

On Friday there was an excursion to Charlottesville and the University of Virginia.

New York City was chosen as the place for the next annual meeting of the Association, to be held during Christmas week, at which time and place the American Historical and American Economic Associations also will hold their annual meetings.

Letter and Memorial to the Carnegie Institution with Reference to the Establishment in that Institution of a Department of Research in Political Science.

February 5, 1908.

MR. ROBERT S. WOODWARD,

President of the Carnegie Institution, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: In December, 1903, was organized the American Political Science Association, the aim of which, as stated in its constitution is "The scientific study of Politics, Public Law, Administration, and Diplomacy." Its purpose is thus, by a coördinated effort, to advance the scientific study of matters political in this country in a manner similar to that in which the American Historical Association and the American Economic Association have so greatly promoted research and exact thinking in their respective fields. The membership roll of the Association already includes between six and seven hundred names. The publications of the Association consist of an annual bound volume of *Proceedings* containing the papers read at its annual meetings, and a quarterly *Review* now in its second volume. Honorable James Bryce, British Ambassador, is the present President of the Association. Former Presidents have been Professor F. J. Goodnow, Dr. Albert Shaw and Hon. F. N. Judson.

The governing body of the Association is the Executive Council. At the last meeting of this body, held in Madison, Wis., December 30, 1907, was discussed the chief problem which political scientists in this country have to meet; namely, that of securing greater efficiency in the collection of material and a more complete coöperation among investigators. As a result of its deliberations, the Council appointed a committee, composed of the undersigned, charged with the duty of laying before your Institution the present imperative needs of scholars in the political field and urging upon you the establishment of a Department of Research in Political Science.

In performance of the duty thus laid upon it, the undersigned submit the Memorial which is enclosed herewith.

(Signed) ERNST FREUND, University of Chicago.
PAUL S. REINSCH, University of Wis.
LEO S. ROWE, University of Penna.
ALBERT SHAW, New York City.
MUNROE SMITH, Columbia University.
J. H. WIGMORE, Northwestern University.
W. W. WILLOUGHBY, Johns Hopkins
University.

*Memorial of the American Political Science Association to the Trustees
of the Carnegie Institution with Reference to the Establishment of
a Department of Research in Political Science.*

The study of political and legal phenomena, important wherever civilized society exists, may be said to impose itself as a matter of necessity in a country the institutions of which are founded upon a presupposition of an intelligent and well-informed political consciousness. The formation of such a consciousness must ultimately depend upon an accurate knowledge of political facts and a scientific analysis and synthesis of them.

In political science, as in the natural sciences, progress can result only from a continuous succession of effort. Each investigator must be able to make use of the facts determined by his predecessors and build upon them. The necessity of such successive, continued effort is now being clearly recognized by scholars in the field of political science. Until recently the tendency has been to deal with political problems upon an *à priori* or subjective basis, rather than upon a foundation of ascertained and logically related facts. Because of insufficient exact data previously obtained, each investigator and writer has been forced in large measure to found his conclusions upon such scanty material as he himself has been able, by individual effort, to gather.

To obtain a sufficient range of political facts for reliable induction, is in very many cases a task beyond the power of the individual investigator. Not only are the activities and operations of political life extremely complex, but they occur in a great variety of forms, the diversities being due to local conditions or to special chains of

causation. *Yet these facts must be known if scientific political work is to be done.* Not only, then, will the pure science of politics be given a great impetus by the establishment of a department of research, but the results obtained therefrom cannot fail to clarify current ideas of journalists, legislators, and citizens in general.

Our political institutions and the experiments in legislation which we are undertaking in this country are of profound interest to the entire world, not only on account of the prominence of the country itself, but because of the inherent importance of the political problems involved. The investigators of political matters in the United States therefore owe a duty to the scholars of the world to set before them complete data and reliable studies upon which may be based a safe judgment as to the character and tendency of our political institutions.

