

1958

Pioneers in Criminology XVI--Emile Durkheim (1858-1917)

Walter A. Lunden

Follow this and additional works at: <https://scholarlycommons.law.northwestern.edu/jclc>

 Part of the [Criminal Law Commons](#), [Criminology Commons](#), and the [Criminology and Criminal Justice Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

Walter A. Lunden, Pioneers in Criminology XVI--Emile Durkheim (1858-1917), 49 J. Crim. L. Criminology & Police Sci. 2 (1958-1959)

This Article is brought to you for free and open access by Northwestern University School of Law Scholarly Commons. It has been accepted for inclusion in Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology by an authorized editor of Northwestern University School of Law Scholarly Commons.

PIONEERS IN CRIMINOLOGY

XVI—EMILE DURKHEIM (1858–1917)

WALTER A. LUNDEN

The author is professor of sociology at Iowa State College where he has been since 1947. During World War II he served as a prison officer in the British 21st Army, the 7th and the 3rd United States Army in England, France and Germany from 1944 to 1946. He is the author of *Systematic Source Book in Juvenile Delinquency* (1938), *Statistics on Crime and Criminals* (1940), *Basic Social Problems*, (1950), *Offenders in Court and Prison* (1955), *Courts and Criminal Justice in Iowa* (1957) and numerous articles in periodical literature.

The picture below is reproduced from "Emile Durkheim on the Division of Labor in Society", by permission of the author, Professor George Simpson of Brooklyn College, and by permission of the publisher, also, The Macmillan Company, New York City.—EDITOR.

The year 1958 marks the 100th anniversary of the birth of Emile Durkheim, one of the most outstanding European scholars of the late 19th Century. Contemporary writers not only in the social sciences but in related fields have come to recognize the unique and far reaching contributions he has made to the understanding of anti-social behavior. Few, if any, scholars in the West have formulated such a keen theoretical analysis of the basic problems confronting society as he presented in his concept of "Anomie". His meaningful exposition of the desocialization and fragmentation of society has enabled men to understand the true effects of social isolation and the "collective sadness" in present day society. Even a number of literary persons have utilized his referential construct of society as but the "dis-organized dust of individuals".

Emile Durkheim was *L'avant Garde* for the present "age of loneliness", the "rootlessness", "the cut offness" of living and the insecurity of contemporary urban life. Trigant Burrows has revealed the ravages of "Atomization", "fragmentation" and "separative factors" of the present presaged by Durkheim.¹

Even the poet T. S. Eliot reflects the thinking of Durkheim when he has Celia in one of his poems, describe our dissociated culture by saying,

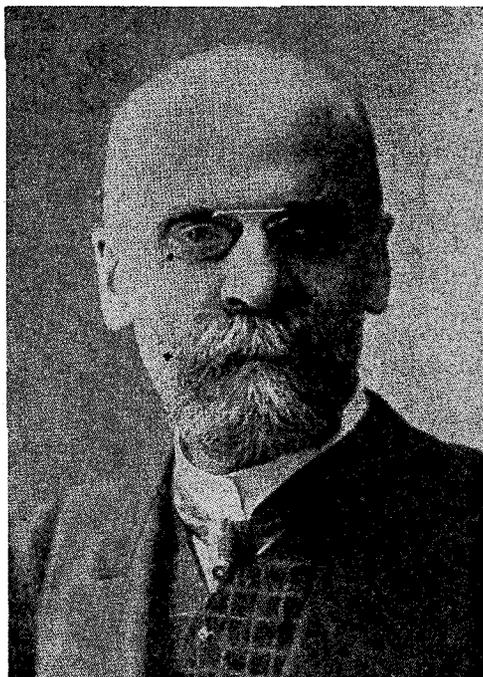
"Do you know

It no longer seems worthwhile to speak to any one!

No—it isn't that I want to be alone

But that everyone's alone—or so it seems to

¹ BURROWS, TRIGANT, *THE SOCIAL BASIS OF CONSCIENCE*, London, 1927.



