Progress Report of the Committee on Political Research

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PROGRESS REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON
POLITICAL RESEARCH

In accordance with a resolution passed by the Executive Council of the American Political Science Association at its December meeting of 1921, a committee on political research was appointed by President Dunning. The membership of the committee was as follows: Charles E. Merriam of the University of Chicago, chairman; Robert T. Crane of the University of Michigan, John A. Fairlie of the University of Illinois, and Clyde L. King of the University of Pennsylvania.

The purpose of the committee was to scrutinize the scope and method of political research in the field of government, with a view to obtaining a clearer view of the actual situation and of offering certain constructive suggestions.

The committee held four meetings, one at Pittsburgh in connection with the annual meeting of the Association, one at Cleveland at the time of the Government Research Conference, and two at Chicago. In addition to this a number of conferences were held by the chairman with individual members of the committee.

The committee decided to make the principal part of its work for the first year a survey of the existing research agencies and methods. With this in view, the following fields were assigned to the various members of the committee:

- A survey of recent advances in political methods.
- A survey of the work of government research bodies.
- A survey of legislative and municipal reference agencies.
- A survey of research and equipment in universities and colleges.
- A survey of the research carried on by social and industrial agencies bordering on the field of government.

It was not found feasible to print the entire report made on these various subjects, but a summary of them is presented herewith.¹

The committee also considered various ways and means by which the quality and quantity of political research might be improved, and the general findings and conclusions thus far reached are also presented here.

It is, of course, understood that this report is only preliminary and tentative—the result of the partial exploration of a very small part of a very large field.

By action of the Council at its last session, the research committee has been made a standing committee of the American Political Science Association and will accordingly continue its work during the present year.

I. RECENT ADVANCES IN POLITICAL METHODS

RECENT HISTORY OF POLITICAL THINKING

The purpose of this survey was to examine the development of methods of inquiry in recent years in the field of political science and of the related social sciences. It was also proposed to examine specifically the advance made in methods of the study of government in the United States. And finally it was proposed to sum up the principal advances in method in the study of government and the chief remaining obstacles.

An adequate analysis of recent political thought requires at the outset a look at the fundamental factors conditioning the intellectual processes of the time. Here if time permitted we might sketch the outlines of the larger social forces of the time, such as industrialism, nationalism, urbanism, feminism. We might examine the larger group interpretations as seen in the theories of the middle class, of the business group, or of the labor group, and we might scrutinize the rationalizations of the several race groupings of the time. Any thorough inquiry would necessitate some such wide-sweeping view of the forces that so profoundly affect the character and method of political thought. For present purposes it will be assumed, however, that such an inquiry has been made and that its results are fresh in the mind of the inquirer.

It would also be desirable and necessary to examine the general intellectual technique of the time as reflected in philosophy, in religion, and in science. Obviously it is necessary for the purposes of such a paper as this to assume that this survey has already been made. We may then advance to a more minute inquiry into the methods of political thought in the narrower sense of the term. It will be necessary to advance with great rapidity in order to cover the ground within reasonable limits of space, but it is hoped that it may prove possible to sketch
the main outlines of the development of political thinking in recent times adequately for the purposes of considering what methods are now open to the use of political scientists, and what the relative advantages of these methods may be.

METHODOLOGICAL QUESTIONS

The development of methods of inquiry in related fields of social science is so intimately associated with progress in the study of government that advances in the various social disciplines will be briefly sketched at this point.

Politics has been placed under obligations to economics during the recent period of development. The classical and historical schools of the first part of the nineteenth century were continued and expanded, but new forms of economic speculation came into vogue. The climax of the classical school was found in the writings of the famous British economist, Alfred Marshall, who in many ways eclectic in his theory may perhaps most accurately be characterized as a neo-classicist. The historical school founds exponents, particularly among the German thinkers, in the writings of Wagner, Schmoller, and others. In the main, however, these thinkers continued the development of the classical and historical types of economic reasoning already begun in the first half of the nineteenth century.

In the meantime there appeared the Austrian school of economics evolving the doctrine of subjective value, or what might loosely be called psychological values. In the writings of Menger, Böhm-Bawerk, emphasis was shifted from the earlier forms of analysis to another aspect of the economic process which they called the subjective and which some others term psychological. Here we have an attempt to interpret economic values in terms of mental attitudes, suggesting but by no means realizing, the later developments of psychology.

Following the Austrian school came the study of economic motives, instincts, tendencies or traits, in short the inquiry into economic behavior. These inquiries were by no means complete, in fact they were characterizedly inchoate. Their chief significance thus far is the

\[ \text{See Haney, History of Economic Thought.} \]

\[ \text{See W. C. Mitchell, "Human Behavior and Economics, A Survey of Recent Literature," Quarterly Journal of Economics, XXIX, 1;} \]

\[ J. M. Clark, "Economists and Modern Psychology," \]

\[ \text{Ibid., XXXVI, 6;} \]

\[ Z. C. Dickinson, "The Relation of Recent Psychological Developments to Economic Theory," \]

\[ \text{Ibid., XXXIII, 377.} \]

emphasis laid upon another aspect of economic thinking. These scattered inquiries mark, as in the political field, the beginnings of another line of observation and reasoning.

From another point of view the science of economics developed through a statistical, or at times even a mathematical method. Economic statistics were worked out more rapidly than any other form of social measurement. This was due undoubtedly to the stress of business requirements and opportunities. The application of these measurements was direct and evident, closely concerned with the profit-making system of the day and the result was the accumulation of great masses of statistical analyses, often of the very highest value and significance. To be sure the surveys of the past were more common and more accurate than the estimates of the future, but the latter began to find a modest place in the calculations of the more daring economists.

The doctrine of the economic interpretation of history, developed in the middle of the nineteenth century by historians and economists was a subject of further analysis and application. Loria, following Marx, undertook an interpretation of institutions in terms of economic interests and forces which, while not very skilfully executed, was symptomatic of general tendencies. The socialist group in general utilized the doctrine of the economic basis of politics for purposes of class propaganda. Generally speaking this emphasis upon the economic factor in social life found wider and wider acceptance among the students of politics.

There was a pronounced tendency, however, to inquire into the social and psychological causes of events as well as the more strictly economic. It became evident that unless "economic" was used as an all-inclusive term covering the whole material environment it would be inadequate as an explanation of human behavior in all instances. While it was frequently asserted that men reason in terms of their economic interests, seldom was the question raised as to what determined their precise type of thought. Obviously the interpretation of the same economic interests might differ and even conflict, in which case the reason for the variation must be sought elsewhere than in the economic force itself and must lie in the forms or types of thinking. If out of exactly similar economic situations diametrically opposed conclusions or widely varying types of reasons were developed, it is clear that some other factor

\[ \text{See E. R. A. Seligman, The Economic Interpretation of History.} \]
than the economic interest must have entered into the forces that produced the result.

The study of history during this period developed materials of great significance to political science, although its influence is not as notable as in the second and third quarters of the nineteenth century. At that time the historical method had swept the field both in jurisprudence and in economics. The German historical jurisprudence and the German national economy had illustrated in a striking fashion the influence of the historical method of inquiry. In this period the historical influence was unquestionably dominant, although toward the end of the era it tended to weaken and decline where it was supplanted by processes of actual observation and of psychological and statistical analysis.

History itself was profoundly influenced by the same set of forces that were gradually changing the character of the study of government. The conflict between relativism and positivism in this period was vigorously conducted but on the whole the idealists seemed to yield to the attacks of the historical realists or materialists. Buckle, Ranke, Lamprecht, and in America writers of the type of Turner, recognized the influence of mass, race, societies, economic and social tendencies in determining the course of historical events and they reached out with great avidity for illustrative material of different types. History ceased to be purely military or political, and tended to become either economic or social history, while in some instances historical materialism triumphed completely and the course of events was interpreted altogether in terms of the action and interaction of environmental influences. While these tendencies appeared, the bulk of historical writings, however, was still under the older school of the mid-century, in the main, political narrative with some deference to the influence of social forces, but often without any very searching analysis of these factors or any technique other than of critical documentation. The historian could distinguish the genuine writing from the bogus, or he could scour the world with immense enthusiasm and industry to uncover hidden manuscripts or archives hitherto unknown. In his critical analysis, however, he waited on the activities of other social studies. At their methods and results he was not infrequently prone to evasive or complaisant.


From the point of view of political science, however, an immense amount of institutional political history was uncovered and made available, and in the absence of a more definite technique on the part of the students of politics and in the absence of an adequate number of observers and students of government, the boundary lines between government and history were blurred, as indeed they must always overlap, and the technical writing of the history of politics was still in the hands of the historical group. Economists, however, tended to take over the evolution of economic thought and institutions as did the workers in the field of material science. The review of the scientific processes and forms was completely taken over by the technicians in the various scientific disciplines, as in the case of the history of mathematics, the history of chemistry, and the history of physics.

Significant advances were made in the last generation by the sociologists, who began the study of social organization and process in systematic fashion. While much of the work of Comte and Spencer was abandoned, there remained an impulse toward the development of a science of society, which enlisted the sympathy of many students. The work of Gumpowsits, Ratzanhofer, Simmel, Durkheim, Tarde, LeBon and, in America, Small, Ross, and Giddings, was a notable contribution to the understanding of the social process. For the sociologist a central problem was that of social control, to which political control was incidental and collateral, but inevitably the study of the one subject threw light upon the other. Of special significance was the attention directed by these students to the importance of social forces and social groups in the development and functioning of political forces, purposes, and institutions. Political scientists of the type of Bodin in the sixteenth and Gierke in the nineteenth century had directed attention to these factors, but they had been somewhat neglected and new interest and study of them was imperatively needed.

The sociologists did not arrive at a very definite social technology, but they struggled hard with the problem and made certain advances of note. The use of the social survey was an achievement of value in the understanding of the social process and tended to introduce more exact methods into the task of social measurement. The frequent use of the case method was also an accomplishment of great utility in the development of the more accurate study of social phenomena.


5 See Bowley, Measurement of Social Phenomena.
Of great significance in the methods of political science were the inquiries in the fields of anthropology, ethnology, and archaeology. Here were opened out wide vistas in the early development of the race and in the study of the characteristics of the various groups of mankind. In the field of quantitative measurement, anthropology made material progress, endeavoring to work out the characteristics of groups by means of physical standards and tests. Even anthropology, however, was often overlaid with race prejudice or with national influence or propaganda of an absurdly transparent type.

A significant development at this point was the rise of anthropogeography. The beginnings of this study may be found in the political science of Bodin in the sixteenth century, as well as in Montesquieu in the eighteenth. The researches of Hatzel and others in this field were of special magnitude and value, and they were developed and carried on by many students in various sections of the world. In the most advanced form of their inquiries, these students undertook the interpretation of human relations in terms of geographic environment; but this was soon extended to cover more than is usually contained within the limits of geography, and came to include practically all of the factors commonly called social. On the whole their inquiries were very useful to the study of government in that they tended to shift the emphasis from the purely traditional and authoritarian to the material, the measurable, and the comparable.

In the field of psychology progress was rapid. Advancing from purely philosophical inquiry to standardized and comparable methods of observation, psychology tended to become an instrument of relative precision and uniformity in its application. It was no longer introspective and meditative alone, but developed instruments for making observation standardizable and comparable, and began to make possible a clearer understanding of human behavior, and of what had hitherto been charted as the great unknown in human nature. The significance of psychology for political inquiry was not at first fully appreciated, but in time the results of the psychologists began to be appreciated by the student of government and of social science. Political psychology began to be a subject of discussion and the terminology of psychology came into common although not accurate use in political inquiry.

Psychology began also to find practical application to the problems of government. In still broader fashion social psychology tried to solve the problem, dealing not merely with individuals but with the group, or with the intimate interrelations between groups. Here we approach closely the work of some of the sociologists who were interested in the same problem and undertook somewhat the same type of examination.

