

PUBLICATIONS OF THE
AMERICAN ACADEMY OF POLITICAL AND SOCIAL SCIENCE.

The Outlines of Sociology.

BY

LUDWIG GUMPLOWICZ,
Professor in the University of Graz, Austria-Hungary.

TRANSLATED BY

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Assistant Professor of History and Political Economy in Vanderbilt University.
Nashville, Tenn.

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THE OUTLINES OF SOCIOLOGY.*

INTRODUCTION.

Gumplowicz's "Outlines of Sociology" is distinguished from all earlier sociological works by the character of the sociological unit upon which it is based, which is the group. The author limits himself to the study of the behavior of social units, and especially to the study of the action of groups on each other and the action of the group on the individual. To compare Gumplowicz's theory with the theory of Giddings, and to use a metaphor for brevity, the former begins a whole stage later in the evolution of life; it does not account for but assumes group life.

Starting with cohesively aggregated life, Gumplowicz makes important use of the principles already accepted concerning the influence of environment, and especially of the economic wants and the tendency of desires to grow with the opportunity to satisfy them. To these he adds, as something new, the postulates that the normal relation of unlike groups is conflict and that progress comes through the conflict of groups. Hence the important sociological phenomena are those relating to the conflict of unlike groups and to their amalgamation and assimilation.

Sociology is considered the fundamental social science, for it deals with the same subject-matter that all social sciences deal with, and treats of laws and modes of behavior in group life that are common to all the special social sciences alike. If what is general and common to all is set apart as the sphere of a particular science, then what is peculiar to each differentiated class of phenomena may be properly left to a special science working on the principles of the general science as a basis.

Further, the special social sciences, which have developed in advance of the general science, must submit to a revolution in point of view, to a revision of method and a re-statement of accepted laws in harmony with the new ideas

*[The translator takes pleasure in making public acknowledgement of the important assistance rendered him by his friends Dr. A. R. Hohlfeld, Professor of German in Vanderbilt University, Dr. C. F. Emerick, Instructor in Economics in the same institution, and W. C. Branham, A. M., Co-Principal of Branham and Hughes School, String Hill, Tenn. The first named carefully compared the translation with the original and the others assisted in revising the proof.]

in sociology; while for the future, whether new social laws are first detected in general sociology or in one of the special sciences, it must be remembered that the phenomena which the latter study are social also, and that the special laws of their behavior are inherently social and must stand the test of sociological criticism.

Gumplowicz's sociology is not properly descriptive. Description falls to anthropology, ethnology, politics, history, comparative philology, the comparative study of law, religion, institutions, etc. It is considered the peculiar task of sociology to abstract the laws of the behavior of social phenomena.

The volitional element plays no part, or a negative one, in Gumplowicz's theory. Man, misled by the idea of human free will and by an anthropomorphic conception of deity, has overestimated his own influence and importance. He is most successful in art and invention, for here he strives to copy nature. In other spheres he is not infrequently found striving to preserve what nature has ordained to decay. But first striving to learn what the laws of nature are, he should next learn to adapt himself to them as best he can and to bear with resignation what cannot be avoided. Nature is unchangeable and so are her laws. The history of mankind is the history of a species as such. The fate which befalls the individual in society is not the fate which he merits always, but it is necessarily that which his group makes inevitable. Historic justice is not individual, but social.

FREDERICK W. MOORE.

ARGUMENT.

Part I.

Part I contains a survey of past progress in social science, intended to prepare the reader for the new departure in sociological thought which the author proposes to make.

He reviews the work of Comte, Spencer, Bastian, Lippert and others, and the relations of economics, politics, the comparative study of law, the philosophy of history and the history of civilization to the science of society.

Incidentally four important propositions are laid down:

First.—Social phenomena are subject to the general law of causation as much as other classes of phenomena which have been successfully treated by the scientific method. This has been asserted or tacitly assumed by all the earlier writers; it is axiomatic.

