and a universal 'Human nature' to be unveiled under the infinite forms taken by human cultures. Just as he recognised that kinship and primitive clans were 'a cultural rather than a biological fact' which thus had to be studied sociologically with functionalism, Malinowski regarded all

[134] Bronislaw Malinowski, 'Instinct and Culture in Human and Animal Societies: Review of Le Monde Social Des Fourmis, Comparé À Celui de L'homme by Auguste Forel', 114.2855 (1924), 79–82 (p. 80).
[135] Henri Bergson, *Les deux sources de la morale et de la religion*, 1932, p. 35 <http://classiques.uqac.ca/classiques/bergson_henri/deux_sources_morale/deux_sources_morale.html> [accessed 20 January 2017].

cultures as meaningful social products arising out of man nature's to be examined by social anthropology.[136]

Malinowski's functional analysis meant that 'every item of culture, every custom and belief, represents a value, fulfils a social function' apart from its mere 'positive, biological significance'.[137] Brown wrote that for him 'by the function of an institution I mean the part it plays in the total system of social integration of which it is a part'.[138] The goal of social anthropology was to find the social function performed by originally biological phenomena, such as family, magic or religion. In particular, Malinowski distinguished between families as a biological, reproductive unit and clans as a social organisation with its own codes, rites and roles. The clan arose out of a biological necessity but was eventually organised collectively, sociologically and outlived this necessity: 'The clan is essentially a non-reproductive, non-sexual and non-parental group' with certain rules and functions which are 'mostly legal and ceremonial, at times also magical and economic'.[139] The importance of these functions for the organisation, stabilisation and permanence of a group in time and space (i.e. clan, primitive people or, more generally, modern nation) were unveiled and scientifically examined to foster 'social integration' (for Radcliffe-Brown) or 'cultural conservation' (for Malinowski).

Anthropology as the science of culture was universal. As Myres put it, 'anthropologists are concerned with the social achievements of men attempting to satisfy their needs in any given situation, no less than with their implements or their decorative art.'[140] Anthropology was to find man's nature and study it scientifically under its various forms, such as in the savage's

[136] Malinowski, 'Kinship (1930)', p. 24.
[137] Malinowski, 'Ethnology and the Study of Society (1922)', p. 214.
[138] Radcliffe-Brown and Srinivas, 'The Present Position of Anthropological Studies (1931)', p. 62.
[139] Malinowski, 'Kinship (1930)', p. 28.
[140] Myres, p. 164.

"pastimes and amusements, his sports and pleasures, which give zest and meaning to his life", Malinowski underlined.[141] This interpretation particularly suited the British academic mind-set which, as Barker put it, held that there was 'no gulf between "nature" and "man"; man is immersed in nature, and every science concerned with man is also concerned with the Natural foundations of man'.[142] Anthropology, as the science of man's natural foundations, was the aptest academic contender for institutionalisation.

6.5.3. Malinowski's Ruskinian concern for culture

Thus, Malinowski's wish for his social anthropology was to uncover the contours of man's nature in the guise of an 'appeal to the savages for some light to be shed on our own nature'. Because there was a continuity of this nature in history from the past to the present there was much relevance in learning about primitive cultures for contemporary societies. The 'philosophic view of the laws of human society and human nature' in turn led to a worshipping of man; so much so that Malinowski dubbed social anthropology 'a New Humanism'.[143] Radcliffe-Brown had the same ideal in mind with his social anthropology, as he noted optimistically and with a humanist concern that 'in our efforts to deal with the maladies of our civilization […] let us set to work to accumulate that knowledge by patient study, in the faith that future generations will be able to apply it in the building of a civilization nearer to our heart's desire'.[144]

Malinowski's understanding of anthropology as 'New Humanism' carried Ruskinian overtones, the study of primitive cultures conjuring up 'the opening up of a new vista of forgotten civilization' which brought 'the first great impulse to Humanism: that of the Renaissance'

[141] Malinowski, 'Ethnology and the Study of Society (1922)', pp. 209–10.
[142] Barker, 'Foreword in Further Papers (1937)', p. 11.
[143] Malinowski, 'Ethnology and the Study of Society (1922)', p. 219.
[144] Radcliffe-Brown and Srinivas, 'The Methods of Ethnology (1923)', p. 30.

forward 'when modern anthropology became a science'.[145] Malinowski's social anthropology made Britain's humanistic tradition culminate in the scientific celebration of primitive cultures with a Ruskinian concern for their preservation. As he boasted in a note published in *Nature*, 'it was reserved to British science to produce the most brilliant and thorough-going achievement of the new anthropology' and to produce them, he insisted 'by independent evolution of thought.'[146] Malinowski's social anthropology can thus definitely be seen as embracing, both consciously and unconsciously, a 'very English tradition' indeed but also as expressing a very deep concern about modernity that was similarly voiced in France's *sociologie*.