EMILE DURKHEIM

me they make noises, and think they are talking to each other:

They make faces, and think they understand each other,

And I'm sure that they don't!"²

More recently Paul Halmos followed Durkheim when he indicated that man's social reconstruction

² T. S. ELLIOT, *THE COCKTAIL PARTY*, London, 1949, p. 118.

lies "in the transcendence of his loneliness."³ If we understand that a "pioneer is one who goes before preparing the way for others—exploring in advance" it can be rightly said that Durkheim was a pioneer in criminology.

THE MAN AND HIS TIMES

Emile Durkheim was born in Epinal, the Department of Vosges, a city in Eastern France, on the 15th of April 1858. His ancestors came from one of the cultured rabbinical families long residents of the province. Durkheim's natal city was one of those ancient French cities which had its origins in the 10th Century dating back to Theodoric, the Bishop of Metz. As early as 1860, the city had been built as part of a 30 mile long fortification along the Moselle River guarding the frontiers of France against an invasion from the East. At the end of the 19th Century Epinal had a population of about twenty thousand inhabitants. In spite of its nearness to Strasbourg, Epinal had a technical school, a training college and a well equipped library. Significant in the life of young Durkheim is the fact that his native city was invaded and occupied by a German army on the 12th of October, 1870, when he was 12 years of age. Years later in 1875, the citizens erected a monument commemorating the victims who had died in those early days of the war. Thus, at an early age Durkheim came to experience in his own city the ravages of war, a fact which may explain his fervent nationalism to the degree that M. M. Mitchell once described him as a "fiery jingoist" at the outbreak of World War I in 1914.⁴

Durkheim received his early education in the college of his native city and later at the *Lycée Louis de Grand* and *École Normale Supérieure* in Paris. In 1882, at the age of 24, he completed his formal education and became a professor of philosophy at various academic institutions in France. Five years later in 1887, at 29 years of age, he joined the faculty at the University of Bordeaux where he taught the first course in sociology to be offered in a French University. In 1902 (at 44 years of age) he became a professor of philosophy and education at the University of Paris where he had earned his doctorate 10 years earlier. His

³ P. HALMOS, *SOLITUDE AND PRIVACY*, A study of Social Isolation, London, 1952, p. xv. Halmos describes three kinds of loneliness; Communal, National and Cosmic.

⁴ M. M. MITCHELL, *E. Durkheim and the Philosophy of Nationalism*, *POLIT. SCI. QUART.*, VXLVI, 1931.

thesis dealt with "The Division of Labor" which later became one of his outstanding works.

Some authorities have been concerned about the lateness at which Durkheim arrived at the professorship in the University of Paris. A few have indicated that the competitive nature of academic life made advancement slow. Others have contended that certain prejudices and vested interests may have been involved. It will be recalled that it was not until 1895 that Captain A. Dreyfus (1858-1935) finally obtained reinstatement into the French Army after years of civil and military litigation. Apart from this, the French academic life had its normal amount of intellectual rivalry. G. Tarde, the champion of the "Laws of Imitation", was a contemporary of Durkheim who played a very important part in the penal philosophy of France. These two men sat on opposite sides of the academic household and never were able to reconcile their divergent views about society. Tarde spoke of Durkheim as an "ontologist", "scholastic" and a "medieval realist".

INTELLECTUAL BACKGROUND

Any one who attempts to delineate the work of a scholar is always confronted with the query—how much of the man's work was original and how much was merely the replication of other men's efforts? This question is especially important when dealing with pioneers. In order to answer the problem it may prove valuable to outline very briefly the intellectual landscape in which Durkheim lived. It is a well known fact that his life paralleled the lives of a number of leading social scientists in Europe. To begin with, it should be pointed out that Durkheim was born a year after the death of A. Comte (1798-1857), the founder of sociology. At the very outset the mantle of Comte, therefore, hung in the academic halls of France waiting for some one to don it. Comte's "Positivism" was, therefore, a point of departure for Durkheim. There were other countrymen of stature within France. Gustav Le Bon (1841-1931) best known for his, "The Crowd" (1897) and G. Tarde (1843-1909) better known for his "Penal Philosophy" (1890) and "Laws of Imitation" (1890) were a part of the intellectual life of Paris. Before these there was F. Le Play who had already published his "European Working Men" in 1855 and "Social Reform" in 1864 in which he advocated Social Solidarity. Across the Alps C. Lombroso (1835-1909) had completed his great works in

