

HISTORY
OF THE
SCIENCE OF POLITICS

SIR FREDERICK POLLOCK

AN INTRODUCTION

TO THE

HISTORY OF THE SCIENCE OF POLITICS



AN INTRODUCTION TO THE
HISTORY
OF THE
SCIENCE OF POLITICS

BY

SIR FREDERICK POLLOCK, BART.,

M.A., HON. LL.D. EDIN.

CORPUS CHRISTI PROFESSOR OF JURISPRUDENCE IN THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD
LATE FELLOW OF TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE

“They be farre more in number, that love to read of great Armies, bloody Battels, and many thousands slaine at once, then that minde the Art, by which the Affaires, both of Armies, and Cities, be conducted to their ends.”—HOBBS, *Preface to Thucydides*.

London
MACMILLAN AND CO
AND NEW YORK
1895

First Edition 1890 ; Reprinted 1893
Reprinted with corrections 1895

ADVERTISEMENT

THIS Essay was delivered as a course of lectures at the Royal Institution in 1882, and shortly afterwards published as a series of articles in the *Fortnightly Review*. For some time I hoped that I should be able to expand the sketch thus produced into something more substantial. Other and more distinctly professional work, however, has occupied me since, and meanwhile the lectures have become current in America in an unauthorised reprint. It is now thought well that they should be collected by the writer's own hand. Only such revision has been undertaken as is consistent with preserving their original character; and I have not thought it needful to alter what I said in 1882 merely because, in the eight years that have elapsed, others may have said the same things better or at greater length, or because I should myself put them somewhat differently if I were now expressing them for the first time.

The foregoing words, written in 1890, remain

applicable to the present reissue. As the book has lately appeared both in French (*Introduction à l'étude de la science politique*, etc., Paris, 1893) and in German (*Kurze Geschichte der Staatslehre*, Leipzig, in Reclam's Universal-Bibliothek, 1893), I venture to believe that it may still be found useful. A few passages of merely temporary interest have now been altered or omitted.

F. P.

September 1895.

CONTENTS

I.—THE BEGINNINGS OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

	PAGE
THE PLACE OF POLITICS AMONG THE SCIENCES	2
DIVISION OF SCIENCES	4
SPECULATIVE AND PRACTICAL DEPARTMENTS OF MORAL SCIENCE	6
FIELD OF POLITICAL SCIENCE	8
IDEAL OF POLITICAL LIFE IN ANCIENT ATHENS	10
RUDIMENTS OF POLITICAL THEORY IN OUR REPORTS OF SOCRATES	12
PLATO'S DEVELOPMENTS	13
HIS REPUBLIC IDEAL, NOT PRACTICAL	14
NEW DEPARTURE OF ARISTOTLE ; HIS PRACTICAL METHOD	15
ARISTOTLE'S "POLITICS"	17
ARISTOTLE'S "NATURAL CITIZENSHIP" AND ROUSSEAU'S "SOCIAL CONTRACT"	18
ECONOMICAL TEACHING OF ARISTOTLE	21
HIS CRITICISMS OF PLATO'S COMMUNISM	22
THE CITIZEN AND THE CITY DEFINED	24
GOOD AND BAD CONSTITUTIONS	26
ARISTOTLE'S VIEWS OF CITIZENSHIP APPLIED TO THE MODERN STATE	27

	PAGE
DECAY OF POLITICAL SCIENCE IN GREECE AFTER THE ROMAN CONQUEST	30
CICERO'S PHILOSOPHICAL WORKS	31
 II.—THE MIDDLE AGES AND THE RENAISSANCE 	
STRUGGLE BETWEEN THE EMPEROR FREDERICK II. AND THE PAPACY	34
ST. THOMAS AQUINAS "DE REGIMINE PRINCIPUM," AND DANTE "DE MONARCHIA"	36
DANTE'S IDEAL MONARCH	39
WRITERS ON POLITICS BEFORE MACHIAVELLI	40
POLITICAL PRINCIPLES OF MACHIAVELLI	42
HIS SCHEME FOR THE RESTORATION OF ITALIAN UNITY	44
BODIN'S TREATISE "OF COMMONWEALTH"	46
HIS CONCEPTION OF SOVEREIGNTY	47
MORAL AND GENERAL LIMITATIONS OF SOVEREIGN POWER	50
FORTESCUE ON THE ENGLISH MONARCHY, AND MORE'S "UTOPIA"	53
SIR THOMAS SMITH ON THE OMNIPOTENCE OF PARLIAMENT	54
HOBBS'S "LEVIATHAN"	55
ORIGIN OF CIVIL SOCIETY IN CONTRACT	56
RELATIONS OF THE SOVEREIGN AND THE SUBJECT	58
DEFINITION OF RIGHT AND WRONG	61
SUBSEQUENT TREATMENT OF HOBBS'S DOCTRINES	62
 III.—THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY AND THE SOCIAL CONTRACT 	
LOCKE ON CIVIL GOVERNMENT	65
THE STATE OF NATURE AND THE STATE OF WAR	67

	PAGE
POLITICAL SOCIETY	68
AUTHORITY OF THE LEGISLATIVE POWER	70
LEGALITY OF A CHANGE OF GOVERNMENT	71
PREROGATIVE OF THE CROWN	74
ROUSSEAU AND THE <i>CONTRAT SOCIAL</i>	75
THE SOVEREIGN PEOPLE	76
DECLARATION OF THE RIGHTS OF MAN	79
BLACKSTONE ON LOCKE'S PRINCIPLES	80
MONTESQUIEU'S <i>ESPRIT DES LOIS</i>	81
HIS EXCELLENCIES AND FAULTS	83
BURKE	85
EXPERIENCE <i>VERSUS</i> DOGMATISM	86
WILL OF THE MAJORITY	88
PRINCIPLES OF 1789	90
EXPEDIENCY AND LEGALITY	92

IV.—MODERN THEORIES OF SOVEREIGNTY AND LEGISLATION

CLASSIFICATION OF THEORETICAL AND APPLIED POLITICS	93
BENTHAM: HIS "FRAGMENT ON GOVERNMENT"	96
DEFINITION OF POLITICAL SOCIETY	97
SOVEREIGNTY AND OBEDIENCE	99
THE RULE OF UTILITY	100
AUSTIN	103
PRACTICAL SEAT OF POLITICAL SUPREMACY	105
THE CROWN AND THE ESTATES OF THE REALM	107
CONVENTIONS OF CONSTITUTIONAL PRACTICE	108
CONTINENTAL PHILOSOPHY OF POLITICS	109
ETHICAL AND HISTORICAL SCHOOLS	110

	PAGE
<i>NATURRECHT</i> IN ENGLISH SCHOOL	111
GRADUAL SEPARATION OF ETHICS, POLITICS, AND LAW IN ENGLISH SCHOOL	113
CONTRAST OF ENGLISH AND CONTINENTAL POINTS OF VIEW	114
CONTINENTAL METHOD FAVOURED IN AMERICA	117
MODERN HISTORICAL METHOD	118
LIMITS OF STATE INTERFERENCE	120
HUMBOLDT, MILL, LABOULAYE	121
MR. SPENCER, MR. HUXLEY	122
CENTRALISED AND LOCAL REGULATION	123
BACK TO ARISTOTLE	124
INDEX (MAINLY OF PROPER NAMES)	127