

THE STATE
ELEMENTS OF HISTORICAL AND
PRACTICAL POLITICS

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INTRODUCTION.

POLITICAL Science is a word of many meanings ; indeed, many people in England imagine that it has no precise meaning at all. A student who inspects the papers of Political Science set in the Indian Civil Service Examination, or even in the Oxford and Cambridge Schools, will come away with the idea that it includes a quantity of vague talk and speculation, theoretical and practical, about government in many different ages and countries, and he will feel bewildered as to how to acquire the knowledge of it or what limits he is to set himself. This is a great misfortune. Although Political Science, in spite of the life-long efforts of Professor Seeley, holds a precarious position in English education, it is highly honoured in America, where it forms in several Universities a faculty by itself, while in France the School of the Political Sciences is a nursery of the best statesmen and administrators of that country.

There is no reason why this should not be equally the case in England. Political Science is capable of exact definition, and may be studied with as much precision as anything else. Setting aside the history of Political Theory, which is often confounded with it, but which ought to be treated separately, it consists of two main branches ; one, speculative and deductive, the other, historical and inductive. It is with the latter of these two divisions that Mr. Woodrow Wilson's book is concerned. Inductive Political Science may at least be regarded as a classificatory science, even if it has no higher claim to trace the development of the State on the lines of evolution. If we had at our disposal an accurate account of all forms of government now existing on the surface of the globe we should probably possess a description of the most important

types that ever have existed, and if we were to arrange them in order of complexity, beginning with the most simple and ending with the most highly organised, we should probably have a clue to the gradual processes by which they have been evolved.

A treatise on Political Science written with these aims would begin with the evolution of the family, because the family in almost every case precedes the State, and the family, as we know it, is a very gradual growth. It would then adopt some classification of Governments, the simplest as well as the oldest being that of monarchy, aristocracy, and democracy—the Government of the one, the few, and the many, which is described by Aristotle and has the approval of Herbert Spencer. Beginning with monarchy, it would be found convenient to trace it from its earliest beginnings in tribal and heroic monarchy through its various forms of feudal monarchy, monarchy limited by Estates, and absolute monarchy, down to the constitutional monarchy of the present day. In this survey it would probably be best to treat the constitutional history of Rome as a whole, although the greater part of it is concerned with aristocracy, because the constitution of the Roman Empire, from which modern forms of monarchy are mainly derived, cannot be understood without a knowledge of the history of the Republic. In a similar manner such a book should deal with the history of aristocracy and democracy, taking Sparta and Venice as types of the first form, Athens and Florence as types of the second. In this survey full use may be made of such existing governments, in whatever part of the world they are found, which may throw light on those whose development has been narrated.

This will complete the review of the so-called Simple Governments, and the inquiry will conclude with an examination of Complex Governments, ending with Federal Governments in their two types of the Staatenbund and the Bundesstat.

Political Science is essentially the Science of History, and a knowledge of it is indispensable to every serious historical student. Until comparatively recent times histories were mere annals,

containing notices of all kinds, Political, Religious, and Social, the History of Art, Literature, and other matters. It is impossible that History should be written scientifically upon these lines. Perhaps Ranke was the first who, following the examples of Thucydides and Tacitus, taught us to differentiate in History, and to take one point of view at a time if we would have a clear vision ; also that the most important point of view is the Political. For nearly a hundred years History has been written seriously, in Germany if not in England, and students have been taught to look rather at the intrinsic importance of the facts themselves, than to the manner of their presentation, or to the adventitious plums of gossip inserted in the main structure.

Students at our Universities are trained on these lines ; but it is difficult to separate Political from other History, or to appreciate the importance of it, unless the student has been trained to look at the phenomena of Government by themselves as abstracted from other phenomena with which they are connected. He can only receive this training by the study of Political Science, which can be taken concurrently with that of History. This will give him a clue to the subject, and with this in hand he will move through the maze of human vicissitudes with firm and unfaltering steps. Trained in this school, he will know what to look for, and how to arrange a narrative in due perspective.

It is sometimes said that Social History is of more importance than Political History, and that the best preparation for an historian is not Politics but Economics. Political Science has this advantage over Economics, that it is more limited and more precise. Man, as Aristotle has told us, is a political animal. Men of all races and colours and under all conditions tend to form Governments of some kind. The Patriarchal Family is a kind of Government. Therefore, in tracing the evolution of government, we are watching the working of a force which is inherent in man as man, which is a common factor in all humanity, and we find, at first to our astonishment, that political problems are worked out in the same way by men who can have

had no communication with each other. Regarded from this point of view, Political Science is one of the Natural Sciences. It deals with tendencies which are inherent and indestructible, and the organism of the State is comparable, by something more than an analogy, with the organism of the body itself. Man may also, with equal truth, be described as an economical animal, but the conditions of economical change are more fluid and diverse than those of political change, and it might be found as difficult to deduce economic laws from the study of economic development as to predict the weather.

