

reflection of the one by the other." In this phenomenon M. Tarde finds the germ of the original social fact. He agrees with M. Durkheim in maintaining that the primitive fact of social life is some kind of control or coercion under which the individual is placed; but whilst M. Durkheim finds this in the coercive action of the "Collective" over the "Individual," M. Tarde goes a step further back and explains this by the influence of two individuals on each other. "It is not sufficient to recognise the imitative character of every social phenomenon. I maintain, moreover, that from the beginning this imitative relation has existed, not between one individual and a confused mass of persons as it exists very frequently later on, but between two individuals alone, of which the one, the infant, is born into the social life, and of which the other, the adult, socialised already long before, serves as an individual model. In advancing during life we frequently regulate ourselves on collective and impersonal models of which we are, at the same time, usually unconscious; but before speaking, thinking, acting, as we speak, think, or act in this world, we began to speak, think, and act as *he* or *she* speaks, thinks, and acts. And this *he* or *she* is one or the other among those familiar to us. If we look carefully we never find more than a certain number of *he's* or *she's*, which have become blurred and confused by multiplication. However simple this distinction may be, it is forgotten by those¹ who, in any social institution or work, will not allow to individual initiative the creative rôle, but think they say something by stating, *e.g.*,

86.
Tarde's
opposed
individual-
istic theory.

¹ Referring evidently to M. Durkheim.