BY

CHARLES HORTON COOLEY

INSTRUCTOR IN SOCIOLOGY AT THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS

NEW YORK CHICAGO BOSTON

COPYRIGHT, 1902, BY CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS

Published, September, 1902

CONTENTS

CHAPTER I

SOCIETY AND THE INDIVIDUAL PAGE	
re Aspects of the Same Thing—The Fallacy of Setting Them	Are
in Opposition—Various Forms of this Fallacy	
• • •	
CHAPTER II	
SUGGESTION AND CHOICE	
The Meaning of these Terms and their Relation to Each Other —Individual and Social Aspects of Will or Choice—Suggestion and Choice in Children—The Scope of Suggestion Commonly Underestimated—Practical Limitations upon Deliberate Choice—Illustrations of the Action of the Milieu—The Greater or Less Activity of Choice Reflects the General State of Society—Suggestibility	The
CHAPTER III	
SOCIABILITY AND PERSONAL IDEAS	
The Sociability of Children—Imaginary Conversation and its Significance—The Nature of the Impulse to Communicate —There is no Separation between Real and Imaginary Persons—Nor between Thought and Intercourse—The Study and Interpretation of Expression by Children—The Symbol or Sensuous Nucleus of Personal Ideas—Personal Physiognomy in Art and Literature—In the Idea of Social Groups—Sentiment in Personal Ideas—The Personal Idea is the Immediate Social Reality—Society must be Studied in the Imagination—The Possible Reality of Incorporeal Persons—The Material Notion of Personality Contrasted with the Notion Based on a Study of Personal Ideas—Self and Other in Personal Ideas—Personal Opposition—Further Illustration and Defence of the View of Persons and of	The
Society Here Set Forth	

CHAPTER IV

SYMPATHY OR COMMUNION AS AN ASPECT OF SOCIETY

ÁGE

The Meaning of Sympathy as here Used—Its Relation to Thought, Sentiment, and Social Experience—The Range of Sympathy is a Measure of Personality; e.g., as Regards Power, Goodness or Badness, Sanity or Insanity—A Man's Sympathies Reflect the Social Order—Specialization and Breadth—Sympathy Reflects Social Process in the Mingling of Likeness with Difference—Also in that it is a Process of Selection Guided by Feeling—The Meaning of Love in Social Discussion—Love in Relation to Self—The Study of Sympathy Reveals the Vital Unity of Human Life . . . 1

CHAPTER V

THE SOCIAL SELF-1. THE MEANING OF "I"

The "Empirical Self"—"I" as a State of Feeling—Does Not Ordinarily Refer to the Body—As a Sense of Power or Causation—As a Sense of Speciality or Differentiation in a General Life—The Reflected or Looking-glass "I"—"I" is Rooted in the Past and Varies with Social Conditions—Its Relation to Habit—To Disinterested Love—How Children Learn the Meaning of "I"—The Speculative or Metaphysical "I" in Children—The Looking-glass "I" in Children—The Same in Adolescence—"I" in Relation to Sex—Simplicity and Affectation—Social Self-feeling Universal 136

CHAPTER VI

THE SOCIAL SELF-2. VARIOUS PHASES OF "1"

Igotism and Selfishness—The Use of "I" in Literature and Conversation—Intense Self-feeling Necessary to Productivity—Other Phases of the Social Self—Pride versus Vanity—Self-respect, Honor, Self-reverence—Humility—Maladies of the Social Self—Withdrawal—Self-transformation—Phases of the Self Caused by Incongruity between the Person and his Surrounding.