METHODS OF POLITICAL INQUIRY

The philosophical treatment of politics, firmly established in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, continued in recent time, but with less notable examples of logical method than in the eighteenth or earlier nineteenth century. John Stuart Mill's type of political and social reasoning had marked the end of an epoch of speculation among English thinkers, as had that of Hegel among the German philosophers. Bouquet was an apostle of neo-Hegelianism, while Hobbesian discussed the metaphysical theory of the state. Sorel, an engineer, and Cole, a medievalist, discussed political problems in philosophical style, while Bertrand Russell, the brilliant mathematician, essayed a theory of politics. The pragmatists, best represented by Dewey, definitely set about to effect a reconciliation between philosophy and affairs, and to develop a type of logic adequate to the demands of the situation. In the main, however, it is clear that the a priori speculation upon political questions was on the decline as compared with the thinking of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Many thinkers approached the problem of government from the juristic point of view, and primarily their method was the logic of the law. But in many of the leading instances, this attitude was modified by other forms of inquiry. Thus Gierke was essentially a student of the genesis of political ideas. Maitland and Pollock were also deeply interested in the genetic processes of legal development. Von Thiring, with his far-reaching doctrine of social interests, the protection of which is the chief concern of the law, was deeply affected by the social studies of his time, and showed the profound influence of the social science of his day. Berchheimer was imbued with the influence of social and

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1 See Myers, "The Influence of Anthropology on the Course of Political Science," Univ. of Calif. Publications.
2 Anthropogeografia; "Der Staat und sein Boden;" "Politische Geography."
economic forces in shaping the course of law and government. Du
guit was likewise fundamentally affected by the rising study of
social forces and of sociology in systematic form. Pound with his
sociological jurisprudence is a modern illustration of the same general
tendency. Jellinek with the theory of subjective public law and Wurzel
with his projection theory are conspicuous examples of legal logic modi-
fied by psychology and by the consideration of social forces.
The study of criminology followed another line of advance, proceeding
with Lombroso and his more conservative followers to adopt methods of
measurement, to consider the influence of the environment and statis-
tical analysis foreign to the speculations of the stricter juristic group,
but enormously fruitful in ultimate result upon the nature of penology.
In this respect these studies differed widely from the current type of
legal speculation, placing itself upon the basis of scientific inquiry rather
than upon precedent or the logic of the law.
A frequent way of approach to the study of politics has been the
historical inquiry into the development of political institutions. The
modern historical movement began as a reaction against the doctrinaire
theories of the French revolutionary period, and swept through the
domain of law and government. In recent times it has been a well
travelled road toward political conclusions and much of the energy in
political research has been expended in this field. A survey of the
literature of the time shows that the bulk of the output falls under this
category. The process of development is employed for the purpose of
illustrating broad movements and tendencies of political and social
forces, and perhaps deducing certain lessons, morals, or laws from the
examination of the past. Thus the previous development of the
institution or the people is used to explain its present status or its prob-
able future tendency. In these situations the history of political ideas
or customs or forms or institutions becomes the background for the
consideration of its present situation.
Another method has been that of comparison of various types of
institutions, with a view of classifying, analyzing, discovering similarities
and dissimilarities in them. Here we have a study of comparative
government or law which, while using historical material, is not confined
to an inspection of the genetic process, but employs contemporary
material as a basis for political reasoning. Industrious researches of
this type have been carried on in recent years both by jurists and by
students of government. Kohler is a conspicuous example of the
juristic group and Bryce of the other. Freeman, Seeley, Sidgwick,
the efforts of city workers of the type of Booth in London and many other scattered students. The classic type of large scale survey employing modern methods was the Pittsburgh Survey, followed by many others, usually upon a smaller scale. The survey of course contained elements of advertising, or publicity, or even propaganda, as well as an element of scientific analysis, and sometimes the advertising features overtopped the scientific analysis, but in the main it directed attention specifically toward concrete factors which were observed objectively and as far as possible measured accurately, analyzed, and compared carefully.

The political survey developed most rapidly in the United States and especially in the urban communities. The large scale losses and wastes in the expenditure in cities challenged attention, and specialized grafting was met by specialized analysis and inquiry for the purposes of community protection. These investigations while carried on by trained students of political science were usually conducted outside of the academic walls. The leader in this movement was the New York Bureau of Municipal Research followed by the many other similar agencies in Chicago, Philadelphia, Cleveland, and elsewhere. The political survey was the immediate observation of the operations of government combined with the effort to measure these operations as precisely as possible and to organize methods of comparison and conduct analysis of facts observed. This method was distinct from the juristic method or the historical method or the historical-comparative method in that it substituted actual observations of government in operation and made strenuous efforts toward precise measurement. These efforts were not always wholly successful, but at any rate they were movements in the direction of precision. Later, similar undertakings were set on foot by state governments and by the United States government. In England also national inquiries of the same character have been carried through on a considerable scale.

Another group of thinkers approached the study of government from the point of view of psychology, or of social psychology, bordering upon what might be called political psychology. Of these by far the most conspicuous was the English thinker, Graham Wallas, whose Human Nature in Politics, and the later and more systematic study, The Great Society, started a new line of political investigation and opened up new avenues of research. It is interesting to compare Wallas' chapters on material and method of political reasoning with the famous chapters in Mill's Logic on the logic of the moral sciences.

Wallas, originally a student of the classics, later interested in practical political activity, reacted against the consideration of government in terms of form and structure and undertook an interpretation in terms of human nature. This method of inquiry seemed to involve the development of a type of political psychology. In his Great Society Wallas considered political forces as organized around the three fundamental factors of intelligence, love, and happiness, on the basis of which he endeavored to rebuild a political theory and a political structure. In Our Social Heritage he opened out still other forms of subtle analysis of political processes, hitherto unexplored.

Wallas' work was brilliant, stimulating, and suggestive, rather than systematic. While he discussed the influence and importance of quantitative measurement of political phenomena, he did not make elaborate use of statistical data in his work; and while he continually emphasized the significance of a psychology of politics, he did not advance far in that direction. But on the whole his work was a decided variation from that of his predecessors or contemporaries, and his impetus to a new method was a notable one. An interesting comparison might be made between the method of John Stuart Mill, that of Lord Bryce, and that of Graham Wallas, all significant figures in the shaping of English political thought.

Walter Lippmann followed much the same method as his early instructor, Wallas, notably in his Preface to Politics and in his Public Opinion.23 Lippmann made wider use of contemporary psychological advances than did Wallas, however. A significant phase of his discussion is the analysis of organized intelligence in the concluding chapters of Public Opinion. This is a plea for the establishment of an intelligence bureau in the several departments of the government, and for a central clearing house of intelligence centers. Accompanying this is the suggestion for the articulation of these intelligence centers with the work of the professional students of government in the development of the problems of "terminology, of definition, of statistical technique, of logic." There were also eclectic types of thinkers employing several of the methods just described. There was no writer who did not employ logic and history and comparison and analogy at various times. Even the most dogmatic lapsed into statistics at times, and the most statistically inclined developed philosophical attitudes somewhat inconsistent.
with the general position of the statistician. Differences in method
were often differences in emphasis and in degree rather than in kind.
Nevertheless the differences were appreciable and significant evidences
of the general tendency in methods of political theory. Broadly speak-
ing they indicate the following to be the chief lines of development
of the study of political processes.
1. The a priori and deductive method down to 1850.
2. The historical and comparative method, 1850-1900.
3. The present tendency toward observation, survey, measurement,
1900—
4. The beginnings of the psychological treatment of politics.

SUMMARY OF ADVANCES AND DIFFICULTIES

From another point of view we may summarize the advances in the
study of politics in the period since the vogue of the natural law phi-
losophy, roughly speaking during the last one hundred years, as:
1. The tendency toward comparison of varying types of political
ideas, institutions, processes; toward analyzing similarities and dis-
similarities.
2. The tendency toward closer scrutiny of economic forces in their
relation to political processes, in some cases extending to the economic
interpretation of all political phenomena. In this, the relative ease
of quantitative measurement of certain economic facts greatly aided
the process, in fact tending to an extension of economic beyond the
ordinary usage of the term.
3. The tendency toward the consideration of social forces in their
relation to political processes. At times this took the form of a social
interpretation of all political facts.
4. The tendency toward closer examination of the geographical
environment, and its influence upon political phenomena and processes.
5. The tendency toward closer consideration of a body of ethnic and
biological facts, in their relation to political forces.
6. These influences taken together set up another relationship be-
tween political phenomena and the whole environment, both social
and physical. Crude analogies of this kind had already been made by
Bodin and Montesquieu, but these were by no means as fully developed
as the later and far more minute and searching inquiries.
7. The tendency to examine the genetics of political ideas and
institutions. This was the joint product of history and biology with
their joint emphasis on the significance of historical growth and develop-
ment and of the evolutionary theory of life. Since the middle of the
nineteenth century, it has operated powerfully upon all political thought.
8. The joint tendency to combine a view of the environment (eco-
nomic, social, physical) as a whole, with the genetic or evolutionary point
of view may be said to have effected a profound and indeed almost
revolutionary change in political thinking. Certainly this is true in
comparison with the static doctrine of scholasticism, or with the absolute
tendencies of the Naturecult school of thought.
9. The tendency toward more general use of quantitative measure-
ment of political phenomena. On the one side this took the form of
statistics or the mathematical analysis of political processes. The
great agency through which this was brought about was the census,
which prepared great masses of material, for the use of the observer
and the analyst. Two disciplines in particular were able to apply the
quantitative methods with especial success. These were anthropology
and psychology, in which domains notable advances were made in
the direction of measurement.
10. Political psychology was foreshadowed but not at all adequately
developed during this time.
These tendencies taken together may be said to constitute the most
significant changes in the character of political thought down to the
present day. Significant defects in the scientific development of the
study of government are as follows:
1. Lack of comprehensive collections of data regarding political
phenomena, with adequate classification and analysis.
2. Tendency toward race, class, nationalist bias in the interpreta-
tion of data available.
3. Lack of sufficiently precise standards of measurement and of precise
knowledge of the sequence of processes.
Some fundamental difficulties in the scientific study of political
processes are readily discerned.
1. The paradox of politics is that group discipline must be maintained
in order to preserve the life of the group against internal and external
foes; but that rigid discipline itself tends to destroy those vital forces
of initiative, criticism, and reconstruction without which the authority
of the group must die. There must be general conformity with the
general body of rules and regulations laid down by the state, other-
wise there is no advance upon anarchy; but there must also be reasonable
room for freedom of criticism, for protest, for suggestion and invention
within the group.
2. The difficulty of isolating political phenomena sufficiently to determine precisely the causal relations between them. We know that events occur, but we find so many alternate causes that we are not always able to indicate a specific cause. For the same reason we are unable to reach an expert agreement upon the proper or scientific policy to pursue and by the same logic we are unable to predict the course of events in future situations.

3. The difficulty of separating the personality of the observer from the social situation of which he is a part; of obtaining an objective attitude toward the phenomena he desires to interpret. This has been perhaps the chief stumbling block in the evaluation of the political process. Classes and races and all other types of groupings put forward as authoritative the so-called principles which are the outgrowths of their special interests, unconsciously perhaps interpreting their own interests in general terms of universal application. Thus the greater part of political theorizing on close analysis proves to be more or less thinly veiled propaganda of particular social interests. A theory may contain an element of truth or science in it, but the truth will be so colored by the interests of those who advance the particular theory that it has little genuine or permanent value. The opinions of the most eminent philosophers of a given race or nation regarding the merits of that race or nation are subject to heavy discount, almost without exception. The same thing may be said of the defenders of economic classes or of other types of groups. In the last hundred years, progress has been made in separating the student of politics from his local situation; but the vivid propaganda of the war period and the attitude of nationalistic scientists toward each other indicates that after all relatively little progress has been made. Not only were political scientists often made propagandists, but they subordinated the work of all other scientists to their purpose, namely the advocacy and advancement of nationalistic claims.

4. The difficulty of obtaining the mechanism for accurate measurement of the phenomena of politics. Until relatively recent times, most estimates had been rough and uncertain. It is only since the development of modern statistics that anything like accuracy or precision in political fact material was possible. Even now obstacles apparently insurmountable are commonly encountered. The development of adequate machinery for the survey of political forces is still ahead of us. Yet the development of mechanical devices for observation of facts and their analysis do not present difficulties that cannot be overcome with sufficient persistence, ingenuity, and imagination.

