THE CONTEMPORARY SIGNIFICANCE OF LESTER FRANK WARD: A RE-INTERPRETATION AND APPLICATION OF L.F. WARD'S SOCIOLOGICAL WORKS.

by

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ABSTRACT

Sir Issac Newton, while reflecting on his scientific achievements, reportedly said, "I only see far because I stand on the shoulders of giants" (Merton, 1965). Contemporary North American sociologists have been eager to stand on the shoulders of European sociological giants. Meanwhile, they ignore the indigenous social theory of scholars such as Lester F. Ward. This thesis demonstrates the contemporary relevance of Ward's indigenous sociology. In doing so, it will attempt to answer four questions: i) Who was Lester Frank Ward?; ii) Why were Ward's accomplishments marginalized?; iii) What were his major ideas?; and, iv) Do any of Ward's ideas, such as "synergy", "sympodial shifts" and "equilibrium", and "telesis", have the potential to improve contemporary sociological theory on the processes of social change?

Lester Frank Ward is North America's first sociologist and he developed the first indigenous systematic sociological theory. But, his sociological accomplishments have been marginalized by latter day sociologists more concerned with attaining "*aurea mediocratas*" than understanding qualitative social change due to

dynamic processes. Ward's ideas of "synergy", "sympodial shifts" and "equilibrium", and "telesis", cradled in catastrophe theory as the conceptual framework, does improve contemporary sociology's ability to explain the dynamic processes of qualitative social change.

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CHAPTER I:

INTRODUCTION

> The real object of science is to benefit man. A science which fails to do this, however agreeable its study, is lifeless. Sociology, which of all sciences should benefit man most, is in danger of falling into the class of polite amusements, or dead sciences.
>
> (Ward, 1883: vii)

This quote was penned by Lester Ward over one hundred years ago and is more relevant today than it was in Ward's time. Contemporary sociology has become so fractured that one might ask whether the discipline is benefiting people.

Becker and Rau (1992: 70) claim that due to specialization "contemporary sociology has no theoretical, methodological, or institutional center" and it "is only a babel of competing theories". Berger (1992) declares that contemporary sociology is nothing more than the study of the trivial (cf. Berger, 1963). Put crudely, contemporary sociology has become a useless endeavour or polite amusement. How did the discipline decline into the Studebaker of the academic world?

Gordon (1980: 261-263) cites two causes of sociology's fragmentation: ideological implications implicit in various theoretical perspectives and dissensus on evaluation criteria. Becker and Rau (1992) state that the growth in the differentiation of the discipline has left sociologists with fewer common ancestors and common concepts. According to Berger (1992) the fracturing of sociology is rooted in two basic problems: ideological blinders and the distancing of sociologists from the social world.

The above authors, obviously, do not agree on the root cause of the fragmentation existing in present day sociology. But, they do agree that sociology needs a theoretical and methodological centre in order for sociology to survive into the future as an academic discipline. The works of Lester F. Ward may provide the guidance to find the theoretical and methodological centre needed for the survival of sociology.

Sir Issac Newton, while reflecting on his scientific achievements reportedly said, "I only see far because I stand on the shoulders of giants" (Merton, 1965). Contemporary North American sociologists have been eager to stand on the shoulders of European sociological giants. Meanwhile, they have ignored the indigenous social theory of scholars such as Lester F. Ward. This neglect of Ward's works has been detrimental to the development of North American sociology. This thesis will demonstrate the contemporary relevance of Ward's indigenous sociology. In doing so, it will attempt to answer four questions: 1. Who was Lester Frank Ward?; 2. Why were Ward's accomplishments marginalized?; 3. Do any of these ideas have the potential to improve contemporary sociological theory?; 4. What were his major ideas? Initially, the biographical details of Ward's life and career will be examined. Next, reasons for the neglect of Ward and his works will be examined using network analysis. This will be followed by an exegesis of Ward's major theoretical contributions.

This exegesis will examine both the parts of Ward's works that have been incorporated into the sociological mainstream and those that have been neglected. This exegesis will be conducted with a view to uncovering ideas that will be of contemporary utility. Preliminary exploration indicated that at least three of Ward's ideas are of contemporary sociological interest: (1) telesis, (2) synergy and (3) equilibrium and sympodial shifts. The study of a sociological problem of contemporary interest - the Metis of Canada - will be used as a brief illustration to demonstrate how Ward's sociology might be applied.

Most sociological theory can be traced back to a European predecessor (Collins, 1988; Ritzer, 1988; Wallace and Wolf, 1986; Boskoff, 1972). The exception to this generalization is social-psychology, which has its roots in Lester F. Ward's theorizing (Scott, 1976; Commanger, 1967; Ellwood, 1938). North American sociologists are continually attempting to re-interpret European sociological theory and apply it to the North American case. Aron (1989a; 1989b), Collins (1988), Ritzer (1988), Wallace and Wolf (1986), and Boskoff (1972) say that virtually all contemporary social theories are extensions and interpretations of "classical" European sociologists. Currently, there are five main "branches" of social theory in contemporary sociology: functionalism, conflict theories such as marxism, symbolic interactionism, phenomenology, and feminism (Collins, 1988; Ritzer, 1988; Wallace and Wolf, 1986; Boskoff, 1972). All five of these schools of thought can be traced to European roots.

Functionalism is the analysis of phenomena in terms of the functions they perform in a system. Society is conceived of as a system of interrelated parts in which no part can be understood in isolation from the whole. Commonly known as structural functionalism because of its focus on the structures that meet the needs of a social system, thus insuring the system's survival, this perspective is based on the organic model found in biological sciences.

Functionalism is traditionally credited to Auguste Comte (1838) of France (Collins, 1988; Ritzer, 1988; Wallace and Wolf, 1986). Later, Herbert Spencer (1860) of England combined Comte and Darwin to produce the theory of social darwinism (Collins, 1988; Ritzer, 1988; Wallace and Wolf, 1986; Turner, 1985). William Sumner (1883) of America re-interpreted Spencer's theory for American sociology (Collins, 1988; Ritzer, 1988; Wallace and Wolf, 1986). Meanwhile, Emile Durkheim (1893) of France was re-interpreting Comte for European sociology (Collins, 1988; Ritzer, 1988; Jones, 1986; Wallace and Wolf, 1986). In the early 20th century Pareto, an Italian, produced his theoretical variant of functionalism (Collins, 1988; Ritzer, 1988; Powers, 1987; Wallace and Wolf, 1986). A prolific American theorist, Talcott Parsons (1937), re-interpreted Durkheim to develop structural functionalism (Collins, 1988; Ritzer, 1988; Wallace and Wolf, 1986). Later, Robert Merton (1957) re-interpreted Parsons to develop his own mid-range theories (Ritzer, 1988; Wallace and Wolf, 1986). About the same time, Peter Blau (1959) re-

interpreted Parsons and Durkheim to develop his theory of "American" structuration (Ritzer, 1988). George Homans of America (1964) combined Parsons, Pareto, and B. F. Skinner for his social exchange theory (Collins, 1988; Ritzer, 1988; Wallace and Wolf, 1986).

Conflict theory is the flipside of functionalism for analyzing structures of society. The main distinction between the two is that conflict theory views values and ideas as weapons used by different groups to advance their own ends rather than as a means of defining a whole society's identity and goals.

Marxism derives from a mid-19th century German, Karl Marx (Collins, 1988; Ritzer, 1988; Applebaum, 1987; Wallace and Wolf, 1986). Neo-marxists' who re-interpret his writings include prominent figures such as Lenin, Trotsky, Habermas, Miliband, Clement, and E.O. Wright. Dahrendorf of Germany, in the mid-20th century combined Marx and Weber to develop "Analytical Conflict" theory (Ritzer, 1988). This theory was the basis for the development of "American" conflict theories by sociologists such as Lewis Coser and Randall Collins (Collins, 1988; Ritzer, 1988; Wallace and Wolf, 1986).

Symbolic interactionism differs from functionalism or conflict theories by focusing upon interactions between the actor and the social world. This perspective views the actor and social world as dynamic processes continually being interpreted, defined, and negotiated. Great importance is also placed on an actor's ability to interpret the social world.

Symbolic interactionism is credited to the writings of two late 19th century Germans; Georg Simmel and Max Weber (Collins, 1988; Ritzer, 1988; Wallace and Wolf, 1986; Collins, 1985). Later, the theory was systemized by George Herbert Mead and Herbert Blumer in the United States (Collins, 1988; Ritzer, 1988; Baldwin, 1986; Wallace and Wolf, 1986).

Phenomenology and ethnomethodology are two sides of the same coin. Phenomenology focuses on theorizing and reflecting on the operation of consciousness and the construction of meaning. Ethnomethodology focuses on actors' creativity on solving social problems and making sense of social structures. Ethnomethodologists use a unique method called breaching experiments. They break social rules then observe how people construct or reconstruct reality.

Phenomenology is attributed to the seminal works of Edmund Husserl, an early 20th century German (Collins, 1988; Ritzer, 1988; Wallace and Wolf, 1986). Later, Alfred Schutz, of Germany, re-interpreted Husserl and Weber. He called his re-interpretation "Phenomenology" (Collins, 1988; Ritzer, 1988; Wallace and Wolf, 1986). In the 1960's the American sociologist, Harold Garfinkel, re-interpreted Schutz to develop his theory, which he named "Ethnomethodology" (Collins, 1988; Ritzer, 1988; Wallace and Wolf, 1986).

Finally, feminism theorizes that the social world can best be understood from a perspective traditionally associated with values and orientations held by women. Major topics of concern

are the situations and experiences of women in society. Second, feminism treats women as the central subjects in the analysis process. Third, it is critical and activist on behalf of women, seeking to produce a better world for women. Feminism is also drawn from European roots. Contemporary sociological literature attributes feminism to the personal writings of upper-class European women of the 17th century (Tong, 1989; Collins, 1988; Lengerman and Niebrugge-Brantly, 1988; Wallace and Wolf, 1986).

Of course, this five-fold classification is drawn from the perspectives of selected chroniclers of sociological theory. There would not be universal concurrence with it. Nevertheless, categorizing sociological theory in this way provides a conservative overview of the fragmentation existing within contemporary sociology.

There are also additional "fault-lines" within sociology. For example, different methods of analysis could be used: quantitative, qualitative, or a combination of both.

Another fault-line follows Kuhn's (1962) thesis, that sciences go through cycles of changing paradigms. Kuhn argues that a hegemonic paradigm leads to a consensus about the perspectives of a "normal science". Research conducted from these perspectives produces anomalies that cannot be explained within the parameters of the prevailing "normal science". This produces a challenge to the existing paradigm that generates a challenging paradigm.

Following Kuhn, Ritzer (1988; 1980; 1975) argues that multiple competing paradigms exist within contemporary sociology. One of these is a social facts paradigm that utilizes observable phenomena like roles, norms, values, groups, and families. For example, Durkheim's study, SUICIDE (1897) exemplifies this paradigm. Another, is a social definition paradigm such as the interpretive sociology exemplified by symbolic interactionists and feminists. It is an understanding of social action in order to determine a causal explanation of its course and effects. Third, is a social behaviour paradigm which is traced to the psychological works of B. F. Skinner. This paradigm investigates the relationship between the individual and his/her environment. Ritzer (1988; 1980) does not stop with these three paradigms, but also observes that these paradigms may focus either on macro-level or micro-level.

Collins (1994) illuminates another source of dissensus within contemporary sociology, the historical tradition, the utilitarian tradition, the generalization tradition, and the pragmatic tradition. Others catalogue other foci of dissensus within sociology. Keat and Urry (1975) also note that sociological orientations differ depending upon sociologists' underlying philosophies of sciences such as positivism, realism, idealism, or nominalism. Another difference is based upon assumptions of "human nature". Kinloch (1981) labels these as the conservative ideology which views human beings as inherently amoral, the liberal ideology which holds that "human nature" is a

blank slate shaped by environmental influences, and the radical ideology which holds that human beings are inherently moral. Berger (1992) adds that contemporary sociology's fragmentation is caused by the multiplicity of areas of specialization pursued by different sociologists.

In summary, Ward's warning that sociology may fall into "a polite amusement, or dead science" (Ward, 1883: vii) may be closer to the truth than sociologists would like to admit. Thus, Becker and Rau (1992) suggest that the discipline is being reduced to a babel of competing theories without central concepts and a central framework. Meanwhile, Collins (1989) observes that contemporary sociologists frequently express negative, hostile, and dismissive comments about one another's works, which creates a debilitating factionalism in the discipline.