CHAPTER VII ·

UA	CT.	TT	יידיו	v

HOSTILITY	D. a. T.
Simple or Animal Anger—Social Anger—The Function of Hos- tility—The Doctrine of Non-resistance—Control and Trans- formation of Hostility by Reason—Hostility as Pleasure or Pain—The Importance of Accepted Social Standards—	232
CHAPTER VIII	
EMULATION	
Conformity—Non-conformity—The Two Viewed as Complementary Phases of Life—Rivalry—Hero-worship	2 62
CHAPTER IX	
LEADERSHIP OR PERSONAL ASCENDENCY	
Leadership Defines and Organizes Vague Tendency—Power as Based upon the Mental State of the Person Subject to It— The Mental Traits of a Leader: Significance and Breadth —Why the Fame and Power of a Man often Transcend his Real Character—Ascendency of Belief and Hope—Mystery —Good Faith and Imposture—Does the Leader really Lead?	283
CHAPTER X	
THE SOCIAL ASPECT OF CONSCIENCE	
The Right as the Rational—Significance of this View—The Right as the Onward—The Right as Habit—Right is not the Social as against the Individual—It is, in a Sense, the Social as against the Sensual—The Right as a Synthesis of Personal Influences—Personal Authority—Confession, Prayer, Publicity—Truth—Dependence of Right upon Imagination—Conscience Reflects a Social Group—Ideal Persons as Factors in Conscience	
Persons as Factors in Conscience	326

CHAPTER XI

PERSONAL DEGENERACY						
PAGE						
Is a Phase of the Question of Right and Wrong—Relation to						
the Idea of Development-Justification and Meaning of						
the Phrase "Personal Degeneracy"—Hereditary and So-						
ě ·						
cial Factors in Personal Degeneracy—Degeneracy as a						
Mental Trait—Conscience in Degeneracy—Crime, Insan-						
ity, and Responsibility—General Aims in the Treatment of						
Degeneracy						
CHAPTER XII						
FREEDOM						
The Meaning of Freedom-Freedom and Discipline-Freedom						
as a Phase of the Social Order—Freedom Involves Inci-						
dental Strain and Degeneracy						
TATATAT 40°						
INDEX						

CHAPTER I

SOCIETY AND THE INDIVIDUAL

ARE ASPECTS OF THE SAME THING—THE FALLACY OF SETTING
THEM IN OPPOSITION—VARIOUS FORMS OF THIS FALLACY.

"Society and the Individual" is really the subject of this whole book, and not merely of Chapter One. It is my general aim to set forth, from various points of view, what the individual is, considered as a member of a social whole; while the special purpose of this chapter is only to offer a preliminary statement of the matter, as I conceive it, afterward to be unfolded at some length and variously illustrated.

A separate individual is an abstraction unknown to experience, and so likewise is society when regarded as something apart from individuals. The real thing is Human Life, which may be considered either in an individual aspect or in a social, that is to say a general, aspect; but is always, as a matter of fact, both individual and general. In other words, "society" and "individuals" do not denote separate to experience of the separate of the s

rable phenomena, but are simply collective and distributive aspects of the same thing, the relation between them being like that between other expressions one of which denotes a group as a whole and the other the members of the group, such as the army and the soldiers, the class and the students, and so on. This holds true of any social aggregate, great or small; of a family, a city, a nation, a race; of mankind as a whole: no matter how extensive, complex, or enduring a group may be, no good reason can be given for regarding it as essentially different in this respect from the smallest, simplest, or most transient.

So far, then, as there is any difference between the two, it is rather in our point of view than in the object we are looking at: when we speak of society, or use any other collective term, we fix our minds upon some general view of the people concerned, while when we speak of individuals we disregard the general aspect and think of them as if they were separate. Thus "the Cabinet" may consist of President Lincoln, Secretary Stanton, Secretary Seward, and so on; but when I say "the Cabinet" I do not suggest the same idea as when I enumerate these gentlemen separately. Society, or any complex group, may, to ordinary observation, be a very different thing from all of its members viewed one by one—as a man who beheld General Grant's army from Missionary Ridge would have seen something other than he would by approaching every soldier in it. In the same way

SOCIETY AND THE INDIVIDUAL

a picture is made up of so many square inches of painted canvas; but if you should look at these one at a time, covering the others, until you had seen them all, you would still not have seen the picture. There may, in all such cases, be a system or organization in the whole that is not apparent in the parts. In this sense, and in no other, is there a difference between society and the individuals of which it is composed; a difference not residing in the facts themselves but existing to the observer on account of the limits of his perception. A complete view of society would also be a complete view of all the individuals, and vice versa; there would be no difference between them.