5. A fourth difficulty lies in the absence of what in natural science is called the controlled experiment. The student of physical science constructs a temporary hypothesis which he proceeds to verify if possible by processes of experiment, performed under his direction and control. These experiments he may reproduce at will until he is satisfied of the truth or error of his hypothesis. Such experiments, however, have seemed to lie beyond the reach of the student of political or social science. On the other hand, the living processes of politics are constantly going on, reproduced countless times at various points, and in various stages of the world's political activity. It is possible to draw inferences and to verify these inferences by repeated observation in the case of recurring processes. This requires, however, the setting up of more subtle and precise machinery than has yet been invented. It is possible that the mechanism for this process may be found in the development of modern psychology or social psychology, which seems to hold the key to the study of types of conduct or behavior, or in statistical measurement of processes recurring over and over again in much the same form, and apparently in sequences that may be ferreted out, given sufficient acuteness and persistence.

These are not presented as final objectives or as insurmountable difficulties. They present obstacles, but that they cannot be overcome we do not know; neither do we know that they can be overcome. We only know that we do not know whether it is possible or impossible to ascertain with scientific precision the laws that govern human behavior in the political field or in the social field.

**POLITICAL SCIENCE IN THE UNITED STATES**

With reference to the development of political science in the United States, we may say that down to the middle of the nineteenth century there was no effort to systematize the study of government. There was the shrewdest kind of practical political wisdom or prudence exhibited by men of the type of Hamilton, Madison, Adams, and Jefferson, and on the juristic side by such masters as Marshall, Story, Webster, and Calhoun. But of organized scientific study there was little trace. To this we may make exception in John Adams' *Defence of the Constitutions of Government of the United States*, and Calhoun's *Disquisitions on Government.*

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The founder of the systematic study of government was Francis Lieber, a German refugee who came to America in 1827. His *Manual of Political Ethics* (1838-39) and his *Civil Liberty and Self Government* (1853) were the first systematic treatises on political science that appeared in the United States, and their influence was widespread. Lieber was a pupil of Niebuhr, the famous German historian, and was familiar with the German and continental developments of this period. After many vicissitudes, he became professor of politics in Columbia University. His characteristic achievement was the introduction of a form of historical and comparative method of inquiry into the field of political study. The next great impetus to organized political inquiry came with the foundation of the Johns Hopkins and Columbia schools of history and political science. The moving spirit in the Johns Hopkins movement for the scientific study of history was Herbert B. Adams, while the founder of the Columbia school of political science (1880) was John W. Burgess. Both of these men were trained in the German universities and transplanted into American soil the characteristic methods of their time. These groups laid the foundation for the modern system of historical and political research, basing them in large measure upon the development of what in Germany was called Staatswissenschaft. Out of this movement has grown a long series of monographic studies in the field of government and politics. The establishment of these research institutions was epoch-making in the evolution of the scientific attitude toward political inquiry in this country. They undertook the examination of comparative types of institutions, and also undertook inquiry into the genesis of political forms and types. They brought to the study of government for the first time an impartial and objective attitude, and they began the construction of certain mechanisms of inquiry. It may be said that they did not reckon sufficiently at the outset at least with economic and social forces underlying the evolution of political institutions, and that they did not fully appreciate the importance of what came to be called political and social psychology. These developments were reserved indeed for a later period, in which there came to be a fuller understanding of economic and social influences, and of the more subtle psychological processes underlying and conditioning them. In the meantime, a great forward step had been taken in the direction of scientific attainment through the expansion of the work of the

18 See *Miscellaneous Writings.*

United States census bureau, notably under the direction of the well-known economist, General Walker. This work of governmental observation and reporting had been begun with the foundation of the government itself, or shortly thereafter, but for the first half century it made comparatively little progress. Under Walker, the dignity and importance of this highly significant type of large-scale observation was very greatly increased. Large masses of comparable facts assembled with some degree of precision were now attainable for students of government, and of the allied social sciences. The American Statistical Society, first established in 1839, was reorganized and rejuvenated in 1888, and gradually increased in numbers and in information. The statistical development in this country remained in a relatively undeveloped state, however, as is the case down to the present time. One of the major tasks of our political science is the survey of the possibilities of political statistics and the development of schedules for extending the domain of statistical information.

The historical and comparative studies remained the dominant types in the United States for many years, and may be said to be in the ascendancy at the present time. In this group belongs the bulk of the output of the scientific world.

At the end of the period came the beginning of the study of forces behind government as well as the forms and rules of government. The work of Lowell in this field was notable, but was interrupted by his transfer to another realm of activity. Like Bryce he pointed the way to a different type and spirit of inquiry, involving the study of the forces conditioning governmental activity. Like Bryce he avowed his lack of faith in political principles of universal validity, but like Bryce he alluded on many occasions to the possibilities of political psychology, a domain however into which neither of them entered.

The work of Lipman, a pupil of Wallas, in the approach to a study of political psychology has already been discussed, but may be again considered in its local, American setting. Advancing from the side of government, he approaches the psychologist, moving forward for the position of the technical analyst of human traits. On the practical side, this is well illustrated by the recent establishment of the bureau of personnel research in the Institute of Government Research, with the union there of the psychologist and the expert in civil service.

Some notable developments are discussed in further detail in this report. Both of them deal with the modus operandi of fact collec-

tion and analysis. One of them was undertaken in connection with the work of the law-makers of the state of Wisconsin, under the leadership of Charles H. McCarthe. Another developed in connection with the activities of municipal government, beginning with the work of the New York Bureau of Municipal Research, but later taken up in many other municipalities, and lately to the establishment of the Institute for Government Research, the Institute of Public Administration, and the Institute for Public Service. These movements are of very great significance, however, in the technical development of the study of government, in that they mark the beginning of an effort to collect fresh material regarding the actual operation of political forces, and also the beginning of a more specific relationship between the theory and the practice of government.

An acute English observer recently expressed the belief that in such projects as these the United States might be expected to blaze the trail toward the development of scientific social research in its highest form. The development of the survey, the tendency to observe and analyze political forces, the increasing appreciation of the statistical method, the faint beginnings of political psychology, are all significant advances in the development of political technique.

A notable variation in the general style of study was the application of the doctrine of the economic interpretation of history to certain phases of American political development. This was seen notably in Beard's works on the Economic Interpretation of the Constitution, and Economic Origins of Jeffersonian Democracy. Seligman's penetrating critique of the economic interpretation of history was a notable contribution to the methodology of the time. The significance of these studies lies in the fact that they indicated a tendency to go below the surface of the forms of government and politics, and to examine more ultimate factors and forces influencing the situation.

Another notable development was the study of the American frontier by Turner, in which the influence of the pioneer environment upon the course of history was portrayed. The spirit of revolt against the current methods of historical writing was most effectively represented by James H. Robinson, who broke through the conventional lines of historical inquiry, first in his volume on The New History, later in his

17 See The Wisconsin Idea.
18 See also the much less critical study of Gustavus Myers, The History of the Supreme Court; also Charles H. Simonds, Economic Forces in the History of the United States.

The Mind in the Making. Robinson challenged the traditional purposes of history, writing with particular reference to the undue attention given to political and governmental institutions. In his later work, he advanced a step farther and challenged the validity of the current methods of historical and social research. These protests seem to mark the beginning of a new type of historiography similar to the earlier one in its emphasis upon documentation but leading out into broader ranges of what may be termed for lack of a better phrase, social inquiry. Of deep significance was Shotwell's History of History (1922).

The beginning of the study of sociology in the United States also influences the course of the systematic study of government. The sociological studies seemed at first somewhat vague and sentimental, but as time went on became more specific, concrete, and more methodical. In the works of Lester F. Ward, the pioneer of sociology in this country, and later Giddings, Small, Ross, Cooley, and others, the sociological point of view and the sociological method became more and more widely influential. Small emphasized particularly the importance of what he called the "social point of view," by which he meant the consideration of all the social factors in a given situation, as distinguished from the isolated or exclusive consideration of economic factors or political factors alone. Ross, particularly in his work on social control, seemed to veer over toward the study which came to be called social psychology. Giddings was at first interested in the development of the fundamental factor which he called "consciousness of kind" and later in efforts to introduce a degree of mathematical accuracy and precision into the measurement of social phenomena.

The development of political economy was also of significance in relation to political science. Its chief types of inquiry followed the direction of the classical political economy and the lines of inquiry laid down by the historical school. There were notable evidences, however, of the development of statistical method in economics, even taking the shape of mathematical economics; and there were the beginnings of the study of the psychology underlying economic activities. There was also seen as in the study of government the tendency toward actual observation of economic processes, developing into types of surveys of sets of economic phenomena. Toward the end of the period came the powerful tendency toward vocational training for industry,

19 See Albion W. Small, Fifty Years of Sociology in the United States.
20 Haney, History of Economic Thought.
and toward the development of business or industrial research. Broadly speaking, economics and politics seemed to follow parallel lines of advance, from the a priori method of the classical political economy and the natural law school, to historical and comparative studies of economics or of politics, to statistical inquiries and actual surveys, and on to the study of the psychological bases of economic or political activity as the case might be.

It is needless to say that the question of the development of methods will not be settled merely by discussion of the ideally best way of approaching the subject, but rather by the diffusion of the spirit of systematic, intensive, protracted, and sustained inquiry. We are still very far from exact political science, and there must be many experiments and probably many failures before there are many signal successes. The willingness of many men and women to devote long years of arduous and unremitting toil to the detailed study of political problems is a prerequisite to achievement, and even industry and devotion alone will not prove adequate if they slip into the ruts of scholasticism and only wear deeper the grooves of traditional thought. Experience shows that it is easy to fall into industrious but sterile scholarship. Imagination on the one hand and precision on the other, are essential to advancement in this field as in other departments of science. We must have both enthusiasm and tools, often a difficult combination, since the tool makers may lack vision and the visionaries ignore the precise mechanisms or specific attainment. The political scientist must be something of a prophet in his prophetic view and something of a statesman in his practical methods.

Methods of approach to politics may easily be the most sterile subject of inquiry, if not followed by actual trials and tests. The discussion of methods has its greatest value as a by-product of specific undertakings, as an analysis of the strength and weakness of various going tasks of scientific political inquiry, in connection with actual pieces of investigation. Methodological discussion alone will not develop much in the way of scientific advance.

On the other hand scientific progress is not likely to be realized without persistent scrutiny and searching examination of fundamental methods. Like all other sciences, politics constantly faces the necessity of reviewing and revising its methods. Human nature may not change or may change only slowly, but the knowledge of human nature is advancing swiftly, and the understanding of its processes is developing with great rapidity. The political side of human nature is equally capable of more acute analysis and its processes may likewise be made the subject of more scientific study than ever before in the history of government. Never were there greater possibilities than now in the direction of accurate and scientific knowledge of the processes of political control; and never was the student’s responsibility greater for the development of objective and analytical methods of observation of those processes, and for the minute understanding of the nature of the laws that govern their action and must control their adaptation and reconstruction.

It is easy to scoff at the possibilities of scientific research in the field of government, but unless a higher degree of science can be brought into the operations of government civilization is in the very graven peril from the caprice of ignorance and passion, playing with the high explosives of modern scientific invention. Without the development of a higher type of political science in the fields of secondary education, in the organization of public intelligence, and of the technical knowledge of human nature, we may drift at the mercy of wind and waves or of the storms when we might steer an intelligent course. Social science and political science are urgently needed for the next great stage in the advancement of the human race. As custodians of the political science of our time, the responsibility rests upon us to exhaust every effort to bring the study of government in its various stages to the highest possible degree of perfection, to exhaust every effort to obtain effective knowledge of political forces, to bring to bear every resource of science and prudence at our command.

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II. RESEARCH AGENCIES AND EQUIPMENT

The purpose of these surveys was to ascertain what is actually going on in the way of political research in the various agencies, whether academic, governmental, or otherwise, engaged in technical study of government. It was also proposed to cover lines of related social work very closely connected with governmental research.

This report, therefore, falls into four parts; one dealing with bureaus of political research by Professor Crane, one dealing with legislative...
and municipal reference agencies by Professor Fairlie, one dealing with university research and equipment by Professor Morrisey, and one dealing with related social and industrial research by Professor King.  