Political Science has suffered in England from having no text-books. There have been books about the subject, but none upon it. The present work of Mr. Woodrow Wilson is an attempt to remove this defect. Approaching the study with much learning and a high reputation, and with a clear sense of what is needed, he strikes the bounds of his subject with no uncertain hand, and has given us what is, as yet, the best existing manual of this most important study. Specially helpful are the ample bibliographies which are found at the close of each chapter. Much space has been given to modern constitutions, which are not a necessary part of the subject, but which are closely connected with it. Scholars well qualified to judge are of opinion that in coming years the interest now taken in Economics will be shared with Political Science. Whenever that Science is regarded not only as indispensable to an historian, but as the very backbone to Historical Study, Mr. Wilson will be considered as the foremost, if not the first, of those who rendered possible the intelligent study of a department of Sociology upon which the happiness and good government of the human-race essentially depend. His book, already known to us, should, in its improved form, meet with a hearty welcome from English scholars and students in all places of education.

OSCAR BROWNING.

CAMBRIDGE,

June 1899.

TO

HIS WIFE

Whose Affectionate Sympathy
And Appreciative Interest
Have so Greatly Lightened the Labor
Of Preparing

THIS WORK

It is Gratefully Dedicated by
THE AUTHOR

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PREFACE.

THE scope and plan of this volume are, I trust, self-evident; but a word or two of comment and suggestion may be useful to those who shall use the book in class instruction. In preparing it I labored under the disadvantage of having no model. So far as I was able to ascertain, no text-book of like scope and purpose had hitherto been attempted. I was obliged, therefore, to put a great deal into this volume that I might have omitted had there been other compact and easily accessible statements of the details of modern governmental machinery. Had there been other books to which the student might easily resort for additional information, I should have confined myself much more than I have felt at liberty to do to the discussion of general principles and the elaboration of parallels or contrasts between different systems. As it was, I saw no way of doing adequately the work I had planned without making this a book of facts.

The volume, as a consequence, is very large. Realizing this, I have put a great deal of matter, containing minor details and most of my illustrations and parallels, into small print, in order that any part of such matter that the teacher saw fit to omit in class work might be omitted without breaking the continuity of the text. At the same time, the small print paragraphs are integral parts of the text, not separated from it as foot-notes would be, but running along with it as continuously as if they were in no way distinguished from the main body of it.

In the historical portions I have been greatly straitened for space, and must depend upon the active and intelligent assistance of the teacher. Picking out governmental facts, as I have done, from the body of political history, and taking for granted on the part of the reader a knowledge of the full historical setting of the facts I have used, I have, of course, been conscious of relying

upon the teacher who uses the volume to make that assumption good as regards his own pupils. Large as the book is, it will require much supplement in the using. I trust that it will on that account prove sufficiently stimulating to both pupil and teacher to make good its claim to be the right sort of a text-book.

The governments I have chosen for description were selected as types of their several kinds. A knowledge of the constitutions of the states of classical antiquity must always go before a study of modern politics; the government of France serves excellently as an example of a unitary government of one kind, and Great Britain equally well as an example of a unitary government of another kind; Germany exhibits a federal empire, Switzerland a federal republic of one sort, the United States a federal republic of another; Austria-Hungary and Sweden-Norway show the only two existing European types of dual monarchies. Russia no doubt has a place apart in European politics, and deserved a chapter in such a survey as I have here undertaken; but I could not in conscience make the volume any bigger. Even two volumes like this could hardly contain the chapters that might be written about the various administrative and constitutional arrangements to be found in Europe.

In hoping that the book will be acceptable to teachers I have relied upon that interest in comparative politics which has been so much stimulated in the English-speaking world in very recent years. I have meant that it should be in time to enter the doors of instruction now in all directions being opened wider and wider in American colleges to a thorough study of political science. I believe that our own institutions can be understood and appreciated only by those who know other systems of government as well, and the main facts of general institutional history. By the use of a thorough comparative and historical method, moreover, a general clarification of views may be obtained. For one thing, the wide correspondences of organization and method in government,—a unity in structure and procedure much greater than the uninitiated student of institutions is at all prepared to find,—will appear, to the upsetting of many pet theories as to the special excellencies of some one system of government. Such correspondences having been noted, it will be the easier to trace the

differences which disclose themselves to their true sources in history and national character. The differences are in many instances nation-marks; the correspondences speak often of common experiences bringing common lessons, often of universal rules of convenience, sometimes of imitation. Certainly it does not now have to be argued that the only thorough method of study in politics is the comparative and historical. I need not explain or justify the purpose of this volume, therefore: I need only ask indulgence for its faults of execution.

. The work upon which I have chiefly relied in describing modern governments is the great *Handbuch des oeffentlichen Rechts der Gegenwart*, edited by the late Professor Heinrich Marquardsen of the University of Erlangen. This invaluable collection of monographs on the public law of modern states, which began to appear in 1883, is almost complete. In most cases it embodies the latest authoritative expositions of my subjects accessible to me, and I have used it constantly in my preparation of this work.

To some of my friends I am under special obligations, of which I gladly make grateful acknowledgment, for that most self-sacrificing of services, the critical reading of portions of my manuscript. This kindness was extended to me by Professor Hérbert B. Adams and Dr. J. M. Vincent of Johns Hopkins University, Professor J. F. Jameson of Brown University, and Professor Munroe Smith of Columbia College. To these gentlemen I make my public acknowledgments, together with my public condolences, for their connection with this work. I am sure that they are responsible for none of its inaccuracies and for many of its excellences.

WOODROW WILSON.

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