Certain important studies of our political life based on the positive or inductive method of investigation have already been produced by American scholars. The scientific interest of these problems has received a great impulse of late. Nearly all of our universities have established special schools or departments of political science; a national association has been formed to promote the study of political problems; while other societies—the American Society of International Law, the American Bar Association, and the Association of American Law Schools—have interested themselves in special divisions of the subject. At present all of the most active investigators feel the need of the collection of materials on a larger scale and of the centralization of effort in some institution which will serve as a clearing house for research.

The possible work of a Department of Political Science Research—as the experience of the Carnegie Institution demonstrates—falls into two main divisions. I. The collection and rendering known and accessible of source materials; and II. The guidance of coöperative efforts in monographic studies.

Of these two services the first is much the more important. In the collection and rendering known and accessible of source material, the Department should, in many instances, at least, itself do the work. With reference to monographic studies, its services would more properly be by way of coördinating efforts, preventing duplication, and furnishing bibliographical and other assistance to individual investigators.

I. The Collection and Rendering Known and Accessible of Source Material.

A. Guides to Documentary Material: There is needed a general guide to the permanent sources of statistical and documentary material of a political interest. Not only should there be a complete guide to the reports regularly issued by Federal, State, and City departments, but there should also be pointed out the individual officials from whom specific information can be obtained. This guide should also include complete references to statistical collections and to the reports of legislative committees, and to the reports of associations existing for public purposes, such as the Illinois Legislative Voters' League, and various other organizations which exist for the purposes of political action and information. The vast body of official publications can be rendered useful to the political student only through such a general guide specifically prepared from this point of view.

B. Index Digests of Constitutions, Laws, Charters, and Ordinances. There should be a complete index digest of state constitutions, federal and state legislation, city charters and ordinances, and important administrative acts.

A complete digest of state constitutions, containing also pertinent judicial annotations, is a great desideratum. The compilation made for the New York Constitution Convention of 1894 is inadequate for present purposes, but indicates the need for such work.

The indexing of state legislation is now partially carried out by such bodies as the New York and the Wisconsin Legislative Libraries, but a great deal might be done in the coördination of efforts, and in the more specific digesting of legislation and legislative bills upon certain topics, such as, for instance, suffrage and elections, the police power, etc.

Only the barest beginning has been made with respect to city charters and ordinances. There is an imperative need at the present time for a digest of the existing mass of administrative and legislative material relating to city government. There is required in the first place a digest of the principal city charters, carefully annotated. Such a digest might also contain an outline of the charters of the larger cities of the world and of minor cities where important variations are found, such as Galveston, Des Moines, and Newport. The beginning of such a digest was made for the use of the Chicago Charter

Commission in 1906. Again there should be prepared compilations of city ordinances of important cities covering the various subjects of municipal administration. There should also be a special digest of state legislation relating to city government.

A study of the growth of administrative activities of the federal and state governments, which have undergone a remarkable development during the last few decades, requires a thorough indexing and digesting of the material containing administrative laws, rules and regulations. Not only has departmental administration itself expanded to a remarkable degree during recent years, but an entire series of new organs has been added, especially in the states, in the numerous commissions which have been created for special administrative purposes. In these commissions are often united legislative, executive, and judicial functions. They have already become such an important instrumentality in American government that the scientific study of their organization and methods of action on the broadest basis has become absolutely necessary.

In this connection there should be pointed out the special need for a digest of the *quasi-judicial decisions* of executive officers and administrative bodies. Very little attention has been hitherto given to such important documentary material as the opinions of attorney-generals, of state commissioners, and of administrative commissions. This material should first be rendered accessible by a thorough guide to these various series of reports and then subjected to a scientific analysis for the purpose of rendering it useful to students, legislators, and administrative officials.

To a certain extent the political scientist and jurist may depend upon such agencies as the Congressional Library and the various state legislative reference departments for the performance of portions of the aforementioned task. There should, however, be a central agency which could, as an intermediary, prevent the overlapping of collections and which could also assist the individual investigator in getting needed information by the shortest route.