Turner and Turner (1990) reflect Berger's view that contemporary sociology is a collection of loosely integrated topics and subfields, and therefore, the impossible science. Turner (1979) has also written that contemporary sociology did not develop a central theory or methodology because the discipline was not built upon the sociological masters (cf. Giddens, 1976). Moreover, Turner has written that the fragmented state of sociology "makes our discipline rather trivial and scientifically immature" (1989: 103).

Can sociology be revived? Nikolai Genov (1989: 156) states that to create a cumulative body of scientific knowledge, a social investigation must be guided by and compared on the basis

of commonly shared conceptual frameworks. For Berger (1992), this would mean a return of contemporary sociology to its classical roots in order to become a cohesive discipline. What kind of sociology would that be?

> We are talking about a sociology that has returned to the big questions of the classical era, a sociology that is cosmopolitan and methodologically flexible, and is empathically and militantly anti-ideological.
> (Berger, 1992: 18)

Lester Frank Ward's sociology may be a means of realizing Berger's prescription and of providing cohesion to the discipline. This thesis will explain why this is the case and outlines some principle aspects of Ward's sociology.

The second chapter of this thesis will discuss the life of L.F. Ward, including his origins, his family, and his educational and intellectual careers. Chapter three will explore why Ward's works have been marginalized. A network analysis of Ward's ties with other sociologists and his ties with academics in other disciplines may suggest why Ward and his works simply "faded away". Chapter four will focus upon neglected theoretical concerns of Lester Ward, particularly the formation of structures and their continued existence through "synergy", "sympodial shifts" and "equilibrium", and "telesis". These neglected ideas can be put to good use in contemporary sociology. Chapter five will discuss the contemporary sociological significance of Ward's concepts of "synergy", "sympodial shifts" and "equilibrium", and "telesis", and how these can play an important future role in sociology. According to S. J. Gould (1989), there is evidence

that a paradigmatic shift has begun in the natural sciences from linear, gradual theories to catastrophe theory. As this shift occurs, other scientific disciplines are likely to incorporate catastrophe theory. Therefore, the discipline of sociology may well find it useful to draw on the developments of catastrophe theory that, in a sociological context, are already found in the works of L.F. Ward. Chapter six will conclude that the contemporary significance of Ward's works cannot be overemphasized. A re-interpretation of Ward's works would potentially give contemporary sociology a perspective rooted in the North American experience. This thesis will also illustrate how Ward's ideas could be applied to an analysis of the case of the Metis in Canada. Ward's sociological theory may be the glue that binds contemporary sociology's fragments. His theoretical works would provide the framework to encompass functionalism, conflict theory, symbolic interaction, social exchange theory, ethnomethodology, phenomenology, and feminism.

CHAPTER II:

BIOGRAPHY OF LESTER FRANK WARD

Lester Frank Ward North America's first sociologist is today all but forgotten by the discipline of Sociology. Yet, Ward is probably one the discipline's foremost early contributors in America. During the 1890's, he promoted the separation of Sociology, as a distinct science, from Economics (Scott, 1976). He wrote the first conflict theory of gender, race, and class, in his book DYNAMIC SOCIOLOGY (1883), suggesting that inequality of condition is more likely the product of human social behaviour rather than the then current belief that it is the result of generalizable natural laws. In 1906 Albion Small (first chair of Sociology at the University of Chicago and first editor-in-chief of the AJS) wrote that Ward's major contribution, that social behaviour is the product of the dynamic nature of individual human behaviour, laid the foundation of future America sociology (Scott,1976). Why was Ward able to identify this important aspect of sociology? Perhaps, the answer can be found by examining the life of Ward.

Ward's father, Justus, was born in New Hampshire in 1787 and later moved to New York State. He served in the American Forces during the War of 1812 and fought as a fife major at the Battle of Buffalo. After the war Justus met and married Silence Loomis Rolph (born 1796), a New Yorker, in 1816 (Scott, 1976; Commager, 1967; Chugerman, 1939). From 1816 to the mid 1830's Justus attempted to make a living as a farmer, then as a mechanic, and later as a construction worker.

During their lives in New York State, Justus and Silence had eight children - seven boys and one girl. In the mid 1830's, Justus moved to Illinois to build locks for the Illinois and Michigan canal. The Ward family settled in Joliet where their ninth child (Erastus) was born in 1838. On June 18, 1841, their tenth child, Lester Frank, was born. A year later the Ward family moved to the village of Cass, Illinois.

Ward's father was considered stern and a work-oriented man. On the other hand, Ward's mother was seen as scholarly, refined and fond of literary pursuits, accomplished and versatile (Scott, 1976; Chugerman, 1939). The above characteristics of Ward's parents probably inspired Lester to a high level of achievement. Ward's family was deemed to have been common people: evangelical Protestant, hard-working, and not very successful by most standards (Scott, 1976; Commager, 1967; Chugerman, 1939).

In 1852, the Wards moved to St. Charles, Illinois and Lester attended school for the first time. Three years later Justus took advantage of the 1850 military land bounty law and applied for a claim in Iowa (Scott, 1976; Commanger, 1967). In 1855 the Ward family moved to Iowa to homestead. However, in January 1857, Ward's seventy-year old father died and the family moved back to Illinois in the spring. Ward's mother moved in with her only daughter in St. Charles, Illinois. Erastus and Lester moved back to the family's abandoned house in Joliet and became agricultural labourers in the summer of

1857. During the winter of 1857-58, Ward worked on Rufus Smith's farm and attended grammar school.

Smith, who knew Canadian French, taught young Ward the language. Ward began a lifelong habit of keeping a diary in French to maintain his language skills (Scott, 1976; Commanger, 1967; Chugerman, 1939). Ward simultaneously taught himself French, Greek, and Latin by reading texts in those languages. In the spring of 1858 Erastus and Lester moved to Myersburg, Pennsylvania where they worked in the wheel hub shop of their brother, Cyrenus Osborne Ward[1]. The recession of 1858 led to the failure of the shop in 1860. They could only pay themselves in wheel hubs when the business failed. For the next two years Ward bartered wheel hubs for food, and took farm labour jobs during summer months for cash.

During this period Ward obtained a teaching job at a township school for the winter terms of 1860-61 and 1861-62. It paid six dollars a month. Money saved from these jobs, along with funds borrowed from friends and relatives, allowed Ward to accumulate enough money to attend three terms of law-school preparation at the Susquehanna Collegiate Institute in Towanda, Pennsylvania. He attended for two terms in 1861 and a third in 1862. Ward had aspired to attend Lafayette College at Easton to study law. But while at Towanda, Ward learned

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[1] Cyrenus Ward was also a highly esteemed writer. He penned and published THE ANCIENT LOWLY (2 Volumes), a history of the working classes since Ancient Rome. And, he also wrote THE EQUILIBRATION OF HUMAN APTITUDES, one of the first (if not the first) statistical analysis of America's working class.

that he was not fully accepted by his socially and economically privileged fellow students. This experience gave Ward an underlying fear that he would not be allowed to attend Easton (Scott, 1976; Commanger, 1967; Chugerman, 1939).

On August 12, 1862, Lester Frank Ward mustered into the 141st Regiment of the Pennsylvania Volunteers to fight for the Union in the American Civil War. The next day, Ward married Elizabeth (Lizzie) Caroline Vought. After a brief five day honeymoon, he was shipped out to Harrisburg. At the Battle of Chancellorsville on May 3, 1863, Ward was wounded by three bullets - one in his right knee and two to his thighs - and captured by the Confederate troops. Two weeks later Ward and other wounded Union soldiers were traded for Confederate wounded soldiers.

Ward's personal feeling about the war is best summed up in a statement he made years later about a young flag carrier killed near him at Chancellorsville: "It was so pitiful, so useless, so ugly, I covered the lad with his beautiful flag" (Scott, 1976: 19). This incident, along with his other battle experiences, convinced Ward of the ugly reality that war is legalized murder on a national scale. He had come to the conclusion that his enemies were not the opposing soldiers, but rather ignorance and oppression. This left a lasting impression with Ward that only through education would ignorance and oppression be defeated. Ward spent the summer of 1863 in a Union Hospital. In the Fall, Ward was

transferred to the Veterans Reserve Corps. While there, he tutored officers in Latin and French and was promoted to sergeant.

By the fall of 1864 Ward saw that he had little future with the Veterans Reserve Corps and applied for a disability discharge. On November 18, 1864, he was discharged from the Army. He made a short trip back to Pennsylvania to take his pregnant wife to her parents while he returned to Washington and collected what the government owed him: a job.

In hope of gaining employment Ward had written countless letters throughout the winter of 1864-65. These letters were sent to the Pensions Bureau, the Secretary of the Treasury, the Secretary of War, congressional representatives from Illinois and Pennsylvania, and President Lincoln. During this time Ward carefully rationed his mustering-out pay but each month he moved downward in rooming houses. Finally, in February 1865, the federal Treasury Department hired Ward as a temporary minor clerk. In May, the Treasury Department informed Ward that his temporary clerkship would become permanent in July. This allowed Ward to rent a house and send for Lizzie (Scott, 1976; Commanger, 1967; Chugerman, 1939). Their only child (Roy Fontaine) was born on June 14, 1865, but the child contracted pneumonia and died in May 1866.

Ward was transferred and promoted to the new Bureau of Statistics in January 1867. During the winter of 1867 he visited professors at Columbian College (George Washington

University) and persuaded them to establish academic night classes for government clerks. In March, Ward enrolled in these night classes and received his Bachelor of Arts Degree from Columbian College in 1869. Meanwhile, Lizzie obtained her valedictory certificate from the Women's Union Seminary the same year.

On June 18, 1869 Ward began work on a manuscript that would consume 14 years of his life; DYNAMIC SOCIOLOGY. In 1870, he was promoted to librarian of the Bureau of Statistics. Continuing with night classes, Ward earned his Bachelor of Laws from Columbian College and was admitted to the local bar association in 1871. However, he never practiced law claiming his conscience would not allow him to do so.

On March 25, 1872, while Ward was attending night classes his wife, Lizzie Caroline, had an attack of appendicitis and died. Ward considered this the greatest tragedy[2] of his life and reportedly said: "This sad event threw a gloom over my life and left a blank never again completely filled...." (quoted in Scott, 1976:25 & Chugerman, 1939:34). This caused Ward to throw himself even harder into academic endeavours that sent him on a career producing over 600 published

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[2] In April 1865 Ward's brother, Erastus whom Ward was closest of all his siblings, died from battlefield wounds received during the Civil War. This drove Ward into deep sorrow. (see: Scott, 1976: 21)

articles and books, mainly on sociology, botany and palaeobotany.

Still attending night classes, in 1872 Ward received his Master of Arts in science and medicine, which would allow him to practice as a medical doctor; he never did. Ward continued attending classes in botany and taxidermy. He also was made Chief of the Division of Navigation and Immigration Statistics in 1872. In the summer of the same year Ward met Rosamond Simons Pierce, a widow from New York. On March 6, 1873 Lester and Rosamond were married.

Later that year Ward joined the Potomac-Side Naturalist Society, a society composed of government scientists and science professors, through which he met Major John Wesley Powell, who was the head of the United States Geological Survey. In 1875, Powell secured a temporary transfer from May until October for Ward to serve as a botanist on an expedition in Utah's Wasatch Mountains. From this expedition, Ward began publishing articles on botany in journals through the latter part of the 1870's. During 1879, Ward was a founding member of the Washington Biological Society (he later was president, 1890-91), of the Washington Anthropological Society, of the Philosophical Society, and of the Cosmos Club (a club that tied together members of various academic societies into a common fraternity).

Ward resigned from the Bureau of Statistics in 1881 to become a palaeobotanist for the United States Geological

Survey. In 1883, Ward was promoted to Chief Palaeobotanist of the Division of Fossil Plants of the Geological Survey. This allowed him to have his own office in the main Smithsonian Building. To further the Geological Survey's studies of fossilized plants, Ward made annual summer field trips around the United States. He built a library of palaeobotanical works in the Smithsonian that was the best in the nation, if not the world. He also taught night school as a professor of botany for the Cocoran Scientific School of Columbian College from 1884 until 1886.

Ward's work, DYNAMIC SOCIOLOGY (in two volumes), begun in 1869, was finally published in 1883 after Ward had mortgaged his house to pay for the publishing costs. Subsequently, Richard Ely of John Hopkins University and Albion Small of Colby College were assigning DYNAMIC SOCIOLOGY as a reader in their respective sociology courses. During the 1880's Ward became increasingly more interested in sociology. Between the years 1881 and 1889 Ward published 21 articles on sociology. In 1890, Richard Ely, a member of the Cosmos club, introduced Ward to Albion Small. This was the beginning of Ward's acceptance as a serious academic into the discipline of sociology.