Malinowski was indeed concerned about the British colonisation, which led him to favour greatly the Indirect Rule promoted by Lord Lugard. The Direct rule favoured by the French 'assumes that you can create at one go an entirely new order, that you can transform Africans into semi-civilized pseudo-European citizens within a few years' by a revolution of their *mores*, while 'Indirect rule, on the other hand, recognizes that no such magical rapid transformation can take place, that in reality all social development is very slow, and that it is infinitely preferable to achieve it by a slow and gradual change coming from within' in a true Fabian way.[147] The Polish-born anthropologist completely embraced the British mindset and supported the positive aspects of colonisation.

He was nonetheless ashamed by 'the gradual dying out of the majority of native races' in the Empire, that 'evil' caused by 'the destruction of all vital interest for the native, by taking away from him of all that was dear and valuable to him, of all that gave him the joy of living'. Against 'the prejudices of the uneducated man', Malinowski was aware that the natives' culture had to

[145] Malinowski, 'Ethnology and the Study of Society (1922)', p. 217.
[146] Bronislaw Malinowski, 'New and Old Anthropology: Review of The Children of the Sun: A Study in the Early History of Civilisation by W.J. Perry', *Nature*, 113.2835 (1924), 299–301 (p. 299).
[147] Victor V. Branford, p. 23.

be protected against the excesses of the colonial administration which saw 'immorality' in every of its cultural dimensions.[148]

Against the Christian morality, Malinowski held that the savage, 'like everyone else', must have 'his pastimes and amusements, his sports and pleasures, which give zest and meaning to his life.' He seemed full of admiration for these cultural phenomena such as the dances or the drums which 'are really fine, esthetic and significant, beneficent, hygienically and psychologically, and devoid of any harm whatever.'[149] He thus repeated the socio-anthropological motto, that is, 'every item of culture, every custom and belief, represents a value, fulfils a social function, has a positive, biological significance' and should thus be protected to ensure the smooth running of its society. Malinowski was very concerned for their world heritage.[150]

There was a deep sense of urgency at the time when Malinowski wrote these words. As the Lt.-Gen. J. C. Smuts held it at the Rhodes Memorial Lectures delivered at Oxford in 1929, 'already the African system is disintegrating everywhere over the whole African continent' as the result of blind cultural imperialism for which 'missionaries share the blame with government'.[151] Jan Christiaan Smuts was a former Prime Minister of South Africa between 1919 and 1924 who retained throughout his life a visceral fear that the fragile European civilization established in South Africa would be overwhelmed by black 'barbarism', his DNB biographer noted. 'If this system breaks down and tribal discipline disappears, native society will be resolved into its human atoms, with possibilities of universal Bolshevism and chaos', he also warned.[152] 'Freed

[148] Malinowski, 'Ethnology and the Study of Society (1922)', p. 209.
[149] Malinowski, 'Ethnology and the Study of Society (1922)', pp. 209–10.
[150] Malinowski, 'Ethnology and the Study of Society (1922)', p. 214.
[151] Jan C. Smuts, 'Native Policy in Africa', *Journal of the Royal African Society*, 29.115 (1930), 248–68 (p. 256).
[152] Smuts, p. 257.

from all traditional moral and social discipline, the native, just emerging from barbarism, may throw all restraint to the winds.' Against this, 'such a breakdown should be prevented at all costs, and everything should be done to maintain in the future the authority' in the interests of the native as well as those of the European administrations.[153] The solution was to 'to maintain the bonds of solidarity and discipline' and the aim of the colonial administration 'to conserve the native social system, while ridding it of what was barbarous or degrading'.[154]

6.6. British anthropology and French *sociologie*: Two sciences with a common concern

To sum up, the emergence of 'modern' social anthropology in interwar Britain was prompted by the pressing concern of the imperial administration for the 'chaos' entailed after WWI, in order 'to maintain the bonds of solidarity and discipline' in the colonies which threatened to burst, by protecting and conserving their traditions. 'For tradition is a fabric in which all the strands are so closely woven that the destruction of one unmakes the whole', Malinowski warned the authorities. The diagnosis of the Empire was clear: 'Destroy tradition, and you will deprive the collective organism of its protective shell, and give it over to the slow but inevitable process of dying out'.[155] The only solution was to protect these traditions and conserve the past – one more typical aspect of what is nowadays seen as 'the British temper'.

