CONTRIBUTIONS OF EARLY AMERICAN SOCIOLOGISTS TO SOCIAL GERONTOLOGY

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CONTRIBUTIONS OF EARLY AMERICAN SOCIOLOGISTS
TO SOCIAL GERONTOLOGY

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The exposition of all knowledge can in some way or other be bound to a chronological order. It is virtually impossible to conceive of the dissemination of a body of knowledge without a beginning even though it may also be impossible to delineate a specific point in time for its origin. Furthermore, whether the facts of a body of knowledge pertain to biological, physical, or social forces, they evolve from a multitude of beginnings. Knowledge is of an accumulative nature and its origin and development are never the derivative of the thought and work of one man.

The Problem and Its Purpose

The relatively youthful body of American literature in social gerontology is not the result of a single event or even the instantaneous awakening of American social scientists' problems of aging. It has its beginnings in the thought and work of many early American students of society although this fact is not always readily apparent.

The purpose of this thesis is to explore the writings of early American sociologists for attitudes and theoretical ideas concerning aging which individually and collectively
have formed the basis for current social theory in gerontology. The men considered are often recognized within the profession as "founding fathers, deans, pioneers (2, pp. 4, 75-78, 97), etc.," and they are men who have achieved outstanding recognition for their theoretical contributions to the general field of sociology. Considerable portions of the theoretical ideas and works of many early American sociologists have disappeared from the mainstream of contemporary sociological thought; other portions have been assimilated to the extent that they have become a kind of common property and are no longer associated with one particular person. It is not the purpose of this thesis to judge the validity or relevancy of the theories of the sociologists discussed herein for current problems in American society, but rather to give recognition to that part of their work which is directed toward or alludes to problems of old age.

Patterns or lines of influence among the men themselves, or extending into contemporary literature constitute an extremely important aspect of the problem and are delineated where possible within the justifiable limits and scope of this paper. Even allowing for human error and the possible oversight of some points and patterns of influence in the rather voluminous body of literature researched, and the unavailability of some works, this paper constitutes a representative statement of the attitudes and theoretical ideas pertaining to aging of the early American sociologists
discussed herein, and suggests possible lines of influence where these are not explicit. These men were for the most part classroom teachers and members of professional organizations, and it may be assumed that their ideas found other avenues of expression rather than just through their published materials. Hence general attitudes toward old age are of significant importance to the problem and are noted where discernible.

Sociologists to be Considered

Just as the most meaningful events in human experience are often conceptualized as beginnings, the important developments and achievements in the growth of an academic discipline are also represented as significant beginnings of "firsts." Even taking into account the accumulative nature of knowledge, the American sociologists and their works which are in this thesis are often given a "first" ranking. Such a ranking may be assigned to an individual for a reformulation of old ideas as well as the propagation of "new" ones, or it may be assigned because he has occupied a newly created professional position such as chairman of a pioneering department of sociology or the presidency of a learned organization. Among early American sociologists, the following are recognized widely as having contributed "firsts" in various areas of sociological endeavor: Lester F. Ward, William G. Sumner, Franklin H. Giddings, Albion W. Small, Edward A. Ross,

Howard W. Odum (2, p. 109), in his American Sociology, notes that Ward, Sumner, Giddings, and Small are often designated as the "fathers of sociology" and that some persons have been inclined to add Ross and Cooley to this roster. Park is particularly noted for his pioneering work in ecology and race relations (2, p. 133); Thomas in social psychology and methodology (2, p. 144); Ogburn, for the application of statistical techniques to social data and his theory of social change (2, pp. 150-151); Burgess, for his theories concerning the family, and more recently his work pertaining to old age (3, p. 170; 1, p. vi).

Sources of Data

The sources of data consisted of all the available books of the above named sociologists including articles published in scientific journals. With only a few exceptions, all of the books published by these men were available in one or more of the following libraries: North Texas State University Library, Duke University Library, or the Women's College Library at Duke University. Some of the journal articles were located only with difficulty, but the vast majority of them were easily accessible.

In addition to the above mentioned primary sources, more than thirty books on aging by about as many authors and
editors were pulled from the shelves of the three libraries and methodically checked for references to the works of the American sociologists considered in this thesis. Biographical information was taken from several secondary sources but those most frequently used were *American Sociology* by Howard W. Odum and *An Introduction to the History of Sociology* by Harry E. Barnes. References to all of the sources used appear in the respective chapter bibliographies, as well as the final one. A list of all indexes employed for original bibliographical purposes plus a list of all professional journals researched appears in the Appendix. Articles in non-scientific journals were not used as sources of data.

Method of Procedure

The first step in the research process was to prepare a bibliography for each of the ten men. This constituted a rather simple task with reference to books but a difficult one regarding journal articles. Often, secondary sources contained many references to journal articles but these sources were not available for all of the men under consideration. Consequently, the eleven journals listed in the Appendix were searched systematically for articles by the relevant men. *The American Journal of Sociology* proved to be the most valuable source of information because the dates of origin of most of the journals were too recent to include the works of the earlier writers like Ward, Sumner, Giddings, and Small.
Several general indexes, the names of which are included in the Appendix, were also searched under topics pertaining to old age but did not prove very useful. These indexes were indicative of the lack of interest in aging before the late twenties or early thirties. For example, it was not until 1929 that the Public Affairs Information Service Index included a heading for "old age." Under this heading were listed several governmental reports but no references to any of the relevant men. In 1937, the heading was changed to "age and employment" and in the ensuing years a few references were made to articles published in the American Journal of Sociology, but none by the authors in question. These articles were checked for cross reference to the works of the ten American sociologists under consideration but no direct links could be established.

A Classified Bibliography of Gerontology and Geriatrics by Nathan W. Shook (3) proved to be useful, but only to a limited degree. The original edition contained one reference each to Sumner, Ross, Ogburn, and Burgess. The two supplements extending from 1949 to 1961 contained only references to Burgess.

Each book and article, once located, was thoroughly checked for statements and attitudes pertaining to old age and particularly for cross references concerning problems of aging to the works of other men discussed in this thesis. The index of each book was checked for reference to the
following subjects as an additional means of reducing the possibility of overlooking relevant passages: aged, aging, charity, elders, gerontology, old age, pensions, poverty, social welfare, senility, retirement, and welfare.

In order to check for the influence of the men in question on more recent writings pertaining to old age, the indexes of between thirty to forty books on aging and related areas were checked. The links found in this manner are indicated at various points throughout this thesis but most frequently with reference to Ernest W. Burgess, whose work has gained considerable recognition among contemporary students of aging.
CHAPTER I BIBLIOGRAPHY


CHAPTER II

THE SOCIAL DARWINISTS: SUMNER AND GIDDINGS

The Darwinian concepts of "struggle for existence" and "survival of the fittest" were characteristics of social thinking in America during the last three decades of the nineteenth century and at the beginning of the twentieth century (9, p. 4). These concepts were generally applied to the life of men in society in an attempt to account for human misery due to competition and progress and also as a bulwark against "hasty and ill-considered social reforms" (9, p. 5). Inherent in "Social Darwinism" was the idea that society could be envisaged as a kind of organism, and that social change was a product of natural laws which worked very slowly, but continuously, to improve society.

The English evolutionist, Herbert Spencer, was most responsible for the dissemination of this philosophy, and he was tremendously influential with regard to the formation of theories of social structure and social change adopted by some American sociologists (9, pp. 4-7). Spencer, an organic analogist in the tradition of Auguste Comte, advocated a laissez faire policy toward social change. He believed that interference by man in the natural process of social evolution would result in a weaker and less fit society (9, p. 6).
According to his belief, aiding the poor and dependent meant survival of the unfit and would impede progress. Franklin H. Giddings, along with most other American sociologists, rejected the extreme laissez faire doctrine of Spencer concerning intervention in the processes of social change, but William Graham Sumner became a noted exponent of it (8, pp. 4-17).

William Graham Sumner

"He who would be well taken care of must take care of himself" (10, June 9). This statement epitomizes the philosophy of Sumner, who became Professor of Political and Social Science at Yale University in 1872 at the age of thirty-two and achieved renown as one of America's most astute scholars. He was a laissez faire capitalist oriented in his philosophy of life and social criticism by a consuming belief in the existence of evolutionary forces which work to determine all social phenomena irrespective of the efforts of men to control them. A recurrent theme in his work was the suggestion that there is a natural social order and that man can best serve himself by learning how to avoid interfering with it. Any effort to "make the world over" is an absurd one because "it [the world] has taken its trend and curvature and all its twists and tangles from a long course of formation" (15, p. 105). The following quotation is a summary of Sumner's belief
concerning the natural social order and the evolutionary forces which produce it.

The great stream of time and earthly things will sweep on just the same in spite of us. It bears with it now all the errors and follies of the past, the wreckage of all the philosophies, the fragments of all the civilizations, the wisdom of all the abandoned ethical systems, the debris of all the institutions, and the penalties of all the mistakes. It is only in imagination that we stand by and look at and criticize it and plan to change it. Everyone of us is a child of his age and cannot get out of it. He is in the stream and is swept along with it. All his sciences and philosophy come to him out of it. Therefore the tide will not be changed by us (15, p. 105).

Sumner never wrote explicitly on the problems of the aged or the fate of old people as a social problem in western civilization, and it can only be inferred what his beliefs concerning their welfare were. He wrote frequently of wealth and poverty but never mentioned how they pertained to the aged. One thing is fairly evident: he would not have favored supporting older people, who had become unproductive, out of private capital. Poverty was a part of the natural order of things and was to be accepted as such (14, pp. 107-111). He was quite outspoken on the point that money should never be taken from those who had it in support of those who did not.

Sumner believed that poverty was correlated with ignorance, vice, and misfortune. Prosperity was the reward of right living whereas poverty was the penalty of wrong living, and he attributed the latter to both neglect and incapacity (14, p. 108). Evidence presented later in this chapter
suggests that Sumner believed that old age was a form of incapacity that did not command any kind of special consideration. He argued that poverty could not be abolished by a more equitable distribution of goods advocated by socialists but only could be avoided through "sober, industrious, prudent, and wise" living (14, p. 109). For those who objected that the sober, industrious, prudent, and wise often become victims of misfortune, Sumner argued that the issue then was to determine a means of abolishing misfortune rather than poverty because of the inevitability of the latter. To attack poverty in any other way was to Sumner a dangerous interference with the natural processes of evolution. To those who did not accept his ideas concerning evolution but who expressed faith in the American political ideology, he argued that it was undemocratic to take from the successful to support those who were not (16, p. 222).

A few years earlier Sumner had belatedly acknowledged that "the community must be taxed to support insane asylums, poorhouses, and jails" (21, p. 394). He looked upon such institutions with regret because they wasted capital and because support of them meant that "industrious people all about, who were laboring and producing" must be parted from a portion of their earnings (21, p. 393). Because industrious people must supply the waste and loss of such institutions, "the bigger they are the sadder they are" (21, p. 394). Although older persons are not mentioned, they undoubtedly
constituted a portion of the populations of these wasteful institutions and evidently at the time of Sumner's writing were of no special concern to him.

Sumner also frowned upon supporting unindustrious and unproductive individuals by means of pensions—which includes the aged by implication. His comments on pensions were very similar to contemporary arguments against them which contend that "they destroy self-reliance and make the people dependent upon the state" (12, p. 410). Sumner remarked that "everybody who can get a pension votes for pensions regardless of justice, truth, right, public welfare, and all those other noble things" (16, p. 214). He was also disturbed because policemen, teachers, and other employees could organize to further their pecuniary interests at public expense (16, p. 214).

While in his late forties, Sumner made two addresses to groups of college students in which he admonished them to accept the advice of their elders and learn to profit by the mistakes of those who had preceded them. He suggested to the students that wisdom was never the result of a rational and direct effort to attain it but rather that wisdom manifests itself as a by-product of the accomplishment of many smaller tasks, varied experiences of life, and critical observation (17, pp. 6-7). Many young men, according to Sumner, "insist upon making experience for themselves" and therefore fail to profit from the errors of their elders—"thus the old
continually warn and preach and the young continually disregard and suffer" (17, p. 3). In the other address, Sumner, talking to a group of students at Hartford, made the statement, "Now there is nothing to which people apply more severe criticism as they grow old than to their education—they find they need it every day" (20, p. 417).

Also, while in his forties Sumner wrote one of his most widely acclaimed essays, entitled "Who Is Free," in which he made perhaps his most pointed statement concerning the fate of those who grow old. He stated that disease and old age "are the most pitiless hardships of life, the ones in the face of which liberty is the greatest mockery" (24, p. 293). He suggested that civilization had alleviated some of the pains of old age but did not further document or explain his suggestion except by saying that old age for the savage man was unendurable (24, p. 293). The practice of killing of the aged by children among savages, explained Sumner, did not stem from personal selfishness but existed because life for the aged in such societies eventually became unendurable.

His discussion in this essay implied that modern civilization affords a greater degree of liberty for the aged, but he did not give any causal explanation of this. However, his general thesis was that civilization strips a person of several liberties and the only people who realize "poetical liberty" do so by sacrificing all the other blessings of civilization (24, p. 309).
The fact that Sumner wrote frequently of the problems connected with poverty, public welfare, and "disease and other ills" (23, pp. 128-129) but never as they related to the aged is indicative that, as was suggested earlier, he did not regard their problems as worthy of special consideration or that he consciously or unconsciously avoided the issue. The former is probably true of Sumner in his earlier years, and there is some reason to believe that in his own "old age" he consciously avoided discussing the plight of elder citizens in the American society. For example, during the last decade of his life he wrote several articles, essays, and portions of books where problems of the aged in the American society would have been a relevant issue, but the topic was not discussed.

During this period he published *Folkways* and made his final contributions to *The Science of Society*, of which he was co-author. These two works contain Sumner's only direct discussions of the aged as a general topic. The passages pertaining to the treatment of the aged in both books are very similar and matter-of-factly portray customs and practices of primitive societies regarding old age. Both works are significant in that they contain the first statement by an American sociologist concerning differential treatment of the aged in various cultures and in various types of societies (i.e., nomadic, agrarian, pastoral, etc.).

Sumner noted that treatment of the aged varied according to the mores of the group to which they belonged (19, p. 309).
In *Folkways*, Sumner suggested that mores with respect to the aged were of two different kinds: (1) the elders are respected out of convention and are depended upon for advice and guidance, or (2) the aged must be removed when they become a burden to the group (19, p. 309). The latter is accomplished either by the aged themselves or by some relative.

Sumner pointed out that killing and abandoning of the aged was quite common among primitive, nomadic groups. Among such groups, when a person loses his agility and prowess, he loses "the only claim to respect which savages understand" (19, p. 309). The removal of aged from the group generally constituted an act of kindness which prevented both loss of respect and unnecessary suffering and probable death from sheer exhaustion as the group traveled from place to place.

Among more stationary groups, the elders represented a repository of wisdom for the group and were usually the source of authority. In such groups the practice of killing and abandoning the aged was uncommon except during periods when life was excessively difficult. He pointed out that killing of the aged generally increased during times of war and decreased with the return of peace (19, p. 328).

Concerning more civilized groups, Sumner mentioned in passing that history records instances of killing or abandoning of the old and weak when the only alternative "to the abandonment of one is the loss of all" (19, p. 328). He illustrated his point by relating how Colonel Fremont during his
exploratory journeys of 1849 had left certain members of the group to die when they were no longer capable of continuing (19, p. 327).

Paragraph 428 of The Science of Society (26) is entitled "Treatment of the Old" and very closely parallels the discussion in Folkways. For this reason it may be assumed that Sumner was the author of this particular portion rather than A. G. Keller, with whom the work was jointly published. Sumner's discussion in this passage, unlike that in Folkways, contained one statement which clearly revealed a definite attitude toward practices of killing and abandoning of the aged. He remarked that "the old and the weak are a severe burden upon people who are struggling for existence" and "it is no wonder, therefore, that they are often put to death or abandoned" (26, p. 2032). He again related that in most cases the killing of the aged constituted an act of kindness toward them rather than one of hostility. He also noted that mother-children relationships were stronger than father-children ones, and therefore, old women generally received kinder treatment than did old men.

Sumner's comments concerning differential treatment of aged in different cultures and in various types of societies have been recognized for their significance to the field of social gerontology. The introductory paragraphs of the third chapter of an often quoted book by Leo Simmons, The Role of the Aged in Primitive Society (13), closely parallels Sumner's
remarks in *Folkways* and *The Science Society*. Simmons did not indicate a specific source in these introductory paragraphs but later referred to Sumner's work several times in this same general context (13, pp. 86, 118, 163, 238, and 242). The second chapter in *The Aged in American Society* (2), by Joseph T. Drake, contains a similar discussion but Sumner is not indicated as a source.