Second.—Human acts, whether individual or social, are the product of natural forces and they excite reflection. The function of the mind or soul is secondary in point of time. In this the author differs from some of his predecessors.

Third.—Differing radically from other writers, the author denies that society is simply an organism analogous to but as high above man as man is above other organisms in nature. In his conception, society, the social group, the sociological unit, is an organism or organization entirely, (*toto genere*), different from any other. Considered as a whole it is unlike any of its parts. Its nature cannot be inferred from their nature, but more probably the nature of the individual will be influenced by it. His system begins with social elements (swarms, hordes, groups, etc.), and logically proceeds to the consideration of man, their product both in mind and body; the social process and its products; and finally the ethico-social products of the action of society upon the individual.

Fourth.—The author holds and defends the position that every political organization, and hence every developing civilization, begins at the moment when one group permanently subjects another. Subjection of some to others is the source of political organization and political organization is the condition essential to social growth. This proposition and the preceding constitute the corner stone of the author's theory.

Part II.

Part II is introductory. Beginning with the classification of phenomena and defending the unity of science, the author proceeds to a presentation of the concepts especially connected with sociology.

SECTION 1. The author takes up the triple classification of phenomena into physical, mental and social, and justifies it and the corresponding subdivision of the sciences by demonstrating that there are social phenomena subject to laws of a special character.

SEC. 2. But if science is unitary and the universe of phenomena monistic, there must be some laws at once specific enough to be valuable and general enough to apply to all three classes of phenomena alike.

He enumerates the laws of causality, of development, of regularity of development, of periodicity, of complexity, of the reciprocal action of unlike forces, of adaptation, of the essential likeness and identity of forces and events, and of parallelism, showing that each clearly applies to social phenomena, the only disputable point.

SEC. 3. Within each class the behavior of the phenomena is capable of reduction to a number of laws which are more specific, which apply to that one sphere (or even to a part of it alone) and are more fully characteristic. It is the function of sociology to find the laws of social phenomena.

Social phenomena are defined as those arising out of the relations of social groups to each other. Psycho-social are those again which result from the influence of the group upon the individual.

[*Psycho-social phenomena and psycho-social laws are thus quite distinct from social phenomena and social laws, using the word social in the narrower, more specific sense which the author gives to it here and occasionally elsewhere. But he uses the word in a more general sense also, including social in this narrower sense and psycho-social as correlative subdivisions of it.

[There would seem to be need also for a third subdivision including phenomena growing out of the relation of the group to its physical environment. Critics who will recognize the importance of the group as the social unit and the weighty significance of the antagonism existing between

*[The brackets, wherever found, indicate that the included matter has been added by the translator.]

groups will, nevertheless, show that such factors as food supply affect the size and coherency of groups and the number in a given territory. In some places he seems incidentally to allow for them. But his definition by unmistakable implication excludes them. Had he broadened his conception of sociology so as to include this class of phenomena, his dispute with Lippert would have fallen to nothing and his later reference to the origin of groups by differentiation would have been much more natural and easy.]

Phenomena that have been treated by one or another of the sciences currently called social are nevertheless properly subject to reinvestigation by sociology, for they have been treated from the individualistic standpoint, which is false. To review them from the new social standpoint and to ascertain the social laws of their behavior will be of great importance. It will be found that they all take their rise in a common ground, which is the peculiar sphere of sociology.

SEC. 4. As there must be unlike forces wherever reciprocal action is expected, the author assumes that there must have been a countless number of unlike original primitive groups. This hypothesis is then supported by arguments proving the polygenetic theory of man's origin.

SEC. 5. However, if the polygenetic theory is true, it only proves the existence of primitive groups anthropologically homogeneous. But as birth and especially training in a group are the factors which make an individual a member of a social group, these primitive anthropological groups must also have been sociological groups; and though anthropological types have become endlessly mixed, each syngenetic group, because its members have had a common birth and training and have acquired the same language, rights and religion, still continues to be a sociological unit.

Social laws, he adds, are the laws of the action and development of syngenetic groups.

