

*Scientific development depends in part on a process of non-incremental or revolutionary change. Some revolutions are large, like those associated with the names of Copernicus, Newton, or Darwin, but most are much smaller, like the discovery of oxygen or the planet Uranus. The usual prelude to changes of this sort is, I believe, the awareness of anomaly, of an occurrence or set of occurrences that does not fit existing ways of ordering phenomena. The changes that result therefore require "putting on a different kind of thinking-cap," one that also transforms the order exhibited by some other phenomena, previously unproblematic.—Thomas S. Kuhn, *The Essential Tension*, 1977. From Volume 19.*

**Excerpt from the Introduction to the International Encyclopedia of the  
Social Sciences. Volume 19. Social Science Quotations  
David L. Sills and Robert K. Merton, Editors**

The volume has been prepared to meet an evident need not met in the preceding volumes of the *Encyclopedia* or in the general reference literature on the social sciences. Although the *Encyclopedia* contains some 800 scholarly biographies (and appended bibliographies) of social scientists, many do not quote their writings at all while the rest quote only scattered passages from them. Yet we know from the frequent use of quotations in scientific as well as literary writings that summaries and paraphrases typically fail to capture the full force of formulations that have made them memorable. After all, that is why we quote rather than paraphrase. That is why most of us would hesitate to try improving upon William James's imagery of habit as "the enormous fly-wheel of society, its most conservative agent" or upon John Maynard Keynes's observation that "practi-

cal men, who believe themselves quite exempt from any intellectual influences, are usually the slaves of some defunct economist." Clearly, it is not alone their substance but also the words in which they are expressed that lead passages such as these to endure through repeated quotation.

There are, of course, many books of quotations but none, like this one, focused on the social sciences, broadly conceived. This wide-ranging scope has meant that the volume could not possibly include quotations from all the scholars of authority and consequence in both the long historical past of social thought and in the vastly expanded present of the social sciences. It was not even possible to include quotations from all 800 or so scholars whose biographies appear in the *Encyclopedia*, let alone from many of the vastly enlarged numbers of contemporary

social scientists of the first rank. This limitation held particularly for those styles of scientific work whose undoubted importance rests in research formulations not readily reformulated in quotable prose.

From the start, also, it was evident that a volume of quotations could in no sense serve as a comprehensive collection of the basic ideas and formulations of the various social sciences. This is emphatically *not* a one-volume summary of the *Encyclopedia* or of the enormous body of new knowledge acquired in the nearly quarter-century since the *Encyclopedia* was first published. Nor, of course, do the quotations serve to summarize the writings of the authors included in the volume. This is typically and conspicuously the case where limitations of space and quotability of contributions have led to very few quotations from even major contributors to their field, but it holds also for those eminently quotable figures who, much quoted from generation to generation, are cited in relative detail. The roster of such figures includes Malinowski, Sapir, and Lévi-Strauss in anthropology; Adam Smith, Jevons, Keynes, and Schumpeter in economics; Ibn Khaldún, Gibbon, and Macaulay in history; Hobbes, Locke, Machiavelli, and Rousseau in political thought; Freud, James, Jung, and G.H. Mead in psychology; Tocqueville, Durkheim, Simmel, and Max Weber in sociology; and Holmes, Pollock and Maitland, and Cardozo in the law. To these are added such monumental social thinkers as Bentham, John Stuart Mill, Marx, and Pareto, who are enduringly quoted in a variety of disciplines. The notion that one, two, or, for that matter, ten pages of quotations could convey the essentials of their thought is, of course, absurd, but the considerable arrays of quotations do serve to make some of their most memorable formulations easily accessible within their immediate contexts.

To provide such ready access to both quotations and their contexts, we have departed from practices prevailing in general books of quotations in two principal respects. First, to provide some immediate contexts, we have often reproduced fairly extensive passages in which the notable succinct quotations are embedded. And second, we have provided exact scholarly references to the source of

every quotation, always indicating the date of the first appearance of a quoted passage and, when in point, the later more accessible or corrected source from which the quotation was actually drawn. A short reference giving the precise page or paragraph of its source is appended to each quotation; the complete reference is provided in the cumulative Bibliography. Of obvious use to readers coming upon quotations new to them, exact references may also prove useful for swiftly locating the more familiar quotations. By leading readers back to the sources, such detailed references can help them place even extended quotations in their larger contexts. In this way, a book of quotations can extend an open invitation to the further reading or re-reading of the original texts, beyond the quotations themselves.