**BUREAUS OF POLITICAL RESEARCH**

Investigation in the field of government is being conducted more or less seriously by a variety of organized groups, such as city clubs, state municipal leagues, state legislative bureaus, university bureaus of government, and bureaus of governmental research. Of these agencies, the last may be called professional, in that they have permanent, paid staffs and are engaged exclusively in this work. It is with these alone that this report deals.

The professional agencies are known under various titles, such as Bureau of Governmental Research, Bureau of Public Efficiency, Bureau of Municipal Research, Institute for Public Service, Citizens' Bureau, Citizens' Research Institute, and varying combinations of these and similar terms. Other organizations, such as the Boston Finance Commission, the Finance Committee of the Chicago City Council, some of the taxpayers' associations, and some of the chamber of commerce bureaus, are doing substantially similar work. There are some fifty professional research agencies scattered over the length and breadth of this country and in Canada, working on city, county, state, and national governments. An increase in their number seems inevitable in view of the growing realization of the difficulty of constructive development of the organization and methods of public authorities by those authorities themselves.

The professional research agencies may be classed in accordance with the character of their support into three groups. The primary group has been organized as a distinctively citizen agency on an entirely independent basis. It is financed directly through individual subscriptions or occasionally through the medium of a community fund. A second group consists of agencies subsidiary to some larger body with a wider range of activity, as a chamber of commerce or a voters' league. In this case the research division is usually financed by the larger organization. Even where it is supported by individual subscriptions, it is under some control by the larger body. The third group is formed of agencies established as regular branches of government. These are not, of course, direct citizen agencies and do not in fact operate with the same freedom.  

* This portion of the report was unavoidably delayed, and does not appear in this summary.

These research agencies have a combined income of over three-quarters of a million dollars. Six of them have a budget of twenty-five to fifty thousand and one a budget of a hundred thousand. Most of them spend from ten to twenty-five thousand annually. They employ approximately two hundred and twenty-five staff workers. The average salary paid the staff is $3500 a year. One-third of the staff receive from $1800 to $2400 a year, one-third from $2500 to $3000, and one-third from $4000 to $6000. The salaries of bureau directors run from $4000 to $10,000 and slightly above.

The professional agencies of governmental research are of interest to political scientists from several points of view. There is interest in their method of investigation, in their contributions to political knowledge, in the potential increase and further extension of the scope of their contributions, and in the problem of the relation between the academic scientist and these professionally organized agencies.

**The Bureau Method of Research.** Of these matters of concern to political scientists, no other equals in significance the question of method. It is not too much to say that the bureaus of research have adopted in principle a more scientific method than that commonly characteristic of the study of government. As stated in the articles of incorporation of the New York Bureau of Municipal Research, its methods of procedure are "to collect, to classify, to analyze, to correlate, to interpret, and to publish facts." This is not a new idea in the study of government, but a new emphasis; and in this new emphasis rests a new method.

It is not intended to imply that the political science has ignored facts. Every branch of study starts with observed facts. And on the basis of observed facts, every branch of study formulates or induces statements of general principles, derives or deduces conclusions from those general principles, and tests or verifies the conclusions by concrete application. These four steps are present, it is true, in all systematic thinking. But in the varying emphasis placed upon them lie those differences which constitute the real distinctions of method. Philosophy dispenses as far as possible with the first and the last of the four steps. Natural science is characterized by its emphasis on these very steps,—by comprehensive observation of facts and exhaustive verification of conclusions. Students of natural science, and many students of politics, question the appropriateness of the term "political science," for the reason that the study of politics is weak in these two steps. Political science has been slow to admit the importance of political facts—too slow, indeed, to prevent other sciences from estab-
lishing themselves in its proper domain. It has not undertaken anything like the patient accumulation of data on which the natural sciences have been erected. In a few recent studies—of elections, for example,—a new spirit is shown—a spirit that is not complacently content with a research that exhausts what happens to have been recorded in written form, but that demands facts and ever more facts. Yet only the smallest of beginnings has been made, and political science lacks that vast store of accumulated, classified facts which is the heritage of natural science.

In the last centuries, alchemy has become chemistry, astrology has become astronomy, cosmogony has become geology, the charlatan has become the scientist, as, and to the extent that, the investigator has turned from easy a priori assumptions whose necessary breeding-ground is ignorance to the hard and unending search for facts. It may well be hoped that the same energy and persistence applied to the political field will reveal sequences of political phenomena where now is seen, as Bain says, only “a plurality of causes with an intermixture of effects.” If so fundamental a change takes place in the method of political research, it will be due in large measure to the initiative of the professional bureaus.

It is not only through their emphasis on facts, however, that the research agencies affect the problem of method. Of scarcely less interest is the extent of their experimentations, for which their strategic situation offers exceptional opportunity. The close contacts which many of them have succeeded in making with public authorities, the influential backing of the persons who finance them, and their appeal to the general public as impartial citizen agencies, place those agencies that are privately supported in a position to make actual tests of many of their conclusions; and those agencies that are supported from public funds have similar, if less effective, opportunities on account of their official connection with government.

It is, of course, to be noted that these experiments are of Bacon’s “fruitful” type. They are initiated, not primarily for the furtherance of science, but to promote good government. The opportunity for experiment is also limited for the present at least in scope. Yet such as it is, it may well be envied by the academic scientist.

Contributions to Political Science. After so much importance has been attributed to the method of study adopted by the bureaus, it must be confessed that the results as measured in actual contributions to political knowledge are disappointing. These results appear to consist almost wholly of improvements in administrative technique; for the outstanding achievements of the bureaus are these: in connection with the budget, the principles of segregation, of classification by character of expenditure, of appropriation by activity, and of appropriation based on units of service, and unit costs of service; in connection with supplies, the principles of standardization and of centralized purchasing; in connection with personnel, the principles of standardization of grades in employment, of standardization of salaries, and of the single employment office in place of the civil service board. Many similar items of less importance might be mentioned.

That these results of bureau activity are practical achievements in the cause of good government will be generally accepted; but that they are scientific principles of politics will certainly meet vigorous denial. It is safe to say, at least, that they are not commonly regarded by political scientists as principles of political science.

To explain the apparent discrepancy between the method and the results of bureau activity it is necessary to consider the limitations under which the bureau works, and their true function.

The primary task of the bureaus has from the beginning been the promotion of economy and efficiency in government. Among the bureaus men themselves there is a high ideal of increased service to be rendered by government, and this ideal has not failed to exert an influence upon their work. Yet it remains true that cheaper service has been and is the primary aim of the bureau movement, and that better service is only secondary. This situation is to some extent inherent. The bureaus that have done effective work and that have set the standards of the bureau movement, are, with only one or two exceptions, citizen agencies. That is to say they rely for financial support on voluntary contributions. Their contributors are generally persons who are more directly interested in tax economies than in service by their governments. It is by no means impossible to interest the well-to-do in the promotion of more and better public service, but it is unquestionably easier to interest them in the promotion of economy. There has been a resulting pressure on the bureaus of which their contributors are doubtless not conscious. These agencies have in consequence rested under the practical necessity of devoting their attention chiefly to making the tax dollar go farther.

Efficiency and economy in government are first of all problems of administration; and it is to administration, therefore, that the bureaus have almost exclusively turned their energies. This tendency has double-
lessly been confirmed through the accidental circumstance that the bureau movement originated in the municipalities, where administration is of preponderating importance. It is to be observed, however, that the public budget, the adoption of which in this country should be credited to the bureaus, is not simply administrative in nature; but as an instrument of popular control is of wider political significance. This is true likewise of some recent bureau studies of courts, of city charters, and of state constitutions. With these qualifications, however, the general impression that the bureau movement has been confined to the narrow field of administration appears to be justified.

The same considerations which have led the bureaus chiefly into questions of economy and efficiency, have made it necessary for them to devote much of their time, their energy, and their resources, to securing practical results in the shape of reduced costs of administration. The bureau is not purely an agency of research—it is also an agency of propaganda. The consequence is that the research is often unsatisfactory from a scientific point of view. The search for facts is only too often neglected beyond the point where it ceases to be necessary for immediate practical purposes. Even as garners of facts, the bureaus prove disappointing.

Considering the accomplishments and the limitations of the bureaus as here outlined, it would seem that the administrative principles for the formulation of which they have worked, are underrated by political scientists. It is true that while all governmental activity is subject matter of political science, there appears to be place for an independent study of administration. Public administration might be considered properly a branch of a general science of administration, just as public finance may be considered a branch of economics. This view would place bureau work outside of the field of political science, and it is a view which apparently is held by many people. There are two considerations, however, which show it to be invalid. In the first place, even if there were a general science of administration, public administration is also a political problem, just as public finance is a political as well as an economic problem. And the bureaus are working not in a general field of administration but in that of political administration alone. In the second place, there can now be no doubt that efficient administration is of the broadest political interest in every democracy, if indeed it is not the very keystone of a genuinely democratic structure. This conclusion, to which scientific thinkers have been coming, has been strikingly confirmed by the testimony of Lenin out of the experience of Russia that popular government is an absolute impossibility without administration on scientific principles.

It may well prove that the substantive contributions of the bureaus, limited as they have been to the field of administration, are no less important to political science than their contribution of a new method of research.

It must be understood, however, and if it does not appear to be generally understood, that it is not the primary function of the professional bureau to contribute to political science. Bureau work is applied science, not pure science. It is the application to the solution of concrete problems, of principles provided by pure science. Only for the reason that political science has failed to provide an adequate equipment of general principles, have bureau men been forced to interest themselves in their formulation. There can be no just ground for disappointment in the fact that the bureaus have not accomplished more in a task that is not properly theirs. Nor is there in that fact any indication that the bureau method of research is not productive.

**Bureaus Potentials.** If the conclusions set forth above as to the value of the professional research agency to the scientific study of politics are sound, the possibilities of bureau development must likewise be of interest. These possibilities look in two directions. There remains much to be done of the same character as that which the bureaus have already accomplished. But this work lies in the field of administration. The more stimulating possibility is the extension of the scope of bureau research beyond the field of administration into the wider sphere of politics.

The bureau men have devoted themselves to the study of administration partly because this appeared the logical point of first attack, and that in which the most concrete results were to be attained. There is nothing in the bureau method of research that is not applicable to wider studies. Indeed, bureau men commonly use the term “administration” in a sense so broad as virtually to include all of government. There is no obstacle in the minds of bureau men, other than those of practical opportunity, to undertaking such studies.

The practical conditions necessary to the making of wider studies are greater personal security and more freedom for bureau workers. The short-term, local financing of the individual agency makes its life a precarious one. The mortality has been high. The tenure of the individual worker, who necessarily becomes a specialist liable to displacement when the limited resources of the bureau have to be turned
to new subjects of study, is still more precarious. The bureau movement needs a national organization independently financed to give greater security to the bureau workers. The latter have formed several projects for such an organization and it is hoped that these attempts will be ultimately successful.

Greater freedom for bureau workers means that they must be relieved of the pressure consciously or unconsciously exerted by their financial backers for immediate practical results in lowered costs of government. A national organization would aid in effecting this object. The direct and feasible course, however, is to educate contributors to the value of wider and more fundamental studies.

There is every reason to anticipate an enlarged and increasingly valuable productivity of the professional agencies.

Relations of University and Bureau Workers. There is, however, a further requisite to the extension of the scope of bureau activity to the general field of political science. Few of the bureau men are trained scientists. Despite the real vision of their leaders in initiating a new method of political research, very few of their workers have had the broad political education and training to enable them to apply it.

Bureau research in its intended rôle is analogous to the chemical or physical research of an industrial plant. Its primary purpose is not the discovery of fundamentals. It is concerned in its characteristic scope only with the task of deducing useful conclusions from the remote principles of pure science. And yet the bureaus are forced to interest themselves in pure science because they have not been supplied by academic political science with the same sort of fundamental equipment as chemistry has supplied to industry.

There is here an opportunity for cooperation between universities and professional agencies. If the bureaus are successfully able to attack the more fundamental problems of politics, such cooperation is essential. It is certain that the bureau men would welcome this cooperation on the part of the academic scientists. Most of the bureaus now open their doors to the college student, and even give him a place on their staffs with a living wage. They would unquestionably go farther than this, and give to faculty men the opportunity with remuneration to work on problems of common interest. And bureau men would be found prolific in suggestions of problems.