Declining Health and Its Effect
Upon Sumner's Work and
Philosophy of Life

It seems rather ironic that Sumner did not mention the treatment of the aged in the American society or their problems especially at a period in his life when his own health and energy were steadily waning and he had expressed concern over his ability to finish *Folkways* and *The Science of Society* (26, p. xxiv). Shortly after completing *Folkways* Sumner lost use of his right hand and offered to relinquish the authorship of *The Science of Society* to Keller. Sumner was quoted by Keller as saying, "It will be your book now; I'll give you all I've got and you go ahead" (26, p. xxiv). However, through sheer will power and dedication to purpose, he regained some use of his hand and continued to write until he suffered a final breakdown in December of 1909 before his death in April of 1910.

While suffering with the "dead hand," as he referred to it (26, p. xxiv), Sumner managed to publish two essays in
which old age figured significantly. "Witchcraft," published in 1909, contained a discussion of several old women who were tortured or burned because they were accused of being witches. One 91-year old woman was burned as a witch when another woman named her as a companion at a witches' sabbath. Another elderly woman, 106 years old, was burned after she had been "dragged over the ground for a time" (25, p. 117). Sumner concluded that phenomena similar to demonism found in witchcraft were present in the American society at the time of his writing and warned that through "over-population and unfavorable economic conjecture, popular education would decline and classes would be more widely separated" thus causing the old phenomena to "burst forth again" (25, p. 126). He did not suggest what such repercussions would hold for the aged.

In the second article, "Religion and the Mores," Sumner returned to his contention expressed earlier in Folkways—that killing of the aged is a ritualistic act governed by the mores of the group. He stated that not only were such rituals proper, "but within the prescribed limits they were duties" (22, p. 61).

Sumner approached his own death with a placid note of finality and resignation—never bewailing his fate nor suggesting that any action could be taken to ameliorate the pangs of old age which render a person useless. Although his thoughts concerning senility were very seldom revealed in his
formal publications, a few remarks made by Sumner to A. G. Keller in personal conversation are indicative of a position in the waning days of his life consistent with his laissez faire philosophy and his faith in the processes of evolution. Sumner remarked, "We don't know what we'll think or say when we get old and weak and lose our grip. I hope I don't live long enough to make a fool of myself" (10, April 12). Keller also quoted Sumner as saying that "What Yale needs is a few more first-class funerals—mine among 'em. We all get old and case-hardened and ought to pass on" (10, May 12).

Franklin H. Giddings

Giddings followed Sumner as the third president of the American Sociological Society and served in that capacity during 1910 and 1911. In 1894 at Columbia University he was appointed to what is believed to have been the first full professorship in sociology in America (11, p. 87). He maintained his position of professor of sociology and the history of civilization until he became professor emeritus in 1928.

Like Sumner, Giddings was a student of philosophy and believed in societal evolution. Unlike Sumner, Giddings did not advocate a laissez faire policy toward social welfare. He believed that society functioned in the same manner as any other organism and that the efforts of men to ameliorate social weaknesses and evils constituted a positive adaptive mechanism to abet society in its struggle for existence.
(5, Chapter VIII). He argued that the object of sociology was to help man perceive the most desirable ends toward which to work and to determine the best course of action for the pursuit of these ends (6, p. 143), and he insisted that "amelioration of the human lot" should be the ultimate goal in the scientific study of society (6, pp. 170-171).

Giddings' fundamental beliefs concerning society and his purposive orientation toward the scientific study of it are indicative of his sympathetic viewpoint concerning the aged. Although he never explicitly addressed himself to a consideration of problems of the aged in the American society, a considerable portion of his social philosophy and theory included the aged by implication. Unlike Sumner, Giddings advocated social insurance and old age pensions (6, p. 158). Although he made no direct reference to the aged, he believed that it was the duty of society to support individuals who suffered misfortune through no fault or error of their own (7, pp. 232-243).

Giddings noted that attempts to ameliorate undesirable social conditions had appeared spasmodically from time to time and place to place during the course of history, and he thought that "systematic and organized efforts to abate" social evils were "characteristic phenomena" of his time (6, p. 156). Unlike many exponents of Social Darwinism, he favored the existence of both private and governmental agencies whose purpose was to work toward the amelioration of conditions in
society which were sources of pain and misery. He especially hailed advances made by agencies and enterprising individuals in the areas of sanitation, preventive medicine, and control of epidemics (6, p. 156). Giddings noted that these advances functioned to increase longevity, but he did not mention "old age" specifically at this point. Although increased longevity and concomitant increases in the proportions of old people in a given society are significant consequences of advances in sanitation and other health measures, the point was not a significant issue in the early 1900s.

Other areas of progress cited by Giddings as products of "societal telesis" concerned reduction of illiteracy, more adequate treatment of the insane, measures to aid the unemployed, and measures to reduce exploitation of the working man (6, p. 157 ff.). Giddings favored public support of agencies working in these areas through taxation (7, Chapter XIV; 6, p. 158). It is worthy of note at this point that Giddings advocated an equal tax rate for all citizens rather than a graduated one based on income and property holdings (4, p. 159). He also believed that all citizens should receive equal benefit from their tax money. He suggested measures through which prevailing inequities could be ameliorated but these are beyond the scope and purpose of this thesis. The significant point is that Giddings believed that, as far as possible, all individuals, including old people by implication, should benefit equally from progress made within
their society—including the unfortunate who suffered hardship as a consequence of the dual nature of progress.

Giddings pointed out that although development of new machinery and techniques in industry was progressive, such progress constantly displaced certain classes of individuals and caused them to suffer undue hardship. In his lucid journalistic style, Giddings wrote that society should "assume the cost of its progress, and, as far as possible, take openly the responsibility for replacing the displaced" (7, p. 243). He was aware also that some anti-social persons were naturally loath to positively contribute to the welfare of their society and he advocated that society should literally enslave these individuals and force them to work for its benefit (7, p. 245).

These views, expressed by Giddings in the early 1920s, on the equal distribution of the benefits of progress and public support through taxation of individuals displaced by increased mechanization are especially significant in view of the fact that in modern America older working men bear the brunt of unemployment induced by increasing automation and centralization (1, p. 23). Although many older persons are retired on a pension or similar retirement fund, this is a fixed amount and does not always increase as costs of living rise, nor does it enable such persons to take advantage of new products and services available to the actively employed whose income periodically increases and more accurately
reflects the rising standard of living in the United States. Giddings noted that each succeeding generation tended to discharge more adequately their rightful duties toward the "victims" of progress but very accurately appraised the situation in his day and recorded a portent of ours when he stated that "we are yet far from comprehending its full extent" (7, p. 243).

Giddings was somewhat leery of social reform measures advocated by purely philanthropic groups. He was aware that the manifest expectations of a given course of social reform were often accompanied by a host of latent consequences that functioned to counteract the intended good of the social philanthropists (7, p. 235; 6, pp. 166-168).

Instead of philanthropy, Giddings advocated the application of scientific principles and methods to social problems. He called the scientific approach to amelioration of social evils "societal engineering" and contended that this method was superior to the efforts of philanthropic groups who often were commanded by "untrained and unchastened uplifters" who lacked understanding of the feasibility of their projects (6, p. 166). The "societal engineer" would attack a social problem with "scientific principles as the basis of practice, and a following of technical methods of applying them" (6, p. 165).

Giddings' advocacy of "societal engineering" in preference to philanthropy in the amelioration of social evils is
relevant to current problems of the aged in the American society. It is evident that philanthropy will not suffice to ameliorate the problems of a rapidly increasing number of old people in our society, and that scientific principles must supersede emotion in effecting adequate social legislation. Near the end of Giddings' career at Columbia, in a classroom lecture on social legislation and policy, he remarked, "It is a funny thing that none of us becomes really progressive until we get old" (3, p. 383).
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CHAPTER III

A PROFESSOR AND HIS STUDENT: SMALL AND THOMAS

Albion W. Small succeeded Franklin H. Giddings as president of the American Sociological Association in 1912. Like Giddings, he was the son of a minister, and like Sumner, he himself was trained for the ministry. Small was professor and president of Colby College for three years before going to Chicago in 1892 and organizing the world's first department of sociology (4, p. 94). By the middle of the twentieth century the department at Chicago had produced over 200 Ph.D.'s, and almost half of the presidents of the American Sociological Association had been affiliated with it either as members of the faculty or as distinguished graduates. In addition to Small's epochal contribution as chairman of the department of sociology at Chicago, he founded the American Journal of Sociology and served as its editor for thirty years.

Small's Orientation to Sociology

Like Giddings, Small was an organic analogist and shared with him the belief that the prominence of the fundamental idea of the "social organism" was the distinguishing characteristic between sociology of their time and previous social doctrines (9, p. 87). Small contended that society, as an...
organism, was confronted with the same concerns for health and disease as any other organism and that it was the task of the sociologist to study the laws of growth and development pertaining to society and hasten social health to a higher plane (9, p. 239). The similarity between the views of Small and Giddings on the purpose or object of sociology is illustrated in the following quotation from Small's *General Sociology* which closely parallels a previously discussed passage from Giddings' *Scientific Study of Human Society*.

The ultimate social end which we can discover is progressive improvement in so accommodating ourselves to each other that increasing proportions of the world's population will share in a constant approach toward more and better satisfaction of the health, wealth, sociability, knowledge, beauty, and rightness desires (7, p. 683).

The belief held by both Small and Giddings, that social ills could be ameliorated by positive social action, was diametrically opposed to Sumner's belief that sociologists should study society only to learn how to keep from interfering with the natural processes of evolution which ultimately would result in a better society. Unlike Sumner, Small did not believe that poverty and misfortune should be passed off as nature's way of improving the human lot through the laws of "natural selection" and "survival of the fittest." He contended that society could be divided into two general classes--those to be worked with and those to be worked for. The latter class was composed of defectives, dependents, and
delinquents. Small emphasized the point that "not every man who eats the bitter bread of charity is unsocial in talent or purpose" (9, p. 82), but there was no mention of the aged at this point.

In a journal article entitled "General Sociology," published in 1912, Small defined sociology as a number of technologies for the express purpose of social improvement (8, pp. 200-214). Each technology represented a systematic program for promotion of the "health, wealth, and cultural interests of the groups with which each was concerned" (8, p. 213). The groups he mentioned were the family, the industrial group, the urban group, the rural group, and the criminal group. Although the aged were not listed among these groups, Small's comment that sociology should be instrumental in helping every individual within a society share the benefit of it included older people by implication.

Small's Work Directly Pertaining to the Aged

In 1894 Small published a textbook jointly with George E. Vincent entitled An Introduction to the Study of Society (9). According to Howard W. Odum, this book was probably the first elementary textbook in sociology prepared for use as a college text (4, p. 104). Hence, it was almost certainly the first college text in sociology which contained passages pertaining to aging in the United States. An Introduction to the Study of Society contained a considerable amount of
social history as well as theory and suggested methods for conducting sociological research. A list of "subjects for investigation" followed each chapter.

Following the chapter on "The Rural Group," the authors included in their list of subjects for investigation the suggestion for a detailed analysis of the grouping of rural populations according to age (9, p. 125). There was nothing in the chapter itself pertaining to the aged, but in the next chapter, "The Village," older persons were mentioned with reference to the various kinds of recreational opportunities afforded by village life in contrast to the relative isolation of family groups living in rural areas.

Exclusive entertainment for the aged most generally consisted of supper parties, quilting bees, and sewing societies which the authors pointed out were organized chiefly along religious lines. It is interesting to note that the recreational activities for the aged mentioned by Small and Vincent tend toward the kinds of events favored by women rather than men. Thomas and Znaniecki, in describing the social life of Polish peasants, noted that old women were generally more sociable than men. They made the point that old women tended to have a stronger need to belong to a group than did old men who "like old bulls, did not care much for society" (15, I, 532-533). Whether or not Thomas was influenced or encouraged by Small to investigate the social
activities of older people as a result of their previous association could not be determined.

In a discussion of "social anatomy" (i. e., social structure), Small and Vincent stressed that age was an important variable to be considered in the scientific investigation of a society. They commented that variations in kind and intensity of physical and mental activities may be traced to differences in the ages of men, "and must be included in an estimate of the forces which tend to make one man unlike another" (9, p. 178).

The only point at which old age was discussed as a factor in the changing structure of the American family system was in a chapter entitled "The Primary Social Group: The Family." Aged parents were mentioned as a special case within a more general discussion of the ties which unite the father and mother with their offspring. The authors remarked that relations with aged parents were maintained by mature children "who repay, in part, the debt of care and protection which they owe to those who rendered them so much of loving service in the early years" (9, p. 188). Other reasons why mature children tended to maintain relations with aged parents were not speculated upon by Small and Vincent, but they urged students to endeavor to delineate the nature of the family ties which tended to hold members of a family together in a unified group.
Consistent with Small's concept of the organismic nature of society was his belief that charitable and ameliorative institutions were indicative of the social organism's constant effort to heal itself (9, p. 297). Among the institutions he listed as being directly related to the improvement of social health were hospitals, asylums for the insane, reformatories, homes for orphans, homes for widows, and homes for the aged. Although Small and Vincent's discussion implied that these remedial institutions would appear naturally within society, they believed that the application of scientific principles developed through sociology would help to improve the efficiency and degree of success of such institutions (9, p. 297).

It is unfortunate that the work of Small and Vincent pertaining to the aged did not extend beyond *An Introduction to the Study of Society* into their later writings. A careful survey of the later works of both men failed to reveal any further development of the above discussed topics pertaining to older people or to the research projects which they had suggested.

An inquiry was addressed to Ernest W. Burgess at the University of Chicago asking him for additional information concerning later contributions of Small to the field of social gerontology. His response indicated that, so far as he knew, Small's writing in the field of aging was confined to the text by him and Vincent. The preface to this work clearly
indicated that it was a "work of genuine collaboration" and hence precluded the possibility of ascertaining which author was most responsible for the statements pertaining to aging and concomitant problems (9, p. 6). However, upon the basis of those statements and the widespread use of *Study of Society* as an introductory textbook, it must be conceded that Small and Vincent took significant first steps toward the field of social gerontology.

**William Isaac Thomas**

Along with George E. Vincent, the sixth president of the American Sociological Society, Thomas received his Ph.D. from the University of Chicago in 1896—the second year in which the doctor's degree was awarded by that pioneer department (4, pp. 142-143). He remained at Chicago, first as instructor and later as professor of sociology, until 1918 when he was dismissed for alleged scandalous activity (13, p. 323). Never again becoming permanently associated with any university, Thomas continued to make significant contributions to American sociology and became the seventeenth president of the American Sociological Society in 1927 (4, p. 141).

An understanding of Thomas' basic theoretical orientations to the study of society is necessary for a full appreciation of the value of his work to the field of social gerontology. Like Giddings, Ross, and Cooley, Thomas was
psychologically oriented. His conceptions and methods have been called a "psychocultural" approach to social phenomena (1, p. 793), and in the same book the chapter on Thomas is entitled "The Fusion of Psychological and Cultural Sociology."

Thomas believed the primary objective of social science to be the establishment of a "systematic study of human behavior on a scale and with a method comparable" to that of the physical and biological sciences (13, p. 35). He was concerned that advances in the natural sciences, which were already a source of social disorganization, would continue at a disproportionately faster rate than those of the social sciences and cause further disorganization (13, p. 37).

The major problem of life, according to Thomas, was "one of adjustment" and different types of "behavior" constituted the various forms of adjustive effort (12, p. 1). Following this line of reasoning he believed that the proper approach to the study of society should focus upon "behavior," and that "behavior" could best be studied within a cultural, situational context (12, p. 1). It was important therefore to study the culture of any particular group and to try to understand why some forms of behavior were adaptive to culturally defined situations and expectations and why some were not. All social problems such as crime, alcoholism, drug addiction, and individual dependency were the result of failures to adapt to culturally defined expectations (12, p. 2). Thomas further believed that through learning to
understand behavior, it could be rationally controlled, and that social problems could be ameliorated. Presumably this would imply that problems of aging could be ameliorated by an understanding of the kinds of behavior that were adaptive and those that were not (12, pp. 37-38).

Thomas' Early Work

*Source Book for Social Origins* was published in 1909 and consisted of a rather diverse collection of ethno-archival materials. The content was similar to Sumner's writings pertaining to primitive groups but it was devoid of the extensive personal commentary characteristic of *Folkways* and *The Science of Society*.

The first passage pertinent to problems of aging was contained in a series of articles collected by Thomas to illustrate the effects of environment upon various societies. The passage, written by W. G. Sumner, presented an account of social life among the Yakuts who lived in an extremely harsh Arctic environment. In this society, the old and weak were often recipients of beatings and other forms of cruel treatment from their children who were desirous of inheriting their parents' property. The cruel treatment began when the old people were no longer an asset to the group nor vital to its existence, and when they were too old and weak to defend themselves (14, pp. 74-89).
Although this passage is an excellent example of Sumner's theory of differential treatment of the aged according to various types of societies and differing patterns of mores among them, it was rather incidental at this point to Thomas' purpose of illustrating the overall effects of environment upon a society. Thomas did not make a personal comment on the passage, and there was no indication of a link between it and the work of Sumner.

