

# INTRODUCTION TO POLITICAL SCIENCE

BY

RAYMOND GARFIELD GETTELL, M.A.

PROFESSOR OF HISTORY AND POLITICAL SCIENCE  
TRINITY COLLEGE

GINN AND COMPANY

BOSTON · NEW YORK · CHICAGO · LONDON  
ATLANTA · DALLAS · COLUMBUS · SAN FRANCISCO

ENTERED AT STATIONERS' HALL  

---

COPYRIGHT, 1910, BY  
RAYMOND GARFIELD GETTELL

ALL RIGHTS RESERVED

819.1

**The Athenæum Press**  
GINN AND COMPANY · PROPRIETORS · BOSTON · U.S.A.

## PREFACE

At the present time no field of knowledge is growing more rapidly into favor, both in the colleges and universities, and among thinking people in general, than that of the social sciences. Looking to the past, they are linked with the whole process of biologic and psychologic evolution, and trace the origin and development of human institutions and ideas. Dealing with the present, they describe the organization and activities of those social groups in which we all live. Looking to the future, they open up the important political, economic, and social problems that future generations must solve.

Within this general field probably no subdivision so happily combines material of academic interest to the student and possibilities of practical application, as does political science. The state is the greatest institution that man has created, and its scope of activities promises to be increasingly extensive as society becomes more complex. It seems, therefore, that there is need for a book that will give a general outline of political science, viewing the state from the standpoint of past development and present conditions. For the special student in this department of knowledge it will serve as a background for more specialized work in its various divisions; for the general reader it will open up the important questions with which, in modern democracies, all good citizens should be familiar. There is an especial need for a textbook in political science for college and university classes, and in the arrangement and treatment of material in this volume that end has been constantly kept in mind. The references at the head of each chapter will suggest wider reading and open up the general literature of the subject.

This volume aims to add little to the sum total of human knowledge. It draws freely upon the work of such scholars as Burgess,

Lowell, Wilson, Willoughby, Goodnow, Dunning, Reinsch, and many others in this country, to say nothing of the numerous English and continental writers whose work in this field is excellent. Valuable suggestions have also been received from Leacock's "Elements of Political Science" and from Dealey's "The Development of the State," both of which appeared while this work was in preparation. The chief purpose of this book is to combine, in brief compass, the essentials of political science, the details of which have been so ably worked out by these men; and, by showing the interrelations among the various divisions of the subject, to bring out more clearly the essential unity of the state. While based upon a certain theory of the state, it aims to give a fair statement of those principles concerning which scholars are not yet entirely in agreement. In a word, it is, as its title indicates, an Introduction to Political Science, outlining and suggesting the origin, development, organization, and activities of the state.

The author wishes to express his appreciation of the assistance he has received from Mr. W. N. Carlton, formerly librarian of Trinity College, at present librarian of the Newberry Reference Library of Chicago; of the helpful criticism of his former teacher, Dr. J. Lynn Barnard, now of the School of Pedagogy of Philadelphia; of the inspiration given by his former teacher, Dr. Leo S. Rowe, of the University of Pennsylvania; and especially of the unwearied coöperation of his wife, whose careful and critical preparation of the manuscript has made improvements upon almost every page. Valuable assistance in the verification of references and in the preparation of the Index has been given by Mr. J. E. Brown, one of the author's students in Trinity College.

RAYMOND GARFIELD GETTELL

TRINITY COLLEGE  
HARTFORD, CONNECTICUT

# CONTENTS

## GENERAL REFERENCES

	PAGE
I. SELECT BOOKS . . . . .	xi
II. PERIODICALS . . . . .	xix

## INTRODUCTION

### CHAPTER

I. NATURE AND SCOPE OF POLITICAL SCIENCE . . . . .	3
References . . . . .	3
1. Political science . . . . .	3
2. Relation to allied sciences . . . . .	4

## PART I

### THE NATURE OF THE STATE

II. PRELIMINARY DEFINITIONS AND DISTINCTIONS . . . . .	9
References . . . . .	9
3. Need for definitions and distinctions . . . . .	9
4. Nation; nationality . . . . .	9
5. State . . . . .	10
6. Sovereignty . . . . .	12
7. Government . . . . .	13
8. Divisions of political science . . . . .	14
III. PHYSICAL BASIS OF THE STATE . . . . .	17
References . . . . .	17
9. Importance of the physical basis . . . . .	17
10. Elements of the physical environment . . . . .	18
11. Contour of the earth's surface . . . . .	19
12. Climate . . . . .	22
13. Resources . . . . .	23
14. General aspects of nature . . . . .	25
15. Changes in environment . . . . .	25