C. *Political Statistics.* The statistical agencies of the nation and the states already supply a great abundance of material useful to the investigator in politics. A central institution of research could cooperate with the statistical officials to the end of rendering these collections and compilations more useful for scientific purposes, and might also induce these departments to undertake new investigations by which developments not yet touched upon would be elucidated.

It is highly desirable that there should be a further development of election statistics. It is impossible to reach an accurate view of the detailed workings of our institutions without specific statistical information concerning elections, the participation of voters, and especially of women and negroes in districts where the suffrage is granted to them.

D. *Judicial Statistics.* Another important field is that of judicial statistics. Such statistics contain a wealth of instructive material of a type that ought to be available to the student and publicist. The various classes of cases brought before the courts, the disposal of these cases, the facts regarding bankruptcy, divorce, and criminal trials, the judgments rendered, the length of trials, the difficulties in securing juries, the frequency with which various writs are asked for and granted, the number of cases carried to a superior court, the percentage of reversals and for what reasons—all such facts might be tabulated in a statistical form. They are necessary to a proper understanding of the workings of the American judicial system, and would have an important bearing on the development of our civil and especially our criminal procedure.

E. *The Technical Problem of Legislation.* There is a growing conviction of the need of placing upon a more scientific basis legislative activity in its more technical aspects, that is to say, the giving of legislative policies the best statutory form. To bring this about two things are essential.

First, the study of legislative methods pursued in each state together with their historical development, with special reference to the administrative aspects of statutes; special and local legislation, the delegation of legislative powers, means of execution and enforcement, etc.

Second, the study of the operation of statutes enacted under the police power with a view to discovering the relative success or failure of different forms and methods of legislation. For this purpose the collection of administrative reports, above referred to, should be supplemented by judicial statistics, showing the number and the disposition of suits and prosecutions instituted for violations of police statutes and ordinances not amounting to crimes in the common sense of the term.

Effective and adequate research in this field calls for a systematic and coördinated plan covering the whole country.

F. *Fugitive Political Material.* It should be one of the functions

of a department such as is urged, to foster the preservation of important materials of a fugitive nature. The understanding of party organization and activities as far as it can be gained from printed materials must be derived very largely from publications which are prepared for temporary use and which do not find a place in ordinary library collections. Nevertheless these materials are of a distinct value and their complete loss would leave a serious gap in our sources of information. By establishing a coöperative system by which certain libraries with other agencies would join on a distributive basis in the collections of these materials, and through which investigators could be readily informed as to the location of various collections of this kind, great service might be rendered.

G. *Material for American Legal History.* The existing materials for American legal history should be indexed, both as a guide to the investigator of this important subject, and as an encouragement to the publication of those portions which are of greater value and wider significance.

H. *The Publication of Sources.* While it may with confidence be expected that if important sources of information are indicated through the processes above pointed out, other agencies will in some cases be ready to undertake their publication, it may nevertheless become advisable to undertake the publication of certain of the more important materials. It would, however, not be necessary or advisable to plan such publications before the field had been very thoroughly surveyed, and before the work of indexing and digesting, as outlined above, had reached a considerable degree of development. It admits of no doubt that should a central bureau of research in political science be established, the publication of the sources would receive a strong impetus, because the activities of such a department would bring out clearly the need for the printed preservation or the collection of certain classes of materials, and even if at the time the institution itself should not be able to undertake such publication, other agencies might be prevailed upon to assist in this matter.

I. *Bibliography.* It is a great desideratum to the student of political science that there should be a current bibliography of books and periodicals referring to political matters. It would be a comparatively inexpensive matter to have a scientific bibliography of this kind prepared, including also works on economics and sociology. It is evident that, in order to be of real use, a bibliography of this kind should be under the control of some scientific agency, and it

would seem that it would be one of the proper functions of a department of research to devise means by which a bibliography of this kind might be collected and published.

II. *Monographic Studies.*

In considering the desirability of undertaking or aiding monographic investigation on a large scale, we are impressed with the connection which this activity has with the general problem of ascertaining and digesting the materials available in any science. The Carnegie Institution has used both methods. The Department of History has thus far confined its efforts largely to the indexing of materials, whereas the Department of Economics has undertaken monographic investigations. Should a Department of Political Science be undertaken, we beg to indicate the desirability of combining the two methods.