A second passage pertinent to aging, quoted from Principles of Sociology by Herbert Spencer, was concerned with sex and marriage and contained the suggestion that older persons received kinder treatment among monogamic groups. At this point Thomas did have a comment; he undertook to refute Spencer's contention that monogamic marital forms favored the aged. He pointed out that "nowhere in the white world are aged parents in general treated with so great consideration as in China, and China is not distinguished for its monogamy" (14, p. 534).

At a later point in the book, within the general context of social organization and control, Thomas quoted a passage from the work of B. Spencer and Gillen. This passage focused upon the governmental structure of the Aruntas of Australia and the roles of older men within it. Spencer and Gillen made the point that even in societies where old age was generally respected, old age itself was not sufficient to insure a desired status and position of prestige in the group.
(14, pp. 788-789). Some kind of skill, ability, or other distinction involving an adaptive process was required for the aged to become significantly influential and occupy a position of prestige within the governmental structure.

The relevance of this issue is evidenced by similar discussions by Simmons (6, pp. 50-81), and Drake (3, pp. 6-11) in more recent literature. Simmons made reference to the same work of Spencer and Gillen quoted by Thomas, but there is no indication of a direct influence of Thomas upon either Simmons or Drake. Thomas' summary remarks concerning the work of Spencer and Gillen focused upon the ability of the older men among the Aruntas to both carry out and modify tribal customs (14, p. 856). His point was similar to one made by Ernest W. Burgess in an opening address to a conference on aging in 1948 that most responsible leaders in the business world, in civic affairs, and in politics were older men (2, p. 26). Once again there was no indication that Burgess' comment was influenced by Thomas, but in the same address Burgess discussed the needs and aspirations of the aged with reference to Thomas' theory of "the four wishes." The influence of Thomas on Burgess with regard to "the four wishes" is more fully developed below in the discussion of the Polish Peasant.
Age Roles and Prestige Among Two Primitive Groups

Although *Primitive Behavior*, published in 1937, was Thomas' last major book, it was similar in content to *Source Book for Social Origins*. In discussing "patterns of distinction" among primitive groups, Thomas focused initially upon the significance of the structuring of a society upon the basis of age (12, p. 358). He pointed out that one very crucial time in the lives of the young males in most primitive groups was at the point of transition from youth to manhood. Thomas noted that this period of transition among the Aruntas of Australia was unique in that it was prolonged over a period of about twenty years. During this period the youths were completely subordinated to their elders, and they were schooled in various occupations according to their age level. The rites were climaxed by a "fire ceremony" which covered a period of about four months and which functioned to instill within the subjects a thorough knowledge of and appreciation for the traditions, customs and beliefs of the tribe. Thomas' point was that the age structure of this particular group almost completely subordinated young manhood and therefore enhanced the importance of older men (12, p. 360).

In contrast, Thomas noted that age structure among the African Masai placed the aged males in a subordinate position and enhanced the importance of young men between the ages of
eighteen and twenty-six. At about the time the Aruntas of Australia were entering the influential class, the Masai males were retiring from active life. The difference was attributed to the fact that the Masai made their living by stealing cattle from neighboring groups. When a Masai male became too old to engage in the cattle rustling activity, he married and remained an "ol moruc" until the end of his life (12, p. 361).

The Four Wishes and Small's Influence Upon Thomas

The next major publication by Thomas following Source Book for Social Origins was a four-volume work, The Polish Peasant in Europe and America, which was written jointly with Florian Znaniecki. Volume I appeared in 1918 and contained Thomas' first delineation of his theory of the four wishes. The basic idea of Thomas' theory was that human behavior could be classified and explained in terms of the individual's desires for security, new experience, response (affection), and recognition. Throughout The Polish Peasant Thomas continuously employed the theory of the four wishes as a frame of reference for the analysis and explanation of the motivations and behavior patterns characteristic of Polish peasants.

Although Thomas maintained that he was never seriously influenced by any of his teachers at the University of Chicago
(1, p. 794), his theory of the four wishes was apparently a refinement of Small's contention that human behavior could be explained with reference to six fundamental "interests"—health, wealth, knowledge, sociability, beauty and rightness (7, pp. 426-442). These six interests, according to Small, were the springboards for all human action in that they transformed "themselves into wants . . . and manifested themselves in a desire for something" (7, pp. 207-208). The content of the material offered by Thomas in delineating and explaining his theory of the four wishes was unmistakably like that of Small with reference to the six interests. The following table represents a rather inevitable result of a comparison for correspondence between the two basic theoretical orientations of Small and Thomas.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Small—Six Interests</th>
<th>Thomas—Four Wishes</th>
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<tr>
<td>Wealth and Health</td>
<td>Security</td>
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<tr>
<td>Knowledge</td>
<td>New Experience</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sociability</td>
<td>Response (affection)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Beauty and Rightness</td>
<td>Recognition</td>
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The corresponding passages in Small's General Sociology and in The Polish Peasant pertaining to the "six interests" and "four wishes" respectively, as well as Table I, strongly support the contention that Thomas formulated the attitudes
and methods which dominated his later career while at Chicago (1, p. 794).

Burgess' Use of Thomas' Theory of the Four Wishes

Burgess has attempted to apply the theory of the four wishes to the problems of aging in the American society. The attempt was made during the course of his opening address to the Charles A. Fisher Memorial Institute on Aging in 1948. In a discussion of increasing unhappiness among older people, Burgess suggested that too many persons thought of old age only in terms of statistics. He emphasized that older persons must be considered as human beings with needs, wishes, and aspirations in order to achieve an adequate understanding of the problem of aging. He then discussed needs and wishes of older persons with reference to the theory of the four fundamental wishes developed by Thomas. Burgess remarked that every person needed expression of the wishes for security, new experience, response (affection), and recognition so that he might live a wholesome life (2, pp. 15-16).

Social Life and Family Relationships Among Polish Peasants

The monumental work of Thomas and Znaniecki, The Polish Peasant in Europe and America, focused upon the factors that contributed to disintegration of family ties and to social disorganization in general. The primary source of data consisted of several series of personal correspondence between
Polish immigrants to the United States and their families and acquaintances in the old country. Volume I, of the two-volume edition (15), contained a rather long chapter on the methods employed by Thomas and Znaniecki, an introduction, and the series of letters illustrative of social life and family relationships among the Polish peasants. All of the letters were included in one section entitled "Primary Group Organization." Volume II contained a discussion of their findings under several topical headings and a highly illustrative and lengthy "life-record" of an immigrant who was living in Chicago at the time of the study.

Neither volume contained an explicit discussion of old age as a topic relevant to the study as a whole, and there was not a single entry in the index pertaining to aging. However, the authors made comments pertinent to problems of aging and intergenerational conflict in at least three series of letters (Markiewicz, Krupa, and Kozlowski) and at a later point, in Volume II, with reference to general problems of family and community disorganization. Many letters in other series were written by older persons and in some cases were indicative of conflict between the older and younger generations (e.g., Radwanski), but the fact that the correspondents were old, apparently was not in itself a concern of Thomas and Znaniecki.

Markiewicz and Krupa series.—Both the Markiewicz and Krupa series were cited by the authors as examples of a
growing separation between the old and young generations in Poland, but the reasons for the disintegration of familial bonds in the two cases were different. The disassociation of interests between parents and children in the Markiewicz series was based on "the struggle of different social and economic forms of life"; i.e., old familial organization and new tendencies toward individualism, old and new class divisions, and the older customs of property and the newer ones of salary as the foundation for economic life (15, I, p. 1009). In the Krupa series the reasons for the disassociation were attributed to the development of new moral ideals among the younger generation and the authors remarked that all other reasons were secondary (15, I, 1009). The "moral ideals" mentioned by Thomas and Znaniecki were essentially growing interests in individual intellectual development of "active service to the national idea" (15, I, 1009).

Several of the points mentioned by the authors with reference to the Markiewicz and Krupa series are paralleled in discussions of intergenerational conflict in current gerontological literature, but methodical survey of the indexes of more than twenty of the more recently published books relevant to old age failed to yield a single reference to either Thomas or Znaniecki in this regard. Given the wide audience of social scientists reached by The Polish Peasant, it has undoubtedly exerted influence, both directly and
indirectly, upon current theories and explications in gerontological literature, but direct links are most difficult to establish.

Radwanski series.—The Radwanski series is illustrative of several letters which point up disintegration of family ties between parents and children. The series was written by an immigrant in America to his parents in Poland who were becoming concerned for their welfare in their old age. Relationships between children and parents among the Polish peasants were engulfed in an aura of sacredness, and it was a common practice for children to contribute to the support of aging parents (15, I, 792). The first letter was written in response to the parents' request for money, and it is partially reproduced below in illustration of the son's willingness to send the money to them.

And further, dear parents, we answer your parental request, where you ask us to send you money. All right, dear parents, we are glad to fulfill your request at every moment and at every hour, everything that you ask us for, because you have brought us up from childhood, and we have leaned upon your favor. The example you gave us in our younger years we keep in our older years, as God ordered (15, I, 792).

One of the points of this series is that the strength of this bond decreased with each additional letter. The authors attributed the decrease to the assimilation of the young man into the American culture and to new economic ideas (15, I, 792). At the end of the series, the son had refused to send money to his parents in the amounts requested, had resolved
to marry against his parents' wishes, and was otherwise disobedient to their requests. Despite its relevance Thomas and Znaniecki make no specific reference to old age in this context.

Kozlowski series.--The Kozlowski series, written mainly by an aging widow in Poland to members of her family in America, was illustrative of the social life of the aged in Poland and the strains placed on kinship bonds by emigration. With reference to this series, Thomas and Znaniecki remarked that old women in Poland tended to have a stronger need for developing intense friendships with others of their own age group than did the old men who "like old bulls did not care much for society" (15, I, 532-533). The necessity for such supportive friendships was felt by the older women when they began experiencing trouble adapting to the younger generation generally, and when they began to feel solitary in their own families. According to Thomas and Znaniecki, these friendships constituted the only means through which the old women could achieve "social recognition of the kind and degree they desired" (15, I, 533).

The older men did not need to develop the same kinds of intense friendships with other men their own age because the patriarchal family structure generally assured them a more secure social position. After retirement, the older men sometimes developed purely personal relationships with other retired neighbors their own age, but the most usual consequence
of retirement was to strengthen the bonds between husband
and wife (15, I, 533).

Family and Community Disorganization Among
the Polish Peasants

In *Folkways* Sumner maintained that treatment of the aged
varied from society to society according to the differences
in mores among them (11, p. 309). These mores were of two
basic kinds—mores of respect and mores of contempt for the
aged. With reference to the latter, Sumner stated that:

... the aged are regarded as societal burdens,
which waste the strength of the society, already
inadequate for its tasks. Therefore they are
forced to die, either by their own hands or those
of their relatives (11, p. 309).

The chapter on "Family Disorganization" in *The Polish
Peasant* contained several passages which graphically illus-
trated Sumner's point. For example, one young man who could
have prolonged the life of his old and ailing father by call-
ing in a physician, secretly removed the father to an open
field and left him to his fate (15, II, 1146). Another
passage related the story of a young man who killed his aged
father with an axe (15, II, 1149). With reference to these
passages, the authors remarked, "The father or mother who has
ceased to perform a really useful function in family life is
treated as a burden of which the family group tends to rid
itself" (15, II, 1151). Although the remarks of Thomas and
Znaniecki were strikingly similar to those of Sumner quoted
above, there was no indication of a direct link between the
two passages.
Thomas and Znaniecki's discussion of community disorganization in Poland also focused upon intergenerational conflict. They noted that new attitudes most generally entered a community through the younger generation, and that the struggle between "social tradition" and "social novelty" tended to become identified with opposition between the old and the young (15, II, 1196). However, community disorganization caused by rebellious attitudes of the younger generation tended to move through the traditional social structure with a kind of wave motion that eventually resulted in a resolidifying and reorganizing of structure. As a particular wave or generation of young people grew older and took the place of their parents, their novel ideas had to be moderated "in adaption to traditional problems" (15, II, 1206). Hence social disorganization caused by opposition between the old and young was temporary with regard to a particular generation of young people, and it tended to be resolved as the young people grew older. However, the process of disorganization and reorganization was a continuous one because by the time a particular generation had become reconciled to the older one, a new wave of young people would take their place as the new revolutionary factor. According to Thomas and Znaniecki, the result of this process was the formation of a new social system, "less rigid, more multiform, wider and better organized than the old one" (15, II, 1207).
Demoralization Among Polish Immigrants in America

Part III of The Polish Peasant pertained specifically to the problems of Polish immigrants in the American society, but there was no direct reference to old age or aging. However, in Old World Traits Transplanted, published in 1922 under the names of Park and Miller but later attributed to Thomas (13, p. 259), Thomas demonstrated that failure to adapt to American cultural patterns was a serious source of demoralization among Polish immigrants. In a chapter entitled "Immigrant Demoralization" he presented an autobiographical sketch of a seventy-year-old Russian immigrant who experienced only sorrow and misery in America (5, p. 64). In Russia he had been a businessman and highly respected by his family and neighbors, but when his business failed he managed to save enough money to move his family to America, which he believed was a land of greater opportunity. He was never happy in America because he failed to adapt to new and different cultural patterns. The old man lost the respect of his family and neighbors because he continued to wear his beard in the manner to which he was accustomed in the "old country" and because he did not learn to speak the English language. The result was that his children refused to show him any measure of kindness and were ashamed to introduce him to any of their friends. The situation became so unendurable for the children that they finally insisted that he move to another house.
He then received his meals "like a dog" and his sorrows grew greater day by day (5, p. 65). This story has significance for the idea of rejection of the aged discussed by Wilensky and Lebeaux in their book, *Industrial Society and Social Welfare* (16, pp. 177-178), but there was no evidence linking their comments to the work of Thomas.

Summary Remarks About Small and Thomas

Small's work directly pertaining to the aged was confined to the textbook by him and Vincent, *An Introduction to the Study of Society*. This work was the first textbook in sociology by American authors, and hence it was the first to contain passages directed toward problems of aging. Even though its influence upon later works in this area is difficult to substantiate, it represents an early contribution to the field of social gerontology. It would be difficult if not impossible to determine whether or not the research topics relevant to aging suggested by Small and Vincent were ever undertaken by themselves or by any of their students, but there can be little doubt that their students and students in other schools were first confronted by these issues because of contact with Small or Vincent or with *An Introduction to the Study of Society*.

W. I. Thomas was one student in particular who studied under Small at Chicago. His later research takes into account at least two aspects of aging discussed by Small and Vincent
in their textbook. The first concerns the importance of age in an analysis of community structure (9, p. 178), and the second concerns the nature of intergenerational kin ties which tend to hold family members together in a unified group (9, p. 188).

Perhaps a more direct influence of Small upon Thomas is indicated in Thomas' theory of the four wishes. Granted that his theory reflects considerable originality, a close examination of it in view of Small's theory of the six interests reveals that in substance the two theories are strikingly similar. If one has any advantage over the other, it is that Thomas' "wishes" are more specifically delineated and hence perhaps more conducive to empirical investigation. Because of Thomas' use of the theory of the four wishes as a frame of reference for The Polish Peasant, and in view of Burgess' attempt to apply it to contemporary problems of old age in the American society (2, pp. 15-16), it might be considered a contribution to social gerontology. It must be recognized, however, that most present-day sociologists make little, if any, use of the four wishes.
CHAPTER III BIBLIOGRAPHY


CHAPTER IV

THE ARMCHAIR THEORISTS: WARD AND COOLEY

Early sociology courses in the United States were predominately oriented toward domestic social problems, but the intellectual framework within which these were approached was largely European in origin (8, p. 4). The European influence primarily stemmed from the works of a Frenchman, Auguste Comte, who is often called the father of sociology, and an Englishman, Herbert Spencer, who is noted for his explication of social evolution. Both Comte and Spencer constructed abstract theoretical models upon which they believed a scientific study of society could be developed.

There were early American sociologists who believed that the theoretical models of Comte and Spencer were inadequate as even a starting point for a detailed scientific investigation of social problems. Charles Horton Cooley remarked, in an address entitled "Now and Then" made during a meeting of the American Sociological Society in Washington in 1923, that Spencer's theories, along with Lester F. Ward's earlier writings, were not suitable for application to practical problems because of the "remote and analogical character of their relation to actual life" (4, p. 283). According to Cooley, a considerable number of students of sociology around
1890 shared this point of view with him and believed that a modern science of society could not proceed without the development of new frames of reference. Thus Cooley described himself as one of the second generation sociologists whose task was to develop the new frames of reference which hopefully would generate working, scientific hypotheses adequate for future and more specific scientific investigation. In Cooley's words their task was to provide for future sociologists a network of generalizations "not firmly established but sufficiently supported by fact to invite verification or modification by more limited and intensive studies" (4, p. 284).