Social anthropology thus stemmed indigenously in the British Empire as a concern for the fabric of society to be conserved. This fear in which 'human atoms' would end in general chaos and 'in the process of dying out' if not properly integrated to society, expressed in the interwar years, was very similar to what the fear for the fabric of society which arose in France in the

[153] Smuts, p. 258.
[154] Smuts, p. 257.
[155] Malinowski, 'Ethnology and the Study of Society (1922)', p. 214.

1890s – and which led to the foundation of Durkheim's *sociologie*. Indeed, Durkheim explained that, following the French Revolution 'there is no country where the old social organisation had been uprooted more completely' and where, therefore there had been 'greater need for thought, that is, for science' to reconstruct them.[156] In his *Suicide* in 1897, he explained that the State thus had to face a '*poussière inconsistante d'individus*' and needed to ensure a social stability for the IIIrd Republic by the launch of a scientific '*réorganisation morale*' in order to avert the dangerous loss of collective discipline (which he called *anomie*): This is how Durkheim's sociology was born.[157]

Sociology in France in the 1890s was meant to recreate '*ce salutaire sentiment de solidarité*' and 'collective discipline' which was necessary for the individual '*pour le tirer de son état d'isolement moral*' in which he was put following the social distress caused by the French Revolution; just like they were called for by Smuts in the British Empire and had prompted the emergence of social anthropology in the 1920s.[158] Both sciences appeared similarly preoccupied with ensuring social stability and the maintaining of the fabric of society. Both disciplines were, with a chronological distance, two similar sciences of institutions devised to impose or to recreate an ordered social life following the threat (or an actual) revolution; the former in an Empire, the latter in a Republic.

[156] Durkheim, 'La Sociologie', p. 10.
[157] Émile Durkheim, *Le suicide : Etude de sociologie (Livre III)* (Classiques des sciences sociales, 1897), pp. 90, 85 <http://classiques.uqac.ca/classiques/Durkheim_emile/suicide/suicide_Livre_3.pdf> [accessed 19 August 2016].
[158] Durkheim, *Le suicide, III*, p. 78; Émile Durkheim, *Le suicide : Etude de sociologie (Livre II)* (Classiques des sciences sociales, 1897), p. 120 <http://classiques.uqac.ca/classiques/Durkheim_emile/suicide/suicide_Livre_2.pdf> [accessed 19 August 2016]; Durkheim, *Le suicide, III*, p. 83.

In that sense, interwar British social anthropology shared many common points with the French *sociologie*, including a healthy concern for the stability of society, and can thus confidently be presented as 'the real school of British sociology' under Malinowski and Radcliffe-Brown.

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Conclusion: The benefits of comparative history

This thesis delineated the complex identity of the British sociological tradition and its history by taking an unprecedented comparative view on it. By taking a French, Durkheimian point of view on the development of British sociology and, in spite of the fear that it might be detrimental to it, it appeared that that comparative story was much beneficial to the understanding of a (falsely) domestic phenomenon.

The British roots of post-WWII sociology

First of all, this allowed one to grasp the difference between an Idealist version under Hobhouse and a pro-Continental one under Geddes and between a native, Ruskinian social anthropology under Malinowski and a pro-Durkheimian, structural one under Radcliffe-Brown. These were all linked to one man: Émile Durkheim. In particular, his 1912 book *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life* on Australia was a dividing line and a turning point in British social science which was linked to the role of psychology and of structures, especially in religion. Even the creation of the Sociological Society by Victor Branford in 1904 and the creation of an Institute of Sociology in 1930 which seemed at first sight able to be interpreted on a purely domestic basis turned out to be largely inspired by (or rejecting) the French model of *sociologie*.