Throughout the 1890's, Ward continued his annual summer field trips around the United States for the Geological Survey and continued publishing on palaeobotany. In 1892 he was promoted to chief palaeobotanist in the Geological Survey and

named Vice-President of the Section on Economic Science and Statistics of the American Association for the Advancement of Science.

In 1894 Ward attended the International Geological Congress at Zurich as the representative for the United States Geological Survey and during this congress he made contact with several European sociologists. In 1899 Charles Walcott, a colleague of Ward's from the Geological Survey, introduced Ward to the money making diversion of writing the botanical entries for the Supplement to WEBSTER'S INTERNATIONAL DICTIONARY, OXFORD DICTIONARY, and the CENTURY DICTIONARY. Ward also made his last field trip during the same year to the petrified forest of Arizona. From this trip he issued a report that recommended that the petrified forest be made into a preservation area. The federal government complied with his recommendation, much to Ward's credit.

Ward and Richard Ely created the American Economic Association (AEA) during the early 1890's. During the summer of 1891, while on a field trip in Arizona, Ward drafted his book PSYCHIC FACTORS OF CIVILIZATION, a book detailing the psychological basis of social structures and social processes. The book was published in 1893.

Ward was diverting more and more of his time from palaeobotany to sociology during the 1890's. Throughout the 1890's, Ward taught at least one session per year of sociology courses at various universities (including Columbia, the

Hartford School of Sociology, the University of Wisconsin, and the University of Chicago). In 1895 he was asked by Albion Small to be an advisory editor of the American Journal of Sociology (AJS) and to be a contributing author defining the relationship of sociology to other sciences. Ward accepted. Between 1895 (first issue of the AJS) and 1905, Ward was the most prolific writer in the AJS.

He also received a Doctor of Laws from Columbian College in 1897. In 1898 Ward's OUTLINES OF SOCIOLOGY was published, this manuscript is a revision of Ward's first twelve articles published in the AJS (1896-1897) that defined the relationship of sociology to other sciences.

Ward spent the summer of 1900 in London attending the Geological Congress, then went to Paris to attend the congress of the Institut Internationale de Sociologie, where he was elected president of the Institut Internationale de Sociologie for 1900-1903. In 1903 he spent the summer in Europe attending the Geological Congress in Vienna and the congress of the Institut Internationale de Sociologie. While in Europe, Ward made visits to Ludwig Gumplowicz and influenced Gumplowicz's conflict theory as well as being influenced by it. That year PURE SOCIOLOGY was published. Ward resigned from the Geological Survey in 1905 and co-authored with James Quayle Dealey A TEXT-BOOK OF SOCIOLOGY, a synopsis of Ward's previous works, which facilitated student access to those works.

J. Q. Dealey of Brown University and C. Veditz of George Washington University arranged a plenary session for a breakaway faction of sociologists from the AEA and formed the American Sociological Society (ASS) in December of 1905. Ward was elected, by acclamation, as the first president of the American Sociological Society (American Sociological Association).

In 1906 he was made chair and professor at Brown University in Providence Rhode Island. His work, APPLIED SOCIOLOGY, which proved to be his best seller, was published in the same year. Throughout 1900-1911 Ward was a visiting lecturer at the University of Wisconsin, the University of Chicago, and Columbia University. Ward attended the Berne Congress of the Institut Internationale de Sociologie in 1911 and went on to Hamburg for the Monist Congress. While there, he visited Ernst H. Haeckel the creator of the theory of materialistic monism.

On April 18, 1913 while visiting his invalid wife (who had a devastating stroke in 1908) in Washington, D.C., Lester Frank Ward died.

CHAPTER III:

WHY WARD'S WORKS WERE MARGINALIZED FROM MAINSTREAM SOCIOLOGY

Ross (1991: 92) cited Crick (1960) as identifying Lester Ward " as a, if not *the*, founder of Political Science in America." Hofstadter (1959: 65) states that Ward was the "author of the first comprehensive sociological treatise written in the United States." Chugerman (1939: 70) states that, "Ward practically single-handed, founded sociology in America." Mitchell (1937: 47), while working as a sessional lecturer at Brown University in 1909, witnessed Albion Small address Lester Ward as "the Father of American Sociology." Furthermore, Chugerman (1939: 65) and Mitchell (1937: 45), both argue that Ward was better known in Europe than in America. Considering the above legacy, one would think Ward should be honoured as a "classical master".

Yet, Ward's works are neglected by present-day sociologists. A review of the SOCIAL SCIENCE CITATION INDEX, at five year intervals between 1969 to 1993, bears evidence that Ward and his works are ignored, compared to the works of his academic adversaries, Sumner and Spencer (see Table 1).

Commanger (1967: xxii) states Ward was "neglected in his own day ... and almost forgotten since." And, Commanger (1967: v) illustrates the present-day neglect of Ward by stating:

> Ward published many books and some six hundred papers, yet his works are largely unread today and not one of his books is now in print.

Table 1	Number of Times Cited		
Years	Ward	Sumner	Spencer
1969	3	19	22
1974	3	13	74
1979	7	30	67
1984	5	20	61
1989	5	13	64
1993	3	27	48

(source: SOCIAL SCIENCE CITATION INDEX, various years)

Chugerman (1939: 68) commenting on the neglected works of Ward's had the following to say:

> Since his death, they have either been buried in the flood of technology or sentimental pseudo-scientific froth which passes for sociology, or been pushed aside by the works of many sociologists who have borrowed large sections of his thought, without giving him the least credit for it.

Bulmer (1984: 10) claims that Ward's academic position was marginal and severely limited any influence he might have had on sociology's future development. Furthermore, Bulmer (1984: 8) suggests that because Ward lacked a university position for most of his life he was not able to influence enough students to carry on his ideas. But, W. G. Sumner, Ward's academic nemesis, was able to influence thousands of students because Sumner was a long-time professor at Yale (Bulmer, 1984: 8). Chugerman (1939: 70-71) points out that after Ward's death some sociologists, such as Rex Tugwell, publicly told students

that if they used Ward's works they could forget about being sociologists.

Apparently, nobody has examined why Ward and his works have been ignored by sociologists. The current research uses network analysis to explore why Ward's works have been marginalized. A network analysis of Ward's ties with other American sociologists may illuminate why Ward simply "faded away". This chapter will explore whether this marginalization was due to the "irrelevance" of his sociology, or to some aspect of the networks in which he was embedded.

Network analysis is a structural approach to studying the social world because it places emphasis on the relations between social units (Collins, 1988; Ritzer, 1988; Wallace and Wolf, 1986). Network researchers analyze the ties between social units and determine their actual behaviour toward each other.

The methodology of network analysis is strongly rooted in the empirical analysis of structures. This type of analysis has two dimensions: positional and relational. The positional approach addresses the pattern of relations between positions in networks, rather than the relations between specific individuals (Berkowitz, 1982; Burt, 1982; Burt and Minor, 1982; Collins, 1988). For example, a study of the ties between the roles of professors and students within the structure of a university is a positional approach. The relational, or egocentric, approach analyses the ties that

bind particular individuals together as a structure, with emphasis on central individuals (Granovetter, 1973; 1976; Kapferer, 1969; Knoke and Kuklinski, 1982).

The relational approach to analysis depends on two measures: centrality (the degree to which an individual has ties within a structure) and prestige (the degree to which a central individual is the object of strong ties with others). These ties between individuals, are measured in two ways (Knoke and Kuklinski, 1982; Marsden and Lin, 1982; Ritzer, 1988). The direction of the linking behaviour indicates how the ties developed between individuals. The strength of ties is determined by frequency and duration of contact, the nature of individuals' roles, the reciprocal services which occur, and the intimacy of contact. An increase in any of these factors contributes to the strength of ties between individuals (Collins, 1988; Ritzer, 1988; Wallace and Wolf, 1986). The strength of ties between individuals may be the most important aspect of the egocentric approach.

Within groups, Kapferer (1969) found that strong ties determined individual success. Kapferer demonstrated that within groups, the individual with the strongest ties in the structure prevailed in arguments between two individuals. He found that the strength of ties between an individual and others in the group was the determining factor regardless of the content of the argument or who was "right". Kapferer's

study shows that strong ties are the most important form of relationship within a defined group.

Turning now to Ward, as was noted above, in 1870 he was made Chief of the Division of Navigation and Immigration in the Bureau of Statistics. This position provided him with the finances to earn a Master of Arts degree in science at Columbian College (which later became George Washington University) in Washington, D.C. The Master of Arts degree gave Ward the credentials to join the Potomac-Side Naturalist Club, a local society composed of scientists from the Federal Government, the Smithsonian Institution and various local universities (Commanger, 1967; Kimball, 1932; Scott, 1976). At the club, Ward met and became close friends with John Wesley Powell, a renowned geologist who worked for the Federal Government exploring the American West. Powell was impressed with Ward and in the spring of 1875, secured a summer transfer for Ward to serve as a botanist for an expedition in Utah.

In 1878, with Powell's help, Ward became a founding member of the Washington Biology Society, of the Washington Anthropological Society, and of the more exclusive Philosophical Society. The latter club provided the stepping stone for Ward to become the founder of the Cosmos Club, a gentleman's social club that served to tie members of the various Washington societies into a common fraternity (Scott, 1976). It was at the Cosmos Club that Ward met and befriended

Richard Ely, a social science professor at John Hopkins University.

In 1880, John Powell was able to develop and implement the Geological Survey, a scientific arm of the American Government and the Smithsonian Institution. Powell offered Ward a position as geologist and Ward immediately accepted. Ward was transferred from the Bureau of Statistics to the Geological Survey in 1881, and less than two years later he was made head of the Palaeobotany division (Commanger, 1967; Kimball, 1932; Scott, 1976). Ward's labour of love, DYNAMIC SOCIOLOGY, was ready to publish by 1883, but Ward did not have the connections to get it published. Ward went to Powell and his head geologist, Charles Walcott, for help to get his book published. Walcott personally knew Edward L. Youmans, editor and owner of POPULAR SCIENCE MONTHLY, the magazine that introduced Herbert Spencer's works to America. Walcott initiated the meeting between Ward and Youmans, and the editor agreed to publish Ward's book. Youmans, who personally knew Spencer and William Graham Sumner, an American social scientist who specialized in Spencer's work at Yale, introduced Ward to both men at a dinner honouring Spencer in New York in 1882 (Scott, 1976; Kimball, 1932).

Between 1883 and 1890, Ward had written twenty-one articles in the area of sociology, primarily critiques of the works of Spencer and Sumner. With the exception of one article, all the articles were published in the journal FORUM.

Ward became increasingly interested in sociology during the 1890's (Commanger, 1967; Kimball, 1932; Scott, 1976). In 1890, Ward and Ely formed a society called the American Economic Association. Members of the association shared in common the rejection of the "laissez-faire" doctrine of the Manchester School. They favoured the application of scientific procedures to the study of political economy and believed government activity could improve society. Ely, who had been assigning Ward's DYNAMIC SOCIOLOGY in his university classes, introduced one of his graduate students, E. A. Ross, to Ward in 1890. Ross became Ward's closest friend. And, through this friendship Ross met and married Ward's niece (Scott, 1976: 62). Later, in 1899, while teaching at Stanford, Ross "was eased out" due to his sympathies with labour (Vine, 1959: 176). During 1890, Ely introduced Ward to Professor Albion Small of Colby College, who had also been teaching from DYNAMIC SOCIOLOGY.

By 1891, Lester Frank Ward's network of American sociologists included Sumner, Small, Ross and Ely. Ross was born on an Illinois farm, but was orphaned at eight years of age (Vine, 1959: 176). Ely was the son of an evangelical family of New England (Ross, 1991: 102). Sumner was a professor of sociology at Yale and an ardent teacher of Spencer's "Social Darwinism". He also was a trained Baptist minister (Ross, 1991: 56; Vine, 1959: 92). One aspect of "Social Darwinism" is that the rich are rich because of a

natural process of selection (Galbraith, 1977: 45). Because of this aspect the economic elites of America, during this time, were staunch supporters of "Social Darwinism" (Ritzer, 1988; Galbraith, 1977). And, one of the major rich American supporters was John D. Rockefeller, who was a fervent Baptist (Harr and Johnson, 1988; Hawke, 1980; Galbraith, 1977). Small, besides being a professor of social science, was a Baptist minister (Bulmer, 1984; Christakes, 1978; Dibble, 1975). Furthermore, Small attempted using sociology as a rationalization for Christian principles (Ross, 1991: 124; Christakes, 1978: 66).