From the standpoint of the faculty man, there is much to be gained from such cooperation. The considerable number of the bureaus and their wide spread over the country, their resources of money and staff, and the greater likelihood of conclusions receiving the actual tests of application, offer opportunities not to be ignored.

In cooperation between the political scientists of our faculties and the bureaus there appears to be an opportunity for a combination of scientific training and of a new method of research coupled with financial resources that holds a most fruitful promise for political science.

The views just expressed may be summed up as follows:

The bureaus have developed a new and better method of political research, but have not produced the results that should flow from this more scientific method chiefly because their province is not pure science but applied science. The bureaus require scientific principles for application to concrete problems, which political science has not supplied them. In the development of scientific principles of politics, bureaus and universities are equally interested. The bureaus have a valuable method and they have funds. The university staffs have men of broad scientific training. Cooperation would appear to bring together factors making for scientific progress.

The following steps are therefore suggested for consideration:

(1) The inclusion of bureau men, a number of whom are among our members, on the proposed permanent committee on political research of the American Political Science Association.

(2) Cooperation of bureau men: (a) in giving regular courses in administration in the universities, and (b) in offering field training to candidates for advanced university degrees in public administration.

(3) Cooperation of university men through actual participation as paid members of the bureau staffs in the study of the more fundamental problems of the bureaus and in their experiments.

(4) The inclusion of applied political science in the program of the proposed annual conference on political research in order that definite problems of political research may be considered by university and bureau men jointly, and plans laid for future investigations.

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University of Michigan.

Legislative and Municipal Reference Agencies

Probably the earliest steps towards the systematic collection of materials for the study of governmental problems in the United States were by state libraries, which made desultory collections of official publications, notably those in Massachusetts (established in 1827) and New York.
An important step towards the more systematic use of state libraries was taken in 1890 by the appointment of a legislative librarian for the New York State Library and the preparation and publication of annual indices of state legislation, to which were added later summaries and topical reviews of legislation, which was continued until 1908.

In 1901 a legislative reference bureau was established in Wisconsin under Charles McCarthy, which gave special attention to the collection and classification of current fugitive material relating to subjects of legislation, and also issued for some years a series of brief bulletins on pending legislative topics. This was soon followed by similar legislative reference libraries in other states, until by 1915 work of this kind was being done, to a greater or less extent, in thirty states. A legislative reference department has also been organized in the Library of Congress.

There has been much variation in the methods of organizing this legislative reference work. In more than half the states it is carried on through the state library, or the state law library, as in California, Massachusetts, New York, Ohio, and Texas. There is, however, no uniformity in the organization of state libraries. In several states the legislative reference service is under the direction of some other state authority, sometimes the library commission as in Wisconsin, sometimes in connection with the state university, as in Nebraska. In several states, legislative reference bureaus have been established as distinct administrative agencies, as in Pennsylvania, Illinois, Indiana, and Virginia.

Financial support for this work is limited. Data from twelve states shows that the highest salaries for the chief officer and the total appropriations are largest in Pennsylvania ($8000 and $40,000), Illinois ($8500 and $40,000), and Wisconsin ($4750 and $31,000). The Massachusetts and Connecticut state libraries each have about $30,000 a year for all branches of their work. In the other states reporting the funds for this work range from $5000 to $10,000; and in the other states not reporting the amounts are presumably even less.

The activities of these agencies include: (1) the collection, classification, and cataloging of current and fugitive publications; (2) the preparation of compilations, digests, summaries, and reports on legislative topics; (3) in several states the publication of brief bulletins on such topics and occasionally larger undertakings, such as a Digest of State Constitutions in Ohio, and the Indiana Year Book; and (4) in some states assistance in bill drafting, notably in Pennsylvania, Ohio, Illinois, Wisconsin, and Virginia.

### Legislative Reference Agencies

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*1915. †1911.

State historical societies, sometimes officially recognized and financially supported by the state, have done important research work. In most cases, little attention is given to current political problems. An
important exception, however, has been the State Historical Society of Iowa, which has published twenty substantial volumes, dealing largely with political, economic, and social legislation, as well as twenty annual volumes of the quarterly Iowa Journal of History and Politics. The annual budget of this society, mainly from state appropriations, is about $50,000, including $12,000 for research and $16,000 for publications. Publications of a political character have also been issued by the Illinois and Missouri State Historical Societies and the Alabama department of History and Archives.

Research on political problems has also been carried on by or under the direction of special commissions or legislative committees on particular governmental problems. The number of such investigations has increased largely in recent years. At least thirty were authorized in 1906; and since then from 60 to 80 have been provided for during each biennial period in the various states. Some states use this method much more than others—notably Massachusetts, New York, Pennsylvania, Illinois, and Wisconsin. The subjects investigated would make a lengthy catalogue. Among the most frequent and most important have been those relating to taxation, administrative reorganization, data for constitutional conventions, statutory revisions, education, and social and industrial problems.

There is a wide variation in the character of these special investigations; but in a number of cases valuable reports have been issued as the result of careful and scientific research, more commonly where university specialists have been secured for the technical studies. Among these may be noted the reports of several tax commissions, of the Illinois Efficiency and Economy Committee (1915) and the New York Reconstruction Commission, and the publications prepared for the recent constitutional conventions in New York, Massachusetts, and Illinois.

The numerous permanent state offices, boards, and commissions collect and publish original data of varying value; and some of them have issued special reports of substantial value.

Municipal reference agencies of various kinds have been established in considerable number. In 1873 New York City established a small municipal library; and a more important collection of municipal publics was begun by the New York Reform Club in 1897, and later transferred to Columbia University. The Boston statistics department was organized in 1897, the Chicago municipal library in 1900, the Baltimore legislative reference department in 1906, and the Milwaukee municipal reference library in 1908. In 1913, the Chicago library was reorganized, and a municipal reference library was established in New York. Since then municipal reference work has been organized in other cities,—in all about twenty. Sometimes this is a branch or a division of the public library (as in St. Louis, Cleveland, Detroit, Philadelphia, Minneapolis, and Seattle); sometimes an agency of the city government (as in Kansas City, Mo., Buffalo, and San Francisco).

Besides such local agencies, municipal reference or information bureaus have been established by several state leagues of municipalities (California in 1898, New York and New Jersey in 1915), and by a number of universities (Wisconsin, Kansas in 1908, Harvard in 1910, Illinois, Minnesota and Texas in 1913, Washington, North Carolina, Cincinnati, Toledo, and Akron). The state university bureaus cooperate with the state leagues of municipalities.

The financial resources of these municipal reference agencies are less than those of the legislative reference bureaus. Data from ten of the more important bureaus show total funds ranging from $500 to $21,000,—the New York City and state agencies having the largest amounts. The limited resources restrict clearly their activities in all directions.

One of the regular functions of such agencies is the collection of official documents and other material on municipal government. The largest collections are those of the New York Public Library, and the New York Reform Club collection in Columbia University. Other important collections are those of Chicago and the University of Illinois.

These collections are used for informal reports on special problems for city officials, and in the university bureaus are used by students in connection with their studies. A number of bureaus have issued small periodical publications—such as Pacific Municipalities, Illinois Municipal Review, and Municipal Reference Notes. In some cases pamphlet reports on special subjects have been published, as by the Minnesota, Chicago, New Jersey, and Texas bureaus; and in other cases mimeographed bulletins are issued from time to time, as in Kansas. Prob-
ably the most important contribution to original research has been Munro's Bibliography of Municipal Government, prepared with the aid of the Harvard bureau.

From time to time there have also been special and temporary municipal commissions, both official and unofficial, some of which have made important research investigations and published valuable reports. Among them may be noted the Chicago commission on expenditures.

To summarize briefly the work of these legislative and municipal agencies: (1) As to methods, the more permanent agencies have given attention to the collection and classification of current and fugitive material; and both permanent and temporary agencies have made effective use of university specialists. (2) The scope of their work has been closely limited by the small financial support, except in the case of some of the temporary agencies, whose work has been limited as to time. (3) The published results have included (a) bibliographical data, such as indices and reference lists; (b) special pamphlet reports and bulletins and minor periodicals; and (c) a number of monographic studies of importance, mostly by special commissions.

John A. Fairlie.

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UNIVERSITY RESEARCH AND EQUIPMENT

The purpose of this part of the report was to inquire into the nature of research interests and particularly into the university and college facilities for research work in political science. A questionnaire was sent to most of the instructors in political science in the American colleges and universities and replies were received from nearly all instructors.

The character of research interests is indicated by the following tabulation of individual replies which indicates a wide range of inquiry in various fields of political science:

1. Elections; statutes; court decisions; party organization, methods and policies; international relations.
2. Political behavior from the standpoint of psychology.
3. International law and relations; administrative efficiency; government finance; bases of representation; industrial democracy; technique of public opinion; organization of electorate.

Administrative geography; population of the United States; actualities of types of government.

Actual operation of government. Public administration; collection of political data; political theories.

National, state and municipal administration; comparative government; international relations.

Structural changes in European states since the war.

State and city government; international relations.

Distribution of power between national and local governments; state supervision over local administration and finance; division of tax resources between governmental agencies; citizen interest in government; administrative courts in the United States.

Political control over political behavior. Municipal, state, international organization; party structure and methods; proportional representation; municipal efficiency; colonial government.

It will be observed that there are several main types of inquiry covered here. One relates to the description and analysis of the structure of governments; another relates to the actual operation of governments; another has to do with what might be called the psychology of the process of political control.

From these inquiries the following conclusions may be drawn as to equipment for research:

1. The time available for research is wholly inadequate in most institutions, owing to the heavy demands of class work and administrative duties of various types.
2. In most institutions there is neither stenographic nor clerical aid provided for research specialists.
3. There are practically no research assistants of the type that would be found in a laboratory or in a law office.
4. There are practically no allowances for field work in the form of actual observation of political experiments or other phenomena.
5. Special funds available for research work are extremely limited and found only in a few institutions.

Publication of research funds are found in some cases, but often are wholly lacking and frequently are very inadequate.

It may therefore be concluded that the time available for political research and the equipment for intensive inquiries is deplorably inadequate in view of the needs of scientific inquiry. The relatively small number of research men find themselves overburdened by teaching.
duties and crippled by lack of facilities essential to the conducting of modern types of research in the field of government. Large funds have been made available in connection with bureaus of municipal research and various other foundations. These inquiries are conducted by university men in the main but are carried on outside of the university field. Unquestionably, the scientific study of the experiments in modern democracy justifies, in fact demands, far more elaborate equipment than has thus far been available for fundamental inquiries into the processes of government. There is no phase of human life more important than the political process and yet in scarcely any field is the equipment for scientific research so notably deficient.

It is therefore recommended:
1. That larger opportunity in the way of time be provided for students of government in order to carry on inquiries of a fundamental nature.
2. That adequate stenographic and clerical service and research assistants be provided so that the specialist in political science may at least have the equipment of a modern law or business office.
3. That larger funds for field work and other special researches be provided.
4. That adequate provision be made for the publication of results of scientific research of a type that do not possess immediate commercial value.
5. That concerted and persistent effort be made to present the necessities of political science to the appropriate university authorities and to the general public.

With a view of illustrating types of inquiry the committee is drawing up outlines of proposed investigations in the following fields:

- An analysis of the role of organized groupings in the government of a given community.
- The intensive study of the data upon which popular judgments are now formed in a given community.
- A survey of political statistics.
- The relation between political platforms, governors' messages, and legislative output.
- An analysis of political geography.
- Some phases of political geography.
- An analysis of the qualities of effective citizenship with reference to specific tests of such qualities.

An analysis of the qualities and characteristics of non-voting.
A study of the practical working of the direct primary system.

University of Chicago.

CHARLES E. MERIAM.

III. RECOMMENDATIONS

The Committee on Political Research recommends:
I. The establishment of a Social Science Research Council consisting of two members each from Economics, Sociology, Political Science, and History for the purpose of—
(a) The development of research in the social studies.
(b) The establishment of a central clearing house for projects of social investigation.
(c) The encouragement of the establishment of institutes for social science study with funds adequate for the execution of various research projects and publications in the various fields of science.
(d) Suggestions to various governmental authorities regarding the statistics collected in the field of social investigation.
(e) The teaching of social science in American colleges and universities.
(f) Any other ways and means of encouraging the development of the scientific study of politics.