It was on this comparative basis that the role of the Continent appeared in the elaboration of a specific British understanding of sociology and its modernisation. Interestingly, modern sociology was born out of the long-established and thriving social surveys but also of British social anthropology that were securely established on a national tradition (since the Domesday Book in 1086 for the former and E. B. Tylor in 1871 for the latter). This thesis has shown that interwar British sociology was even at the heart of almost every central concept of post-WWII

sociology, i.e. the sociological imagination, structural-functionalism and public sociology, which all flourished after the Second World War in America. Charles Wright Mills's sociological imagination in 1959, Talcott Parsons' dominant functionalism in the 1960s and Claude Lévi-Strauss' structural anthropology in the 1970s were all indebted to the advances made in interwar Britain and its reaction against the French hegemony.

Instead of an academic sociology where the collective representations and an absolutist Society lured the French mind, the British sociologists and social anthropologists developed an indigenous tradition of psychological, structural-inspired and reflexive science which spoke to everyone and stimulated the British 'sociological imagination', helping the nation through the harsh times of the Great Depression and high levels of unemployment but also were a strong basis for a democratic state in the decade that came afterwards. Sociology, as understood by British social scientists as a democratic, vivid and flexible science, enriched the world community and helped sustain the democratic political culture.

Ironically, even Claude Levi-Strauss' structural anthropology was brought back home to France after an import of Radcliffe-Brown by the Americans, i.e. of Durkheim across the Atlantic. In a way, it was Britain that was largely responsible for the rebirth of French contemporary, post-WWII sociology after the utter failure of Durkheimian sociology at averting Vichy. Still, this was hard to accept for the French, which tended to fall back on their glorious past and pre-WWI *Belle époque* sociology instead of recalling the fact, and hard for the British which bowed down to this explanation of their sociology which seemed like a 'failure' while, this thesis has shown, most modern concepts were born in Britain.[1] Moreover, the focus has for too long been solely put on what this thesis called 'Classical British sociology'. There is no longer any shame to

[1] See Rumney, 'British Sociology (1945)' apologetic account of post-WWII British Sociology in this thesis' Introduction.

have, neither for the French nor for the British social scientists in acknowledging their great past – insomuch as what they have respectively bequeathed to world sociology is acknowledged, and both traditions have left an enormous number of concepts and of tools to the discipline.

Brexit

So, a discussion of domestic sociology could neither be complete without this comparative dimension nor without a reference to the national identity and the relationship of Britain to the Continent. If it were so difficult to provide a consistent story of sociology of Britain – apart from the amount of opposition it has come across since its beginnings – it was largely because British social scientists had to face the fact that, apart from a native tradition that did not constitute the only way of doing sociology, a Continent-inspired tradition flourished on its soil too. Radcliffe-Brown and structures or Geddes and Leplayian monographies competed respectively with Malinowski's Ruskinian social anthropology and Hobhouse's social philosophy but they were inspirational anyhow for a lot of students, colleagues and followers. British sociology was largely Europe-oriented.

It is true that none of them duly embraced the Marxist ideology in their science, despite many fearing sociology was the realisation of scientific socialism and that the Webbs hoped it would mean so in the 1930s. Still, British ideas were not only shaped by the Continent (even if it was in opposition to it, as in Hobhouse and Ginsberg) but some of them also had foreign roots, like those of social structures (inspired by French Absolutism or Continental Catholicism perhaps) or of a social *science* (and not art or philosophy, much to Lynton Myres' and Barker's discontent). Even if these ideas were foreign and European, they flourished on British soil. That may be regarded as a threat to the national identity which has for so long been shaped against

the Continent but it might also lead to the conclusion that imports and exports of ideas have always been at stake, in social science as in hard science, since Auguste Comte in 19th century until in the interwar years. Brexit will probably not change many things.