Cooley suggested toward the end of his speech that the second generation sociologists had been measurably successful in their task and that the upcoming or third generation sociologists had in their possession a common background of factual ideas which could be employed to raise sociology to a higher, more scientific level. He remarked that the third generation could best judge its own task, but he predicted that they would no longer tolerate the "armchair sociology" of their predecessors (4, p. 285). Cooley concluded his speech with the admonition to the rising generation of sociologists to refrain from "journalism" and insist that sociologists do a "thoroughly good job" regardless of their subject or their conception of scientific method (4, p. 285).

Thus, by Cooley's own definition both he and his contemporaries were for the most part "armchair" sociologists with
a special mission that could best be accomplished through addressing themselves to broad and general issues necessary in order to establish a relevant domain and new frames of reference for sociology rather than expending their energies on the resolution of immediate and practical social problems. Although Ward's early work predated by a few years what Cooley referred to as the second generation of sociologists, Cooley's concept of "armchair" sociology was applicable to Ward in that he was trying to develop a broad, philosophical system of sociology rather than a set of "tools forged to deal with social facts" in detailed scientific investigation (4, p. 283). These points explain, at least in part, why Ward and Cooley never explicitly addressed themselves to problems of old age. Nevertheless, their early influence in sociology and the widespread dissemination of their ideas, many of which became the common property of sociologists, requires that their work be examined for its possible impact on social gerontology.

Lester F. Ward

Following his discharge from the Union Army in 1864, Ward began working for the United States Treasury in Washington, D. C. One year later at the age of twenty-six, he moved to the Bureau of Statistics and at this time was admitted to a new evening program of study at the then Columbia University in Washington, D. C. (7, pp. 1-2). Working during the day
and going to school at night he received a B. A. degree in 1870 and an M. A. degree in 1872. Concurrent with his work at Columbia he also earned diplomas in law and medicine at Johns Hopkins, which were granted in 1871. Ward progressively held several important positions with the government, and in 1883 he was appointed chief paleontologist of the U. S. Geological Survey. During the same year, at the age of forty-two, he published his first sociological treatise, *Dynamic Sociology* (7, p. 2).

In 1900 Ward was elected president of the Institute International de Sociologie and in 1906 he became the first president of the newly formed American Sociological Society. Also during 1906 Ward, now sixty-five years old, became a professor of sociology at Brown University, where he remained until his death seven years later. It was this chain of events that prompted Odum in his *American Sociology* to suggest that Ward suddenly appeared to the new sociological world as a full-grown sociologist (9, p. 79).

Ward was popularly recognized as a social reformer (13, p. vi; 9, p. 81) but most of his reforming was accomplished in an "armchair." Odum suggested that Ward's distinctive work in sociology, like that of most of his contemporaries, came through the avenue of reading great books rather than through any field work or empirical research (9, p. 80). He was not a critical observer of society *per se*, and his
reforming seal was philosophically oriented. James Dealey, chairman of the Department of Sociology at Brown University during Ward's academic career, summarized Ward's orientation toward sociology and philosophical inclination in the following statement prepared for Odum.

To Ward it seemed more important in his day to master the best thought of the time, including the newer scientific teachings of the nineteenth century, and then to synthesize all into a coherent whole, supplemented by his own thought-contributions wherever he found gaps or defects in this synthesizing philosophy. These contributions he was able to make because of his marvelous grasp of the several fields of science in their interrelations, a grasp much broader and deeper than that held by his immediate predecessors, Spencer and Comte, and also because of his keen, logical intellect and his deep insight into the inner unity of this monistic universe. He is the first great sociologist to indicate scientific bases for sex equality, for democracy and racial unity; the first to mark out the roads to social meliorism and progress, and the first to stress the place of psychic factors in a civilization becoming telic (9, p. 82).

None of Ward's works, including the six-volume Glimpses of the Cosmos, contained any statement directed toward aging and neither was his work cited as a reference by any author included in the bibliography of this thesis nor in any of the more than thirty general works in aging and related areas surveyed in the preparation for this thesis. Unfortunately, his diaries beyond 1869 (age twenty-nine for Ward) were destroyed by his wife shortly after he died. These personal journals, covering a period of more than fifty years without missing a day, were purposively destroyed for fear that they
contained "something of too personal a nature" (6, p. 62).
No one can know what was lost in the destruction of the diaries, but one can conjecture that they may have included Ward's reactions to his own aging.

Charles H. Cooley

Like most of the early American sociologists, Cooley entered the field from another discipline. At the age of thirty, he received his Ph.D. degree from the University of Michigan in 1894 with a major in economics and a minor in sociology. Cooley remained at Michigan throughout his academic career, first teaching courses in economics and political science, and then as a professor of sociology from 1904 until his death in 1929 (9, p. 110).

Cooley first became interested in sociology through Franklin H. Giddings and his orientation and style were in many ways like that of Giddings (9, pp. 109-110). However, he is generally recognized as one of the psychologically oriented social interactionists along with W. I. Thomas, John Dewey, and George Mead (8, p. 30). These men contended that the growth and formation of personality was the result of social interaction rather than biological instincts. Hence they were interested in the relationship of individuals to society. Cooley was particularly interested in the relationship among individuals in "primary groups" characterized by "intimate face-to-face association and cooperation" such
as family groups, play groups, and neighborhood groups (5, p. 23). These groups were "primary" to Cooley in that they were "fundamental in forming the social nature and ideals of the individual" (5, p. 23).

Cooley's concept of "primary groups" is one of the basic ideas of contemporary sociology, but he never discussed it with reference to the aged. He mentioned that "neighborhood or community groups of elders" as well as "play-groups of children" could constitute primary groups, but he was referring to adults in general rather than to old people in particular (5, p. 24). Many of Cooley's ideas were formed through his observing the social development of children--especially his own (6, p. 31)--and consequently most of his illustrations refer to children rather than adults.

However, his concept includes old people by implication and the basic idea of the individual's need for interaction in primary groups was apparent in the works of Thomas and Burgess. For example, Thomas discussed the need for older women in Poland to belong to supportive groups through which they could achieve "social recognition of the kind and degree they desired" (11, 1, 533). The idea of primary groups is also apparent in two articles written by Burgess directly pertaining to social needs of the aged--"Participation through Organization" (1, pp. 293-303) and "The Retired Person and Organizational Activities" (2, pp. 150-156). Neither Thomas nor Burgess cited Cooley as a source and none of the works
pertaining to old age surveyed in preparation for this thesis made reference to Cooley's concept of primary groups.

Personal Anecdotes of Charles Horton Cooley

_**Life and the Student** (3) was published in 1927, just two years before Cooley's death. This work is a collection of Cooley's personal thoughts and anecdotes, many of which were written in his old age, on a variety of subjects. Several of the passages reflect the thoughts of an elderly man, but a few of them focus directly upon old age.

In one of the passages, "Strategy of the Youth Movement," Cooley describes the development of what contemporary sociologists might call a youth sub-culture. Speaking of the younger generation, Cooley remarked:

They no longer get their contacts with the world and the past through a parent-rulled family, but in their own way and with their own kind, existing in a distinct milieu and a social heritage not sifted and censored by the mature. In the old novels you may see that the young rebelled indeed but they saw it as rebellion, did not question that the elders were in authority, had no thought of a separate state. Now the channel of prestige is shifted, they flow in their own current, have their own orthodoxy, and in case of conflict it is the elders who appear ridiculous non-conformers to what youth regards as a matter of course. What can be done except to leave them to work out their own salvation by the aid of any advice they are inclined to take (3, pp. 7-8).

Cooley further commented that apparently the young people had gained the power to decide for themselves concerning sex conduct as well as matters of education and religion. About
the only thing left for the elders, Cooley quipped, was the ability to "amuse themselves with property and politics" (3, p. 8).

Toward the end of the book, under the heading of "The Lot of the Individual," Cooley philosophically commented upon the tendency of many individuals to think little of their own lives in comparison with that of their group. He quoted a passage from *Folkways* (10) relating the story of an old chief, who, his strength failing as his group was migrating, asked to be left to die.* "I am a burden to my children. I cannot go. . . . think not of me . . . I am no longer good for anything" (3, p. 235). Indicative of Cooley's philosophy of life in his own old age, he concluded the passage with the question:

Is it not indeed the normal way of human life, of the mass of men in all ages, to live for a group, a heritage, a service, for some larger human whole, rather than for those aims that perish with the individual? (3, p. 236).

*Sumner had presented the story in illustration of his theories on differential treatment of the aged with reference to cultural differences and to various kinds of societies (see *Folkways*, pp. 309-327). The theory is discussed in Chapter II above.
CHAPTER IV BIBLIOGRAPHY


CHAPTER V

TWO STUDENTS OF SOCIAL CHANGE: ROSS AND OGBURN

The problems of continuity and discontinuity in the social realm were major concerns of even the earliest advocates of a science of society. Following Auguste Comte and Herbert Spencer, these concerns have permeated the growth of sociological thinking and consequently the concept of "social change" has become the shibboleth of contemporary sociology and currently represents one of its most fundamental challenges. Recent examples of the concern of contemporary sociologists regarding social change can be found in Wilbert E. Moore (8; 9), S. N. Eisenstadt (5), and Talcott Parsons (26).

Both Ross and Ogburn identified themselves early in their careers with problems of social change. Ross wrote The Changing Chinese, 1911; Russia in Upheaval, 1918; The Social Trend, 1922; and The Social Revolution in Mexico, 1923—all indicative of his early interest in social change. Ogburn is noted for Social Change with Respect to Culture, 1922; and his part in Recent Social Trends in the United States, 1933.

Ross and Ogburn shared many interests in the area of social change (e.g., population trends and the impact of
aging). The major differentiating feature between their works was Ogburn's insistence upon the use of quantitative techniques in sociological research. Ogburn advocated conducting research only in the areas where quantitative data were available for objective measurement (12, pp. x-xi), whereas Ross favored verbal description of social change without particular concern for quantitative methods or other rigorous methodological techniques (45, p. viii).

Edward A. Ross

Ross graduated from Coe College in 1886, traveled to Berlin to study for two years, and then returned to Johns Hopkins, where he received his Ph.D. degree in 1891. His major fields of study were economics and finance, comparative jurisprudence, politics, philosophy, and ethics (45, p. x). None of his formal training was in sociology because nothing was offered. Immediately upon receiving his doctorate, Ross accepted a teaching position at Indiana University but was there for only one year before moving to Cornell, where he taught courses in economics. His stay at Cornell was also a short one, and in 1893 he accepted a teaching position at Stanford University, where he first held a position as a professor of sociology.

While at Stanford, Ross wrote a series of papers that were published in 1901 under the title of *Social Control* and began working on a series that later became *The Foundation*
of Sociology. Ross' reforming zeal, mostly concerning the much debated "free silver" issue and Oriental cheap labor (43, pp. 64-86), brought him under severe criticism, and he was forced to leave Stanford in 1901. He then taught at the University of Nebraska until 1906, when he moved to the University of Wisconsin, where he at last became permanently situated. He organized a department of sociology at Wisconsin and served as its chairman for thirty years. During his professional career, he published twenty-eight books and about two hundred articles in economics, sociology, and related subjects (45, p. xii). He became widely acclaimed as a writer of textbooks, and his books, in the aggregate, sold almost a half million copies.

Ross' Orientation Toward Sociology

Like Giddings, Cooley, and Thomas, Ross was psychologically oriented. He followed in the tradition of Tarde and LeBon, for whom social psychology meant dealing with psychic factors of groups or collectivities (45, p. xii). In the Preface to Social Control, Ross defined social psychology as "one narrow tract in the province of sociology" that deals with the "psychic interplay between man and his environing society" (44, p. vii). He broke this definition down into two subdivisions--Individual Ascendancy and Social Ascendancy. The first pointed up the domination of the individual over society and embraced such topics as invention, leadership, and roles of great men, whereas the second focused
upon the functions of society which dominated individuals. His work was primarily in the latter area which he further divided into two categories—Social Influence, which included fashion, convention, custom, public opinion, and the "mob mind," and, Social Control, which consisted of a rational approach to social domination over individuals for the purpose of fulfilling useful functions in society.

Unlike Sumner and his laissez faire philosophy, Ross was an avowed interventionist in the "natural" processes of social evolution. In the thirty-first chapter of Social Control, where he postulated several canons for intervention into social processes, he remarked that "so far as it is rational, society can have no other aim than the perfecting of its order and the hastening of its progress" (44, p. 422).

However, like Sumner, Ross believed in the Social Darwinian concepts of natural selection and survival of the fittest, and was therefore against moral and philosophical reforms that abridged the "operations of nature's remedy" (44, p. 422). The following quotation is illustrative of the Social Darwinian tendencies to which Ross adhered throughout his professional existence.

It is commonplace that advancing medicine more and more keeps alive the physically unfit and enables them to propagate their unfitness. Now it is likewise true that the knowledge of suggestion, education, etc., puts within our reach a greater number of moral splints, braces, and trusses which enable those with unsound instincts and propensities to live and to pass on
these traits to their children. It is not surprising that the friends and relatives of the malendowed should avail themselves of these means; but it is no reason why society should convert itself into a moral sanitarium and free dispensary, administering precepts to moral paupers, and poisoning the hale with hospital air in order to preserve the sick. The shortest way to make this world a heaven is to let those so inclined hurry hell-ward at their own pace. Hence the fourth canon: Social interference should not be so paternal as to check the self-extinction of the morally ill-constituted (44, p. 423).

Several years after the completion of his professional career in a statement prepared for Odum's American Sociology, Ross criticized the optimism of current sociological literature which "takes little notice of the fact of natural selection" and fails to recognize the many ways the "hereditarily inferior" and the "constitutionally less fit" are being helped to survive and multiply (10, pp. 101-102).

Although Ross held several points in common with Sumner, on the whole his Social Darwinian bent was more like that of Giddings, who advocated the amelioration of social ills through "societal engineering" (6, p. 166). Ross' goal for sociology was therefore a very practical one--to "seek truth in order to have a lamp for our feet" (36, p. vii). Much of his writing focused on social problems and how to cope with them. Ross' pre-occupation with social problems in general and more specifically with reference to old people, like Ernest W. Burgess; increased as he himself grew older. However, early in his career, Ross was concerned with the problems of aging but not necessarily from the standpoint of the welfare of older people.
The Falling Birth Rate and Its Implications for Aging

In the third chapter of *Changing America*, published in 1909, Ross suggested that the population growth rate was nearing a marked retardation. He noted that the actual slackening in growth of numbers had not started at the time of his writing because death rates were falling even faster than birth rates, but he pointed out that while the falling birth rate, in part, merely reflected the increasing proportion of the aged, life could not be prolonged indefinitely whereas there was "no telling how far the aversion to large families might go" (32, p. 36). Although Ross could not explain nor foresee all the factors working toward lower birth rates in Western society, he was quite sure of the consequences. Among the consequences he mentioned were a rising standard of living, a growth of savings, a wider diffusion of ownership, and an increase in longevity. According to Ross, the increase was due to the fact that the aged are better cared for when they do not have to compete for attention with an "overlarge brood of wailing infants" (32, p. 41). At this point, he had nothing further to say about the expected increase in the proportion of older persons but was alarmed at the possibility of the state having to hire couples to produce children (32, p. 44). The increase in the proportion of the aged in the United States has continued much as Ross expected, but because of the high birth rate of the 1940s and 1950s, the rate of
increase has been retarded, and some students of population are talking of a new "younging" (27, p. 81).

The Social Nature of Man and Isolation

Ross' concept of the "social nature of man" permeated his writing. In his earlier works, this concept was linked to gregarious instincts but by 1929, he had lost confidence in the value of instinct theories and "junked" them (42, p. ix). Thereafter, Ross based his discussions of the social nature of man upon W. I. Thomas' theory of the four wishes, particularly the wish for "response" from others (42, p. 120).

In 1918, Ross published an article in the American Journal of Sociology concerning adult recreation as a social problem (30, pp. 488-528). He contended that rural elders had an "instinctive need" to escape the isolation and solitary life on the farm and mix with others in social activities. The "need" was attributed to a carry-over of the gregarious instincts of early men who always traveled in bands. About a year later, Ross published another article on the gregarious nature of man but punctuated his remarks with examples relating to childhood rather than old age (30, pp. 502-527). A revision of the latter article was included in the revised edition of Principles of Sociology, 1929, and was devoid of reference to instinct theory. Ross, discussing solitude, suggested that a sociable man craved not only the presence or the mere sight of others, but "response."
Peasant was cited as a reference in connection with this point. In the same context, but without particular reference to Thomas, Ross quoted George Sand, who had cried, "I care but little that I am growing old but that I am growing old alone" (42, p. 119).

It would be stretching the point to say that Ross actually employed Thomas' theory of the four wishes to stress the need for social interaction among the aged, but it is interesting to note that both the subject of loneliness in old age and Thomas' theory of the four wishes appeared in Ross' discussion of "solitude" and that Ernest W. Burgess later made a direct application of "the four wishes" to problems of aging (1, p. 16).