[Thus, narrow as he seems to make the conception of syngenetic groups and important as such groups seem to be to his theory, he makes allowance here incidentally and specifically later for the origin of fully accredited social groups by differentiation within a given group.

[Primitive groups are unlike, *heterogen*, and so are syngenetic groups, says our author. Now *heterogen* and *homogen* are antithetical and should refer respectively to the mutual

unlikeness or likeness of the parts of a given whole. But this is not strictly the way the author uses them and his meaning would still be ambiguous if it were. There are three sets of relations between unlike groups to be distinguished: those between the differentiating parts of a whole that was beforetime strictly homogeneous; those between the parts of a whole which is tending toward homogeneity by assimilation and amalgamation of its parts; and finally those between independent wholes which exhibit antagonism and conflict whenever their spheres of influence overlap. These independent wholes our author refers to as *heterogen*, unlike (improperly called heterogeneous). Sometimes, however, the adjective seems to refer to wholes whose parts are in conflict with each other and is properly translated heterogeneous. The translator has used his judgment as to the signification of the word in its context but has carefully inserted the German word in parenthesis wherever it occurred.

[A study of the relations of the several classes to each other will show a logical sequence from the conflict of independent wholes through the subjection of one to the other even up to the complete homogeneity of the new whole by assimilation or amalgamation. There is also a logical sequence from the condition of homogeneity to the condition of differentiated parts with their proper relations. Now these two tendencies are so antipodal in direction and character that it is unscientific and ambiguous not to distinguish carefully between them. But the author, as said, uses one and the same word *heterogen*, heterogeneous, to describe the two conditions indicated in the first and second classes of relations indicated above. He does not distinguish the former and therefore omits from his theory of sociology all consideration of the character and behavior of homogeneous groups.]

He shows that the failure of earlier sociologists to obtain social laws was due to their failure to start with the proper sociological unit; and incidentally he proclaims it as a typical social law that it is the tendency of every social community to make as much use as possible of every other social community that comes within its reach.

Part III.

In Part III the author treats of social elements, simple and compound, and the cause and manner of their combination.

SECTION I. Proceeding to consider the nature of the original syngenetic group he concludes that it must have been a horde of human beings of all ages and both sexes living in sexual promiscuity. Further than this he is unable to carry the analysis; as far as this he feels justified in going, since the hypothesis of such a horde enables him to explain the origin of the mother-family which investigators have all but proven to have been universal. Uterine consanguinity is the first force to introduce order into the chaos of primitive promiscuity.

But the groups are mutually hostile and in particular in the course of their conflicts females are captured who become the property of their captors. [The warriors or the group? Are rights of individual property in movable goods recognized respecting them?]. Then the men, supported by the favorable conditions growing out of their relation to the captives, are able to resist the rule of the women and to substitute an organization controlled by the males in which the various stages of the father-family are developed down to and including the development of the rights of the children to inherit.

Highly significant in the author's opinion is the intermixture of different ethnical races which occurs here. [But this emphasis seems overstrained. Either the males as a whole subordinated the females of the group as a whole, still keeping them in the group except as they were disposed of to other groups by purchase or capture; or the original group divided, some under the leadership of the women retaining the organization of the mother-family, the rest led by the possessors of the captive females forming a new whole organized as a father-family. In either case the conflict within the original group between the two classes, males and females, with their peculiar interests, is quite as bitter and relentless as the conflict between different syngenetic groups; and it is not so important as the author represents that there should be ethnically different groups to antagonize and exploit each other.]

Not only are females and personal property captured in the raids of group upon group, but whole groups are con-

quered, reduced to submission and put to work on the soil they occupied, producing supplies for the conquerors. In the relations thus established we have property in land in distinction from personal property (which is a very different thing and arises much earlier), the organization of sovereignty by one class over the other, and finally the state.

SEC. 2. The state consists of two parts, the ruling and the subject classes, of which the former is inferior in numbers but superior in mental power and military discipline.