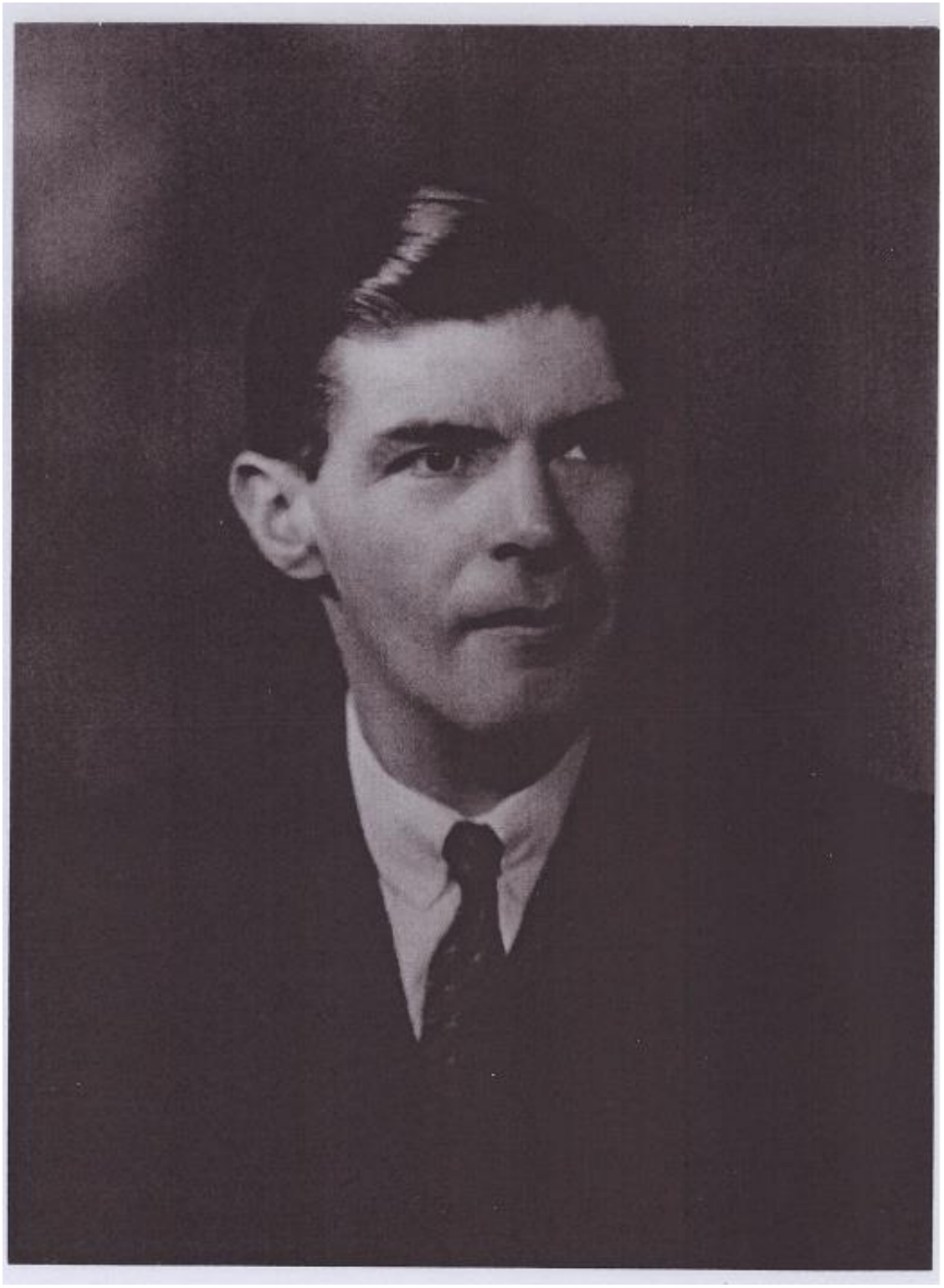
A discussion of sociology and how, from a foreign and obscure French origin it connected with a long-established British tradition of social surveys and anthropology by means of a few adaptations, is useful if connected with the recent events regarding Brexit. Where are the links of Britain with the EU, which is in a large majority governed by Continental powers? Without going too far or overexaggerating the importance of this thesis, at least it showed that the British sociological tradition has been a successful mix of a native and a non-native trend into British soil and minds, which entailed a long sequence of inspirational ideas for the rest of the world thanks to its exceptionalism. The most interesting part of this thesis has been to evince the specificities of the British sociological tradition and the most exciting part was to show how they have been world-enriching for social sciences and for our daily lives, even today.

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Source: Royal Holloway Archives (Used in the thesis with their permission).

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Note: At the time of submitting this thesis the bibliographical software used for sorting references (Zotero) would not allow separate bibliographies for primary and secondary sources so they had to be mixed. Apologies.

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