And just as there is no society or group that is not a collective view of persons, so there is no individual who may not be regarded as a particular view of social groups. He has no separate existence; through both the hereditary and the social factors in his life a man is bound into the whole of which he is a member, and to consider him apart from it is quite as artificial as to consider society apart from individuals.

If this is true there is, of course, a fallacy in that not uncommon manner of speaking which sets the social and the individual over against each other as separate and antagonistic. The word "social" appears to be used in at least three fairly distinct senses, but in none of these does it mean something

that can properly be regarded as opposite to individual or personal.

In its largest sense it denotes that which pertains to the collective aspect of humanity, to society in its widest and vaguest meaning. In this sense the individual and all his attributes are social, since they are all connected with the general life in one way or another, and are part of a collective development.

Again, social may mean what pertains to immediate intercourse, to the life of conversation and face-to-face sympathy—sociable in short. This is something quite different, but no more antithetical to individual than the other; it is in these relations that individuality most obviously exists and expresses itself.

In a third sense the word means conducive to the collective welfare, and thus becomes nearly equivalent to moral, as when we say that crime or sensuality is unsocial or anti-social; but here again it cannot properly be made the antithesis of individual—since wrong is surely no more individual than right—but must be contrasted with immoral, brutal, selfish, or some other word with an ethical implication.

There are a number of expressions which are closely associated in common usage with this objectionable antithesis; such words, for instance, as individualism, socialism, particularism, collectivism.*

These appear to be used with a good deal of vague-

^{*} Also free-will, determinism, egoism, and altruism, which in volve, in my opinion, a kindred misconception.

ness, so that it is always in order to require that anyone who employs them shall make it plain in what sense they are to be taken. I wish to make no captious objections to particular forms of expression, and so far as these can be shown to have meanings that express the facts of life I have nothing to say against them. Of the current use of individualism and socialism in antithesis to each other, about the same may be said as of the words without the ism. not see that life presents two distinct and opposing tendencies that can properly be called individualism and socialism, any more than that there are two distinct and opposing entities, society and the individual, to embody these tendencies. The phenomena usually called individualistic are always socialistic in the sense that they are expressive of tendencies growing out of the general life, and, contrariwise, the so-called socialistic phenomena have always an obvious individual aspect. These and similar terms may be used. conveniently enough, to describe theories or programmes of the day, but whether they are suitable for purposes of careful study appears somewhat doubtful. If used, they ought, it seems to me, to receive more adequate definition than they have at present.

For example, all the principal epochs of European history might be, and most of them are, spoken of as individualistic on one ground or another, and without departing from current usage of the word. The decaying Roman Empire was individualistic if a decline of public spirit and an every-man-for-himself feeling.

and practice constitute individualism. So also was the following period of political confusion. The feudal system is often regarded as individualistic, because of the relative independence and isolation of small political units—quite a different use of the word from the preceding—and after this come the Revival of Learning, the Renaissance, and the Reformation, which are all commonly spoken of, on still other grounds, as assertions of individualism. we reach the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, sceptical, transitional, and, again, individualistic; and so to our own time, which many hold to be the most individualistic of all. One feels like asking whether a word which means so many things as this means anything whatever.

There is always some confusion of terms in speaking of opposition between an individual and society in general, even when the writer's meaning is obvious enough: it would be more accurate to say either that one individual is opposing many, or that one part of society is opposing other parts; and thus avoid confusing the two aspects of life in the same expression. When Emerson says that society is in a conspiracy against the independence of each of its members, we are to understand that any peculiar tendency represented by one person finds itself more or less at variance with the general current of tendencies organized in other persons. It is no more individual, nor any less social, in a large sense, than other tendencies represented by more persons. A thousand persons

SOCIETY AND THE INDIVIDUAL

are just as truly individuals as one, and the man who seems to stand alone draws his being from the general stream of life just as truly and inevitably as if he were one of a thousand. Innovation is just as social as conformity, genius as mediocrity. These distinctions are not between what is individual and what is social, but between what is usual or established and what is exceptional or novel. In other words, wherever you find life as society there you will find life as individuality, and vice versa.