II. The establishment of a permanent committee on political research for the purpose of encouraging the growth of scientific investigation in the field of government.

III. A quadrennial survey of significant advances in political science at appropriate sessions of the American Political Science Association.

IV. Cooperation with special institutes and agencies for field work by professional students of government during the summer months or at other times during the year.

V. The holding of an annual institute of political science for detailed consideration of political methods and for the detailed examination of a few selected topics in the field of government.

VI. Concerted and persistent effort to bring to the attention of university authorities and the public the need of larger numbers of professional students of government with larger time and facilities for scientific work.

VII. Further study of the problems of—
(a) More adequate reporting and digesting of governmental actions.
(b) More adequate reporting of the practical operation of governmental experiments by trained observers.

(c) The development of more scientific methods of arriving at definite political conclusions.

VIII. Your committee urges that every effort be made to bring about the closest cooperation between students of politics and the other branches of social science, and also with the students of psychology, anthropology, geography, biological sciences, and engineering, to the end that the new political science may avail itself of all of the results of modern thought in the attempt to work out scientific methods of political control.

This section sums up the results of the committee's work in considering the ways and means by which the quality and quantity of political research might be improved. Some of these recommendations are very general and others are more specific.

The first recommendation—for the establishment of a research council—was approved by the American Political Science Association and a similar resolution was passed by the American Economic Association and the American Sociological Society. The first meeting of the representatives of the various associations to consider this question was held on February 24, 1923.

The second recommendation for the establishment of a permanent committee on political research has been approved by the Council and the American Political Science Association. Last year's committee was continued with the addition of Professor Holcombe of Harvard.

The fifth recommendation for the holding of an annual institute of political science was not officially acted upon, but informal action has been taken and definite plans are under way for the holding of such an institute some time during the summer vacation of 1923. Professor Arnold B. Hall of the University of Wisconsin is chairman of the informal committee in charge of this undertaking.

CHARLES E. MERRIAM,
ROBERT C. CRANE,
JOHN A. FAIBLIS,
CLYDE L. KING.
The American Political Science Review
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The Present State of the Study of Politics

By
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THE PRESENT STATE OF THE STUDY OF POLITICS

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The original plan of this paper included a general survey and critique of the leading tendencies in the study of politics during the last thirty or forty years. It was intended to compare the methods and results of the various types of political thought—to pass in review the historical school, the juridical school, the students of comparative government, the philosophers as such, the attitude of the economist, the contributions made by the geographer and the ethnologist, the work of the statisticians, and finally to deal with the psychological, the sociological, the biological interpretations of the political process.

It would have been an interesting and perhaps a useful task to compare the scope and method of such thinkers as Jellinek, Gierke, Duguit, Dicey and Pound; the philosophies of Sorel and Dewey, of Ritchie and Russell, of Nietzsche and Tolstoi; to review the methods of Durkheim and Simmel, of Ward and Giddings and Small; of Cooley and Ross; and to discuss the developments seen in the writings of Wallas and Cole.

It would have been useful possibly to extend the analysis to the outstanding features of the environment in which these ideas have flourished, and to their numerous and intimate relations and interrelations. It might have been possible to discuss
the influence of social and industrial development, of class
movements and struggles, or of group conflicts in the larger
sense; to examine the influence of urbanism and industrialism;
of capitalism, socialism and syndicalism; of militarism, pacifism,
feminism, nationalism. It would perhaps have been useful to
offer a critique of the methods and results portrayed; to make a
specific appraisal of the value of the logical, the psychological,
the sociological, the legal and the philosophical and the histori-
ical methodologies and their respective contributions to the study
of the political.

This task was abandoned, however, and reserved for another
occasion, as it became evident that no such survey could be con-
densed within reasonable limits. It seemed that our common
purpose might be better served by a different type of analysis,
aiming at the reconstruction of the methods of political study,
and the attainment of larger results alike in the theoretical and
the practical fields.

Within relatively recent times the theory of politics has come
in contact with forces which must in time modify its procedure
in a very material way. The comparatively recent doctrine
that political ideas and systems—as well as other social ideas
and systems—are the by-products of environment, whether
this is stated in the form of economic determinism or of social
environment, constitutes a challenge to all systems of thought.
It can be ignored only under the penalty of losing the locus
stans of a science. Systems may justify themselves as sound-
ing boards of their time, but what becomes of the validity of
the underlying principles usually announced with dogmatic
and authoritarian emphasis?

Again, in our day the measuring scales of facts and forces
have been made much finer and more exact than ever before in
the history of the race. The measuring and comparing and
standardizing process goes on its way, impelled by the hands of
thousands of patient investigators who pursue the truth through
the mazes of measurable and comparable facts. To what extent
has this increased accuracy of measurement and facility in com-
parison of standardized observation found its way into the field
of the political?

Further, on the borders of politics there have appeared in our
day many allied disciplines of kindred stock. Statistics and
psychology, biology, geography, ethnology and sociology have
all developed and continue to produce masses of material facts,
of interpretations and insights, correlations and conclusions,
often bearing, directly or indirectly, upon the understanding of
the political process. We may appropriately raise the question,
to what extent has politics availed itself of the researches and
results of these new companions in the great search for the under-
standing of the phenomena of human life?

Certain suggestions as to ways and means by which the tech-
nical and professional study of politics may be improved in quality
and serviceability are worth some discussion. There is the ques-
tion of a mechanism for the collection and classification of
political material. In many ways politics has been outstripped
in the race for modern equipment supplying the rapid, com-
prehensive and systematic assembly and analysis of pertinent
facts. For business reasons the collection of certain limited classes
of legal data has been systematized, and the results are promptly
placed before every student of the law. For business reasons
certain types of industrial data are now collected in great
quantities for the use of the business man. Some of the same
work is done by various bureaus of the governments. Yet in
the main the political machinery is still sadly defective. The
best equipped research man in the best equipped institution of
learning hardly has machinery comparable with that of the best
lawyer in his office, or of the best engineer, or the expert of the
large corporation, or the secretary of the chamber of commerce,
or the research department of the Amalgamated Clothiers.
The truth is that he often has no laboratory equipment at all, and,
curiously enough in these days of large scale organization, he
laborers single-handed, even when he discusses this characteristic
feature of our civilization. In this respect the political and
social sciences have been generally outstripped by the so-called
"natural" sciences—now often dropping the "natural"—which
are far better supplied with the personnel and facilities for
research.
On a larger than individual scale, there is a lack of prompt and adequate collections of great classes of laws, orders and rules. The admirable collection of the New York State Library has been discontinued and the gap never filled. The same thing is true of municipal ordinances, collections of administrative regulations, and judicial data except for reported cases. On an international scale the field is scarcely touched. It is not to be expected that political data for scientific purposes should be as quickly gathered as crop reports or legal decisions, but need the data be as scantily and infrequently reported as is now the case?

Further, the reasonably complete and prompt collection of material regarding the practical workings of political institutions is largely unorganized and only spasmodically assembled, often by propaganda agencies rather than by scientific bodies. How, for example, is material made available at present regarding the workings of the system of proportional representation, or the city manager plan of government? Chiefly by the haphazard, irregular and unsatisfactory process of observation and compilation by inadequately equipped individual workers. There is neither fund nor personnel available for extended surveys of many important fields regarding which politics should speak with some authority. Only through the organized and persistent effort of many scholars can this defective situation be made a satisfactory one.

With the cooperation of the various governmental agencies, of the several institutions of learning, and perhaps of private research funds, the workers in political science may be placed on a basis where necessary data and assistance will be available for technical use. But until then we limp where we might run.

It is not impossible that political prudence might be more effectively organized than at present. By political prudence is meant the conclusions of experience and reflection regarding the problems of the state. This constitutes a body of knowledge which, though not demonstrably and technically exact, is nevertheless a precious asset of the race. Of course it is not meant to suggest that all of this prudence is found with the professional students of politics—God forbid—but the initiative in the scientific assembly and analysis of this material may fairly be said

to be one of our tasks. Certainly this falls within no other domain. It seems desirable that this mass of information, analysis, conclusion, tentative and dogmatic, accumulated by the professional students of politics should be more fully known than at present. All other groups, professional and otherwise—and there are many new ones in the last generation—express their views upon all manner of questions of state; why not the student of politics who is usually most nearly disinterested in his point of view, more comprehensive in his investigation, and impartial in his conclusions?

What is the judgment of the world’s students of politics upon such problems as proportional representation, “the” or “a” League of Nations, freedom of speech under twentieth-century conditions, public ownership of public utilities—these only by way of suggestion? In many instances the counsels of professional students of politics, or of political prudence, would be divided, particularly when class, racial or nationalistic issues were raised, but in many other instances they would be united. Even their divisions would presumably rest upon at least superficially scientific grounds, and would help to turn the organization of opinion upon carefully investigated facts and careful reasoning, rather than upon group interests awkwardly disguised in ill-fitting garb. But if professional students of politics cannot come together to discuss even the fundamentals of political prudence because of the fear of violent disagreement, should not that circumstance itself cause sober reflection as to their fundamental preconceptions; and might it not suggest remodelling and reorganization of their methods? Might it not point to the weak spot in their procedure and in time lead to its strengthening?

That professional students of politics should upon all occasions and upon every transient issue rush to announce their theories and conclusions with an air of finality, is certainly not to be desired. But upon grave questions of long standing, where exhaustive inquiries have been made and all phases of a problem maturely considered, the professional opinion of special students has a certain value. Further, if students were equipped with
resources for exhaustive researches through expert commissions on occasional topics, such documented inquiries and the deliberate findings based upon them might prove to be of very great use. Practical experience and observation do not lead to the conclusion that electoral or parliamentary bodies or administrative agencies are waiting breathlessly for the pronouncements of political science associations; but on the other hand the same experience and observation do suggest that they would on many occasions welcome the very sort of information, analysis and tentative conclusions of political prudence that serious professional organizations of this type could supply.

The broader the base of such a professional organization, the more effective it should be. An organization of many cities would be better than one, of many states than one, of many nations than one. For in the larger unit there is an opportunity for the elimination of the local, the class, the religious propensities that have historically played so large a part in the formation of political theory.

Finally the methods of politics, as of social science in general, are constantly in need of scrutiny and revision in order to avoid falling into a category that is neither scientific science nor practical politics. No the extent to which political theory has been co-opted into the service of class and race and group we have been admirably informed by Professor Dunning. A much earlier writer says:

In law what plea so tainted and corrupt
But, being seasoned with a gracious voice
Obscures the show of evil? In religion
What damned error, but some sober brow
Will bless it and approve it with a text,
Hiding the grossness with fair ornament?