CHAPTER	PAGE
IV. POPULATION OF THE STATE . . . . .	29
References . . . . .	29
16. Importance of population . . . . .	29
17. Growth of population . . . . .	30
18. Distribution of population . . . . .	31
19. Race . . . . .	33
20. Nationality . . . . .	33
21. Political genius of various nations . . . . .	35
22. Importance of the individual . . . . .	37
23. Conclusions . . . . .	38
V. ORIGIN OF THE STATE . . . . .	41
References . . . . .	41
24. Forces in state-building . . . . .	41
25. Kinship . . . . .	42
26. Religion . . . . .	44
27. Need for order and protection . . . . .	46
28. Emergence of the state . . . . .	47
29. Stagnation and progress . . . . .	49
VI. EVOLUTION OF THE STATE . . . . .	53
References . . . . .	53
30. Evolution of the state . . . . .	53
31. The Oriental empire . . . . .	54
32. The Greek city state . . . . .	55
33. The Roman world empire . . . . .	57
34. The feudal state . . . . .	59
35. The national state . . . . .	61
36. General features of state development . . . . .	65
VII. THEORIES OF THE STATE . . . . .	71
References . . . . .	71
37. Importance of political theories . . . . .	71
38. Ancient political theories . . . . .	73
39. Medieval political theory . . . . .	76
40. Modern political theory . . . . .	77
41. The divine theory . . . . .	80
42. The social-contract theory . . . . .	81
43. The organic theory . . . . .	87
44. Present political theory . . . . .	89

# CONTENTS

vii

CHAPTER	PAGE
VIII. SOVEREIGNTY . . . . .	93
References . . . . .	93
45. Nature of sovereignty . . . . .	93
46. Development of theory of sovereignty . . . . .	95
47. Criticism of theory of sovereignty . . . . .	97
48. Location of sovereignty . . . . .	98
49. Popular sovereignty . . . . .	99
50. Sovereignty as constitution-making power . . . . .	101
51. Sovereignty as lawmaking power . . . . .	103
52. Revolution . . . . .	104
IX. INDIVIDUAL LIBERTY . . . . .	109
References . . . . .	109
53. Relation of state to individual . . . . .	109
54. Nature of civil liberty . . . . .	110
55. Guarantee of civil liberty . . . . .	112
56. Content of civil liberty . . . . .	114
57. Political liberty . . . . .	115
X. LAW . . . . .	119
References . . . . .	119
58. Nature of law . . . . .	119
59. Sources of law . . . . .	121
60. Basis of modern law . . . . .	123
61. Rights . . . . .	126
62. Divisions of law . . . . .	128
63. Law and ethics . . . . .	130
XI. RELATION OF STATE TO STATE . . . . .	133
References . . . . .	133
64. International relations . . . . .	133
65. History of international relations . . . . .	134
66. Sources of international law . . . . .	137
67. Parties to international law . . . . .	139
68. Nature of international law . . . . .	141
XII. CONTENT OF INTERNATIONAL LAW . . . . .	145
References . . . . .	145
69. Divisions of international law . . . . .	145
70. Independence and equality . . . . .	146

viii INTRODUCTION TO POLITICAL SCIENCE

CHAPTER	PAGE
71. Property . . . . .	148
72. Jurisdiction . . . . .	151
73. Diplomacy . . . . .	152
74. War . . . . .	156
75. Neutrality . . . . .	160
76. Neutral commerce . . . . .	162
 XIII. FORM OF THE STATE AND OF GOVERNMENT . . . . .	 167
References . . . . .	167
77. Forms of the state . . . . .	167
78. Forms of government . . . . .	170
79. Unitary and dual governments . . . . .	172
80. Parliamentary and nonparliamentary governments . . . . .	173
81. Application to modern states . . . . .	175
 XIV. FEDERAL GOVERNMENT . . . . .	 179
References . . . . .	179
82. Forms of union . . . . .	179
83. Nature of federal government . . . . .	181
84. Distribution of powers . . . . .	184
85. Advantages and disadvantages of federal government . . . . .	186
 XV. CONSTITUTIONS . . . . .	 191
References . . . . .	191
86. Nature of constitutions . . . . .	191
87. Requisites of constitutions . . . . .	193
88. Creation of constitutions . . . . .	195
89. Amendment of constitutions . . . . .	198

PART II

THE ORGANIZATION OF GOVERNMENT

XVI. THE ELECTORATE . . . . .	205
References . . . . .	205
90. Requisites of a democracy . . . . .	205
91. Extent of the electorate . . . . .	206
92. Control of electorate over government . . . . .	211
93. Initiative and referendum . . . . .	213
94. Minority representation . . . . .	216