I think, then, that the antithesis, society versus the individual, is false and hollow whenever used as a general or philosophical statement of human relations. Whatever idea may be in the minds of those who set these words and their derivatives over against each other, the notion conveyed is that of two separable entities or forces; and certainly such a notion is untrue to fact.

Most people not only think of individuals and society as more or less separate and antithetical, but they look upon the former as antecedent to the latter. That persons make society would be generally admitted as a matter of course; but that society makes persons would strike many as a startling notion, though I know of no good reason for looking upon the distributive aspect of life as more primary or causative than the ollective aspect. The reason for the common impression appears to be that we think most naturally and easily of the individual phase of life, simply because it is a tangible one, the

phase under which men appear to the senses, while the actuality of groups, of nations, of mankind at large, is realized only by the active and instructed imagination. We ordinarily regard society, so far as we conceive it at all, in a vaguely material aspect, as an aggregate of physical bodies, not as the vital whole which it is; and so, of course, we do not see that it may be as original or causative as anything else. Indeed many look upon "society" and other general terms as somewhat mystical, and are inclined to doubt whether there is any reality back of them.

This naïve individualism of thought—which, however, does not truly see the individual any more than it does society—is reinforced by traditions in which all of us are brought up, and is so hard to shake off that it may be worth while to point out a little more definitely some of the prevalent ways of conceiving life which are permeated by it, and which anyone who agrees with what has just been said may regard as fallacious. My purpose in doing this is only to make clearer the standpoint from which succeeding chapters are written, and I do not propose any thorough discussion of the views mentioned.

First, then, we have mere individualism. In this the distributive aspect is almost exclusively regarded, collective phases being looked upon as quite secondary and incidental. If the person is held to be a separate agent, and all social phenomena are thought of as originating in the action of such agents. The individual is the source, the independent, the

SOCIETY AND THE INDIVIDUAL

only human source, of events. Although this way of looking at things has been much discredited by the evolutionary science and philosophy of recent years, it is by no means abandoned, even in theory, and practically it enters as a premise, in one shape or another, into most of the current thought of the day. It springs naturally from the established way of thinking, congenial, as I have remarked, to the ordinary material view of things and corroborated by theological and other traditions.

Next is double causation, or a partition of power between society and the individual, thought of as separate causes. This notion, in one shape or another, is the one ordinarily met with in social and ethical discussion. It is no advance, philosophically, upon the preceding. There is the same premise of the individual as a separate, unrelated agent; but over against him is set a vaguely conceived general or collective interest and force. It seems that people are so accustomed to thinking of themselves as uncaused causes, special creators on a small scale, that when the existence of general phenomena is forced upon their notice they are likely to regard these as something additional, separate, and more or less antithetical. Our two forces contend with varying fortunes, the thinker sometimes sympathizing with one, sometimes with the other, and being an individualist or a socialist accordingly. The doctrines usually understood in connection with these terms differ, as regards their conception of the nature of life, only in

taking opposite sides of the same questionable antithesis. The socialist holds it desirable that the general or collective force should win; the individualist has a contrary opinion. Neither offers any change of ground, any reconciling and renewing breadth of view. So far as breadth of view is concerned a man might quite as well be an individualist as a socialist or collectivist, the two being identical in philosophy though antagonistic in programme. If one is inclined to neither party he may take refuge in the expectation that the controversy, resting, as he may hold that it does, on a false conception of life, will presently take its proper place among the forgotten debris of speculation.

Thirdly we have primitive individualism. This expression has been used to describe the view that sociality follows individuality in time, is a later and additional product of development. This view is a variety of the preceding, and is, perhaps, formed by a mingling of individualistic preconceptions with a somewhat crude evolutionary philosophy. Individuality is usually conceived as lower in moral rank as well as precedent in time. Man was a mere individual, mankind a mere aggregation of such, but he has gradually become socialized, he is progressively merging into a social whole. Morally speaking, the individual is the bad, the social the good, and we must push on the work of putting down the former and bringing in the latter.

Of course the view which I regard as sound, is that