criminology and created an Italian School of Penology. Across the Rhine in Germany were a number of social economists sometimes called "socialists of the chair". By 1890 George Simmel (1858-1918) had published his *Ueber Soziale Differenzierung* and F. Tonnies (1855-39) his *Gemeinschaft Und Gesellschaft* in 1887. In addition W. M. Wundt (1832-1920) had been engaged in his "Folk Psychology" before the Franco-Prussian War. Farther to the east beyond the Oder there was already a group of Russian sociologists. P. Lilienfeld (1829-1903) completed his *Gedanken Ueber Die Social Wissenschaft Der Zukunft* in five volumes during 1873-81. Prof. E. De Roberty (1843-1915) had written his "Sociology" in 1876 which was translated into French in 1886, the same year that he visited France. Across the channel in England Herbert Spencer (1820-1882) had already been at work on his "Sociology" and "Psychology" and other works and B. Kidd (1858-1916) had published his "Social Evolution" in 1894. Further, James A. Frazer (1854-1941) had published his well known works on primitive religions and totemism. In America H. C. Carey (1793-1879) had completed his "Principles of Social Science" (1858) the year Durkheim was born and L. F. Ward had completed his "Dynamic Sociology" in 1883 and "Outline of Sociology" in 1898.

There is no question that Durkheim knew these men or their works for he mentions them, and many others, in his writings. The ultimate answer to the question of originality may be made clear by a statement which Durkheim himself made in one of the issues of his Journal, *L'ANNÉE SOCIOLOGIQUE* No. XII. He denies any claim to the originality of his ideas "except the claim to having been the first to introduce these views into France and into French thought".⁵

From all evidence at hand it appears that there are three main sources upon which Durkheim drew for his works. First, from his own predecessors and contemporaries in France. Second, from a number of social economists in Germany and third from the Russian scholars. It is also possible that he found the American Carney useful in his treatment of solidarity and the division of labor for he refers to his books.

There is no doubt that Durkheim acquire his "Social Realism" and "positivism" from A. Comte.

⁵ GEHLKE, C. C., *EMILE DURKHEIM'S CONTRIBUTION TO SOCIAL THEORY*, COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY STUDIES, New York, 1915. Footnote on Page 84.

In a sense he continued Comte's work although he was critical of him at various points. Also he knew Le Bon personally and G. Tarde was a colleague in his own university. In addition Durkheim in a number of places indicates his indebtedness to the French Philosopher C. B. Renouvier (1815-1903) who had attempted to combine the positivism of Comte with the theories of E. Kant. Furthermore, Durkheim states that he derived much benefit from A. Espinas, one of the French Neopositivists. F. de Coulanges (1830-1889) is a French historian known to Durkheim, from whom he gained his theories of religion. What Durkheim owes to De. Roberty, the Russian, is a matter of conjecture. It is known that De Roberty did spend some time in France and that his works had been published in French in 1886.

It is evident that Durkheim was influenced by a number of German scholars, for some time between 1885 and 1886 he visited a number of their universities. There he came to know W. M. Wundt, the founder of folk psychology who established the first laboratory in experimental psychology. Some maintain that Durkheim's explanation of religion as a factor in social control came from G. Simmel but he says they are from his former teacher Boutroux. Durkheim's fundamental postulates of reality he gained from three German Scholars. Albert Schaffle (1831-1903) at Tübingen and Vienna had already developed certain organic analogies in his effort to interpret Comte and Darwin. A. H. G. Wagner (1835-1917) who taught economics at Gottingen and Heidelberg had explained how the expansion of government encompassed an increase in social welfare. Finally, Durkheim attributes much of his historical economics to G. Schmoller (1838-1917).⁶

These are but a few of the important scholars Durkheim knew personally or indirectly through their publications. Whatever he may have owed to each, should not detract from the great contribution he made to sociology and to criminology in the

⁶ To the above list could be added many others such as A. Coste who in his works (1899) attempted to measure by "sociometrika" the sociality of a population. Also V. La Pouge had published his *Social Selection* in 1896. Whether Durkheim knew of the socio-legal works of the Russian scholar, L. Petrajizsky is not known but it is clear that there is close similarity in such areas as "motivation of human behavior", "forms of conduct" and "the laws' influence on people". C. H. Wright in his "History of French Literature" maintains that Durkheim had much in common with Bergson because both had studied under Boutroux at the *École Normale Supérieure*, this, however, is mere conjecture.