In the late 1880's, Rockefeller and other elite Baptists decided to begin a Baptist University (Dibble, 1975; Faris, 1967; Bulmer, 1984; Christakes, 1978). Faris (1967: 23) stated, "Rockefeller wanted to use his wealth to start a college to provide the sort of moral training favored by his theological views." Harr and Johnson (1988: 23) point out, "He had made the University of Chicago commitment only after years of hearing about the need from his Baptist Brethren." Rockefeller pledged six hundred thousand dollars to the building of the University of Chicago in 1889 (Hawke, 1980). By 1892, Rockefeller had donated two million two hundred thousand dollars for the building of the University of Chicago (by 1910 J.D. Rockefeller had donated a total of thirty-five million dollars to the University of Chicago) (Harr and Johnson, 1988: 15; Bulmer, 1984: 21). Rockefeller enlisted

another fervent Baptist, William Rainy Harper who was a professor at Yale, to be president of this new Chicago university (Faris, 1967; Bulmer, 1984; Christakes, 1978; Harr and Johnson, 1988). Harper recruited Albion Small, a sociology professor at John Hopkins University and a Baptist minister, to initiate and develop a sociology department at the new University of Chicago (Dibble, 1975; Faris, 1967; Bulmer, 1984; Christakes, 1978). Furthermore, the University of Chicago's Sociology Department is considered to have had the greatest influence on the early development of American sociology than any other university (Ritzer, 1988; Wallace and Wolfe, 1986). In summary, there existed a "religious connection" of Sumner, Harper, Small, and Ely within the discipline of American Sociology.

In 1894, John Powell was forced out of the Geological Survey due to Congressional fear of his possible interference in Congress's control of Western land distribution (Scott, 1976). The loss of Ward's strongest tie in the Survey pushed Ward to turn his interests even further into sociology (Commanger, 1967; Scott, 1976).

In 1895, Small invited Ward to become an advisory editor of the AMERICAN JOURNAL OF SOCIOLOGY, and to contribute sociological articles. Between that time and the turn of the century, Ward was the most prolific writer for the AMERICAN JOURNAL OF SOCIOLOGY (Commanger, 1967; Scott, 1976). During this time, Ward also managed to teach, on average, one session

of special sociology courses per year at various locations, including the School of Sociology of Hartford, Connecticut, the University of West Virginia, the University of Chicago, Columbia University, the University of Wisconsin, and Stanford University (Scott, 1976). At Columbia, Ward met Franklin Giddings, who was the son of an evangelical preacher (Ross, 1991: 127). Hofstadter (1959: 79) states that Giddings was a disciple of Spencer and Bulmer (1984: 19) writes that Giddings was interested in quantitative methods only. Furthermore, during the 1890's, Small hired W. I. Thomas as a sociologist at the University of Chicago. Thomas had a strict religious upbringing under his father, a Methodist Episcopal preacher (Ross, 1991: 307; Vine, 1959: 230).

Later in the decade, Ward exerted a major influence on Thorstein Veblen and Ward's concept of the "principle of deception" was incorporated by Veblen in his 1899 book THE THEORY OF THE LEISURE CLASS --- from which, Ward took great satisfaction (Scott, 1976: 127). Veblen was the sixth child of twelve children of Norwegian farmer immigrants (Ross, 1991: 101; Vine, 1959: 191). According to Ross (1991: 205) Veblen was barred, for seven years, from an academic appointment due to his "irreligion". Vine (1959: 191) writes, "Veblen was eased out of the University of Chicago, and later requested to leave Stanford." Galbraith (1977: 60) sums it up best:

> Veblen moved from Cornell, to Chicago, to Stanford, to Missouri, to the New School in New York. All were glad to see him go: It is now the pride of all that he was there.

Commanger (1967: 279), commenting on Ward and Veblen, wrote "They were both outsiders — if not alienated from the respectable academic community, at least not welcomed into it."

By the turn of the century, Ward had established strong ties with Ely, Small, Ross, Sumner, Thomas, Giddings, and Veblen, all of whom were American sociologists (Stern, 1932; 1939; 1947; 1948; 1949; Scott, 1976).

Ward's works, as noted earlier, were an explicit attack on "Social Darwinism", but Ward's works were also a direct attack on orthodox religion (Scott, 1976; Chugerman, 1939). Scott (1976: 136) wrote, "Ward mobilized a considerable of his professional writing to combat religious orthodoxy." Ward's writings on religion were to illustrate the psychological origins of religion (Scott, 1976: 142). According to Vine (1959:86), Ward argued against organized religion because it maintains the status quo. Kimball (1932: 182) reports that most of Ward's writings on religion "are scathing and ironical criticisms against the religious views and superstitions of religious dogmatism." Ward was also "critical of the religious restraints placed on the role of women and on premarital sexual relations" (Scott, 1976: 137). Scott (1976: 140) also writes:

> Ward was convinced that religion and morality were separate human qualities that were confused only by false apologists of organized superstition.

Ward believed that the doctrine of an "afterlife", with its inherent fear on eternal damnation, did more to hold down the lower classes than any other religious dogma (Scott, 1976: 155-156; Ward, 1906: 93-94). In APPLIED SOCIOLOGY (1906: 94), Ward writing on the "afterlife" said:

> This diabolical doctrine has been the cause of more suffering than all the other religious errors combined, but it has been the main dependence in keeping the masses under complete spiritual subjection.

Scott (1976: 137-138), quoting Ward on religion, wrote, "any effort to subscribe to a belief in miracles would lead people back into past ages of superstition and would raise up a sect of disgusting spiritualists."

These attacks on religion brought reprimands against Ward from Ely and Small, two sociologists who believed the Social Gospel movement could use sociology to further its own ends (Scott, 1976: 146). Ward was warned by religious American sociologists that if he wanted a larger reading audience, Ward would have to moderate his stance on religion (Scott, 1976: 146). Scott (1976: 148) reported, that when Small asked Ward to not offend readers with attacks on religion Ward replied, "I do not write for the feeble minded."

In 1903, Ward severed his relationship with Albion Small because Small accepted a critical review of Ward's book PURE

SOCIOLOGY[3] in the AMERICAN JOURNAL OF SOCIOLOGY (Scott, 1976: 37). In 1905, Ward and Small revived their friendship, but it did not last (Christakes, 1978: 58).

By 1904, Ward had become increasingly disenchanted with the Geological Survey; in January of 1905, he resigned his position (Scott, 1976). In 1905, Ward and Dealey wrote and published A TEXTBOOK OF SOCIOLOGY, a book written solely for graduate students. Dealey also convinced the President of Brown University to offer Ward a position as professor of sociology (Commanger, 1967; Kimball, 1932; Scott, 1976). Ward accepted and immediately became the Chair of Sociology at Brown University.

During the years from 1906 to his death in 1913, Ward maintained his position at Brown University. Ward continued to teach summer sessions as a visitor at Columbia, Wisconsin and Chicago. Yet, Ward became more reclusive and seemed aloof (Scott, 1976). This aloofness of Ward may have been a misinterpretation. Mitchell (1937: 45), who shared an office

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[3] Ward severed his friendship with Small for two years after the acceptance of this critical review in 1903. Their friendship, after being revived in 1905, was never strong. (see: Stern, 1932; 1939; 1947; 1948; 1949). Ward also suspected he was being censored. In a letter to E.A. Ross, dated July 11, 1904, Ward had the following to say about Small: "I do not think his instincts have changed, but he no longer owns himself. I do not suppose that Rockefeller or Yerkes descend to petty censorship, but such things are always put in the hands of some clique of small men adapted to manage them...." (Stern, 1932: 316). Furthermore, in a letter from Ward, dated December 13, 1903, to Mrs. J. O. Unger about Small he said: "A change has come over the spirit of his dreams and I can only account for it on the hypothesis that he is under instructions from the capitalistic censorship that controls the U. of C." (Stern, 1932: 316).

with Ward at Brown University in 1909, observed, that "Ward was not of the academic type." In other words, Ward did not fit in the academic community and, subsequently seemed aloof.

By 1900, as noted earlier, Ward had developed strong ties to Small, Sumner, Giddings, Thomas, Ely, Ross and Veblen. In 1903, Ward's works were being severely criticized by other sociologists, including Small, with the result that Ward severed their friendship. Furthermore, Ward was being admonished by religious sociologists, such as Small, Ely, Giddings and Thomas, for his attacks on religion. This resulted in Ward's ties to these sociologists being weakened and Ward was left with strong ties only to Ross and Veblen (Stern, 1932; 1939; 1947; 1948; 1949).

Kapferer (1969) found that strong ties within groups determined individual success. Kapferer found that a worker with strong ties within his group can force the marginalization of a coworker with weak ties regardless of the nature of the dispute or whatever might be a just resolution. Kapferer was studying a group of workers at a zinc mine in Africa when a disagreement emerged between two workers: Abraham and Donald. Abraham, a senior worker accused Donald, a junior worker, of rate busting. The other workers involved either supported Abraham or stayed neutral. And when questioned no other worker raised the issue of rate busting when supporting Abraham. Instead, the other workers used different reasons to justify their behaviour. The most common

reason given was that Donald should show respect for Abraham (Kapferer, 1969: 209). In a show-down, Abraham garnered more support than Donald, forcing Donald to take a less desirable job somewhere else in the mine.

What could account for these events were the different networks of the two workers. Donald had fewer ties with other workers than Abraham. Furthermore, Abraham's ties to other workers involved socializing away from the job. A parallel can be drawn between Kapferer's findings and circumstances in Ward's sociological career.

By 1903, as noted earlier, Ward's works were being harshly criticized resulting in a quarrel erupting between Small and Ward (Stern, 1932; 1939; 1947; 1948; 1949). Furthermore, Small was chiding Ward for the latter's attacks on religion. Small was the senior sociologist, having been a professor for twenty years, while Ward was not a professor until 1906. Other sociologists began to admonish Ward for his attacks on religion and felt that Ward should show more respect towards religion. Ultimately Small acquired more support than Ward resulting in Ward and his sociological works being marginalized.

The difference in Ward and Small's networks among American sociologists that may account for the above events. Ward's ties to other sociologists were based on sociology only. Small's ties to other sociologists were based on sociology and religion. Small, Ely, Giddings, Sumner and

Thomas were attempting to integrate sociology with the Social Gospel movement. Ward, on the other hand, was trying to keep sociology and religion separate.

Of course, the conclusions suggested here do not provide a definitive answer to why Ward's works were marginalized and forgotten. Scott (1976: 103) cites one other reason why Ward was marginalized:

> In his own life time Ward was criticized for the use of biological analysis as metaphors in attacking a generation of evolutionary determinists he sought to discredit. Yet his very efforts made him vulnerable to the slings of a new generation who were themselves statistical determinists....Covering self-doubts with a veil of figures, the younger empiricists made statistics the new idol.

However, it is likely that Ward's anti-religious stance within the sociological community was a major contributing factor to the marginalization of his sociological works.

CHAPTER IV:

EXEGESIS OF WARD'S SOCIOLOGICAL THEORIES

Ward's entire sociology can be found in four books he penned and published between the years 1883 and 1906; DYNAMIC SOCIOLOGY (1883, 2 volumes), PSYCHIC FACTORS OF CIVILIZATION (1893), PURE SOCIOLOGY (1903), and APPLIED SOCIOLOGY (1906)[4].

DYNAMIC SOCIOLOGY (1883) was originally to be titled THE GREAT PANACEA. Ward had intended it to be a treatise on how society can better itself by educating all its members (Scott, 1976; Chugerman, 1939). He was attempting to demonstrate that society was performing a dysfunction by keeping the majority of its members uneducated. But, he decided that what he was writing was a book on sociology, arguing against the writings of Herbert Spencer (Scott, 1976; Commanger, 1967; Chugerman, 1939: Kimball, 1932). So, Ward retitled it DYNAMIC SOCIOLOGY as a direct opposition to Spencer's SOCIAL STATICS (1852). Scott (1976: 107) said that, "To guard against any charge of emotional subjectivity, Ward was careful to build his DYNAMIC SOCIOLOGY upon an impressive synthesis of all the scientific knowledge of his era." Nearly all of Ward's sociological ideas can be found in DYNAMIC SOCIOLOGY (Scott, 1976; Martindale, 1960; Chugerman, 1939; Dealey, 1927). This book of Ward's was the first opposing stance against Spencer's Social Darwinism (Bierstedt, 1981: 53). Small (1924: 333) believes that Ward's DYNAMIC SOCIOLOGY is "the starting point of the sociological movement in the United States."

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[4] According to Bierstedt (1981:50) "Ward's major works were published in translation in seven languages Italian, Russian, Spanish, French, German, and Japanese."