The Aged and Charity

Ross first mentioned the problem of dependent aged with reference to immigrants. In The Old World in the New, 1914, Ross noted that leaders of charitable organizations were becoming extremely concerned with the prospects of a rapidly increasing number of dependent aged among immigrant groups (38, p. 244). In Chapter II, "The Celtic Irish," Ross pointed out that the Irish immigrants managed their money less wisely than any other immigrant group. A study of 200 workingmen's families in New York City (no reference given) was said to have revealed that the average German family was thirty dollars ahead at the end of the year whereas Irish families of about the same level of income had spent ten dollars more than they
had earned. Because the Irish also made less provision for old age, they were about three times more numerous in almshouses than any other non-native group (38, p. 29).

Ross more fully discussed his views concerning almshouses for the aged in the first edition of *The Principles of Sociology* under the heading of "Individual Social Work." This passage was dropped from the revised edition and never appeared in his later textbooks in the same form. By "individual" social work Ross meant that each case of charity should be dealt with individually. By this process it would be possible to separate the worthy from the vagrant and have almshouses only for the "aged and respectable poor" rather than as a "dumping ground for the refuse of society" (40, p. 671). Above all, Ross believed that every step possible should be taken in order to discourage abuse of the services of almshouses and other charitable organizations. He was against extending charity to habitual drinkers, gamblers, liquor dealers and prostitutes (40, p. 649).

In *Civic Sociology*, 1925, Ross criticized the practice of putting all kinds of charity cases into one institution (34, p. 183). He noted that state authorities were slowly correcting this problem by developing separate institutions for the mentally ill, deaf and dumb, blind, etc. and therefore the poorhouse was becoming a home for the "decent aged poor" (34, p. 183). These comments were included without
modification in the revised version of Civic Sociology published in 1933. Ross' last textbook, New Age Sociology, 1940, focused upon social security and pensions for support of the aged rather than upon almshouses.

The Role of the Aged in Government

Social Psychology.--Ross was not pleased with the prospect of an increase in the aged in the United States. Just as he was apprehensive concerning declining fertility, he also feared what would happen if older men occupied the most influential positions in government. He made this point very clear in his Social Psychology, published in 1908, the first American book to carry that title (45, p. vii).

In Chapter XIII of Social Psychology, "Conditions Affecting the Sway of Custom," Ross suggested that a society will be either progressive or conservative according to whether young men or old men head its government. He remarked that installing the old in places of authority brings about "social old age" just as surely as the "calcareous deposit in the walls of the arteries brings on an old-age condition of the body" (46, p. 217). He contended that the government needed the logic, decision, and enthusiasm of young men to relieve its people from the burdens left from preceding generations.

Ross was critical of the Chinese government because its power was lodged in the hands of the aged (46, p. 219). The fact that a man had to be around sixty years of age to become
an influential leader in Chinese political affairs was appallingly to Ross, who suggested that it was not until a man was losing his best powers of body and mind that he could secure a governmental position of highest respect and responsibility. In contrast to China, Ross noted that at the outbreak of the French Revolution, the eleven young men who became its leaders averaged thirty-four years of age.

The conservatism of old age was not attributed to physical decay but to mental attitudes formed earlier in a person's life which acted to prohibit the reopening of issues "settled half a lifetime ago" (46, p. 220). Ross suggested that a man could escape the conservatism and neophobia of old age if he recognized that he was borne on a stream of social change and if he would continue to educate himself to it. According to Ross, there were some rare individuals who had remained progressive but their numbers were not sufficient to fill the high places of leadership. He believed that there was little danger that society would dispense too soon with the services of these men; the real danger existed among the conservative group, oblivious to change, who were resting on past laurels (46, p. 221).

Ross contended that where continuity was precious and where it was a matter of "keeping pure for all time the faith which was once delivered unto the saints," old men were properly kept in charge (46, p. 222). For example, popes, cardinals, bishops, and rabbis were appointed for life.
However, Ross questioned the practice of appointing judges for life on the United States Supreme Court. According to his figures, Justices of the Supreme Court at the time of his writing averaged 65.5 years of age and were separated by an average period of forty-three years from their formal legal education. He believed that because the United States was not static, but highly dynamic and changing, sweeping transformations in industry, business organization, urban life, etc. called for "correlated changes in law and administration" (46, p. 222).

Ross' suggestion that old people are more highly respected and of more use to slowly changing conservative societies is very similar to Sumner's treatment of this topic in *Folkways* (50, pp. 327-328). Just as Sumner had remarked that killing of the old generally increased in times of war and decreased with the return of peace (50, p. 328), Ross stated in a journal article published in 1929, "The Conflict of Ages," that conflict between young and old was more marked in dynamic than in static times (35, pp. 346-352). Sumner was not cited as a reference in either the discussion in *Social Psychology* or in the journal article. The journal article was included as a new chapter in the revised edition of Ross' *Principles of Sociology* and is more fully discussed at a later point in this chapter. The theory that the aged are treated differently in rapidly and slowly changing societies is widely accepted in current literature concerning
aging. An example may be found in Robin Williams, American Society (51, p. 74), but Williams mentions neither Sumner nor Ross in this passage.

Civic Sociology.--In Civic Sociology, published in 1925 for use as a high school textbook, Ross continued to criticize the aged in places of authority. In the fourteenth chapter of Civic Sociology, "Speeding Up Social Progress," Ross said that when the control of society is in the hands of old people, "the played out thing will longer escape notice and be longer tolerated" than when young people are in control (34, p. 185). For example, he noted that when law fails to keep up with the development of new human relations, the young will recognize it first and will demand changes not thought of by the older men. Similar to what he had said in Social Psychology pertaining to the leaders in the French Revolution, he suggested that modern history revealed that the leaders of ten epochs of reform had ranged in age from thirty-two to forty-six. In contrast, the "chief opponents" and leaders of the "quiet" epochs ranged from fifty-four to sixty-six years of age, a difference of fifteen to twenty years (34, p. 185).

Toward the end of this chapter, Ross outlined five basic principles of increasing the rate of progress. The first principle was: "Commit the helm to younger men" (34, p. 190). Here he stated that it was foolish to suppose that only the elderly could preserve society and that young men would run
it on the rocks. Again, pointing to reform, he emphasized that it was a group of fifty-five young men averaging less than thirty years of age who abolished the old order in Japan in 1857, and he suggested that the United States would probably be better off if the majority of those in key governmental positions were under the age of fifty (34, p. 190).

Principles of Sociology.—Writing textbooks proved to be a very rewarding and profitable venture for Ross. His Principles of Sociology was first published in 1920 and sold 42,000 copies. The first revision, published in 1929 when Ross was sixty-three years old, represented a marked departure from the author's previous statements on the role of the aged in places of leadership and authority.

Between the time of the first and the revised edition, Ross visited in Mexico, Portugal, Agrica, India, Java, Siam, Egypt, and Palestine. He explained that his experience in observing these societies along with the general advances in social research and social thought prompted him to rewrite Principles (41, p. ix). Several chapters were condensed or combined with others and several new chapters were added. One of the new chapters was the previously mentioned article, "The Conflict of Ages," which had been published in 1929 in Scientia (35). Hence Principles in Sociology became the first popularly used college textbook in introductory sociology to contain an entire chapter pertaining to aging in Western society.
This new chapter plus some summary comments at the end of the book indicate that as Ross grew older, his views on the role of the aged in government and in other places of authority changed. His definition of "old" was altered so that it included only people over sixty instead of fifty as he previously implied in *Civic Sociology* (34, p. 190). Young were now those between eighteen and forty, and individuals between forty and sixty were called middle-aged (41, p. 238). By his own definition, he had become an old man.

The blatant accusation that the old in key governmental positions usually resulted in "stupid conservatism" was soft-pedaled in this new chapter, and Ross began to modify his earlier position. He remarked:

> Of course, blockheads will be conservative even in their youth, while the very bright may remain progressive all through life. . . .

> The old can feel sympathy with the young, but the young having never tasted age, have small patience with its faults. Age's realism and cool deliberation offend the eager and impetuous. . . . Goaded by their passions the young arrive at biased judgments; it is the old, in whom the passions are cooled, who can be looked to for objective and disinterested judgments (41, p. 239).

The last sentence in the above quotation represents almost a complete about face from his earlier views.

The sub-topics discussed in "Age Conflict" were the bases of conflict (i.e., differences in aptitudes and objectives), the forms of conflict, and age conflict in the past and present. Ross' summary remarks for this chapter
came under the sub-heading "Age Trends of Our Time" and consisted of an outline of four "current" developments favoring the aged and four favoring young people. Working in favor of the old were: 1) the increasing cohort of old people which helps them to retain authority as a group, 2) new techniques for "keeping young" such as beauty culture and personal hygiene, 3) the discovery that decline into "stupid prejudice and obstinate conservatism" was not due to senescence, but grows out of long addiction to bad habits of thought, and 4) the fact that ownership constitutes power and income in a capitalistic society and the old are able to retain their property until death. On the other hand, youth are favored by 1) a better education, 2) more adaptability to new situations, 3) the tendency for "long experience" to count for less than formerly, and 4) the tendency for humanity to pin its hopes for the future on science rather than the wisdom of elders (41, pp. 246-248).

In the summary chapter, "Retrospects and Prospects," Ross outlined eight "grounds of hope for social progress" (41, p. 711). One of these represents a kind of final statement on Ross' attitude toward old age and his new conviction that the occupancy of influential political positions by the aged does not necessarily lead to stupid conservatism. This passage was reproduced without modification in the third edition of Principles of Sociology, 1938, and New Age Sociology, 1940. Ross concluded:
Our new mastery of disease adds decades to the expectation of life of adults. Myriads who a hundred years ago were passing away in their thirties or forties are now living through their fifties into their sixties or seventies. That this but swells the horde of stupid conservatism is untrue. To be sure, age usually converts illiterates or ill-educated into Tories; but, as a rule, the educated do not turn bigot as they grow old. Able to interpret rationally what they experience and observe, many of them garner wisdom and come to take the long view (41, p. 712).

This statement does not sound like the Ross who, two decades earlier, had drawn an analogy between "social old age" resulting from leadership of elders and an "old-age condition" of the body due to a hardening of arteries (46, p. 217). Nor does it sound like the Ross who remarked concerning the Chinese government, "It is not surprising therefore that a society thus guided should become a byword for stupid conservatism" (46, p. 219).

Employment of the Aged

Ross' comments on employment of the aged were confined to one chapter published in the first edition of Principles of Sociology in 1920. This chapter, "Personal Competition," was included without modification in each revision of The Principles of Sociology, in The Outlines of Sociology (a condensed version of Principles that was published in 1925 and revised in 1933), and in New-Age Sociology published in 1940. Hence his ideas on this subject were conceived prior to 1920 and were not changed through 1940, a period of time bridging two world wars and spanning the economic collapse of the
thirties. In view of Ross' changing attitude on the role of old people in government as he himself grew older, it is somewhat surprising that he never revised or qualified his early suggestion that aged leadership in employment favored "senile conservatism" (41, p. 220).

Seniority.—The first question discussed by Ross relevant to old people in the labor force concerned the proper basis for promotion (41, p. 220). Should "free promotion" prevail or should advancement depend upon seniority? Ross discussed the pros and cons of each issue but never explicitly answered the question. He pointed out that a superior in private business usually was free to promote whomever he pleased for any reason he thought credible, but free promotion often favored the relative, fawner, or "wire-puller" over the man most suitable for the job.

The rival principle, promotion on the basis of seniority, prohibited favoritism or prejudice, but Ross believed that its shortcomings might be worse than those of free promotion. He described seniority as a "deadening principle" that, "by putting age in the saddle, favored the reign of senile conservatism" (41, p. 220). Ross added that the "openmindedness and enthusiasm" of youth were needed to "break the crust of custom" continually forming in society and that under the principle of seniority, it was rarely possible for a young man to attain a responsible position. However, Ross believed that some of the weaknesses of seniority could be overcome
by augmenting it with an "efficiency" system such as that used by the Army and Navy during World War I, which made it possible to promote individuals upon the basis of their professional zeal, ability, and attainment rather than length of service alone (41, p. 221).

The question of efficiency created other problems. Whether an efficiency rating system functioned in conjunction with free promotion or systems recognizing seniority, it meant that workers would be forced to compete vigorously for higher level jobs and this was not always desirable either. Since some writers were saying that the growing volume of nervous breakdowns and insanity was in part due to the competitive emphasis of the Western world, Ross thought that possible ways of reducing the strain of competition deserved attention (41, p. 223).

Limiting competition.—Although Ross was apprehensive concerning a system which prevented advancement of youth to places of responsibility, he also believed that older persons should not continually have to compete with the young for their jobs. His answer to this problem was one of "limiting the period of competition" (41, p. 224). For example, Ross believed that society would benefit from competition in the labor market if men less than thirty-five years of age could be passed or ousted by better men. Beyond this age, he believed that employees should be made to feel secure in their job if they continued to perform adequately. He pointed out that
certain railroads had deliberately adopted the policy of not replacing elderly employees with younger men but retaining them to an age of retirement. Although some employees were retained long past their peak of efficiency, the railroads profited because they could attract higher grade personnel through offering the prospect a life-time career (41, p. 224). Ross noted also that many universities were increasingly accepting the policy of offering "security of tenure" in order to attract good men.

The greatest need for "security of tenure," according to Ross, was among the public servants and manual laborers who would never be rewarded as well as the servants of large business concerns. While competition was being mitigated for certain groups of "brain workers," Ross commented that "it is a shame that the great army of manual laborers should be offered no shelter whatever from the competition of the younger and more active" (41, p. 226). At this point, he quoted a passage from Social Process by Charles H. Cooley concerning the purely personal need of an individual for feeling secure in his social world. Cooley's remarks were general in nature and did not specifically pertain to either the labor market or to the aged (4).

Ross' chapter "Personal Competition," concluded with a discussion of the benefits of tenure and the limiting of competition to the young. Although young people would be held back for awhile, it could be regarded as the payment of
premiums for insurance during their own inevitable old age (41, p. 226). When younger persons reached their period of decline, the rule would then work in their favor. Hence Ross concluded that the tempering of competition was advantageous to both younger persons and the aged.

Economic Provisions for the Aged

Pensions.--The subject of pensions was first mentioned by Ross in Social Psychology, published in 1908. While discussing the dangers of allowing old men to occupy influential political positions, he remarked that the government was wise to permit army officers to retire at sixty-two and to require it at sixty-four (46, p. 221). He also commented that the instituting of pension funds for college professors would promote efficiency by permitting the retirement of elderly teachers who had not "mastered the difficult art of self-renewal" (46, p. 221). Ross' later works indicated that he believed pensions were valuable to society for reasons other than simply encouraging the aged to retire from places of leadership.

While visiting in China in the summer of 1910, Ross noted two key characteristics of the Chinese family--superiority of males over females and superiority of old over young (48, p. 727). Because youth was subordinate to age, the retiring farmer who had sons was assured a comfortable old age. Ross pointed out that the faces of elderly Chinese farmers were
free from the wrinkles of worry characteristic of aging American farmers because in China a man’s sons were his old age pension (48, p. 728; 45, p. 98; and 44, p. 144).

Just as Ross believed that a workman beyond the age of thirty-five should be provided "security of tenure" (41, pp. 224-225), he also believed that the workman should be provided with a pension upon retirement (47, p. 188). In The Social Trend, 1922, he suggested that the greatest tragedy of the wage-earner in modern industrial society had been "insecurity" (47, p. 188). Pensions constituted a way of lessening insecurity by doing away with the risk of a destitute old age. According to Ross, pensions were also an asset to the employers who offered tenure to employees because "the time comes when it is cheaper to retire an old servant on half or third pay than to continue paying his former salary for services of little worth" (41, p. 226; 39, p. 176; and 37, pp. 135-136).

Social security.---Ross was sixty-nine years of age when the Social Security Act was passed in 1935. As early as 1922, he had gone on record for legislation which he thought would lessen the insecurities of workingmen (47, pp. 188-190). His major emphasis was upon a legal dismissal wage (two weeks pay) for workmen who lost their job through no fault of their own. One justification given by Ross for such a wage was that it could provide an immediate measure of security for persons who were unable to continue working because of accident, sickness, or old age until insurance covering these crises became available.
Ross was seventy-four years old when his last textbook, *New-Age Sociology*, was published in 1940. In this book he included a chapter entitled "Social Security." In his usual manner of viewing and explaining social processes, he turned to the past to show why social security was needed, explained how it functioned in the present, and attempted to predict its consequences for the future.

Ross pointed out that industrialization and urbanization had created a situation where there was increasingly less opportunity for the aged to find something to do to make money. Also, because of declining family size the support of aged parents was distributed over a smaller number of children and hence created a greater burden for each of them. Consequently, Ross remarked, "we are called upon to provide for old age in new ways" (37, p. 490).