19th Century and after. Through his logical and careful analysis of human behavior he gained the undisputed leadership among the French social scientists. Prior to our present mechanical devices such as IBM machines, prior to vast research funds committed to "basic research" and prior to the huge staffs of workers in academic institutions with their cooperative research programs, Durkheim accomplished more in his life time than a score of "programmatic" or committed researchers.

THEORY OF CRIMINALITY

Durkheim's eminence in the field of criminology rests upon his broad approach to anti-social behavior. Scholars before and after him have attempted to find *the* "cause" for crime in external factors as in natural forces, climate, economic conditions, density of population or certain ecological areas. In contrast to these Durkheim maintained that if an explanation is to be found "it is necessary to look for an explanation" in the very nature of society. In this respect he agrees with A. Lacassagne who said, "Le milieu est le bouillon de culture de la criminalite." From this it follows that the "individual is rather a product than an author of society" (Espinas). In other words the individual is but a small image of the world in which he lives. For Durkheim crime is immanent in society and results from social interaction. This is the view expressed by A. Prins, "Criminality proceeds from the very nature of humanity itself, it is not transcendent, but immanent".⁷

THE NORMALITY OF CRIME

To present day social scientists it may seem strange that Durkheim should maintain that criminality is a "Normal" factor rather than a pathological one. He indicates that crime is found in all societies, "Crime is normal because a society exempt from it is utterly impossible". The "fundamental conditions of social organization—logically imply it." Crime is not due to any imperfection of human nature or society any more than birth or death may be considered abnormal or pathological. It is all a part of the totality of society. "A society exempt from it (crime) would necessitate a standardization of the moral concepts of all individuals which is neither possible or desirable."⁸

In reality crime can disappear only when the

⁷ PRINS, A. CRIMINALITÉ ET REPRESSION, Burxells, 1886

⁸ DURKHEIM, E. THE RULES OF SOCIOLOGICAL METHOD, Ed. by G. E. Gattlin, 1938, P. XXXVIII

"collective sentiments" in a community reach such an intensity that all persons concur in the same common values and when "the horror of bloodshed becomes widespread and deep in those social strata from which murderers are recruited".⁹

Durkheim maintains that crime is not only normal for society but that it is necessary. Without crime there could be no evolution in law. If society is to progress each person must be able to express himself. "The opportunity for the genius to carry out his work affords the criminal his originality at a lower level". "Aside from this indirect utility, it happens that crime itself plays a useful role". "According to Athenian Law, Socrates was a criminal, and his condemnation was no more than just. However, his crime, namely, the independence of his thought, rendered a service not only to humanity but to his country."¹⁰ Crime, therefore, "must no longer be conceived as an evil that cannot be too much repressed". This however, does not lead Durkheim to condone crime or "to present an apology for crime". When he stated that crime is merely a normal element he viewed the whole of society as reality.

PENOLOGICAL THEORY

Durkheim maintained that the kind and the degree of punishment and the rationale behind sanctions have varied according to the organizational structure of a society. In a homogeneous undifferentiated society anti-social acts offend the strong cohesive conscience of the people. Punishment in such a society is only to the degree that it sustains and reinforces the collective conscience. Punishment, therefore, is a mechanical reaction to preserve solidarity. Individuals are but the instruments of society who "strike back" at the offender without any sense of justice or immediate utility.¹¹ There is no thought of correction or of reformation of the offender. In some instances the punishment becomes so passionate as to reach other persons related to the wrong doer. Some may view this "aimless emotional reaction as a useless vengeance" as extreme cruelty but to this Durkheim does not agree. In spite of the crudeness of the method it is a "veritable act of defense" to destroy

⁹ Durkheim does, however, point out that if or when crime increases to undue proportions such as an increase of 300 percent in France, that it may be considered pathological and abnormal. He further indicates that while crime is normal this does not mean that the criminal is normal.