In summary, Ward's book provided an alternative to the evolutionary determinism of Spencer's works. Furthermore, Ward's rejection of economic determinism in DYNAMIC SOCIOLOGY helped to distinguish his theory from Marxism (Scott, 1976: 103).

PSYCHIC FACTORS OF CIVILIZATION (1893) argued that psychology, as opposed to biology, should be the basis of sociology (Scott, 1976: 107). In this book Ward was arguing against Comte, Spencer and Durkheim's denial of the "relevance of psychology to the explanation of social phenomena" (Bierstedt, 1981: 71). About sociology Ward (1893: 123) wrote:

> Upon biology it can only rest unconformably[5] and precariously, since it is felt that there is causal hiatus between them, but upon psychology it rests naturally and safely, since, as has been shown, the dynamic department of psychology becomes also that of sociology the moment we rise from the individual to society.

In essence, Ward was suggesting that the "biological" sociologists were ignoring the human mind, which Ward considered the most important factor in the development of society.

Bannister (1979: 127) suggests that PSYCHIC FACTORS OF CIVILIZATION helped shifted sociology from a biological

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[5] Bierstedt (1981:71) suggests that "unconformably" is a typographical error and the word should read "uncomfortably". The author of this work has read PSYCHIC FACTORS OF CIVILIZATION in its entirety and believes Ward intended the word to be "unconformably" because throughout the book Ward argued against Comte, Spencer and Durkheim attempting to make society *conform* to the laws of biology.

orientation to a psychological orientation. Chugerman (1939: 54) and Ellwood (1938: 721) claim that this book verifies Ward as the founder of social-psychology. But, Scott (1976: 131) sums up its importance when he comments that Ward's book,

> helped direct the attention of American sociology to the psychological bias of human and social behavior, a distinguishing characteristic of American sociology for many years in the United States.

PURE SOCIOLOGY (1903) was Ward's theoretical study of society's cultural sphere (Chugerman, 1939: 58). Ward believed that the answers to social problems lie in the cultural sphere, not the material-economic conditions (Scott, 1976; Chugerman, 1939; Kimball, 1932). Fuhrman (1980: 99) writes that, unlike Marx, "It was not capitalism as such that Ward criticized, but *certain* belief systems that were attached to it." In reference to PURE SOCIOLOGY's cultural viewpoint, Fletcher (1971a: 484) wrote:

> Ward did *not* make the error thinking that the basic activities and continued achievements of men were *material*. Indeed he was superbly clear that these achievements were the institutionalization of *knowledge* and *ways of doing things*.

To distinguish the material from the cultural, Ward (1903: 25) wrote:

> Achievement does not consist in wealth. Wealth is fleeting and ephemeral. Achievement is permanent and eternal. And now mark the paradox. Wealth, the transient, is material; achievement, the enduring, is immaterial. The products of achievement are not material things at all. They are not ends but means. They are methods, ways, principles, devices, arts, systems, institutions. In a word, they are *inventions*. It is

> anything and everything that rises above mere imitation or repetition. Every such increment to civilization is a permanent gain, because it is imitated, repeated, perpetuated, and never lost. It is chiefly mental or psychical, but it may be physical in the sense of skill.

In essence, Ward was arguing that the cultural sphere, or the passing down of knowledge, has a greater impact on society than material-economic conditions (Ward, 1903: 34-35).

APPLIED SOCIOLOGY (1906), was Ward's treatise on the betterment of society using sociological principles. In substance, it was Ward's effort to neutralize the misinformation of eugenicists such as Francis Galton and Cesare Lombroso (Bierstedt, 1981:81; Scott, 1976: 79). According to Scott (1976: 82) "Ward refused to accept the idea that the upper classes monopolized genetic quality, as they did wealth, or that the contrary was true of the lower classes." Ward believed that intelligence was evenly distributed among the social classes and that what is lacking is equal opportunity to exercise intellectual ability (Ward, 1906:11 *passim*).

In summary, Ward's DYNAMIC SOCIOLOGY (1883) laid out his entire sociological framework and was the first clear break from the evolutionary perspective. PSYCHIC FACTORS OF CIVILIZATION (1893) was Ward's expansion on the psychological basis of society to argue against biological determinism. In PURE SOCIOLOGY (1903), Ward was attempting to direct sociologists' attention to the importance of the cultural sphere over material-economic determinism. And, Ward's

APPLIED SOCIOLOGY (1906) was an extended polemic against the eugenicists of the era.

Small summed up best Ward and his sociology. In a letter sent from Small to Ward, dated December 7, 1903[6]: Small writing about Ward and his sociology said:

> You are not only ahead of us in point of time, but we all know you are head, shoulders and hips above us in many respects scientifically. You are Gulliver among the Lilliputians.
>
> (*quoted in* Stern, 1948: 719)

Indeed, Ward was ahead of his time, and radical in his thinking, as demonstrated by his gynecocentric theory. Ward, in his gynecocentric theory, postulated that men and women occupy separate spheres of activity on different planes (Bogardus, 1940: 316). Bierstedt (1981: 62) writes that Ward argued, "The relationship between the sexes has become a castelike relationship, with men undeservedly in the superior position." Ward (1883a: 642-647) describes sexual inequalities under four headings: 1) inequality of dress; 2) inequality of duties; 3) inequality of education; and 4) inequality of rights. But, we should look at each of these four statements separately.

Ward believed that modern women's manner of dress "symbolizes her dependent and subordinate place in society, which renders her incapable of making innovations on behalf of

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[6] As noted earlier, Ward severed his friendship with Small in 1903 because of the latter's criticisms of Ward's works. This letter was an attempt, by Small, to reconcile their differences. See Stern (1948:718-720).

her own sex" (1883a: 643). The inconvenient and unmanagable character of women's dress also caused women much suffering (Ward, 1883a: 642). In reference to duties, Ward (1883a: 643) argued that the belief that women are not able to do men's work is the most fatal dogma in existence as well as being transparently false. He correctly identified the double ghetto sphere women live: that they work at jobs in factories and then they do all the housework at home. Furthermore, the "norm" that in-doors at home is the world of women and out-doors away from home is the world of men assumes that:

> nature designed women to breathe carbonic acid and men oxygen; that sunlight is poisonous to women, but exhilarating to all other animate beings; and that physical exercise, which is necessary to the health of all other animate beings, is fatal to the female portion of the human species.
>
> (Ward, 1883a: 645).

And, if this dogma is allowed to continue it will lead to a general degeneracy of the whole human race (Ward, 1883a).

As for education, Ward succinctly stated that:

> Not content with shutting woman out of all opportunities for gaining knowledge by experience, society has seen fit to debar her also from the knowledge acquired by instruction.
>
> (Ward, 1883a: 645).

In matters of rights, "It is as a citizen that woman's position has reached its lowest and most dependent status" (Ward, 1883a: 647). Furthermore, society's laws have been constructed to discriminate severely against the personal and proprietary rights of women (Ward, 1883a: 646).

Throughout his major works, Ward argued for a radical change in society to facilitate the equality of the sexes (Scott, 1976; Chugerman, 1939; Kimball, 1932). Ward (1883a: 657) stated:

> Civilization demands this revolution....Woman is half of mankind. Civilization and progress have hitherto been carried forward by the male half alone....It is high time that all the forces of society were brought into action, and it is especially necessary that those vast, complementary forces which woman alone can yield be given free rein, and the whole machinery of society be set into full and harmonious operation.

Ward also used the cross cultural study approach to assert his gynecocentric theory. For example, Ward (1833a:653) cites UNITED STATES BUREAU OF ETHNOLOGY studies that demonstrate women are integral members of government among the Wyandots and many other Indian tribes of America. And, these are supposed to be less advanced societies.

J. Q. Dealey (1925: 269) best sums up Ward's gynecocentric theory:

> In his famous *Chapter XIV* of *PURE SOCIOLOGY* he sought to work out a biological and social argument to the effect that in nature femaleness is fundamental and maleness is accidental or variational. From this he reaches the conclusion that in humankind woman is at least equal and possibly superior to man in inherent worth, and that if woman were given larger opportunity and a more

> stimulating environment, she also would demonstrate her talent and genius and make achievement. He makes the point also that in primitive civilization woman was the great achiever in social creativeness and not the man. Hence he advocated the freedom of woman with full rights that she might take her rightful place in social progress as one capable of high achievement. This argument of his, first formally advanced in 1883, attracted wide attention and did much to give a sort of scientific basis to the demand for women's rights. His arguments in fact were widely used by women and did much to further that cause.

Ward's arguments were widely used by women, as Dealey points out. Chugerman (1939: 378) writes that Ward's "studies in sex were a prelude to the feminist movement, which his writings initiated in America." And, Barnes (1925: 305) states that Ward's gynecocentric theory "has been the fountain head of much recent feminist literature." But, the strongest evidence of Ward affecting feminist literature is Charlotte Gilman's dedication of her work *The Man-Made World* (1911: ii) to Ward:

> To Lester F. Ward, sociologist and humanitarian, one of the world's great men; a creative thinker to whose wide knowledge and power of vision we are indebted for a new grasp of the nature and processes of society, and to whom all women are especially bound in honour and gratitude for his gynecocentric theory of life, than which nothing more important to humanity has been advanced since the theory of evolution, and nothing more important to women has ever been given to the world.

In brief, evidently Ward is a, if not *the*, founder of academic feminism. But, whether one agrees or disagrees with this, one cannot deny Ward was ahead of his time.

Ward's works were opposing stances to the works of "social darwinists" of his time. These included, particularly, the works of Herbert Spencer, William Sumner,

and Karl Marx (Ward, 1907: 289-294). Ward argued that the individualism of Spencer's works and Sumner's works supports artificial[7] inequalities within society, while the socialism of Marx's works supports other artificial forms of social inequalities (Martindale, 1960: 72). Both of these extremes are grounded in the quantitative, linear, gradual perspective of Charles Darwin's theory of evolution, which Darwin had developed from the works of Thomas Malthus[8] (Galbraith, 1977: 45; Gould, 1977: 26).

Marx re-interpreted the works of Hegel, Ricardo, and Darwin to develop his major opus; DAS KAPITAL[9] (Ross, 1991: 177; Ritzer, 1988: 20; Gould, 1977: 14; Galbraith, 1977: 83-102). Ward believed that Marx and his works belonged to the realm of politics and not sociology (Ward, 1906: 10-11). Ward, as earlier noted, did argue against Marx's economic determinism in PURE SOCIOLOGY (1903). But, socialists incorporated Ward's ideas in their theories. For instance,

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[7] Artificial in Ward's view was the creation of structures made by human intelligence, rather than the blind forces of nature (Scott, 1976; Commager, 1967; Martindale, 1960).

[8] Gould (1977:13) states that "Darwin used Malthus to develop his theory of evolution." Ward (1907:290-291) writes, "Darwin admitted that he was led to his theory by reading Malthus' PRINCIPLES OF POPULATION."

[9] In 1869 Marx wrote to Engels about Darwin's ORIGIN OF SPECIES: "Although it is developed in the crude English style, this is the book which contains the basis in natural history for our view." Marx later offered to dedicate volume two of DAS KAPITAL to Darwin, but Darwin gently declined, stating he did not want to imply approval of a work he had not read. Darwin's copy of volume one is inscribed by Marx who calls himself a "sincere admirer" of Darwin (Gould, 1977:26).

Chugerman (1939: 75) writes, "Although Ward believed his sociology was irreconcilable with Marxism, the Marxists themselves used his ideas as stepping stones to a people's government in a co-operative commonwealth[10]." In short, the early twentieth-century Marxists were incorporating Ward's ideas to counter criticisms of economic determinism. Page (1964: 60) best describes Ward's main criticism of Marxism:

> Socialists and other reformers are, unfortunately, concerned with the ends, not the means which is susceptible of human manipulation.

Spencer developed his works from re-interpreting the works of Comte, Malthus and Darwin into one theory (Galbraith, 1977; Bierstedt, 1981).

Spencer (1891; *quoted in* Galbraith, 1977: 45) said, "I am simply carrying out the views of Mr. Darwin in their applications to the human race." Turner (1985: 16 *passim*) suggests that Spencer's theories did not incorporate any of Comte's works. Spencer claimed that when developed his theories he had no knowledge of Comte's work (Vine, 1959: 47; Barnes, 1947: 110). But, Vine (1959: 47) writes, "Because of similarity in ideas, it is difficult to accept wholeheartedly Spencer's insistence on his originality of thought." And, Barnes (1947: 110) adds to this by stating, "Comte traced the outlines, Spencer filled them in."