As will become evident, the volume draws chiefly upon writings that constitute the historical core of the social sciences and social thought, those works with staying power often described as the "classical texts"; most of their authors wrote well; most of them wrote voluminously; and their ideas have had a formative impact upon subsequent thinking in their field. A large number of quotations are drawn from these classical texts, not because the editors are Marxists or Weberians or Jamesians or Freudians or Keynesians or whatever, but because they contain *memorable ideas memorably expressed*. Both consequential and memorable, these authors have been quoted over the generations, entering into the collective memory of social scientists and at times diffusing into popular thought and into the vernacular as well.

In selecting quotations, we have gone some distance beyond the goal of supplementing the biographical articles in the *Encyclopedia*. There are a good many quotations from classical authors—Gibbon and Voltaire, for example—who, during the behavioral-science heyday of the 1960s, were identified as "literary" historians and thus were not included as biographical subjects. We have happily reversed these earlier editorial decisions. We have drawn upon a much wider range of authors and quotations, generally with the object of highlighting some social science idea, theme, or general find-

ing. Moreover, since this is a volume for ready reference, we have also included some quotations from the social sciences and social thought that, though now widely questioned in substance, retain an enduring fame or notoriety.

In the effort to enlarge the scope of the volume, we have included quotations on society and the social sciences drawn from the writings of poets, novelists, dramatists, philosophers, political figures, and revolutionaries along with physicists, biologists, and mathematicians. To take a few examples, there are selections from Walt Whitman and W.H. Auden; Jane Austen and Dostoyevski; Shakespeare and G.B. Shaw; Hegel, Schopenhauer, and Wittgenstein; and from the public speeches of Lincoln, Churchill, and Martin Luther King, Jr. These departures from the social sciences, narrowly defined, occupy only a small fraction of the volume but, we believe, serve an important reference function. Since this is not a book of general quotations, we have allowed ourselves only a few quotations of this kind and, perhaps more than any other aspect of this volume, their selection reflects the tastes and preferences of the editors.

Some of the quotations in the volume have had such extensive influence for so long that they have become part of the culture with the identity of their original authors no longer given and, in due course, becoming unknown to many making use of these anonymized quotations. This pattern in the transmission of culture has been described as "Obliteration (of source) by Incorporation (into common discourse)—or OBI for short." Familiar instances are Francis Bacon's dictum "knowledge is power" (1597), Joseph Glanvill's "climates of opinion" (1661), and John Adams's "government of laws and not of men" (1774). In much the same fashion, many concepts-and-phrasings—such as charisma, stereotype, opportunity costs, significant others, and double-bind—have entered the vernacular with little awareness of their sources in the social sciences.

A correlative pattern is misattribution. Ockham's Razor ("What can be accounted for by fewer assumptions is explained in vain by more") is generally attributed to William of Ockham, but there is no compelling evidence that it was original with him. "Bad money drives out good money" is generally and mistakenly attributed to Thomas Gresham, and "the best government is that which governs least" has been variously attributed to Jefferson, Paine, Thoreau, and the nineteenth-century editor John Louis O'Sullivan. These and other cases of misattribution are identified in bibliographical annotations to the quotations in point.

Along with the most notable quotations with great staying power, other quotations were selected in terms of the following guidelines:

1. Substantive statements that express basic contributions which have begun to be much quoted.
2. Statements marking an important event or turning point in the history of social thought and the social sciences, such as the emergence of new fields or new methodologies.
3. Ideas, words, or phrases originating in the social sciences that have diffused into popular or vernacular use.
4. Quotations that illuminate the frontiers and interplay between the social sciences and the humanities or the physical and biological sciences.
5. Notable observations on social science generally or on one of its constituent disciplines.

Assembled over a period of several years, with the aid of many advisers, the quotations are drawn from a wide variety of sources: primarily books and journals, but also newspapers and magazines, collections of correspondence, diaries, epigraphs for books, and, on occasion, previously unpublished writings. In at least three cases (Thomas Jefferson, Karl Marx, Johann Heinrich von Thunen), the quotations are engraved on their authors' tombstones.

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