¹⁰ Rules, *ibid.* p. 71

¹¹ DURKHEIM, E. THE DIVISION OF LABOR Trans. by G. SIMPSON 1933, p. 86

that which appears to be a menace. Punishment "is a defense weapon which has its worth". The wrong doer is punished in order to make certain that the act may be considered as abhorrent to the minds of all men. In turn, this preserves the moral ideal of the people. Without punishment no man would know whether acts were "good or bad".

In contrast to this immediate and non-rational reaction to crime the advanced and differentiated urban society develops another type of penal principles. In such a society the law is not concerned with the preservation of social solidarity but merely with restitution and reinstatement. Hence, the punishment becomes evaluated in terms of the amount of harm done to the victim. The law, the court and the judge act as arbiter between the offender and the victim and the state. At this point legal concepts and practices "operate outside the collective conscience", because the wrong done is not considered a threat to social cohesion because men are little aware of it. The wrong is measured only in terms of the damage or injury done to the victim. This change of the penal thinking is the result of the advance in the division of labor and the greater segmentation in the society. The amount of the injury in time is measured in terms of a certain "occupational morality" rather than a common conscience. The complexity of life, therefore, demands certain conformity to rules not to protect society but to give protection to other individuals in society. The sacrosanct nature of sanctions give way to mere man to man requirements. This develops into a kind of cooperative morality in which duties are imposed by others.

In such a society crimes are thought of as acts which offend others and not the collective conscience. This in turn causes a lessening of the law norms and decreases the amount of punishment. The punishment is evaluated in terms of a satisfactory settlement with the victim. Such adjudication takes the form of the breaking of a contract in which a fine or some type of restitution satisfies "justice". Under such a condition punishment may be applied to the wrong doer in order to reform him. Punishment in order to preserve the common conscience and social solidarity is changed to what is good or proper for the individual. When this point has been reached the entire rationale of punishment for crime disappears and prisons are thought of as hospital or curative devices to correct aberrations.

These series of transformations of punishment to protect social solidarity, to punishment which is centered upon the individual is but the end result of the changes in the division of labor in society. In a sense punishment is but the function of the type of division of labor. This is Durkheim's answer to the changes in punishment in society. Ultimately it creates a number of problems which he hoped would be solved when a new type of "organic solidarity" arose from the increased segmentation of society by the increase of the division of labor. However, the problem still remains. If or when there is no rationale for punishment, if there is no social force behind efforts to keep the criminal from doing wrong how can the social order be preserved? This is a condition which "organic solidarity" has not solved. Durkheim answered this by saying that the division of labor produces a solidarity because men become "exchangeable". In doing this an entire system of right and wrong develops, and a new code of behavior will arise.¹²

DURKHEIM ON "ANOMIE"

Of the many contributions which Durkheim has made to the field of criminology his advancement of the theory of "Anomie" stands out above all others.¹³ Social scientists have found this theoretical construct the most valuable means of explaining the etiology of crime. The theory of "Anomie" is the one fundamental principle which follows consistently from the entire schematic structure of society. For Durkheim the elemental factors which give solidarity and cohesiveness to society are exteriority and constraint arising from the com-

¹² Durkheim, however, was too much of a realist to hold that society had reached a new state of equilibrium. "Our faith has been troubled; tradition has lost its way; individual judgment has been freed from collective conscience. . . . The new life which has emerged so suddenly has not been able to be completely organized, and above all it has not been organized in a way to satisfy the need for justice which has grown more ardent in our hearts. . . . What we must do to relieve this anomy is to discover the means for making the organs which are still wasting themselves in discordant movements harmoniously concur by introducing into their relations more justice. . . . Our illness is not, then, as often has been believed, of the intellectual sort; it has more profound causes. . . . morality is irremediably shattered, and what is necessary to us is only in process of formation." *THE DIVISION OF LABOR* pp. 408-409