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[10] Arthur M. Lewis' EVOLUTION: SOCIAL AND ORGANIC (1908, Chicago: Charles H. Kerr & Company) part of the Socialist Standard Series of the era, is a prime example of Ward's works being interpretated by socialists for socialism.

Sumner, a disciple of Spencer, combined Spencer's works with the works of Julius Lippert to produce his version of "Social Darwinism" (Page, 1964: 76; Barnes, 1947: 157). Sumner was better known for "preaching" the laissez faire doctrine, in support of capitalism and capitalists, in the late nineteenth-century (Galbraith, 1977: 45-48). For example, Sumner said:

> The Millionaire is a product of natural selection...It is because they are thus selected that wealth — both their own and that entrusted to them — aggregates under their hands...They get high wages and live in luxury, but the bargain is a good one for society.
>
> (*quoted in* Galbraith, 1977: 47; Hofstadter, 1959: 44)

This is a clear indication of Sumner using evolutionary theory to support social inequalities that exist in society. But, his sociology was based on biological determinism (Scott, 1976; Commanger, 1967; Chugerman, 1939; Kimball, 1932). Ward was unaware of the term "Social Darwinists" and referred to Spencer and Sumner as biological sociologists (Scott, 1976: 118).

Lester Ward's sociological works were an explicit attack on the laissez faire doctrine and biological determinism of Herbert Spencer's "Social Darwinism" theory, the prevailing sociological perspective of the time (Scott, 1976; Commanger, 1967; Martindale, 1960; Kimball, 1932). Ward argued that Spencer and Sumner were ignoring the major attribute that separates humans from other species. This is "intelligence". According to Ward, humans, with their "intelligence",

artificially create social structures (e.g. stratification, gender and racial inequality). To emphasize this point Ward (1884: 569) stated:

> When a well-clothed philosopher on a bitter winter's night sits in a warm room well lighted for his purpose and writes on paper with pen and ink in the arbitrary characters of a highly developed language the statement that civilization is the result of natural laws, and that man's duty is to let nature alone so that untrammeled it may work out a higher civilization, he simply ignores every circumstance of his existence and deliberately closes his eyes to every fact within the range of his faculties. If man had acted upon his theory there would have been no civilization, and our philosopher would have remained a troglodyte.

In other words, Ward was arguing a psychologically based sociology against the biologically based sociology of Spencer and Sumner. To argue for a psychologically based sociology, Ward used the division of social phenomena into "statics" and "dynamics" as an underlying theme (Ward, 1893: 2 *passim*).

Ward emulated Comte by dividing sociology into "statics" and "dynamics" (Fletcher, 1971a: 486; Healy, 1948: 39). But, unlike Comte, Ward gave these terms a precise meaning. Vine (1959: 71) exemplifies Ward's definitions:

> He pointed out the confusion created by calling statics the study of social structure and dynamics the study of their functions. Function, Ward argued, is what structures do and is part of statics. Dynamics is concerned with the study of the change in structures.

These definitions of "statics" and "dynamics" are the *keys* to understanding the contemporary significance of Ward's sociology; because, present-day sociologists still teach that

"statics" is the study of structures and "dynamics" is the study of the functions of structures (Fletcher, 1971a: 487).

Ward (1895a: 207), arguing the "static" nature of function, wrote:

> ...function is essentially static....The object of function is essentially the preservation of forms. It has nothing to do with their modification.

In other words, the function(s) of any social structure only serve to maintain the existence of that social structure. Therefore, function is placed in the realm of "static" sociology. But, "dynamic" sociology is the study of changes or modifications to social structures and their functions (Ward, 1895a: 213). And, the study of changes or modification to social structures and their functions is the focus of Ward's sociology.

Ward also divided sociology into quantitative and qualitative categories, parallel to "static" phenomena and "dynamic" phenomena. Ward (1895a: 208) wrote that "merely quantitative change is static. In dynamic phenomena the change is qualitative." For example, charity work is "static" because it provides only temporary relief (*quantitative change*) for ever-recurring needs and maintains institutionalized poverty (Ward, 1895a: 215). But, as Ward argued, change or modification to structures and functions, such as charity work, requires "dynamic" phenomena (*qualitative change*).

In summary, Ward's sociological works were an attempt to have American sociology incorporate a qualitative perspective. Ward also directed American sociology towards a psychological base and away from the biological determinism of the "Social Darwinists" of his era (Bannister, 1979: 127). Furthermore, Ward tried to get American sociologists to look at the cultural sphere of society and thereby, place less emphasis on the material-economic deterministic view (Ward, 1903: 34-35). But, Ward's works may prove to be valuable for contemporary sociology. The next chapter will attempt to explain the relevance for contemporary sociology of Ward's works on the formation or modification of social structures.

CHAPTER V:

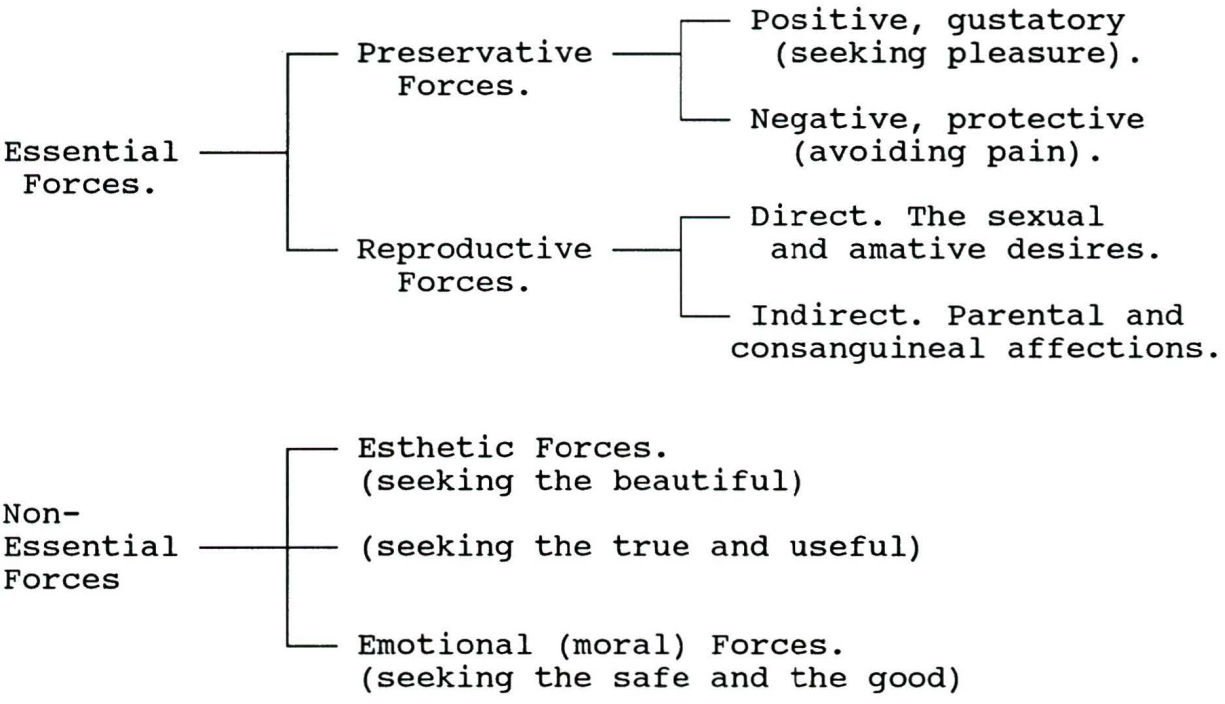
RE-INTERPRETATION OF WARD'S SOCIOLOGICAL THEORIES

Ward's works on the formation or modification of social structures have been virtually forgotten by contemporary sociologists (Scott, 1976; Commager, 1967). Yet, these works may be very useful for contemporary sociology. Ward argued that sociologists should not study structures for what they do (static sociology), but how social structures are formed or modified (dynamic sociology). Ward also argued that the dynamic phenomena that lead to qualitative changes are "social forces" (Fuhrman, 1980: 79; Chugerman, 1939: 163).

The term "social forces" was formally introduced into sociology by Ward (House, 1925: 157). Chugerman (1939: 163) ascertains that later-day sociologists have erroneously accredited "social forces" to mean persons, groups or institutions. According to Ward, "social forces" are the "desires" of people (Ellwood, 1938: 533; 1926: 312; Bogardus, 1922: 284; Ward, 1883a: 641). Ward divided these "social forces" into two basic categories; essential forces and non-essential forces (see Figure 1).

Figure 1

WARD'S SOCIAL FORCES[11]



(*source*: Ward, 1883a: 642; 1903a: 261)

[11] DYNAMIC SOCIOLOGY (New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1883), Volume I:472.

The essential forces facilitate the preservation of the individual and continuation of the species (Fuhrman, 1980: 79). These essential forces of nutrition and reproduction exist in all sentient beings, whether they are human or non-human (Ward, 1883a: 468). The non-essential forces are exclusive and important to human societies (Vine, 1959: 75). These non-essential forces of searching for the good and beautiful lead humans to create or modify their environment (Fuhrman, 1980: 77). These "social forces" do not conform to Newtonian Laws (Fuhrman, 1980: 96). In other words, they are qualitative in nature and cannot be analyzed by a linear, gradual, quantitative perspective.

These "social forces" or "desires" are the results of the memories of past experiences based on "feelings" (Scott, 1976: 109; Ellwood, 1938: 533). And, "feelings" are the *energies* that compel individuals to action (Scott, 1976: 109; Chugerman, 1939: 161; Ellwood, 1938: 533; Dealey, 1925: 266). At the micro-level, for example, one could imagine that one is "feeling" hungry. This "feeling" compels one to search for food. One finds that a three pound rib steak satisfies this "feeling" of hunger more than adequately. Later, when one is "feeling" hungry again one may "desire" a three pound rib steak because of one's memory of the previous experience. According to Ward, these "feelings" can be collective as well as being individual (Ellwood, 1926: 311-312). In other words, "feelings" are not exclusive to the micro-level, but exist at

the macro-level. At the macro-level, "feelings" are best summed up by Ward (1883a: 11):

> The motive of all action is feeling. All great movements in history are preceded and accompanied by strong feelings....Throughout all time past, the mass of mankind has been carried along by the power of sentiment. It has never been deeply moved, at least directly, by that of intellect....The immense success with which religious reformers have met has been due to the almost irresistible power of their emotional nature, and never to their intellectual supremacy.

In short, it is the "social forces" or "desires", based on "feelings", that compel individuals to form or modify social structures. It is with the concepts of "sympodial development", "social synergy", "social telesis" and "social equilibrium" that Ward explained the process of these qualitative changes.

Spencer and Sumner argued that social development is treelike in nature or "monopodial" (Turner, 1985; Scott, 1976; Vine, 1959). Ward saw that the facts of science, history or the social world did not conform to this viewpoint (Vine, 1959: 72). Ward argued that the formation or modification of social structure is "sympodial" in nature (Martindale, 1960: 70; Ward, 1903a: 72). Ward (1903a: 72) describes the difference between "monopodial" branching and "sympodial" branching as follows:

> In *monopodial* branching the stem or the main trunk gives off at intervals subordinate stems called branches, containing a comparatively *small* number of the fibro-vascular bundles of the main stem, which thus continues to diminish in size by the loss of its bundles until all are thus given off and the stem terminates in a slender twig. In *sympodial* branching, on the other hand, the main stem or trunk rises to a certain height and then gives off a branch into which the *majority* of the fibro-vascular bundles enter, so that the branch virtually becomes the trunk, and the real trunk or ascending portion is reduced to a mere twig, or may ultimately fail of support altogether and disappear through atrophy. This large branch at length in turn gives off a secondary branch containing as before the bulk of the bundles, and the first branch is sacrificed in the same manner as was the original stem or trunk; and this process is repeated throughout the life of the tree or plant, as might be naturally expected, the resulting series of branches is zigzag.

In other words, Ward argued that social structures or "sympodes" become new trunk lines of development and change to be supplanted later by new "sympodes" (1903a: 71-79).

"Social synergy" is the principle that explains the formation or modification of social structures (Healy, 1948: 47; Ellwood, 1938: 542; Ward, 1903a: 261). Theodorson and Theodorson (1969: 431) define "social synergy" as "the combined effect of behavior that is individually motivated but nonetheless results in social organization." This latter day definition is congruent with Ward's viewpoint. He argued that "social synergy" is the interaction of "social forces" or "desires" resulting in the energy that creates or modifies social structures (Bierstedt, 1981: 86; Ward, 1906: 131; 1903a: 183). In short, "social synergy" is the energy generated by the interaction of "social forces", which compel individuals to form or modify social structures.