One new way was to have the government function as an agency for enforcing regular contributions by both employer and employee to an accumulating fund, and holding the contributions until needed by the retiring workman. Because the workman contributes to this fund over an extended period of employment, all odors of charity are removed and older persons may receive regular payments without feeling a loss of status.

Ross predicted that social security would enable children and aging parents alike to have greater freedom than otherwise would be possible. He added that it would make
for greater harmony between them and contribute to the happiness of both. Listed below are the seven consequences of social security predicted by Ross (37, pp. 493-494).

1. Couples will be encouraged to have fair-sized families due to decreased responsibility toward supporting aged parents.
2. A greater sense of independence for the aged.
3. A less dismal outlook by low-income families toward old age.
4. Less pressure upon the wealthy to contribute to charitable enterprises.
5. A greater confidence in democracy and popular disapproval of revolutionary attitudes.
6. A weakening of left-wing arguments concerning the need for "a dictatorship of the proletariat."
7. Social security will be accepted by capitalists as a bulwark against communism.

Ross' belief that social security enhances harmony between aging parents and children, promotes feelings of independence among retired aged, and ameliorates feelings of guilt among children concerning the care of their aged parents was shared by Cavan (3, pp. 603-604), Burgess and Locke (2, pp. 505-507), and Ogburn and Nimkoff (25, pp. 306-307; but none of these authors make reference to the other regarding these points.
William F. Ogburn

Of all the American sociologists discussed in this thesis, Ogburn was the first to begin his formal professional training in sociology. He began graduate work under Franklin H. Giddings at Columbia University in 1908, just three years following his graduation from Mercer University in Georgia (10, p. 147). He received the M.A. degree in 1909 and the Ph.D. degree in 1912. Following four years of teaching at Reed College in Portland, Oregon, Ogburn became a statistician for the United States government during World War I and returned to Columbia as a professor of sociology in 1919. He taught at Columbia until 1927, when he accepted a professorship at the University of Chicago and remained there as a distinguished professor until his death in 1959.

Like Giddings, who was a pioneer in insisting that statistics be given a major role in sociology (10, p. 148), Ogburn became a staunch advocate for quantitative description and interpretation of sociological material. In 1930, Ogburn felt that all social theory not supported by quantitative data would pass from scientific sociology (11, pp. 300-306), but toward the end of his career he acknowledged that not all sociological topics lend themselves to quantification and became more tolerant of other methods (14, p. xxxi). However, from the beginning to the end of his career he personally preferred working only in areas where quantitative data were
available, and statistical techniques remained his principal
tools for sociological analysis (17, pp. 10-18).

Age Roles in Stationary and Changing
Societies

In a discussion of the power of tradition in Social
Change with Respect to Culture, 1922, Ogburn noted that
several visitors to the Orient had observed a reverence for
the past, the aged, and a marked hostility toward modern in-
novation (15, p. 170). In contrast, Ogburn pointed out that
the Western world was characterized by a desire for improve-
ment and a willingness to experiment. This subject was more
fully developed in an article, "Stationary and Changing
Societies," published in 1936. The article was written
around Sumner's theory of differential treatment of the aged
according to the mores of a group and its sedentary or nomadic
characteristics. Closely paralleling Sumner's discussion in
Folkways (50, pp. 327-328), Ogburn suggested that in a society
where the pace of change is slow, the wisdom of elders is
highly respected because it is always applicable to the prob-
lems at hand. Their knowledge may be passed from generation
to generation and remain useful to the group because conditions
change very slowly or not at all. In rapidly changing soci-
eties, such as the United States, power shifts to the young,
and there occurs a conflict between youth and old age which
is extremely unlikely in a stationary society (18, pp. 16-20).
This point was also very similar to that made by Ross in
"The Conflict of Ages," but Ogburn made no reference to Ross and only Ogburn made reference to Sumner.

Ogburn believed that Sumner's theory of differential mores was most useful with reference to stationary societies, and he suggested that Sumner had never been able to apply the concept of "mores" successfully to modern societies (18, pp. 20-31). Ogburn's idea was that mores could be effective as a means of social control only in a slowly changing society and that values, laws, and morals tended to give way to external, coercive, and dictatorial power when the rate of change was rapid. He questioned whether Sumner ever realized the inapplicability of the idea of mores to rapidly changing conditions and noted that many sociologists following Sumner were not aware why the concept could be applied only with difficulty to modern times (18, pp. 20-31). However, the idea of stationary and changing societies in itself was a persistent one with Ogburn, and it appeared both with reference to "governmental institutions" and "disorganization" throughout all four editions of his textbook, Sociology (written jointly with M. F. Nimkoff), and he continued to use Sumner's terminology with the qualifications noted. Table II lists references for this topic in all four editions of Sociology.
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<th>Subject</th>
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<td>Inadequate Urban Birth Rates (urban birth rates too low to replace dying elders in cities)</td>
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<td>The Increase of Elders (will emphasize note of conservatism)</td>
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<td>Government in Simple Cultures (age roles in slowly changing societies)</td>
<td>p. 618</td>
<td>p. 400</td>
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<td>The Social-Service State (old age insurance)</td>
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<td>Resistance to Growth Culture (conservatism of old people)</td>
<td>p. 833</td>
<td>p. 527</td>
<td>p. 661</td>
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<td>Stationary and Changing Societies (stability favors the aged)</td>
<td>p. 878</td>
<td>p. 556</td>
<td>p. 702</td>
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Old Age and Politics

Like Ross, Ogburn was concerned with the impact of aging upon government. In an article published jointly with A. J. Jaffe, "Voting in Presidential Elections," in the American Journal of Sociology, old age was discussed as one factor which affects voting behavior. The authors concluded upon the basis of data collected from ninety-seven urbanized counties in New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois that old people exhibited the greatest loyalty to political parties and were more conservative in their voting habits (20, p. 190). Piner et al. have made this point in Old Age and Political Behavior (28, p. 267) but Ogburn's work was not cited as a reference.

The first edition of Sociology, by Ogburn and Nimkoff, contained a passage entitled "Conservatism of Old People" in the general context of resistance to the growth of culture (See Table II). The passage was carried over without change into each of the later editions. The conservatism of old age was also mentioned in the first two editions of Sociology in connection with "The Increase of Elders" in a chapter entitled "The Growth of Population." The major point in this passage was that, because of the increasing proportion of older people, in 1970 more than half of the voters in the United States would be over forty-five years of age and presumably more conservative (21, p. 511; 22, p. 352). This
passage was dropped from the last two editions, and no direct substitute for it was apparent.

Inventions and Old Age

In 1930 Ogburn was appointed to the directorship of a Presidential committee formed to examine and report upon recent social trends in the United States (29, p. xi). The report of this committee was published in 1933 as Recent Social Trends in the United States, and Ogburn contributed two of the twenty-nine main chapters—"The Influence of Invention and Discovery" (29, pp. 122-166), and "The Family and Its Functions" (29, pp. 661-708). As a passing remark in the chapter pertaining to inventions, Ogburn noted that technological progress would mean a rising standard of living and would also help to meet certain crises and emergencies such as illness, unemployment, and old age (29, p. 128).

His views regarding the impact of inventions upon aging were more fully developed in an article published four years later in the American Journal of Sociology, "The Influence of Inventions on American Social Institutions in the Future" (12, pp. 365-376). The major point in this article was the derivative effects of inventions, which could not be predicted at the time the inventions appeared. For example, Ogburn pointed out that the effect of the invention of the automobile on the development of suburbs was entirely unanticipated. Similarly, other inventions such as various
contraceptives had created social phenomena totally unan-
ticipated by the inventors. Ogburn noted that the original
purpose of contraceptives was to limit the number of children
born to a couple but that the derivative effects included a
higher proportion of aged persons in the total population and
an increased number of older couples who live in a household
without children. Furthermore, where large family patterns
were characteristic of a society, the old were cared for by
their offspring, but because of the widespread use of contra-
ceptives in industrial societies, this function breaks down
and old age insurance by the state becomes more significant,
a situation completely unforeseen with the early use of con-
traceptives (12, p. 369).

One year later, in 1938, Ogburn published a booklet
under the auspices of the Public Affairs Committee entitled
Machines and Tomorrow's World (13) in which he again dis-
cussed the effects of invention and technological progress
on aging. In one section of this booklet, "The Invention as
a Troublemaker," Ogburn attributed the "problem of social
security for the aged" to industrialization and the develop-
ment of machinery which demands young, strong workers (13,
p. 5). In addition to industrialization per se, transportation
inventions had scattered children to distant parts of
the country, urban housing was too crowded to allow for the
care of the aged, and competitive spending induced by adver-
tising had made it more difficult to "save up" for old age
Consequently, Ogburn noted three out of five persons over sixty-five years of age had become dependent upon the public for support.

Population Trends and Aging

A considerable portion of Ogburn's research pertained to population trends, and statistics on the increase of proportion of older persons in the United States population appeared rather frequently in his work. However, much of this work was of a general nature and contained no theoretical or evaluative comments directly pertaining to problems of aging. Of the more than thirty books in general areas of aging checked for references to the American sociologists discussed in this thesis, only one mentioned Ogburn's work on the significance of old age in population trends. This reference was found in Understanding Old Age (1952) by Jeanne G. Gilbert and cited Ogburn's mention of a growing interest in the increasing number of older persons in Sociology (21, p. 146). The reference was incorrect since the page it referred to pertained to "temperament and endocrine glands" rather than population trends. Gilbert most likely had intended to cite the passage on "The Increase of Elders" or a statement concerning a "pronounced shift in social interests" due to increasing numbers of old people. Both of these passages were included in the chapter entitled "The Growth of Population" (21, pp. 471-515).
Each edition of Sociology contained a chapter on the growth of population, but old age was less significant in the last two, 1958 and 1964, than in the 1940 and 1950 editions, possibly because the prospects of a very high percentage of old people in the population had diminished considerably by the late fifties. Old age was not mentioned at all in the "summary" of the chapter on population growth in either the 1958 or 1964 edition. The summaries of this chapter in earlier editions had emphasized the increasing proportion of aged in the American population.

In 1940, Ogburn studied the population composition of several American cities and found that city populations were generally younger than rural ones and that the cities with highest incomes per capita were also the cities with the lowest percentage of aged residents (16, p. 312). The youthfulness of cities was attributed to migration of younger persons from rural areas to urban ones.

A discussion of the social characteristics of urban areas also appeared in each of the four editions of Sociology. A section on the "inadequate urban birth rate" was included in the first and second editions but dropped from the third and fourth ones for obvious reasons. The major point of this passage was that the urban birth rate was so low that it was not sufficient to replace the dying elders. An analogy was made between animals who do not breed well in captivity and men who do not breed as well in cities as in rural areas.
(21, p. 534; 22, p. 289). The related passages in later editions made no mention of inadequate urban birth rates but contained passages relating how man was becoming better adapted to living and reproducing in urban areas (23, p. 362; 24, p. 328).

The American Family and Old Age

Ogburn's earliest statements pertaining to old age and the family were found in *American Marriage and Family Relationships*, published jointly with Ernest R. Groves in 1928. The division of labor between the authors was specified in the introduction and therefore it was possible to determine which passages were written by Ogburn and which ones were written by Groves. Ogburn's portions of the book were quantitative descriptions with trends indicated where possible. Statistics relevant to problems of old age were cited in Chapter X, "Marital Status and Social Conditions"; Chapter XII, "Ages and Marital Status"; Chapter XX, "Widows and Widowers"; Chapter XXI, "Those Who Have Never Married"; and Chapter XXIII, "The Divorced."

One of Ogburn's very few evaluative comments regarding old age was made in "Marital Status and Social Conditions." He suggested that marriage, through the medium of children, tended to assure younger persons of a more prosperous old age. Ogburn made this statement because his statistics revealed that the greatest percentage of older persons in
almshouses in 1920 were persons who had never married and who consequently did not have children to care for them (19, pp. 147-148). Boss had repeatedly emphasized the point that children functioned like "old-age pensions" in China, but Ogburn was the first American sociologist mentioned in this paper to make the point with reference to the United States and to support it with census data.

Comparative statistics in Chapter XXI for "those never married" in 1890 and 1920 revealed that the number of persons who had gone through life single was increasing in the older age categories (19, p. 344). Figures regarding "those widowed" in Chapter XX for the same time period indicated an increase in percentages of widowers in the older age categories but a decrease in the percentage of widows (19, pp. 311-312). Ogburn offered no explanation for either of these trends. His statistics on divorce indicated that the lowest percentage of persons divorced in the United States were in the above sixty-five category except for persons below the age of twenty-four (19, p. 367). The figures were presumed to speak for themselves, and Ogburn did not elaborate upon them.

Recent Social Trends.—There was little accent on old age in Ogburn's chapter on family functions in Recent Social Trends (29, pp. 661-708), but in connection with his discussion of decreasing protective functions of the family, he reiterated the popular conception among students of the family that protective functions with regard to older persons were
being transferred to the state. He pointed out that several states were offering some form of old age insurance and indicated a trend in this direction, but no mention was made of the possibility of old age insurance administered by the federal government. His work as director of the committee to investigate social trends ended two years previous to the passage of the Social Security Act in 1935.

Technology and the Changing Family.—After collaborating for some fifteen years in writing a very popular introductory textbook, Ogburn and Nimkoff jointly published Technology and the Changing Family in 1955. The purpose of this book was to "sketch briefly some of the more important changes" that had occurred in the family in the last century or two (25, p. 3).

In an introductory chapter entitled "What Has Been Happening to the Family?," the authors discussed the trend for government and industry to assume responsibility for the economic support and care of the aged through the provision of old age pensions and other benefits (25, p. 12). They pointed out that earlier relief by the state to older persons had been granted only when the children were unable to help them, but that the most recent trend was to relieve the children of all financial responsibility for aging parents. Also noted was the development of an increasingly unfavorable attitude toward having aged parents live with their children.

The last chapter, "Scientific Discoveries and the Future of the Family," contained a section entitled "aging," which
focused on technological discoveries functioning to improve the health of older persons and the derivative social consequences of such discoveries. The authors noted that in recent decades most attention had been given to improving health among children but that the concern for the health and welfare of older persons was increasing rapidly and might soon overshadow efforts toward further improving the health of children. This possible reversal was attributed to a kind of "law of diminishing returns" which the authors expected to "set in on the investment of time, money, and effort devoted to children's health" (25, p. 304). Ogburn and Nimkoff suggested that the combined effects of vitamins, drugs to combat degenerative diseases, and hormones would both improve the condition of health of older people and increase their length of life (25, p. 306).

The effects of these phenomena were expected to have both economic and psychological consequences for old age and family living. Concerning the economic consequences, the authors noted that improved health of older persons would mean less financial drain on families due to chronic illness in old age, but that the longer life span would also lead to a longer period of dependency. However, with improved health, the aged could be expected to remain independent longer than in the past and their old age support would increasingly be transferred from families to public agencies. Although these agencies were supported by tax money, the authors pointed out
that many families would be relieved by such a transfer because the tax burden was more evenly distributed according to family income, and that persons with higher incomes would share the burden with those having lower incomes.

Psychological consequences of improved health and increased length of life among older people included less anxiety and more happiness for both parents and their children (25, p. 306). Because of longer life, more grandchildren were expected to know their grandparents, and according to the authors this should result in a sense of greater family continuity and possibly solidarity (25, p. 307). These points were mentioned also by Ross (37, pp. 493-494), Cavan (3, pp. 603-604), and Burgess and Locke (2, pp. 306-307), but there was no direct evidence of a link between any of them.

Note on the Progression of Topics Pertaining to Old Age Through Four Editions of Sociology

As noted previously, the first edition of Sociology was published in 1940, and completely revised editions were published in 1950, 1958, and 1964. Since these editions span more than two decades during which the interest in aging markedly increased, one might expect that the later volumes would more strongly point up problems of aging than the earlier ones. However, this expectation could not be substantiated by a careful survey of passages relevant to aging in each edition.
Table II lists each topic related to old age and indicates a reference for each edition in which the respective passages appear. From this table, it can be seen that the majority of passages pertaining to old age contained in the first edition were reproduced word for word in all three revisions. The passage concerning government in simple cultures was rewritten in the third and fourth editions but the emphasis was the same as in previous ones. Thus, there were no new topics relevant to aging added to the third and fourth editions and two sections appearing in previous editions were dropped, "Inadequate Urban Birth Rates" and "The Increase of Elders." The first was no longer a concern of the authors by 1956 because of the increase in the birth rate following World War II. The second section, which pertained to the increase of elders, was dropped, and there was no apparent substitute for it in the third and fourth editions. Also there was no mention of aging in the summary statements of the chapter, "The Growth of Population," in the third and fourth editions.