¹³ The word "Anomie" comes from the Greek, *Anomia* which originally meant lawlessness. In the 17th Century the term meant disregard for divine law. The present use implies lawlessness or lack of conformity. Durkheim first used the term in 1893 in his *DIVISION OF LABOR*

pulsive force of a common conscience. Individuals are a part of the total integrated bond of oneness. This inner compulsion to conformity arises from a number of social factors such as, authority, respect, fear and the sacred. Men have an inner sense of a conscience superior to themselves which is outside and above the individual. This does not imply a reality apart from the totality of individuals in a society but merely a collective mindedness. This does not imply a "thought substance" but a "continuous succession of representation" growing out of social interaction. It is not separated from the group but a part of it. This is what Wundt may have called the folk-psychology. In a sense "society sees farther and better than the individual." All this brings about a certain moral discipline in a population. Under this condition of concordance crime is at a minimum.

In the process of social change (evolution) in society due to increased division of labor and heterogeneity the unifying forces of society tend to weaken. The standards and norms which had regulated society in the past become obsolete and inoperative or meaningless. When this occurs the restraints on passions no longer hold and a condition of "deregulation or anomy" arises. The absences of restraints soon bring disorder and "social chaos". The end result is a smashing of the norms and society becomes "atomized", fragmented and a "disorganized dust of individuals".

As a result of this fragmentation and atomization another serious condition arises in society—social isolation which brings about a decrease in social participation. People become but individuals living in proximity but in a social vacuum. The end result is a social emptiness or what Durkheim calls "Collective sadness" in which people have lost their identity either to place, to group or to tradition. In such a formless and fragmented society there is no solidarity, no sharing of life or experiences, no obligations to any one or anything. This separateness becomes intensified by an increase in mobility and with the growth of great metropolitan centers which become "Citadels of Loneliness". The Persian proverb of "death or a friend" takes on a new meaning. In time this inner longing expresses itself in the arts and the music. Urbanites try to forget their isolation by "Cock-tails" while they listen to some "Blue Singer" in a night club. The earlier songs of "Home on the Range, "Dixie" or "The Eyes of Texas Are Upon You" are replaced by "We are little black sheep

who have lost our way", "Why was I born" or "I'm a stranger in Heaven". People develop "a restless movement, a planless self-development, an aim of living which has no criterion of value and in which happiness lies always in the future, and not in any present achievement." This is the milieu which produces crime and anti-social disorders. There are no constraints and the cult of individualism cuts away all inhibitions. This breaks down the cohesive forces and each man becomes a "law unto himself". This is "Anomie"—the dead end of meaningless living. "The Citadels of Loneliness" becomes "Grand Central Stations" where people come and go with a ticket to some "Island in the Sun", "Bali Hī", "Shangri-la" or "Over the Rainbow".

If social scientists desire an explanation of crime in high or low places the real explanation lies in Durkheim's "Anomie". It is a qualitative non-scorable factor that cannot be entered as an item on a punch card. This cut-offness creates a "Terror" for which the best psychoanalysts with the softest couch have not been able to find a solution. It is just such loneliness which drives prisoners to try to find companionship among animals, mice, birds or rats. This loneliness causes some men to try to find an escape in a "Seven Story Mountain" while others search for "The Blue Bird". Such is "Anomie".

A recent monograph by Bernard Lander has taken Durkheim's construct of "Anomie" and applied it to a given city in his study of delinquency.¹⁴ After making a thorough analysis of "surface associations" such as poverty, bad housing conditions, density etc., Lander comes to the conclusion that these factors do not reach the crux of the problem and fail to take into account "the direct motivation of behavior." He indicates that the explanation of delinquency may be found in the degree that "anomie" is present in a given area. "Delinquency is a function of the stability and acceptance of the group norms with legal sanctions and the consequent effectiveness of the social controls in securing conforming juvenile behavior". "The factor analysis indicates, that the delinquency rate is fundamentally related only to "anomie". (p. 89) In essence Lander confirms what Durkheim found much earlier that where cohesion breaks down, where isolation is great, where social

¹⁴ LANDER, B. JUVENILE DELINQUENCY, A study of 8,464 cases of Juvenile Delinquency in Baltimore, Columbia University Press, 1954.

controls no longer exist, there crime rises to a high rate.