"Social telesis" is the collective intelligence of individuals; it is not a force but it directs "social synergy" (Ellwood, 1938: 524). Theodorson and Theodorson (1969: 395) define "social telesis" as:

> The conscious and rational control of societal development in an orderly and intelligent way to attain purposive social goals. The term was used by Lester F. Ward in discussing the idea that it is possible for man to control not only the physical world for social ends, but also the social world for social ends.

"Social telesis" is the intellectual guide of "social synergy" for the formation or modification of social structures or institutions (Scott, 1976: 108-109; Pfautz, 1968: 476; Ellwood, 1926: 338; Dealey, 1925: 267). It allows individuals, as a group, to consciously transform the social world (Bogardus, 1940: 305). Social regulations and social institutions, or structures, are the result of "social telesis" guiding "social synergy" (Ward, 1903a: 545-548). In other words, "social telesis" is the principle of the artificial development of social structures, as opposed to the natural belief of social development that was prevalent during Ward's era (Ward, 1906: 12).

"Social equilibrium" is defined by Theodorson and Theodorson (1969: 133) as "the concept that social life has a tendency to be and to remain a functionally integrated phenomenon." This is congruent with the statement that a social structure, in a stable state, represents "social equilibrium" (Ward, 1905: 605; 1903a: 212). And, "social equilibrium" also is the resulting social structure produced

by "social synergy" being guided by "social telesis" (Ward, 1903a: 184).

To briefly summarize Ward's works on the formation or modification of social structures, "social forces", or "desires", interact generating "social synergy". And, "social telesis" guides this "social synergy" from one "sympode", or stable social structure, to the next social equilibrium, or "sympode".

Ward's concepts of "sympodial development", "social synergy", "social telesis" and "social equilibrium" could play an important role in contemporary sociology. According to S.J. Gould (1989), there is evidence that a paradigm shift has begun in the natural sciences from linear, gradual theory to catastrophe theory. As this shift occurs other scientific disciplines are likely to incorporate catastrophe theory (Gould, 1989). Therefore, the discipline of sociology may well find it useful to draw on the works of Lester F. Ward which, in a sociological context, parallel catastrophe theory.

Catastrophe theory, developed by Thom (1975) and Zeeman (1977), deals with qualitatively distinct forms and their transformations. The qualitative features of these transformations are recurrent, even though the circumstances giving rise to these features are never exactly the same in quantitative terms (Huggett, 1990; Wildgen, 1982; Saunders, 1980). For a very wide range of formative changes, only seven stable unfoldings - seven elementary catastrophes - are

possible (Zeeman, 1992; 1977). The unfoldings are called catastrophes because each of them has regions in which a dynamic system can jump suddenly from one state to another, although the factors controlling the process change continuously (Poston and Stewart, 1978; 1976; Zeeman, 1992; 1977). Each of the seven catastrophes represents a pattern of behaviour determined by the number of control factors: to a maximum of four factors (Sinha, 1981).

Catastrophe theory proposes that science has encouraged a one-sided view of change (Gould, 1991; 1989; 1987a; 1987b; 1985; 1983; 1981; 1980; 1977). The underlying principles of science are suited to analyze - because they were created to analyze - quantitative change (Thom, 1975). But, there is another kind of change, too, change that is less suited to quantitative analysis. Changes like a sudden cloudburst, or the qualitative shift in our minds when an idea sinks in. Catastrophe theory is a language created to describe and classify this second type of change (Poston and Stewart, 1978; 1976). It challenges academics to review the way they think about processes and events in various disciplines.

In social statistics, for example, the relationship between two variables can be expressed as a set of points on a graph, each standing for a certain level of x, a certain level of y. Then social statistics make it possible to analyze the process, determine its rate of change at an instant and its total change over time, and summarize it as an equation

relating x and y. As we have seen, though, a large portion of reality is not so obliging. The planets travel in stately Newtonian paths, but meanwhile stars explode into supernovas, empires fall (e.g. Soviet Union), and we change our minds. Discontinuity is as much the rule as the exception. It may be that a quantitative approach developed for continuous change is not the best way to understand such processes.

Catastrophe theory, using differential topology, starts from the premise that changes of form (in processes as well as objects) are real (Huggett, 1990; Arnol'd, 1984). So, because of its foundation in topology, catastrophe theory is qualitative, not quantitative. Just as geometry treated the properties of shapes without regard to their sizes, so topology deals with structures that have no magnitude.

A second theme of catastrophe theory is its adaptation to long-standing questions about the forms that recur often in structures (Zeeman, 1992; 1977; Poston and Stewart, 1978; 1976). How well does quantitative analysis explain the formation or modification of a social structure? No two social structures are quantitatively the same, but we can distinguish and recognize them by their similar, topological, qualitative behaviour (Huggett, 1990; Wildgen, 1982; Saunders, 1980). These "recurrent identifiable elements" can be characteristic shapes, like that of hierarchical structures such as governments. Or they can be characteristic stages of a dynamic process, like the formation of interest groups from

peoples's "desires" or the sudden shift of a country from socialism to capitalism. In any case, they have the property that can be called "structural stability" (Zeeman, 1992; 1977). Their qualitative features are recurrent, even though the circumstances causing the features are never exactly the same in quantitative terms (Poston and Stewart, 1978; 1976). The goal of catastrophe theory is to describe the origin of forms, which can be called morphogenesis (Zeeman, 1992; 1977; Huggett, 1990; Wildgen, 1982; Saunders, 1980; Poston and Stewart, 1978; 1976; Thom, 1975).

Existing theories go only a little way in explaining morphogenesis (Saunders, 1980; Poston and Stewart, 1978; 1976). For a simple process, one quantitative approach relies upon statistics, treating large-scale form as the average or most likely outcome of many random events. The heap of sand in the bottom of an hourglass is an example of such a statistically determined form. But, the more complex and highly organized the process, the less satisfactory this explanation becomes. Can averages and probabilities account for the formation or modification of a social structure? And, if they can, how can they explain from this the creation of new social structures?

Ward's concepts of "sympodial development", "social synergy", "social telesis" and "social equilibrium" can be re-interpreted for today's sociology using catastrophe theory as the conceptual framework. To demonstrate the contemporary

relevance of Ward's works one of the seven elementary catastrophes - the cusp - will be used. The cusp consists of one behaviour axis and two controlling factors (see Appendix A).

Controlling factor one can be used to measure hypothetical "social forces" one, while controlling factor two can be used to measure hypothetical "social forces" two. Any, or all, of the current sociological theories, outlined in Chapter one, can be used to measure the two controlling factors in terms of continuous or quantitative change. In Ward's terms, this is static sociology: the measuring of social structures in their state of "social equilibrium". These contemporary theories can measure the quantitative changes in controlling factor one from point *a* to point *c* or from low to high and back, and they can measure controlling factor two from point *a* to point *b* and back. But, if controlling factor one reaches point *c* and controlling factor two is simultaneously increased and reaches point *d* there is no where else to go but point *e*: a qualitative change to a new social structure. The qualitative change passes quickly as possible through the non-equilibrium state (the fold in Appendix A). This a relatively short period of time compared to their lengthy states of equilibrium. This type of qualitative change, in social structures, Ward referred to as dynamic sociology (Ward, 1883; 1884; 1893; 1895a; 1895b; 1898; 1903; 1903a; 1905; 1907a; 1907b; 1908a; 1908b; 1910).

In other words, when "social forces" one reaches *c* and "social forces" two simultaneously reaches *d*, "social synergy" is produced. This "social synergy" guided by "social telesis" makes the qualitative change from one "social equilibrium" to a new or modified "social equilibrium" - point *e* in Appendix A. Ward was the first sociologist to recognize this type of pattern of qualitative change in the social world.

The utility of Ward's works can be illustrated by applying Ward's ideas of "sympodial development", "social synergy", "social telesis" and "social equilibrium" to the development of Metis as a distinct nation of people. The Metis of Canada are considered a prime example of the qualitative formation of a social structure (Ward, 1903b: 731).

During the eighteenth century the fur trade expanded west of the Great Lakes. As the fur trade's workforce, the Metis moved west with the expansion into the Red River area (Giraund, 1986; Peterson, 1981; Dickason, 1981). Some of the Metis worked for the fur-trading companies as trappers, guides, and store keepers. But, the majority of Metis were contracted by the fur-trading companies to provide food for the trading posts (Harrison, 1985; Sawchuk, 1978; Sealy and Lussier, 1975). They kept small farms and hunted game, mainly buffalo, to fulfill their contracts with the fur-trading posts (Harrison, 1985; Sawchuk, 1978).

By the early 1800's, the Metis had established a coherent and cohesive society (Redbird, 1980: 11). The Metis had their own rules and laws and applied them to their own society (McKay, 1979: 24). They also had their own language - mischif (Giraund, 1986). The Metis did not have a permanent hierarchical government, but they did have temporary hierarchical governments for each time they went on the buffalo hunt (McLean, 1987: 37-38). When on the buffalo hunt, the Metis would elect a leader, called general or president, and twelve councillors (de Tremaudan, 1982: 13-14). This council was the government and justice system, but only during the hunt, after the hunt the council was disbanded (McLean, 1987: 37; de Tremaudan, 1982: 13-14).

In 1814, a fear of a shortage of food in Selkirk's settlement prompted Miles Macdonell, the governor of Rupert's Land for the Hudson Bay Company, to enact the Pemmican Proclamation on January 8, 1814 (Giraund, 1986; de Tremaudan, 1982; Sawchuk, 1978; Stanley, 1960; Prichett, 1942; Ross, 1856). To ensure the survival of Selkirk's settlers, the Proclamation demanded that all food be confiscated by Hudson Bay Company authorities (Giraund, 1986; De Tremaudan, 1982; Sealy & Lussier, 1975; Pelletier, 1974; Stanley, 1960; Howard, 1952; Prichett, 1942). During the years 1814 - 1816, the Hudson Bay Company authorities would forcibly enter Metis

households and take whatever food they found (de Tremaudan, 1982: 24-26). This instilled in the Metis the desire to be free of oppression (Purich, 1988).

During this time, Cuthbert Grant rallied the Metis around the concept of a "New Nation" in response to Selkirk's settlers and the Pemmican Proclamation (Redbird, 1980: 12). And, on June 19, 1816 occurred the Battle of Seven Oaks between the settlers and the Metis, which was decisively won by the Metis (McLean, 1987; Giraund, 1986; Dickason, 1985; Harrison, 1985; Ross, 1856). This victory produced in the Metis a strong awareness of their own power as a separate nation (Adams, 1989: 48; Sealy & Lussier, 1975: 41-42). And, the Battle of Seven Oaks is considered to be the pivot point when the Metis nation emerged (Adams, 1989: 47; McKay, 1978: 23; Sawchuk, 1978: 28; Lussier, 1978: 19-20). Cuthbert Grant was elected as the leader of the new permanent hierarchical government - Council of Assiniboia - of the Metis (Harrison, 1985: 20; MacEwan, 1981: 24). And, they raised their own flag as a symbol of this new status (Racette, 1987). From this point in time, the Metis viewed themselves as a people, as a collectivity, and what is more important, as the "New Nation"[12] (Giraund, 1986: 426; Harrison, 1985: 20; Redbird, 1980: 21; Daniels, 1979: 1; Morton, 1978: 27; Sawchuk, 1978: 23; Lussier, 1978: 17). In short, the Metis made a

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[12] For a detailed account of the rise of Metis nationalism see Marcel Giraud, THE METIS IN THE CANADIAN WEST, 1986, Volume 1, Edmonton: The University of Alberta Press:357-464.

qualitative change from one stable social structure, contract workers for the fur trade, to a new stable social structure - the "New Nation".

Lester Frank Ward was the first sociologist to formally recognize this qualitative pattern of development. Ward, as noted earlier, called this type of change "sympodial development". And, that is as one structure gives birth to a second structure the first structure disappears as the second structure gains prominence (Ward, 1903a: 72). Ward used the concepts of "social forces", "social synergy", "social telesis" and "social equilibrium" to analyze "sympodial development". These concepts are congruent with the concepts of morphogenesis and equilibrium, and qualitative change from one stable structure to a different stable structure explained by catastrophe theory.