But that day perhaps is passing. The average man now possesses an acid test for the authoritarian doctrines which in some earlier ages he would not have been permitted to discuss, or more probably would not have thought of discussing. He begins to realize that in the excitement of racial or religious or...
ization of material—even though sometimes overdone—has the
effect of sobering the discussion. We do not look forward, it is
ture, to a science of politics or of economics or of sociology
based wholly and exclusively upon statistical methods and conclu-
sions. We know that statistics do not contain all the elements
necessary to sustain scientific life; but is it not reasonable to
expect a much greater use of this elaborate instrument of social
observation in the future than at present? Is it unreasonable
to expect that statistics will throw much clearer light on the
political and social structure and processes than we now have
at our command?
Modern psychology also offers material and methods of great
value to politics, and possibilities of still greater things. The
statemen and the politicians have always been psychologists
by rule of thumb, and the political scientist and the economist
have often tried to apply such psychology as their time afforded.
The “natural” man of the Naturrecht school and of the classical
political economy was described in the light of such information
as the psychology of the day afforded. But undoubtedly Thorne-
dike and others can tell us more about the genus homo than was
given to Thomas Hobbes and Adam Smith. Even the psy-
chologists—if we may accept the statements of some of them—
have not always been strictly psychological in their method.
The field wherein the physiologist and the behaviorist and the
neurologist and the psycho-analyst and the biologist and the
psycho-biologist are still busy evolving a method is a domin
not yet reduced to constitutional order and government. But
these new inquiries seem likely to evolve methods by which
many human reactions, hitherto only roughly estimated, may
be much more accurately observed, measured and compared.
They are likely to assist in the evolution of methods and means
by which new relations will be discovered, new modes of adapta-
tion contrived, and the processes of social and political control
substantially modified. They are already suggesting methods
by which much more accurate measurement of the human per-
sonality may be made, and much deeper insight into the social
process be secured. Their work is likely to be supplemented by

that of group psychology; and somewhere along the line there
may be developed the study of the political personality and pro-
cess, and the aspects and bearings of political psychology, which
has long existed in name and in practical fact, but not in sys-
temati zam form. We seem to stand on the verge of definite
measurement of elusive elements in human nature hitherto
evading understanding and control by scientific methods. In
certain fields, such as those of education and medicine, the lines
have already been thrust far out into the realm of what had
always been charted as the Great Unknown. Psychology, of
course, like statistics does not assume to set up the standards
of social science, but is an instrument or method by which
students in these fields may be materially assisted.
It is not impossible that we may have, in addition to the broad
observational study of unstandardizable forces and tendencies,
playing so large a part in political prudence, a more basic study
of measurable and comparable political reactions, of their
strength and limitations, of their possibilities of adaptation and
constructive organization. This more intensive study may help
to solve: (1) the problems of preliminary political education, (2)
of public education in the larger sense of the term, (3) of local
political coordination and organization, and (4) of scientific
technology. The statistical use of psychological material offers
to the student of politics large areas hitherto unexplored, and
insight into springs of political action up to this time only imper-
fectly observed.
From time to time the study of politics has been completely
abreast with the current science of the time, as in the days of
Aristotle, and from time to time has drifted away again into
scholasticism and legalism of the narrowest type. Writers like
Wolff and Thomasius, Suarez and Pufendorf, Woolsey and Sidg-
wick, have left us great monuments of industry and erudition.
They, like many others, were of great value in the general ration-
alisizing process of the time, but were sterile in the production of
living theories and principles of political action. In our day the
cross fertilization of politics with science, so called, or more
strictly with modern methods of inquiry and investigation,
might not be unprofitable.
In the study of international law, for example, may we not go behind treaties and conventions into a deeper study—not only of what are commonly called social and political forces, into differences of environment, language and culture—but also into a systematic examination of race and group loyalties and aversions, their genesis, strength, their modes of adaptation and organization? Instinctively the stranger is the enemy. But what has modern political science to say about the nature of this instinct and the possibilities of training, education and reorganization of it? What have the world's students of politics and kindred sciences to say upon this problem, the solution of which bears so closely upon world organization and world peace?

We have studied the urban problem in terms of "good" and "bad" government, of boss rule and reform, of innumerable mechanisms and contrivances ingeniously devised, but is it not possible to go more deeply into the basis of the city, scrutinize more accurately the social and political process of which the political is an integral part? Are the forces producing municipal misrule inherently reformatory and inexorably unruily, or do we not fully understand the political reactions in the given environment, and how they may best be educated and constructively adapted to new modes of life under the forms of the cooperative enterprise of democracy?

In the study of public administration may we not add to the study of rules and laws and forms of procedure and control some deeper insight into the underlying factors affecting and conditioning personnel and organization and operation of large groups of men? Will not the methods of statistics and psychology be of service to us in the prosecution of such inquiries?

In short, may we not intensify our study of the political man, the political personality, of his genesis, environment, reactions, modes of adaptation and training, and the groups of which he is a part, and of the complicated political process, to a point where the preconceptions of politics will be given a far more definite fact basis, and practical prudence a far surer touch in its dealing with the problems of state?

We may be reminded of the weird anthropology in the politics of Bodin and Montesquieu, or of Bluntschli's fearfully and wonderfully made "political psychology," in which he compared sixteen selected parts of the human body with the same number of organs of the body politic, or of the ambitious but abortive social physics of Comte, or of the array of organicist theories which Dr. Coker has so comprehensively catalogued—all these to point the danger of advancing beyond the line of strictly authoritarian or tendential and prudential politics. But on the other hand we may point to many penetrating studies in social and political organization. We may call attention to the surprising practical advances made by criminology and penology, and to the daily practical applications in social and industrial relations of information and methods drawn from the newer disciplines.

Must we conclude that it is possible to interpret and explain and measurably control the so-called natural forces—outside of man—but not the forces of human nature? Or have we overdone "nature" and underdone "man" scientifically? Is there some fundamental line of division between the cultural, the humanitarian, the scholarly, the "learned", on the one hand, and the scientific (in quotation marks) on the other, so that their methods must be fundamentally different? Perhaps it is so.

It is now nearly thirty years since the great naturalist Le Conte pointed out that art comes first, then science; then science like a daughter helps the mother. Hitherto, said he, "Social art has advanced in a blind staggering way, feeling its way in the dark, retrieving its errors, recovering its fall." But this cannot longer be. He continues: "Science must be introduced into politics only as suggesting, counselling, modifying, not yet as directing and controlling." Science "ought to be strictly subordinate to a wise empiricism. She must whisper suggestions rather than utter commands."

For our purposes it is not necessary or possible to read the future of social or political science. It is sufficient to say that

1 In Brooklyn Ethical Association, Man and the State, 351-353.
we may definitely and measurably advance the comprehensiveness and accuracy of our observation of political phenomena, and that the processes of social and political control may be found to be much more susceptible to human adaptation and reorganization than they now are.

Here we are confronted, however, as at other points by the urgent practical necessity for better organization of our own professional research. It would be possible, both nationally and internationally, to coordinate much more closely the scattered undertakings in charge often of isolated observers and workers. The political research of our nation and of others is ill-organized, especially for a branch of knowledge that deals with organization and administration as one of its central topics. As a result, even though the available forces are small, there is some duplication of effort. There are large gaps left where there is no investigation made, and there is general lack of organized effort to break through the lines of political ignorance and prejudice. We lack comprehensive and forward-looking plans, following which we might advance by measurable stages in certain directions at least. If the mortality among students of politics is high because of the ravages of university administration and politics, there is all the more reason for husbanding carefully our resources, and making the most effective use of them. And if the endowment of political research is more difficult because it must compete with other objects touching less closely, or seemingly, to the nerves of the social and political order, there is all the more reason for explicit statement of definite plans and for continued pursuit of the means to carry them out under public or private auspices.

These suggestions are offered in conclusion:

1. More adequate equipment for collection and analysis of political material;
2. More adequate organization of the political prudence of our profession;
3. The broader use of the instruments of social observation in statistics, and of the analytical technique and results of psychology; and closer regard to and relations with the disciplines of geography, ethnology, biology, sociology and social psychology.

4. More adequate organization of our technical research, and its coordination with other and closely allied fields of inquiry.

Quite properly a bill of particulars might be called for, but this paper is only in the nature of a declaration, and specific statements are the next step in the case. What has been said is wholly vain unless it has been understood to emphasize above everything else the crying need for organization and coordination of effort both in general method and with specific reference to the activities of our professional societies.

Science is a great cooperative enterprise in which many intelligences must labor together. There must always be wide scope for the spontaneous and unregulated activity of the individual, but the success of the expedition is conditioned upon some general plan of organization. Least of all can there be anarchy in social science, or chaos in the theory of political order.
A SCHOOL OF POLITICS
FOR THE
UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

In his recent volume of reminiscences President Eliot relates that fifty years ago the Dean of the Harvard Medical School protested against the introduction of written examinations into the School on the ground that most of the medical students could scarcely read or write. Medical education in those days was on an extremely low level.

To draw a parallel between the medicine of that day and the politics of today may not be quite just. Because of the rising level of education in the country, the situation in politics is in some respects better than it was in medicine in the dark ages only a half century ago. On the other hand though medicine was on a lower plane fifty years ago than it is today, it was definitely committed to progress through organized institutions for medical education. Politics, on the other hand, even today, has no regularly organized schools to assist or record its progress to a higher level.

We have our schools for doctors and lawyers. Are we content to let our politicians just happen?

The time has come when politics should assume the dignity of a profession. Society has become so highly organized, political questions have become
A SCHOOL OF POLITICS
FOR THE
UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

In the recent volume of Reminiscences President
Eliot reviews the fifty years ago the Dean
of the University Medical School presented evidence
on the introduction of written examinations into the school on
the strong claim that most of the medical students could very efficiently
read or write. Medical education is hence given in some
extent a parallel to a level.

To draw a parallel between the medicine of
Politics that can and the politics of today may not be
done just because of the present level of education in the
community. The situation in Politics is in some respects better
than it was in medicine in the same sense only a half century
ago. In the other hand medicine was on a lower plane
history years ago and it is today. It was generally considered
of medicine. Physicians are now entering professions to
assistance. Politics on the other hand, every today and on
regularly organize schools to assist and direct the progress
of a higher level.

We have our schools for doctors and lawyers.
Are we content to let our politicians take over?
The time has come when politics must become
the activity of a profession rather than a trade
of politics. The activity of a profession. Society has become
come so highly organized, political discussion have become
so complicated and their issues so far-reaching, the happiness and wellbeing of so many people are dependent on what we do politically, and America has acquired so vast an influence in the world that there is today a greater need than ever before for competent and high-minded men in public life. To fill that need and to establish politics as a profession requires the organization of an institution devoted to investigation and teaching in this field.

The University of Chicago proposes to fill that need by the organization of a School of Politics, upon a broad basis and with a broad scope of action.

At the present time, though most universities have departments of political science, there is not in existence a complete school of politics such as the University of Chicago contemplates. Johns Hopkins is planning a school of international law, which is but a portion of the field which the University of Chicago desires to cover. The University of Syracuse has just received a gift to start a school of the general type of that proposed for Chicago, but that University has not the broad basis of graduate work in related fields on which to build it. The courses of lectures and the conferences which the University of Chicago conducts on the Harris Foundation, the Williams College Institute, and similar conferences are rendering valuable service in the education of public opinion, but they do not constitute a school of politics of the comprehensive scope that the University of Chicago has in mind.
To further the organization of an institution devoted to research and teaching and to accord to the University of Chicago Professorship a position of national importance, the need of the organization of a School of Politics has been recognized. At the present time, though most universities have departments of political science, there is not in existence a complete school of politics such as the University of Chicago, which plans to put a portion of the field within the University of Chicago's scope of education. The University of Chicago has not yet become a college. The School of the General Type of the Preparatory Type and the Graduate Type of the University of Chicago confers on the students courses of liberal arts and the professional work of the University. But the University of Chicago has not yet become a school of politics of the comprehensive type. The University of Chicago has not yet become a school of politics of the comprehensive type.
The purpose of the school which the University contemplates would be fourfold. The School would offer to students in all departments of the University who do not expect to enter public service as a career training in preparation for their duty as citizens; it would give to those who have the ambition to enter political life as public servants preparation for political service of a high type; it would endeavor to increase human knowledge in the whole realm of politics; it would act as consultant and would conduct conferences on important political questions; and it would disseminate information to the public through the publication of books and pamphlets.

First, then, the school would be concerned with training giving to all students a knowledge of the political situation that would dispose them to accept the responsibilities of citizenship, and a sufficient training in practical politics to enable them to meet these responsibilities effectively. The effort would be made to offer to all students courses which would be so fundamental and interesting that they would secure a high percentage of enrollment from the student body.

This training would not be in theory alone. The students would be given practical political experience. To this end, the following special lines of work would be developed:

1. Practical political exercises in such work as canvassing precincts, visiting local political institutions, detailed study of local campaigns and problems.

2. Study and practice of parliamentary law. This would include the technical knowledge of the law
The purpose of the School of Public Administration at the University would be to prepare students to enter public service as professionals. The University would offer a program of study leading to a degree of Doctor of Public Administration. The program would be designed to develop the student's knowledge of public administration and its application to public policy formulation, implementation, and evaluation.

The program would emphasize the development of skills necessary for effective public administration, including analysis, synthesis, and evaluation of public policies. Students would be required to complete a comprehensive examination in public administration. The program would also include a capstone project that would require students to develop and implement a public policy project.

The program would be conducted in collaboration with public agencies and organizations, providing students with opportunities for practical experience. Students would be encouraged to participate in internships and other forms of practical work experience. The program would also include a series of courses in public policy analysis, public management, and public law.

In summary, the purpose of the School of Public Administration at the University would be to prepare students for careers in public administration, providing them with the knowledge and skills necessary to effectively serve the public interest.
governing parliamentary processes and also provide practice in actual parliamentary organization.