Only one new passage related to aging was introduced into any of the three later editions. A section on "The Social-Service State," which mentioned old age insurance, was included in a chapter pertaining to governmental institutions. The section was first published in the second edition and was reproduced without modification in the third and fourth editions.
The passage on "Modern Religious Trends" was a part of the chapter on social institutions in the first edition and was reproduced word for word in each succeeding edition except for a brief introduction appearing in the third and fourth editions. One major point in this passage was that the state was taking over many earlier functions of the church such as providing aid to the aged.

It is obvious that there was not a progression of interest in matters pertaining to old age through four editions of Sociology. There were actually fewer passages directed toward problems of aging in the later edition, and most of those retained were replications of passages first published in 1940.
CHAPTER V BIBLIOGRAPHY


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CHAPTER VI

THE FATHER OF SOCIAL GERONTOLOGY IN AMERICA:

ERNEST W. BURGESS

Ernest W. Burgess received his Ph. D. degree from the University of Chicago in 1913. He was assistant professor of sociology at the University of Kansas from 1913 to 1915, and at Ohio State in 1915 and 1916. He returned to Chicago as assistant professor in 1916, was promoted to associate professor in 1921, and became a full professor in 1927 (32, p. 68).

During his association with the University of Chicago, Burgess achieved distinction as chairman of the Department of Sociology, editor of the American Journal of Sociology, and author of several textbooks. He has been president of the American Sociological Society, the Society for Family Living, and the Gerontological Society. Currently he is professor emeritus of sociology at Chicago and is engaged in professional activities pertaining to the study of aging in the American society.

The Family

Burgess' interests in aging emerged late in his life and continued to develop as he grew older. His well-known
textbook, The Family: From Institution to Companionship, written jointly with Harvey J. Locke, was first published in 1945, when Burgess was fifty-nine years of age. This book was the first one in his extensive bibliography to contain an explicit discussion of aging and concomitant problems.

The central thesis of The Family was that the family has been in continuous transition (20, p. vii). The three most important factors in this transition have been industrialization, urbanization, and impersonal social relationships (20, p. 115). Due to these factors, the extended, patriarchal type of family has continuously been replaced by the smaller democratic type characteristic of the United States (20, pp. 115-116).

Burgess and Locke contended that social problems were the result of changes within the structure and function of the family (20, p. 49). They pointed out that in China, where the large-family system prevailed, there were no social problems as “Americans think of social problems” (20, p. 49). The large, extended family, according to the authors, offered a kind of collective security to its members and shielded them from many of the frustrating experiences which confront persons in modern western society (20, p. 49).

In China, poverty, destitution, unemployment and other economic problems were borne by the larger kinship group rather than by smaller families and individuals (20, p. 50).
The authors noted that old-age dependency characteristic of "Western individualism" was "impossible" in the large Chinese family due to its familism and "reverence, care and obedience to the wishes of the old" (20, p. 50). The authors defined familism as the subordination of individual interest to the welfare of the family (20, p. 50).

Burgess and Locke believed that the farm family of early America approximated the "ideal type of familism" (20, p. 86). Data were presented concerning six communities to substantiate their contention. These communities were identified by the authors as the Old Amish, El Cerrito, Irwin, Sublette, Harmony, and Landaff (20, p. 80). Familism and family unity were reportedly highest among the Old Amish. The authors noted that the Old Amish family universally recognized its responsibility to render aid to needy members "and to provide for aging parents" (20, p. 87).

Among the Old Amish, aged parents were expected to move into a house separate from their mature children, but close family relationships were maintained (20, p. 87-88). They generally moved into separate quarters when the youngest son or daughter married, and their move was considered as a partial retirement from regular farm duties. However, the aged parents remained active as long as their health permitted, and the children were near to help them when they required attention (20, p. 88).
Burgess noted in an article written several years later pertaining to living arrangements for aged parents that the most satisfactory situation from the standpoint of both the aging parents and of the married children was where the two generations had separate residences but maintained satisfying relations (7, p. lll). Although he did not cite a reference, his knowledge of this arrangement among the Amish undoubtedly contributed to his position.

According to Burgess and Locke, the Negro family more than that of any other race or nationality has been subject to social change--transplantation from Africa, sudden emancipation from slavery, and migration to cities (20, p. 148). They attributed the relatively high degree of family instability and disorganization among urban Negroes in the United States to the rapidity of this social change rather than to their African heritage as some had contended (20, p. 153). They noted that several African societies exhibited a high degree of family stability and that, generally, the family was highly organized (20, p. 152).

To illustrate their point Burgess and Locke quoted several passages written by Melville and Frances Herskovits (27, pp. 137-38, 349-51, 280, and 283) that described highly stable family behavior and familial relationships among the Negroes of Dahomey (20, p. 152). One passage indicated that among the Dahomeans, old men and old women were highly respected because with old age came considered judgement and
a closer affinity to the ancestral dead (20, p. 152). The Herskovits also wrote that "old men of position and old women with children had no need to fear a neglected old age" (20, p. 153).

Burgess and Locke concluded that family behavior among the Dahomeans was controlled by mores and that contrasting patterns of family relationships exhibited among urban Negroes in the United States were due to cultural differences rather than biological ones (20, p. 153). This point, that family patterns, and hence attitudes toward and treatment of the aged, were dependent upon mores which differ from culture to culture is consistent with earlier statements by Sumner, but there was no reference to Sumner's work.

Chapter XVI of The Family entitled "The American Family in Transition" discusses disintegration (20, pp. 483-522). This chapter contains a discussion of changes in American family patterns due to disintegration of traditional familial folkways and the emergence of new ones caused by industrialization and urbanization. In a passage pertaining to changing functions of the family, the authors noted that insurance companies, various outside agencies, and the Federal government had taken over the "protective functions" such as protecting a family from the financial burden accompanying the death of a member, an accident, illness, or old age (20, p. 505). According to the authors, the most significant aspect of the "protective function" assumed by the Federal
government was the provision of assistance and insurance benefits for the aged which permitted them to live independently of children and relieved the children of the responsibility of supporting them (20, p. 506). Burgess and Locke emphasized that the "enthusiasm and unanimity with which the policy of social security was enacted" represented a profound change in public attitude (20, p. 507). In the past support of an aged parent was said to have been considered a sacred duty, but today young people demonstrate a willingness to pass the provision for the support of their aged parents to the Federal government and the old people manifest a willingness to rely upon government policy rather than their children "for a greater measure of security" (20, p. 507).

In the concluding remarks of Chapter XVI, the authors suggested that research be initiated which would help to explain the effects of social security upon attitudes toward old age, planning for it, and attitudes of children concerning aging parents (20, p. 520). Burgess and Locke also suggested that investigations be made of living arrangements of older people in order to determine which kinds are most satisfactory, and that investigations be made of the possibilities of older single persons marrying in order to combine benefits from old-age assistance programs.

The Family was first published in 1945, and a second edition appeared in 1953. The second edition was checked against the earlier one to determine if any changes had been
made with reference to aging and old-age. The check revealed that relevant passages in the second edition were exact duplications of those in the first edition and that no new material on aging and old-age had been added.

The Growing Problem of Aging

By the late 1940s, the problem of aging was attracting the attention of numerous professionals whose work brought them into contact with older persons. In 1948, Charles A. Fisher, Director of the University of Michigan Extension Service, initiated plans for an experimental conference on aging. Fisher died suddenly in March of 1948, and the conference planned for the following summer was named The Charles A. Fisher Memorial Institute on Aging in tribute to his leadership (40, foreword). The Institute, according to Clark Tibbits, was the first attempt in the United States to hold a comprehensive conference on problems of old age (40, p. 3).

Burgess, then sixty-three years of age, was an active participant in this conference, which attracted a registered attendance of 332 professional and non-professional persons. In an opening address, Burgess presented a comprehensive statement which focused upon the reasons why the problems of aging was a growing concern. The following is a brief discussion of the points made in his address.
Increasing percentages of older people in the population.—Burgess noted that in 1850 only 2.6 per cent of the population was sixty-five years of age or older, whereas in 1947 the percentage was 7.5. The Census Bureau had predicted that the figure would be 13.1 by 1990 (8, p. 7).

Increasing urbanization.—In 1850, only 16 per cent of the people in the United States lived in urban areas; by 1947 the figure had increased to 59 per cent. Burgess pointed out that urban life favored youth and profoundly complicated the problem of aging (8, p. 8). He noted that older persons in urban areas felt that they had no vital part in the life of the community, and in general, that their relations with children were strained or nominal (8, p. 9).

Compulsory retirement.—According to Burgess, one of the most difficult problems for older persons was to adjust to a new style of living caused by an abrupt retirement after having reached a certain age (8, p. 10). He discussed the value of recreation and various hobbies but noted that these could not take the place of work. He suggested that a hobby was only valuable to the individual involved whereas a job tended to take on a social value with which the individual could identify and which would be recognized for its worth by others.
Increasing unhappiness among older persons.--Because of inadequate incomes, loss of status, and a general "sense of being discarded," Burgess suggested that persons over the age of sixty were more unhappy than ever before (8, p. 12). Although some of the unhappiness was unavoidable, Burgess expressed the belief that much unhappiness could be avoided by providing older persons with economic security and an opportunity for continued occupational activity and participation in community life (8, p. 12).

Burgess stated that too many persons thought of the problems of old age in terms of statistics. He emphasized that for an adequate understanding of the problem of aging, older persons must be considered as human beings with "needs, wishes, and aspirations" (8, p. 15). Burgess then discussed the needs and wishes of older persons with reference to the theory of the four wishes developed by Thomas (see Chapter III).

Attitudes of the public toward aging.--In an industrial society where speed, efficiency, and competition are emphasized, "the old are tossed upon the scrap pile" (8, p. 23). Burgess noted that although the public was becoming more concerned with problems of older persons, its concept was limited and superficial. The public attitude of indifference was changing to one of pity (8, p. 23). Burgess advocated research to demonstrate to the public that the aged are "a valuable human resource which is now being wasted" (8, p. 25).
Responsible leaders in the business world, in civic affairs, and in politics, Burgess noted, are men in their sixties and over (8, p. 26). He pointed out that older persons in industry compensate for lack of speed with other desirable characteristics such as dependability.

Burgess concluded his address to the conference with a discussion of the kinds of instruments available and needed for research in aging. He cited the need for an "index of aging" designed to ascertain the actual process of aging in its physiological, psychological, and social aspects (8, p. 22). He said that if such an instrument could be designed and standardized, retirement could be based on the actual physiological, psychological, and social efficiency of the person rather than on the number of years he had lived (8, p. 23).

Two other instruments mentioned by Burgess had already been devised and employed in exploratory research (23). The first was an index of social participation which was designed to ascertain the extent of participation of persons in various activities such as shuffleboard, card games, etc. Burgess suggested that it be used in research to compare participation in social activities between members of a group and also for comparisons between groups. For example, the index could be used to compare the extent and type of social participation between a sample of old persons living in their own homes and a sample of old people living with children or other relatives (8, p. 21).
The second instrument had been designed to ascertain the attitudes of individuals toward their health status, economic security, happiness, feelings of usefulness, and toward six areas of activity—family, friends, leisure, work, religion, and membership in organizations (§, p. 22). Burgess suggested that the index of attitudes be used clinically as a measure of personal adjustment. The degree of personal adjustment was represented by scores that indicated the extent to which an individual was satisfied or dissatisfied with his present status (§, p. 22).

Burgess' participation in the development and revision of the index of social participation and the attitude index represents one of his greatest contributions to the field of social gerontology. The following is a brief history of the origin, development, and use of these instruments by Burgess and his collaborators.

Development and Use of the Social Participation Attitude Indexes

In July of 1948, Burgess and R. J. Havighurst reported the results of an exploratory study to the fifty-sixth annual meeting of the American Psychological Association (18, p. 306). The problem of the study, Burgess stated, was "to devise a measure of personal adjustment in old age" (19, p. 306). A preliminary schedule was devised and tested on a limited number of carefully selected cases. Then the schedule was distributed to almost 3,000 men and women sixty years of age
and older. Burgess reported at the meeting that two measurements of adjustment in old age were derived from the study (18, p. 306). The first became known as the "Index of Social Participation" and the second as the "Chicago Attitude Index" (24, p. 557). Burgess acknowledged the collaboration of Ruth Cavan in the project.

In 1949, the monograph describing this study, Personal Adjustment in Old Age, was published under the names of Ruth Cavan, Robert Havighurst, Ernest Burgess, and Herbert Goldhamer (23). This work constituted a monumental contribution to social gerontology and has since been discussed, quoted from, or referred to by several respected authors in the field. For example, some aspect of the study was either discussed at length or referred to by Shock (36, p. 155), Payne (34, p. 71), Livson (30, pp. 94-95), Treanton (41, pp. 293-294), Havighurst (26, pp. 301-302), Donahue (24, pp. 547-557), Rosow (35, p. 195), and Mering and Weniger (31, p. 331). In all of the above works, mention was made of the "attitude index."

The January, 1954, issue of the American Journal of Sociology was devoted exclusively to aging and retirement. Burgess served as the editor for this special issue. He contributed an article entitled "Social Relations, Activities, and Personal Adjustment" (16, pp. 352-360) in which he reported the results of a study regarding sixty-four residents of a community of retired persons. One purpose of the study
was to ascertain the value of group recreational activities for reported "feelings of usefulness and happiness" (16, p. 358). Burgess employed both the "Index of Social Participation" and "Attitude Index" to gather his data. He found that residents of the community with greater participation in group activities such as cards, shuffleboard, pool, horseshoe pitching, and bingo had significantly higher "usefulness" and "happiness" scores than did those who mostly engaged in solitary activities (16, pp. 359-360). Men with the highest "happiness" scores participated nine times as much as did those who had the lowest "happiness" scores (16, p. 360).

This study, like Personal Adjustment in Old Age (23), has gained wide recognition and has been discussed or referred to in several recent publications: Anderson (1, p. 234), Rosow (34, pp. 196-200), Kleemeier (28, pp. 271-308), Kuhlen (29, pp. 857-858), Shock (36, p. 136), and Barron (2, p. 94). Burgess has also written recent articles based upon the results of the "1954 study" and the use of the social participation and attitude indexes (11, pp. 293-303; 17, pp. 77-82).

In an article entitled "Participation Through Organization" (11, pp. 293-303), he referred to his "1954 study" and noted that older persons who participated in group activities scored higher on a "happiness" test than did older persons who engaged mostly in solitary activities (11, p. 303). Burgess added that because man is a "social being," he must interact with others to be happy (11, p. 293). He listed
four satisfactions the aged derive from membership in a social group: "a sense of belonging, the pleasure of sociability, the satisfaction of activity, and the satisfaction of a routine of attendance at events" (11, p. 294).

In a related article entitled "The Retired Person and Organizational Activities" (13, pp. 150-156), Burgess stated that his previous research had shown "the superior social adjustment of those who were active in organizations" (13, p. 154). In this article, he again pointed out that the problem of aging could be attributed to the fact that in the transition from a rural society to an urban society, man tended to become dependent upon large organizations "to find work, gain security, to play, and to worship" (13, p. 152). He added that retirement, often compulsory at a given age, ruptures the routine organizational affiliations of persons in an urban setting and increases the need for special organizational activities among the aged (13, p. 153). He concluded that organizations of older persons should "radiate informality, friendliness, and sociability" (13, p. 156).

**Burgess' Interest in Living Arrangements for the Aged**

As Burgess grew older, his interests and influence in social gerontology became more intense and more varied. In July of 1952, at the University of Michigan Fifth Annual Conference on Aging, Burgess read a paper entitled "Communal Arrangements for Older Citizens" (5, pp. 72-90). In this
paper Burgess presented a summary of the most recent facts available to him concerning housing for older persons and attempted to answer three questions: "How are older persons housed?; What housing do older people want?; and What housing should older people have?" (5, pp. 73, 75, 77).

With regard to the first question, Burgess noted that a special census tabulation prepared in July of 1951 indicated that housing for older persons was generally inferior to that of the general population (5, pp. 73-75). For example, older persons were more likely to live in dilapidated dwellings, to own a higher proportion of homes of low value, and to pay lower rents if renting (5, p. 74). Burgess suggested that inferior housing for older persons was largely due to the fact that nearly two thirds of all aged household heads had annual incomes of less than $2,000 (5, p. 74).

With respect to the second question, "what housing do older people want?," Burgess stated that "those who are closest to aging persons" tend to agree that older individuals usually preferred to reside in a family household, and in general, to remain in the home of their middle years (5, p. 75). He mentioned several factors which tended to increase dissatisfaction among older persons with various living arrangements but concluded that more exact knowledge of the attitudes and preferences of the aged were needed before adequate housing could be planned (5, p. 76).
Burgess implied that a lack of exact knowledge prohibited an answer to the third question, "what housing should older people have?" He noted that the "experts" were not agreed and that evidently there was no single best living arrangement for the aged (5, p. 79). He briefly discussed four types of housing plans which he considered representative of the thinking of that time: institutional homes, non-institutional housing projects, conversion of large dwellings into communal homes, and the provision of services by an agency to older persons living in their own homes (5, pp. 79, 81, 83, 87).