There are two sets of activities in the state. One is in the ruling class directed toward external defence and conquest, and the other arises from the conflicts of the two classes. [The differentiation of interests within each group severally is not an activity peculiar to the state!] So there are but two points essential to the definition of the state. They are the organization of the sovereignty and of the minority. The purposes commonly attributed to the state, like the promotion of justice, are simply the modes of operation appropriate to its several stages of development.

An important incident is ethnical heterogeneity. The hostile contact of different social elements of unlike strength is the first condition for the creation of rights. The relations established by force, if continued in peace, become rightful. Thus inequality is stamped on every right.

SEC. 3. The life of the state is summed up in a common industrial enterprise conducted under compulsion in which the greater burden falls on the subject class while the rulers perform services which are no less essential. [Were the author as fully impregnated with democratic ideals as Americans are his language at this point, though not his idea, would be somewhat different. For in a democratic government the ruling class is the periodically determined majority, or its representatives.]

Man's material need is the prime motive of his conduct. Efforts to satisfy wants promote progress and are perpetual; for new wants are constantly arising and social distinctions continue the antagonism between groups which began with ethnical differences.

But war, if perpetual, would defeat its own end in the utter exhaustion of both parties. Peace is necessary. One party is victor and tries to establish institutions for maintaining the inequalities, while the other tries to reduce them. So apparent peace is only a latent struggle over the body of reciprocal rights.

If the rulers are well off the subject class must rise too in order still to be most serviceable. But social facts especially provoke reflection; and the life of the subject classes is the more fruitful in ideas. Well-being and enlightenment are the leaven of progress.

SEC. 4. The ranks or classes in the state increase in number, and political organization changes to correspond. The third class in order is that of the foreign merchants, catering to material wants chiefly; the fourth is the priestly class arising by differentiation from the others and satisfying spiritual wants. The development of wants and the formation of classes go hand in hand. Material wants may be classed as primary, and intellectual or moral wants as secondary.

The power of any class in the state can be expressed in terms of human labor which it either commands directly or can purchase through its possession or control of supplies and means of promoting production. If a class can satisfy a social want it will be indispensable, and through the power it acquires in return will participate in government.

However, habit, a purely mental factor, is also a source of power; and order, custom and rights belong to the same category. But without the organization of the state the moral powers would not exist and the material possessions would fall to the physically stronger.

SEC. 5. Some social groups, like the ruling, subject and merchant classes, are original, primary, ethnical and hereditary. Others, like the priestly and professional classes, are secondary and evolutionary and arise by differentiation. Though we no longer see primary groups arising, it has not been proven that no groups ever arose genetically; though we see only the differentiation of secondary groups it cannot be asserted that all groups are of that sort. Nevertheless all social groups of whatever origin are alike active as social elements and those of the secondary sort tend by endogamy and otherwise to strengthen their coherence.

SEC. 6. The word society should properly be restricted to denote a group centering about one or more common interests. As such it may be large or small; local, national or international. The word folk should be used co-extensively with the state to denote the group held together not only by political organization, but also by common territory, language, etc.

SEC. 7. Societies are numberless; but social relations and the principles underlying social power conform to natural laws. The primary binding tie is association; all others are evolutionary. All are essentially represented in the primitive horde: association, with consanguinity, language and all that they imply, and common needs and common interests in satisfying them; and there are no social contrasts which cannot be referred to dissimilarity in one or more of these respects. So we observe the coherence of the heterogeneous and the differentiation of the homogeneous for cause. But social classes overlap and are curiously involved.

SEC. 8. The group-making factors are classified according to fundamental principles as material, economic and moral. But further, each varies according to the degree of its permanency. Permanent material, economic and moral interests make a group unitary.

SEC. 9. The power of the group in the social struggle depends on the number of group-making factors uniting its members. The number of possible binding forces increases with civilization but decreases at any time with the number of individuals in the group.

In the final analysis the intensity of the union depends upon the personal character of the individuals [*i. e.*, on their sociability. This is one of the rare instances in which the nature of the individual is taken into account]; and in times of revolution numerical strength is the test, but such times are abnormal with civilized man.