DURKHEIM ON SUICIDE

Of the many scholars who have attempted to deal with the problem of suicide only Durkheim has given the most satisfactory and understandable explanation. The hypothesis which he advanced in his "Suicide" follows logically from his theory of social cohesion and social isolation. He postulates that in a society where there is a high degree of social cohesion, a strong sense of identity and group integration and a sense of "belonging" where people are not "cut-off" there will be little or no suicide. The total integration of each person into a collective whole supported by strong sacrosanct sanctions discourages suicide. Contrariwise, as social cohesion decreases, the society becomes segmented, and men feel a sense of separateness and psycho-social isolation, to that degree suicide increases. "Anomy, therefore, is a regular and specific factor in a suicide in our modern society; one of the springs from which the annual contingent feeds". Durkheim calls this the "Egotistical type" of suicide and by giving it a type name establishes an analysis. This, the egotistical, explains the high rate of suicide among divorced persons, urban dwellers, groups where the family structure is weak, the heterodox religious individuals and the "free souls" who are no longer oriented to society. The "Dead-end" meaninglessness of life and the extreme isolation from others around them drives them to the Persian Proverb "a friend or death". Without a friend, without identification and without group support life ends in a meaningless nothingness.

By using the opposite pole of social relationships of strong cohesion Durkheim establishes his second type and analysis of suicide. In a culture where the individual is submerged, where custom and tradition are rigid and strong, people become so firmly bound to customs or group conscienceness that choices are made for them. Cases of self-sacrifice illustrate such a condition whether to duty, to a deity or tribal custom. The primitive leaps into a volcano or over a cliff because it is the rule of a god. In some areas a wife takes her own life at the death of her husband because tradition dictates such an act. This is what Durkheim calls the "Altruistic type" of suicide.

The third type of suicide Durkheim explains is due to the sudden shattering of the customary

bonds of relationships which normally give an individual a sense of security. "Man kills himself because of the loss of cohesion". This he calls the "anomique" type of suicide or a condition of sudden and far-reaching changes which shatter the social shell of solidarity in which people live. Such a shattering may be due to a crisis brought about by economic losses, a break in the stock market, loss of prestige, loss of "face" or a quick drop from a high to a low position in society. This explains the rise in suicides when the "stock market crashes" or when persons in high command positions are faced with defeat or when an Oriental "Looses face in the eyes of his ancestors".

To these three types and explanations of suicide Durkheim suggests the possibility of a fourth type which he names the "fatalistic type". The individual who is driven by excessive domination in which all the normal passions and wants of a person are "blocked and thwarted" such as a prisoner "choked by oppressive discipline" or confronted with extreme punishment may take his own life rather than live. This type of suicide has some of the characteristics of the "anomique" but circumstances are some what different. Had Durkheim lived, through the days of World War II with all the cruelty of the Concentration Camps he may have found material to expand this type of suicide. As it was, he stated this type "has so little contemporary importance and samples are hard to find aside from the cases just mentioned that it seems useless to dwell upon it".¹⁵

DEATH AND THE MAN

Death came to Emile Durkheim on the 15th of November during the third year of World War I at the age of 59 years, but his spirit lived on in his students and contemporaries. After the war, these men continued the work Durkheim had initiated. The journal, *L' ANNÉE SOCIOLOGIQUE* which he had begun earlier but which ceased publication during the war, reappeared in 1924. The next year a group formed the French Institute of Sociology with M. Mauss, a nephew of Durkheim, as president.¹⁶ In due time these men published a number of Durkheim's lectures and manuscripts. The *REVUE PHILOSOPHIQUE* published his "Introduction à la Morale." In 1925 his well known

¹⁵ From a footnote on page 276, *SUICIDE*

¹⁶ Among these men were: Maxine David, Antone Bianconi, Jean Regnier, R. Gelly, Paul Fausonnet, Theodor Ribot, Marcel Grant, Joseph E. Wilbors, M. Halbwachs and others.