Burgess did not indicate a personal preference for any of the above mentioned plans, but he stressed that research should be conducted to ascertain attitudes and preferences of older persons toward housing and that these attitudes should be taken into account (5, pp. 76, 90). He predicted that older persons themselves would tend to take the lead in future planning programs as they became more acquainted with newer designs for housing (5, p. 90).

By 1954 Burgess was in Florida conducting research pertaining to the sociological aspects of trailer camp retirement villages (5, p. 72). One purpose of his work was to study motives for migration among retired persons who, as a group, were known to be less migratory than younger persons (19, p. 361). A scale was constructed to measure seven
motivations for migration: climate, health, economics, activities, friends, relatives, and previous mobility. The scale was administered to the residents of a trailer camp retirement village and Burgess found that "climate" ranked highest as a motivating factor in migration. "Economics" ranked second and "friends" and "relatives" ranked lowest of the seven categories with the others being intermediate (19, p. 367).

A few years later, Burgess served as chairman of the Conference on Retirement Villages sponsored by the American Society of the Aged. The report of this conference, entitled Retirement Villages was published in 1960 under his editorship (14). Burgess did not write any of the fourteen papers chosen for publication, but did write two concluding chapters on "Unresolved Issues" and "Committee Recommendations for Research."

The chapter on "Unresolved Issues" was basically an edited version of a tape recording made during the conference. Burgess' purpose for publishing this material was to reveal "the degree to which the present state of planning for the retirement needs of the aging is based upon beliefs, opinions, and convictions" rather than upon facts which he believed could only be obtained by research (14, p. 143). In the concluding chapter, "Committee Recommendations for Research," Burgess simply recorded the recommendations of four conference committees without elaboration.
Burgess' Later Work

In a study of 301 employees of the Standard Oil Company of Indiana, Burgess and his collaborators, working under the auspices of the Industrial Relations Center at the University of Chicago, found that differences in attitudes toward retirement were directly related to occupational level (21, pp. 203-206). The sample of older workers was divided into seven occupational groups: managers, supervisors, professional-technical, clerical-sales, skilled, semi-skilled, and unskilled. For purposes of analysis, these groups were codified into three occupational levels: managers, supervisor-professional, and manual workers.

The instrument employed by the researchers for assessing differences in attitudes toward retirement of these three occupational levels was entitled "Retirement Planning Inventory." It had been developed at the Industrial Relations Center by Burgess, Margery, and Mack (21, p. 203). It contained 100 statements to which the respondent replied "yes," "no," or "undecided." Eighty of the statements pertained directly to aging and retirement preparation and the other twenty pertained to "job satisfaction" and "personal adjustment" (21, p. 203).

The results of the study definitely indicated that the higher the group's occupational status, the better prepared it was for old age. Attitudes toward retirement, and preparation for it, were poor for the manual workers. They could
not find within their conception of old age "the promise of a meaningful and well rounded life" after retirement (21, p. 206).

The researchers suggested in conclusion that retirement-planning programs be designed differently for higher and lower level occupational groups. Planning programs for the higher levels should aid managerial and supervisory personnel in interpreting and assimilating their existing favorable attitudes toward retirement whereas programs planned for the lower levels should emphasize that retirement is a meaningful and purposeful period in one's life and that it warrants preparation (21, p. 206).

Margaret S. Gordon (25, pp. 15-53) in her paper entitled "Work and Patterns of Retirement" cited this study and commented that professional and managerial workers make more careful preparations for old age because they "have in mind a number of leisure-time activities which they expect to enjoy in retirement" (25, p. 31). Like Burgess and his colleagues, she favored preparation-for-retirement programs in industry which would encourage manual workers, as well as the higher occupational levels, to plan for retirement (25, pp. 30-31).

In his later research, Burgess also presented empirical data to substantiate his earlier position on the effectiveness of older workers (6, pp. 671-677). The sample was composed of two groups of men from four companies in the Chicago area; one group was in the age bracket 40 to 44 and the other in
the bracket 60 to 64. The two groups were carefully matched and compared in terms of productivity. Productivity of the older group equaled that of the younger one (6, pp. 673-674).

The Inter-University Training Institute in Social Gerontology was established in January of 1957 (4, p. vi). Wilma Donahue was named as director of the institute and Burgess was selected to serve on the executive committee. Under the direction of Donahue and the executive committee, three very significant publications in social gerontology have emerged: Handbook of Aging and the Individual, edited by James E. Birren (3), Handbook of Social Gerontology, edited by Clark Tibbits (39), and Aging in Western Societies, edited by Burgess (4). The purpose of the latter publication was to provide for a review of major trends and developments in aging in Great Britain and several eastern European countries. The Inter-University Council believed that social gerontology in the United States could be better understood if viewed against the cultural background of other nations that had already had experience with the phenomenon of aging (4, p. vi). Speaking of Burgess' contribution as editor, Wilma Donahue remarked:

... he brought to the project a perspective and sensitivity refined by years of study, research, and experience ... and thus he was able to give meaning to the social scene as observed in various countries and to offer guidance to the contributors in relating these data to current trends in the United States (4, p. vi).
In addition to writing the introductory and concluding chapters, Burgess contributed two chapters entitled "Family Structure and Relationships" and "Employment and Retirement" respectively. The latter chapter was written jointly with Seymour L. Wolfbein.

In one of his latest articles, Burgess (17, pp. 77-82) made a statement which epitomized his philosophy and attitude toward aging. He noted that older persons need to participate in the activities of mixed-age groups, but to a greater extent, they need participation in peer groups through which they can obtain an identification, role, and status that may be impossible to obtain in younger groups. With reference to the social world of the aging, Burgess stated, "it is not a retreat, but an opportunity" (17, p. 82).

A Note on Robert E. Park

In the 1920s, "Park and Burgess" became the best known pair of sociologists in the textbook world (32, p. 168). Their first joint publication, Introduction to the Science of Sociology (22), was an attempt to provide a scientific frame of reference for sociology in opposition to the social-philosophical orientations which were then prominent (32, pp. 132-134). Published in 1924, it "was the most influential sociology text that had been written" and became known as the "Bible of Sociology" (32, p. 169).
Park also collaborated with Burgess in *The City* (33), which was published in 1925. This book, the pioneer work in the field of human ecology, has since influenced scores of sociologists making ecological studies (32, p. 169). Speaking of Park's contributions to sociology, Burgess remarked that "he gave new concepts and methods to the study of race, he was a pioneer in originating and developing the field of human ecology, and he introduced a realistic and vital approach to the study of news and newspapers in relation to public opinion and popular education" (32, pp. 133-134).

Neither of these joint works by Park and Burgess contained any mention of aging. Park was in his own right an extremely significant figure in early American sociology, but his work never directly focused upon practical problems of aging as did the later works of Burgess. Park once stated, "I have been mainly an explorer in three fields: collective behavior, human ecology, and race relations. The problem I was interested in was always theoretic rather than practical" (32, p. 133).
CHAPTER VI BIBLIOGRAPHY


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CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSION

Of all the works pertaining to aging considered in this thesis, only those of Ernest W. Burgess were widely acknowledged in current gerontological literature. The works of the remaining nine men either directly or indirectly constitute contributions to the field of social gerontology of varying degrees of significance. Although there is no absolutely objective means of weighting the works of each man and assigning them a rank, differential significance is apparent in most cases and a more than arbitrary ranking is feasible. Taking into account the extent to which each man addressed himself to problems of aging and the general influence upon or acceptance of his ideas in current gerontological literature, the ranking would be as follows in descending order: Burgess, Sumner, Ogburn, Thomas, Ross, Small, Cooley, Giddings, Park, and Ward. The reasoning underlying this rank order is discussed below, beginning with Ward and continuing in ascending order through Burgess.

Although Ward is recognized as a notable theorist in early sociology and as one of the founding fathers of sociology in America (7, pp. 75-83), his task was to develop an overall system of sociology rather than to concentrate upon more
practical problems (3, pp. 9-16). Consequently, the "American Aristotle" (3) and "Master-Build er of Sociology" (3, p. 19) never addressed himself to problems of aging and his theories have found no avenue into contemporary social gerontology. He has contributed only indirectly to the field through his pioneering role in early American sociology and is ranked below the other nine men.

Ranking the next three, Park, Giddings and Cooley, is more difficult; but Cooley is given the higher rank due to the passages pertaining to the aged in Life and the Student and his theoretical delineation of "primary groups." The latter is very much a part of contemporary sociological theory and is highly applicable to problems of aging. As noted in the section of this thesis pertaining to Cooley, the influence of his ideas in the writing of Thomas and Bur gess is clear.

Giddings wrote frequently of social meliorism, often expressed views concerning the need for public agencies to aid those who suffered hardship through no fault of their own, and was a staunch advocate of federal unemployment insur ance for persons displaced by technological progress (4, pp. 156-158; 5, p. 245). However, he never made specific reference to the aged, and his philosophy includes them only by implication. Nothing in Park's work indicates an interest in aging, but because of his pioneer work in ecology and its
influence upon several more recent empirical sociologists (7, p. 169), he is ranked immediately above Ward.

Small's work provides the first direct contribution to social gerontology through his pioneer textbook, An Introduction to the Study of Society, published jointly with Vincent in 1894. This book is significant as the first popularly used introductory sociology text in America to contain passages specifically commenting on problems of aging and the first to suggest relevant research topics. Small ranks comfortably above Ward, Park, Giddings and Cooley because of his contributions to that book and because of his apparent influence upon the work of his notable student, W. I. Thomas.

Ross, Thomas, and Ogburn made significant contributions to literature pertaining to aging. Ross was the most prolific writer of the three, and he discussed problems of aging with reference to age distribution, roles of the aged in government, and roles of the aged in industry. However, because of his disposition to address himself to the popular issues of the day rather than to concentrate upon more scholarly ones, much of his voluminous work is journalistic in style and is unacceptable to many current sociologists (9, pp. vi-viii).

Thomas ranks above Ross because of his pioneering work in scientific methodology and because all of his major books with the exception of Social Behavior and Personality contain passages related to age roles. His most notable contribution
to social gerontology is found in the discussion of age roles and particularly the chapter on community disorganization in *The Polish Peasant*. Thomas' relatively high rank among the ten men under consideration is further secured because of Burgess' application of his theory of the "four wishes" to contemporary problems of aging in the United States (1, pp. 15-16).

Ogburn ranks near the top because of his attention to age roles which is easily traced throughout his major works beginning with *Social Change* in 1922 and extending through *Technology and the Changing Family*, published jointly with M. F. Nimkoff in 1955. His work on population trends and the effect of technological progress on aging represents additional contributions to social gerontology along with the passages relevant to aging in the popular introductory textbook, *Sociology*, also written in collaboration with Nimkoff.

Sumner is ranked second only to Ernest W. Burgess in overall significance to the field of social gerontology. Granted that his work pertaining to aging was not nearly so prolific as some of the eight men ranked below him, he was the first among them to delineate a theory of differential treatment of the aged according to differing types of societies and culture patterns. His theory, couched in the framework of his classic concepts of "folkways and mores," is the single most persistent theoretical formulation encountered in the research conducted in preparation for this thesis.
Sumner's theory is implicit in the works of Ross and Thomas although no direct links are indicated. Ogburn's "Stationary and Changing Societies," first published in the *American Journal of Sociology* in 1936, constitute direct evidence of Sumner's influence on later sociologists. Sumner's theory is discussed in this article, and he is mentioned in the adaptation of it in all four editions of *Sociology* (see Table II for exact references). Sumner's influence is also apparent in Burgess and Locke's discussion of family behavior patterns among the Dahomey (2, pp. 152-153).

There can be no doubt that Burgess ranks first among the ten as a contributor to contemporary gerontological theory. His work is distinguished from the others by his empirical research pertaining to various problems in aging such as personal adjustment, occupational roles, and living arrangements. His influence is apparent in the large number of times he is quoted or cited as a reference in almost all recent books in social gerontology. Specific examples of his influence appear in abundance in the chapter of this thesis pertaining to him.

**Contributions to Aging by Topical Headings**

When viewing the body of literature surveyed herein as a whole, it is feasible and perhaps profitable to classify the works of each man by his discussion of recurring topics. Recorded in the Appendix are the topics that appear from time
to time throughout the body of literature, the names of the men who addressed themselves to these topics, and key references to their respective works. Only short form references are given at this point since complete references appear both in the respective chapter bibliographies and the final one.

Attitudes in Old Age

It is interesting to note the differences in attitudes toward old age of Burgess, Ross, and Sumner as they themselves grew older. The Family, published in 1945 when Burgess was fifty-nine, contained his first statements pertaining to old age. His interest in aging increased until in the early 1950s he was devoting most of his time to various "old-age" research projects, and his later writings are indicative of a sincere sympathy toward the aged. While Burgess was seemingly immune to problems of old age in his younger years and became increasingly sympathetic as he grew older, Ross was outwardly critical of the aged and unsympathetic toward their problems when he himself was a younger man. As he grew older, an increasingly favorable attitude towards the aged appeared in his books. For example, in the third edition of Principles of Sociology, Ross remarked: "Goaded by their passions the young arrive at biased judgments; it is the old, in whom the passions are cooled, who can look for the objective and disinterested judgments" (8, p. 239). Sumner, on the other hand,
was consistent with his "survival of the fittest" philosophy until the latter days of his life and remarked to A. G. Keller in a personal conversation: "What Yale needs is a few more first-class funerals--mine among 'em" (6, May 12).

A Final Statement

Each of the ten American sociologists considered in this thesis has made substantial contributions to general sociology. All of them, with varying degrees of significance, have in some way, directly or indirectly, contributed to the current body of gerontological literature. Just as most of these men are given "first" rankings in various areas of sociology in Odum's *American Sociology* and in Barnes' *An Introduction to the Study of Sociology*, many of them merit a first ranking in social gerontology. Ernest W. Burgess is the most notable among them because of the range of his ideas, his own research, and the stimulation he has given to others in the field of aging. He is undoubtedly the most widely acclaimed American sociologist in the field and is deserving of the title, "the father of social gerontology in America."
CHAPTER VII BIBLIOGRAPHY


APPENDIX

LIST OF JOURNALS RESEARCHED

*American Journal of Sociology*
*American Sociological Review*
*Journal of Gerontology*
*Journal of Social Casework*
*Social Forces*
*Social Research*
*Social Science*
*Social Service Review*
*Sociological Review*
*Sociology and Social Research*
*Southwestern Social Science Quarterly*

LIST OF INDEXES RESEARCHED

*Psychological Abstracts*
*Public Affairs Information Index*
*Reader's Guide*
*Shock's Classified Bibliography of Gerontology and Geriatrics*
*Sociological Abstracts*
CONTRIBUTIONS OF TEN AMERICAN SOCIOLOGISTS TO
SOCIAL GERONTOLOGY BY TOPICAL HEADINGS

Conflict Between the Old and the Young

Burgess:

Cooley:
Life and the Student, pp. 7-8.

Ogburn:

Sumner:
"Discipline," pp. 3-7.
Folkways, pp. 309, 327-328.

Thomas:
Polish Peasant, I, 533, 1009; II, 1149, 1196-1207,
Primitive Behavior, pp. 360-361.

Conservatism of Old People in Government

Ogburn:

Ross:
Civic Sociology, pp. 185-190.

Differential Treatment of the Aged and Age Roles

Burgess:
"A Comparison of Interdisciplinary Findings of the
The Family, pp. 50, 80-88, 152-153.

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Cooley: 
    *Life and the Student*, pp. 235-236.

Ogburn: 
    *Social Change*, p. 170.  

Ross: 

Sumner: 
    *Folkways*, pp. 309, 327-328.  

Thomas: 
    *Polish Peasant*, II, 1146-1151.

Improving Social Position of the Aged

Burgess: 
    "Communal Arrangements for Older Citizens," p. 90.  
    *The Family*, pp. 505-507.

Ogburn: 

Ross: 
    *Changing America*, p. 41.  
    *New Age Sociology*, pp. 493-494.

Sumner: 

Occupational Roles and the Aged

Burgess: 
    "A Comparison of Interdisciplinary Findings of the  
    "Occupational Differences in Attitudes Toward Aging  
    "The Retired Person and Organizational Activities,"  
    pp. 150-156.  
    "Social Relations, Activities, and Personal Adjustment,"  
    pp. 352-360.
Giddings:

Ogburn:
*Machines and Tomorrow's World*, p. 5.

Ross:
*The Social Trend*, p. 188.

Thomas:
*Polish Peasant*, I, 533.

Old Age Pensions and Social Security

Burgess:
*The Family*, pp. 505-507, 520.

Giddings:
*The Scientific Study of Society*, pp. 156-158.

Ogburn:
*Recent Social Trends*, pp. 661-708.  
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