In analyzing the Metis' development as a nation, Ward's concepts used within the framework of catastrophe theory's cusp model (Appendix A) will demonstrate the contemporary usefulness of Ward's works. In the case of the Metis there were two "social forces" or "desires" interacting, 1) Metis' desire to be free of oppression and, 2) Metis' desire to be a separate and distinct people or nation. Each one of these "desires" can be represented on the cusp model (Appendix A) as one of the controlling factors. When these two "desires" converge simultaneously at point *d* "social synergy" is produced. This "social synergy" is the collective energy

needed for a social structure to change into a new social structure. For the Metis, the Battle of Seven Oaks was the point that their social structure made a qualitative change, due to the interaction of their "desires". The qualitative structural change that occurred for the Metis was from one "social equilibrium", stable social structure of contract workers with temporary hierarchical governments, to a new "social equilibrium" - a stable social structure of a nation with a permanent hierarchical government. On the cusp model (Appendix A) this is represented by the "leap" from point *d* to point *e*. "Social telesis" is collective intelligence that guides individuals through qualitative changes from one "social equilibrium" to a new "social equilibrium". In the case of the Metis, their collective intelligence of a temporary hierarchical government, Buffalo Hunt Council, allowed them to pattern a permanent national hierarchical government - Council of Assiniboia. In short, the Metis' desires generated the energy they needed to make the change to a nation. And, their collective intelligence allowed them to form a nation structure.

In summary, Ward's dynamic sociology used with catastrophe theory's elementary models provides a useful explanation of changes to social structures. This type of analysis provides contemporary sociology with a unique perspective for analyzing qualitative changes in social structures. And, after all anyone with their eyes open can

see that most of the social world consists of qualitative changes. For example, one day one has a job and the next day one may be unemployed. Or, one day two countries are trading and the next day they are at war. Therefore, Ward's works are relevant for contemporary sociology because his works focus on qualitative change.

CHAPTER VI:

CONCLUSION: THE GLUE THAT WORKS

Many contemporary sociologists, as noted in chapter one, believe contemporary sociology is nothing more than a fragmented game of trivial pursuit. These scholars do not agree on why contemporary sociology has degenerated into this state. But, they do agree that contemporary sociology needs a methodological and theoretical centre to lift itself up from this situation. The purpose of this work is to demonstrate the contemporary relevance of Lester Frank Ward's sociological works, particularly his theory on the formation or modification of social structures. These works of Ward may be the "glue" needed to bind together contemporary sociology's fragments into a whole.

Scholars have described Ward as Gulliver among the Lilliputians and also as the American Aristotle. Ward mastered the natural sciences, the social sciences and languages. He was an educator, a geologist, a botanist, a palaeonbotanist, a social statistician and a sociologist. As a linguistic expert, Ward could fluently speak and read Latin, Spanish, German, French, Italian and Russian. He also could read Greek, Hebrew and Sanskrit. Ward penned and published over six hundred books and articles. According to Martindale (1960:70), Lester F. Ward was North America's first systematic sociologist. Ward was considered to be well ahead of his time by scholars of his era. This is demonstrated by his gynecocratic theory outlined in chapter four. And, highly

esteemed academics have credited Ward as being the father of social-psychology.

Yet, his works have been marginalized from contemporary sociology and not one of his books are now in print. As noted in chapter three, one reason for the marginalization of Ward's works may have been due to his anti-religious stance. Many of Ward's American sociological peers were attempting to integrate sociology with the Social Gospel movement. Ward, in opposition to them, argued that sociology and religion should be kept separate. Furthermore, Ward explicitly attacked organized religion as being dysfunctional for society. His American sociological peers held the "power" positions in the sociological community and they were able to marginalize Ward's works.

Ward's works were an open attack on the laissez faire doctrine that was prevalent among the established patrons of sociology of the era. But, as noted in chapter four, Ward also was attempting to get sociologists to look at the "dynamic" aspects (qualitative change) of society, rather than the "static" aspects (quantitative change). Furthermore, he opposed biological determinism and economic determinism which underpinned the sociology of his time. Ward strived to persuade sociologists to centre on a psychologically based sociology and concentrate on society's cultural sphere. He focused on the formation or modification of social structures to illustrate his "dynamic" sociology.

Since, most of what occurs in the social world is qualitative in nature Ward's works may be quite useful for contemporary sociology. Of course, Ward's works are somewhat problematic for contemporary sociology, because these works contain dated analogies and metaphors. But, Ward's work combined with catastrophe theory does provide contemporary sociology with a very useful framework for analyzing qualitative changes. Catastrophe theory, developed by Rene Thom, is a "scientific" language that provides the conceptual framework for explaining qualitative changes of structures. This combination gives Ward's "sympodial development" with its concepts of "social forces", "social synergy", "social telesis" and "social equilibrium" the contemporary framework to explain qualitative social phenomena. But, more important, this combination may provide the "thread" that stitches back together the "fragmented remnants" of contemporary sociology.

Contemporary sociology, as outlined in chapter one, is fragmented into five main "branches" of social theory. These "branches" are Functionalism, Conflict Theory, Symbolic Interaction, Phenomenology and Ethnomethodology, and Feminism.

Briefly, Functionalism is the study of the social world as an interrelated and interdependent whole (Ritzer, 1988; Wallace and Wolfe, 1986; Theodorson & Theodorson, 1969). On the other hand, Conflict Theory sees the social world as an arena in which groups "fight" for power (Ritzer, 1988; Wallace and Wolfe, 1986; Theodorson & Theodorson, 1969). Symbolic

Interaction studies the communication and interaction characteristics of the social world, which entail language and/or symbolic gestures (Ritzer, 1988; Wallace and Wolfe, 1986; Theodorson & Theodorson, 1969). Phenomenology and Ethnomethodology studies how actors construct reality in the social world (Ritzer, 1988; Wallace and Wolfe, 1986). Phenomenology is the philosophical side of social constructionism and Ethnomethodology is the empirical side (Ritzer, 1988:203). Feminism is the perspective of the social world that is women oriented (Ritzer, 1988; Wallace and Wolfe, 1986).

These five "branches" of social theory can be tied together under the conceptional framework of the combination of catastrophe theory and Ward's works. To illustrate this proposition this work applies the combination of catastrophe theory's cusp model (see Appendix A) and Ward's "sympodial development" of social structures to the development of the Metis' "New Nation". As outlined in chapter five, the controlling factors of the cusp model can represent the "social forces" that compelled the Metis to change from a non-distinct people of contract workers for the fur trade to a separate and distinct people - a "New Nation". There are two "social forces" or "desires" of the Metis, 1) desire to be free of oppression and, 2) desire to be a separate and distinct nation of people. These "social forces" can be measured on scales of low to high on the cusp model's

controlling factors. When these two "desires" simultaneously reach point *d* on the cusp model a qualitative change occurs from one stable structure to another stable structure. On the cusp model this represented as the "leap" from point *d* to point *e* (see Appendix A). And, in the case of the Metis this is represented by them becoming the "New Nation".

These "social forces" or controlling factors can be measured for quantitative change by the five "branches" of contemporary sociology. Functionalists could measure how interrelated and interdependent the Metis are with the Fur Trade Companies. A high functional rating would produce a low measure on the controlling factors. Conflict Theorists could measure the dysfunction between the Metis and the Fur Trade Companies and a high rating would produce high measures on the controlling factors. The Metis had their own language and their own flag. Symbolic Interactionists could study these symbols and others to help determine how strong are the Metis' "desires". The stronger the "desires" are then the higher the measure will be on controlling factors. Phenomenologists and Ethnomethodologists could study the Metis socially constructing their "New Nation" and add or subtract to the controlling factors' measures. And, Feminists could analyze these "social forces" from a women-centered perspective and determine a measure to be added or subtracted on the controlling factors in the model. For example, Metis women had full participatory rights in Metis society, unlike their

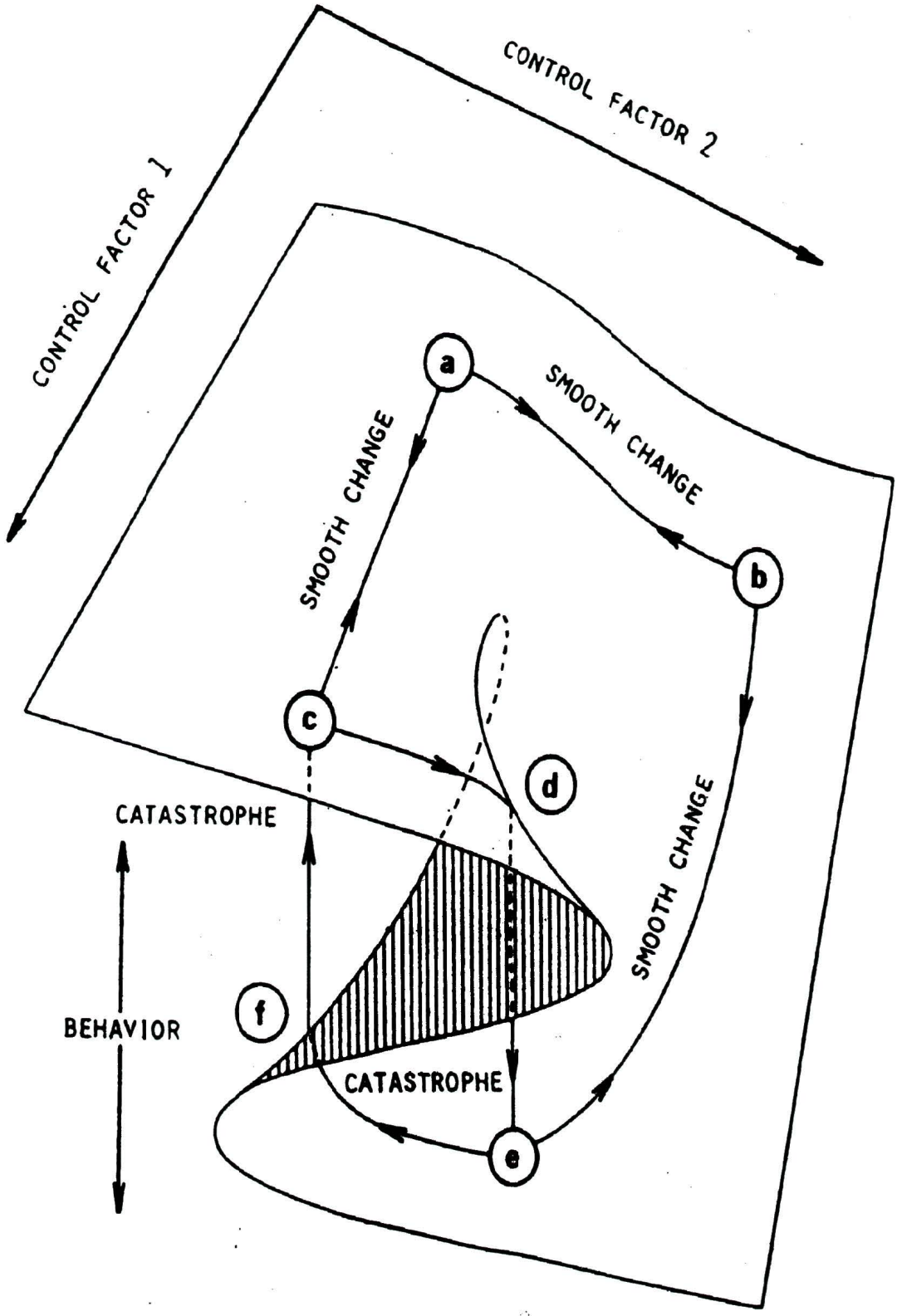
European counterparts of the time. Therefore, Feminists could examine Metis women's role to determine how effective the women were in assisting in the development of the Metis' "New Nation".

In summary, the fragmented social theories of contemporary sociology measure quantitative changes in social structures. Ward (1895a:208) contended, "merely quantitative change is static. In dynamic phenomena the change is qualitative." So, contemporary sociology is simply different perspectives of "static" sociology. And, "static" sociology is only the study of social structures as they are (Ward, 1903; 1893; 1883a; 1883b). "Static" sociology ignores dynamic phenomena or qualitative changes of social structures. And, most of the social world consists of qualitative changes. For example, individuals get married or get a job or commit a crime thereby, qualitatively changing their status. And, entire social structures have qualitative changes, countries have changed from communism to capitalism almost in as little time as it takes to "bat an eye". But, the different contemporary perspectives of "static" sociology can be tied together to measure quantitative changes that may or may not lead to qualitative change under Ward's dynamic sociology.

Therefore, by using catastrophe theory's elementary models as the conceptual framework, Ward's dynamic sociology and today's static sociology can be combined to give the discipline of sociology the theoretical and methodological

centre it so desperately needs to keep from "fallen into a polite amusement or dead science."

APPENDIX A: Catastrophe Theory's Cusp Model



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Author: [redacted]

M.P. McFadden

31 August 1995