As already stated, though it is believed that the collection and rendering known and accessible of source material is the work most urgently needed by political scientists in this country, the encouragement of monographic studies on a coöperative basis is one which a Department of Research in Political Science may properly perform. Among the subjects especially calling for investigation, we suggest the following as promising and important.

1. *Suffrage and the Newer Institutional Forms of Democracy.* Of late the democratic character of our institutions has been emphasized by the adoption of such arrangements as primary elections, the initiative and referendum, and the recall. These innovations have rendered the study of the popular element in our institutions more than ever urgent and it has become absolutely necessary for the student to be provided with definite data on this subject. The participation and abstention of voters, the character of suffrage requirements, the interest of voters in constitutional amendments, and referendum votes, are all of primary importance. The operation of woman suffrage has never been investigated on a broad basis, nor have the various elements of negro suffrage. There is needed a digest of the suffrage laws and complete statistical data upon local and general elections and primaries.

2. *Constitutional Conventions.* The larger participation of the elector in matters of government has brought an increase in the number of constitutional conventions. This political organization

bids fair to become one of the regular agencies of political action in America. Hence it is very desirable that it should be studied on a broad basis. There should be an investigation of the manner in which these conventions are brought about, their constituent elements, and their procedure. The scope of their activities and the actual results obtained in the way of change of established legal arrangements should be clearly set forth.

3. *Criminal Law Administration.* An investigation should be devoted to the manner of preventing and detecting crime and of apprehending criminals, including the organization of the police, and the use in the last resort of military force. Our existing methods of detecting crime and apprehending criminals, which have been inherited from England and which in rural districts place their main reliance upon the county sheriff and the town constable, have shown themselves to be of no real value in the conditions which now exist. In our cities, too, the problem of the efficiency of the police has become one of the greatest importance. The investigation covering these matters should then also be extended to a study of the methods of prosecution and trial of criminals, especially the functions of and efficiency of grand and petit juries, and of prosecuting officials. The whole question of criminal procedure and appeals would also be involved, as well as the general character of the penal law.

4. *American Legal Development.* It might be truthfully said that no country exhibits such a variety of experience in the matter of legal development as does the United States. The original transfer of the English legal system to this country, modified in the case of the original colonies by local conditions; the superseding of the older popular law by a more strictly technical system of legal administration; the eighteenth century admiration for the common law, long outlasting the Revolution; the commencement of reformatory effort, followed by a wave of enthusiasm for codification, which caused the far-reaching change of legal forms during the nineteenth century—all these and many other interesting developments afford a very inviting field to the student desirous of elucidating our legal history, and of studying the general processes by which a legal order is evolved.

5. *American Party Organization and Methods.* The transformation and collection of political power is effected primarily by our party system. The study of its operations is consequently of fundamental importance to the study of political science. That this matter can be studied upon a strictly scientific or positive basis has

been demonstrated by such writers as Mr. A. L. Lowell and Mr. Jesse Macy. However, the avowedly fragmentary nature of their investigations indicates the necessity of coöperation on a large scale for the purpose of getting an assured basis for the complete and adequate description of party life and party developments in the United States.

CONCLUSION.

The institution of a department of research in political science should act as a clearing house for investigators. It would be in a position to direct students to the available sources and thus save a great deal of energy expended in fruitless or misdirected search. Investigators would be brought into touch with one another so that they might supplement the information of each other, and thus, through their mutual assistance, the science of politics itself would be advanced. It might also be practicable for the Department to act as intermediary between scholars in different parts of the country and copyists or archive workers in the city of Washington and other eastern cities.

The present memorial attempts nothing more than to indicate some of the more urgent needs felt by scholars in the field of political science, and to suggest the manner in which those needs may in large measure be met by the establishment in the Carnegie Institution of a Department of Political Science Research. Should you be impressed with the needs and possibilities here presented, the undersigned would be glad to furnish any further information that might be desired.

Respectfully submitted,

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