Groups struggle for their interests group-wise; the result does not depend upon individuals and success is the standard of conduct.

The means of utilizing power vary infinitely, but generally take the form of an appropriate institution or exclusive right, as *e. g.*, legislation. However it may be with the individual, society never errs in seizing and applying the right means. [This is a paradox. Conscientious scruples which would constrain the action of individuals are ineffective to guide the action of groups. But societies do err; for they perish as the result of their own mistakes, and in those which succeed there are traces, if we look for them, of choices that retarded progress or threatened extinction and therefore had to be abandoned.]

SEC. 10. The struggle must always be conducted between assemblages and they must adopt a form of organization

sued to the situation. So the struggle in the interest of the great mass of the people is most difficult and the slowest to begin. Historically the means which they generally seek is participation in legislation.

SEC. 11. The conduct of the group is in utter disregard of the individual and his code of morals. His moral sense is therefore often seriously injured. [The difference between the individual and the social code of morals demands explanation. A partial explanation will doubtless be found in the current theories of individualism. But this is insufficient. There would be a remnant which can probably be best explained as due to the experience of individuals in the homogeneous group. This will be in harmony with the author's theory of the influence of the group on the individual; but it will at the same time point out an important omission in his general sociological theory, viz., the failure to give due consideration to the life of the homogeneous group.]

SEC. 12. Every right ends in an obligation, the right of those who otherwise have no rights. Though rights are constantly changing the idea of right endures and is a fit weapon for the social struggle. But it is applied indirectly. The bourgeoisie appeal to it to enlist the lower classes with them against the upper. With success the lower classes gain some amelioration and experience. This is aptly called the struggle for emancipation. It may lead to revolution or anarchy; but a reaction and a new period of evolutionary rights will follow.

SEC. 13. The natural tendency of the state is to increase in territory and power. But relative stability within and assimilation of former conquests are essential conditions to continued growth the absence of which will induce a catastrophe.

If extreme violence is necessary to subjugation and if assimilation is difficult, morals and the sense of humanity will suffer harm.

The principle applies as well to other social domains as to the political, *e. g.*, it explains the periodical crises of economic production.

SEC. 14. Folk-states will arise. But if, falling into opposition, the weaker are subjected by the stronger the struggle for authority in the new composite state will take on added severity. Historically it is apt to centre about the rivalry of different languages for official recognition.

Part IV.

Part IV treats of the influence of the group on the individual. The processes involved and the laws are those specifically called psycho-social.

SECTION 1. The historical antithesis between individualism and collectivism disappears upon substituting social or societary egoism and sympathy instead of the alleged individual egoism and sympathy of current philosophy.

SEC. 2. To establish the claims of a socialistic philosophy over the individualistic the author notes, first, that the source of thought is in the group and not in the individual. The influence of environment on the individual is of fundamental and not simply of secondary importance; but the individual's environment is almost exclusively his group, and the power that is admittedly strong enough to change his physiognomy is *a fortiori* strong enough to change his mind. The type produced is not anthropological but social; and the factor producing it is social also. Social thoughts and efforts produce the type; but it is the social life, varying with the habitat, that produces these. Hence also the variety of social types.

SEC. 3. Pre-eminently it is the economic status which gives character to the social type, making the nobility and peasantry conservative and the merchant class progressive and giving to each of the differentiated classes also a type appropriate to its peculiar interests. But the individual is affected through his moral nature; the transforming force is moral.

The tenacity and permanence of the type is directly related to the solidarity of the group which is a function of the group-making factors.

SEC. 4. The first factor in morals is habit and acquired manner of life; the second is the conviction implanted by the group in the individual that the manner of life which it imposes upon him is proper. Thus morals grow out of the relations of the group to its members. But when different groups are united different moral codes contend; all are useless because no one is acknowledged by every individual and a new code has to be formed and enforced by the state, called a code of rights. Thus rights grow out of the union of different social elements.

There will be important conflicts between the code of rights enforced by the state and the moral code growing up