lecture on "The Conjugal Family" appeared in *ANNALS DE LA FACULTÉ DES LETTRES DE BORDEAUX*. In the same year "L'Éducation Morale" and three years later appeared "Le Socialisme". Earlier in 1919 George Davy who later became Dean at the Sorbonne published "Durkheim, Choix de textes" and "Emile Durkheim L'homme et L'oeuvre". In 1924 M. Halbwachs published "Origines du sentiment religieux d'après Durkheim". A year before Albert Bayet produced "Le Suicide et la suicide". These efforts represent some of the publications of Durkheim's followers and the impact he had made upon the intellectual life of France. In the third decade of the present century Durkheim came to be known in America where his influence has played an important part in social theory and research.

In a day of nuclear fission, social atomization, social fragmentation, hot and cold wars, "Murder Inc." and "Black Board Jungles" it may be that Durkheim's contribution toward a better understanding of society will become more significant. It may be that there will be "nothing left but little fishes" unless we come to appreciate what Durkheim said more than a half century ago. "Man's characteristic privilege is that the bond he accepts is not physical but moral: that is, social. He is governed not by material environment brutally imposed on him, but a conscience superior to his own".¹⁷ This maybe the solution to the present "collective sadness" and a means of bringing order out of the "disorganized dust of individuals".

¹⁷ SUICIDE, p. 252.

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF DURKHEIM'S WORK

1. DE LA DIVISION DU TRAVAIL SOCIALE, ÉTUDE SUR L'ORGANISATION DES SOCIÉTÉS SUPÉRIEURES, Paris, 1893. Translated as DIVISION OF LABOR IN SOCIETY by GEORGE SIMPSON in 1933 published by MacMillan Company.
2. LES RÉGLES DE LA MÉTHODE, Paris, 1895, (Parts had appeared in REV. PHIL. Vol. XXXVII and XXXVIII).
Translated by S. A. SOLOVAY and JOHN H. MUELLER and edited by G. E. G. CATLIN as THE RULES OF SOCIOLOGICAL METHOD in 1938 by The Free Press.
3. LE SUICIDE; ÉTUDE DE SOCIOLOGIE, Paris, 1897, Translated by J. A. SPAULDING and GEORGE SIMPSON in 1951, by The Free Press.
4. LES FORMES ÉLÉMENTAIRES DE LA VIE RELIGIEUSE, Paris, 1912. Translated by J. U. SWAIN as THE ELEMENTARY FORMS OF THE RELIGIOUS LIFE in 1915, George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., London.
5. L'ANNÉE SOCIOLOGIQUE, PUBLIÉE SOUS LA DIRECTION DE EMILE DURKHEIM

For works about Durkheim see the following publications

1. SOREL, G., *Les Théories de E. Durkheim*, LE DEVENIR SOCIAL, Vol. 1895.
2. TOSTI, G., *Durkheim's Sociological Objectivism* A.J.S. Vol. IV, 1898-1899
3. GEHLKE, C. E. *E. Durkheim's Contributions to Social Theory* STUDIES IN HISTORY ETC. Vol. LXIII, No. 1, Columbia University, 1915. (This study contains a list of Durkheim's papers and publications in various journals)
4. BARNES, H. E. *Durkheim's contribution to the Reconstruction of Political Theory*, POLITICAL SCI. QUART. Vol. 35, 1920 pp. 236-254.
5. SOROKIN, P. A. *CONTEMPORARY SOCIOLOGICAL THEORIES*, New York, 1927 pp. 160-162, 215-217, 463-480 and 491-493.
6. STOETZEL, JEAN *Sociology in France* in MODERN SOCIOLOGICAL THEORY, Édité by H. BECKER and A. BOSKOFF, New York, 1957.
7. DE GRAZIA, S. *THE POLITICAL COMMUNITY, A STUDY IN ANOMIE*, Chicago, 1948
8. PARSONS T., *THE STRUCTURE OF SOCIAL ACTION*, New York, 1937, pp. 301-472