3. Opportunities open to students for practical work in connection with local research committees.

For experience in practical political work, there would be a laboratory of political science, to consist of a special room or rooms containing material necessary for experiments. There would be provided polling booths and sample ballots, governmental blanks and forms of all types, current material regarding the process of government, charts, maps, and pictures.

Associated with these courses in politics for all students there would be a body of undergraduate courses in Political Science, Political Economy, History, Geography, and Psychology by which the student might broaden his horizon.

2. Training for the profession of politics. The second and in a sense the distinctive task of the School of Politics would be to provide an intensive, specialized political education for students looking forward to a political career and, with this in view, taking all or the major part of their work in this school. In this role it would be a professional school like a school of law or medicine, preparing men for teaching and investigational work on political science and especially for practical and professional public service.

In addition to general courses needed by all who propose to enter public life the School would aim to prepare men for specific public services, as for example, in public administration and in the international service. It is inevitable that, in time, our diplomatic and consular service,
Executive, legislative, and administrative processes and also provide
practical experience in executive, legislative, and administrative
operations.

2. Opportunities open to graduates for present and future work
in connection with local government committee, for example, and
for experience in practical political work could be
would be a member of a political science or committee on special
rooms to conduct comparative material, necessary for example,
memoranda. These rooms be providing political science and samples
of political, government, and non-governmental organizations and
make any picture. Associated with these courses in political for
all students there would be a part, of undergraduate courses
in political science, political economy, history, geography,
and psychology, with the student might practice the preparation
of the second year in a sense the administrative tasks
of the School of Politics would be to provide an
intermediate, specialized political education for
the student preparing for a political career and, with this
endeavor focusing forward to a political career and, with this
in view, taking part of the work part of the work in this
school. In this course it would be a preprofessional school
as a school of law or medicine, preparing men for research and
investigative work on political science and especially for
professors and professional public service.

In addition to general courses needed by all who
proposed to enter public life the School would aim to prepare
men for special public service as for example, in public
administration and in the instructional service. In the
practical first, in time, our administrative and consultative service.
our tax administration, our civil service, our police and other lines of administration will call for higher trained personnel, especially in the positions of greatest responsibility. A well equipped school would serve the purpose not only of preparing men to enter positions in the higher administrative service, but also of giving further preparation to those already occupying positions of some importance. If a school of the right type were established, men in administrative positions might be given leave of absence for the purpose of special study at the School for particular topics, such as taxation, or police, or foreign service.

3. Investigation and research.

A third important work of the School as planned would be that of research. The rapid advance of the natural sciences, their inevitable relation to political affairs, and the increasing complexity of political affairs themselves make it extremely important that governmental relations should be studied with the greatest thoroughness and care.

Many pieces of research and investigation await the attention of the political scientist. The following are a few specific types of inquiry in this field:

- Government reporting, including standardization of reports and further measurement of the operations of government.
- Electoral mechanism and processes.
- Police administration.
- Financial administration.
- Essential qualities of citizenship and citizenship training.
- International organizations.
- Municipal relations.
- Political psychology.

In connection with investigations of this kind, the School would also serve as a fact-finding agency for other
A firm important work of the school as planned would be that of research. The rapid advance of the natural sciences, their inevitable relation to political affairs, and the increasing complexity of political affairs themselves make it extremely important that government relation should be studied with the greatest thoroughness and care. The places of research and investigation must be a part of the political education.

The attention of the political scientist to government reports, preliminary circulation of.

Government reports, preliminary circulation of.

Reports and papers, preliminary circulation.

Preliminary circulation.

Preliminary circulation.

Preliminary circulation.

Preliminary circulation.

Preliminary circulation.

Preliminary circulation.

Preliminary circulation.

Preliminary circulation.

In connection with investigation of the kind, the school might also serve as a test-plant and model for other KIND.

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In connection with investigation of the kind, the school might also serve as a test-plant and model for other KIND.
groups or institutions. If, for example, a club wished to expend $10,000 in the study of elections, this sum might be turned over to the School for purposes of investigation.

Large parts of the investigational and research work to be undertaken by the School would of necessity be conducted away from the University, partly in the United States, partly abroad. Every organized community in the world would be a conceivable field for research by regular or special members of the staff of this School.

It would be advisable to develop cooperation between the School and other similar institutions throughout the world. It is to be hoped that the School would, in fact, take the lead in bringing about cooperation between various investigating agencies throughout the country and in coordinating research as far as possible, thus eliminating duplication and waste, and making possible types of inquiry that otherwise would be difficult to bring about.

4. Consultation and conference. The School would have a fourth large field for work in conducting political conferences and acting as consultant with various governmental and civic agencies. There is a continuous demand, which the present staff of the University is never able to meet, for expert advice in municipal, state, county, national, and international relations. In order to meet the legitimate community demands for services of men who are expert in various branches of governmental activity, a staff is needed large enough to make possible the detachment of one or more members without interfering with the research work of the University or with its teaching functions.
(c) Examples of institutions. If, for example, a group wished to
exchange 50,000 in the study of agriculture, this sum might be

cumbersome and the school for purposes of investigation

particular part of the investigation and research

work to be undertaken by the school under the auspices of the

conducted from the University's part in the United States

party's support. Every aspiring community in the world would be

a conceivable likely for research or teaching or special member

of the staff of the school.

It would be desirable to develop cooperation for

twenty-five years the school and other similar institutions throughout the

world. It is to be hoped that the school would not 'take

the lead in promoting equal cooperation between national

states as far as possible, since all national cooperation and

waste and make possible types of inquiry that otherwise would

be difficult to withstand.

The school would have a unique large field for

work in coordination, political co-ordination and

ecology as co-ordinating with national governments

and state agencies. There is a continuous demand, with the

present state of the University to never stop the meet

experiential schools in medicine, agriculture, community, national, and inter-

national relations. In order to meet the legitimate community

demand for services of men who are experts in various branches

of governmental activity, a deal is needed large money to make

possible the development of one or more members on

interchange with the research work of the University or with

the teaching function.
Another large and promising field of usefulness lies in the holding of conferences to consider political problems of public interest. In these conferences, students, responsible officials, and interested citizens might be called together for the purpose of interchanging experiences and opinions, elaborating policies, and developing problems.

Examples of the fields in which conferences might well be utilized as a means of developing technique or raising problems and settling some of them are as follows: non-voting, civil service, election laws and machinery, police administration, municipal finance, citizenship training, and standardized administrative control over finances.

It would probably be relatively easy to obtain financial support for conferences of this kind on a specific issue. Institutions or organizations interested in some special problem might be willing to contribute their influence and financial aid for the purpose of organizing and carrying through a conference in connection with a research investigation carried on by the University of Chicago.

Facilities for conferences on political problems would make the University of Chicago a center for practical consideration of current questions and would bring to the University, from all parts of the world, many eminent, practical, political specialists.

A fifth and final important phase of the work of the School would be the publication of books and pamphlets in the field of politics. In this manner the School might have its broadest effect as an educational force.
Another major and prominent field of research

In the field of politics, the role of researchers, politicians, and political analysts is crucial in advancing public interest and understanding. This requires a multidisciplinary approach involving professionals from various fields, such as law, economics, sociology, and political science.

Together with the purpose of interpersonal experiences and opinions, developing policies and generating knowledge.

Examples of fields in which researchers might work include:

- Policy-making processes as a means of developing better policy recommendations.
- Proprietary knowledge and expertise in areas such as international law, security studies, and political economy.
- Civil service ethics, governance, and accountability policies.

Another example is the role of researchers in influencing policy through the development of evidence-based policies.

It is important to note that researchers in the field of politics play a vital role in advancing our understanding of the world and its complexities.
The University is, already in advance of the organization of the School, admirably equipped to carry on a program of publication. Through the University of Chicago Press, one of the best known university presses in the country, the School would be able to publish at reasonable cost books or leaflets which commercial publishers would sometimes find it unprofitable to print.

The technical organization of the proposed School need not be discussed at length here. Presumably it would have a faculty composed of professors and other instructors and research assistants. It would be in charge of a responsible director or dean who would give part time to administration, part time to teaching, and part time to research, depending on the needs of the occasion.

The University, in the departments of History, Political Economy, Sociology, Government, and Law, already has a large portion of the staff that would be required for the School of Politics. Its professors and instructors in these fields already number over fifty men, besides fellows and summer appointees, and the expense of maintaining these departments is probably not less than $200,000. The University has, therefore, the broad foundation on which to build the proposed School. What is needed in addition is men in the specific field of Politics.

For a completely organized School of Politics these would include two men for international law, one for municipal relations, one for the study of political phenomena and parties, two for training for citizenship, two for the study of the process of law-making, two for public administration,
The University is, therefore, in essence of the
organization of the School, substantially adhering to certain
principles of organization. Though the University of Chicago
presses one of the few known universities presses in the country,
the School would perhaps do well to provide a press at reasonable cost
or turn to presses which commercial newspapers would sometimes find
if the latter were to be printed.

Theesan's organization of the School for
preparatory work, need not be given more than ten years, preferably
selected are not well grounded on the need of the occasion.

The University in the departments of History,
Political Economy, Sociology, Government, and Law,
perhaps more than a large portion of the staff that would be provided
for the School of Politics, is based on its opportunities and accommodations
in those fields already successful over fifty years, perhaps few
and the experiences of Westminster College
and the University is deeply grateful for fees from $20,000.

The University, therefore, the press foundation on which to build the
proposed School. What is needed in addition is men in the
specific field of Politics.

For a complete organization School of Politics
these would include two men for International Law, one for
Coinage and Currency, two for Finance, one for Political
philosophy, two for the study of Political Phenomena
and public opinion, two for the study of Government, two for the study
of the processes of law-making, and two for public administration.
two for political psychology, two for the study of government reporting and statistics, one for public law, and ten instructors or twenty students as research assistants. The securing of this full staff would necessarily proceed gradually.

Cost.

The annual cost of operating the School of Politics over and above the present cost of operating existing divisions of the University which would contribute to the work of the School is estimated at $195,000 for the following items:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Cost</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Salaries of faculty</td>
<td>$100,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Increase of salaries of present staff</td>
<td>$20,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New appointments</td>
<td>30,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Research assistants, statistical and stenographic service</td>
<td>35,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Special research in America and abroad</td>
<td>15,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conduct of conferences, honorariums, and expenses</td>
<td>25,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maintenance of laboratory</td>
<td>5,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Publication</td>
<td>10,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General administration</td>
<td>5,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>$195,000</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Endowment necessary to capitalize this annual cost $4,000,000

Building for the School $1,000,000

Total cost of establishing School of Politics $5,000,000

In view of the already existing staff and facilities for such a School at the University of Chicago and in view of the central location of the University with respect to the country, Chicago appears to be the logical site for a School of Politics. The University of Chicago, if it is enabled to establish the School, will take an important step forward in the progress of higher education and perform a great service for the country. The establishment of such a
two for political psychology, two for the study of government.

Reporting and statistics are one for public law, and for

Introduction to Twenty-Five Students as Research Assistant.
The security of this small staff would necessarily be

The annual cost of operating the School of Politics

over and above the present cost of operating exist-

the division of the University which would contribute to the

work of the School is estimated at $10,000 for the following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Cost</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Salaries of Faculty</td>
<td>$50,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Increase of salaries of</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Research Assistant, Researcher and Secretary</td>
<td>$25,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Special Research in America and Europe</td>
<td>$1,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Graduate of Conference, Honorable and</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Senate of Administration</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>General Administration</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>$105,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total cost of establishing School of Politics

In view of the generous assistance already received,

Politics of the University of Chicago and in view of the central location of the University

with respect to the community, Chicago appears to be the locality where a School of Politics can be

established to establish the School, with the help of the University of Chicago, it

will be possible to establish the School. It is an important

step forward in the progress of higher education and better a

great service for the country. The establishment of such a
School will dignify politics by making it a true profession, it will provide the country with a scientific means of investigating political problems and educating the electorate, and it will make the production of great political leadership in this country something more than accidental.
School will display political on making it a fine proposition.

It will provide the community with a scientific means of investigating political problems and acquaint the electorate.

And it will make the protection of great political leadership.

In the community something more from societys.