# CONTENTS

ix

CHAPTER	PAGE
XVII. SEPARATION AND DIVISION OF POWERS . . . . .	221
References . . . . .	221
95. The ordinary government . . . . .	221
96. Theory of the separation of powers . . . . .	223
97. Separation of powers in modern states . . . . .	224
98. Criticism of separation of powers . . . . .	227
99. Division of powers . . . . .	230
XVIII. THE LEGISLATURE . . . . .	237
References . . . . .	237
100. Structure of legislatures . . . . .	237
101. Composition of upper houses . . . . .	240
102. Composition of lower houses . . . . .	242
103. Comparative power of the two houses . . . . .	244
104. Internal organization . . . . .	246
105. Method of procedure . . . . .	249
106. Functions of legislatures . . . . .	252
XIX. THE EXECUTIVE . . . . .	255
References . . . . .	255
107. Evolution of the executive . . . . .	255
108. The executive head . . . . .	257
109. Executive councils . . . . .	261
110. Heads of departments . . . . .	263
111. The civil service . . . . .	267
112. Functions of the executive . . . . .	269
XX. THE JUDICIARY . . . . .	273
References . . . . .	273
113. Evolution of the judicial department . . . . .	273
114. Functions and requisites of the judiciary . . . . .	275
115. Relation of judiciary to executive . . . . .	277
116. Relation of judiciary to legislature . . . . .	280
117. Organization of the judiciary . . . . .	283
XXI. POLITICAL PARTIES . . . . .	289
References . . . . .	289
118. Functions of political parties . . . . .	289
119. History of political parties . . . . .	292
120. Present political parties . . . . .	297

X INTRODUCTION TO POLITICAL SCIENCE

CHAPTER	PAGE
121. Party organization . . . . .	305
122. Party reform . . . . .	308
XXII. LOCAL GOVERNMENT . . . . .	315
References . . . . .	315
123. Relation of local to central government . . . . .	315
124. Commonwealth governments . . . . .	318
125. Rural local government . . . . .	321
126. Historical development of cities . . . . .	329
127. Municipal government . . . . .	333
128. Municipal reform in the United States . . . . .	338
129. Municipal activities . . . . .	340
XXIII. COLONIAL GOVERNMENT . . . . .	347
References . . . . .	347
130. Importance of colonial development . . . . .	347
131. Historical development of colonies . . . . .	350
132. Motives of colonization . . . . .	355
133. Development of colonial policy . . . . .	359
134. Colonial policy of England . . . . .	363
135. Colonial policy of the United States . . . . .	366
136. Forms of colonial government . . . . .	371

PART III

THE ENDS OF THE STATE

XXIV. THE PROVINCE OF GOVERNMENT . . . . .	377
References . . . . .	377
137. The aims of the state . . . . .	377
138. The activities of the state . . . . .	379
139. Individualism . . . . .	381
140. Socialism . . . . .	385
141. Socialism in present politics . . . . .	387
XXV. THE FUNCTIONS OF GOVERNMENT . . . . .	393
References . . . . .	393
142. Classification of governmental functions . . . . .	393
143. Essential functions . . . . .	396
144. Optional functions . . . . .	401

INTRODUCTION TO  
POLITICAL SCIENCE

## OUTLINE OF CHAPTER I

### REFERENCES

#### POLITICAL SCIENCE

1. HISTORICAL POLITICAL SCIENCE
2. POLITICAL THEORY
3. DESCRIPTIVE POLITICAL SCIENCE
4. APPLIED POLITICAL SCIENCE

#### RELATION TO ALLIED SCIENCES

1. POLITICAL SCIENCE AND SOCIOLOGY
2. POLITICAL SCIENCE AND HISTORY
3. POLITICAL SCIENCE AND ECONOMICS
4. POLITICAL SCIENCE AND ETHICS
5. POLITICAL SCIENCE AND JURISPRUDENCE

# INTRODUCTION

## CHAPTER I

### NATURE AND SCOPE OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

#### REFERENCES

- AMOS, S. The Science of Politics, pp. 1-20  
BLUNTSCHLI, J. K. The Theory of the State, Introduction  
GOODNOW, F. J. The Work of the American Political Science Association. *Proceedings of the American Political Science Association* (1904), Vol. I, pp. 35-47  
LEACOCK, S. Elements of Political Science, pp. 3-12  
POLLOCK, F. History of the Science of Politics, pp. 1-8, 93-96  
PULSZKY, A. The Theory of Law and Civil Society, chap. iii  
SEELEY, J. R. Introduction to Political Science, Lecture I  
SIDGWICK, H. Elements of Politics, chap. i  
WILLOUGHBY, W. W. The Nature of the State, chap. i

1. **Political science.** In order to convey a comprehensive idea of the nature and scope of political science, it is necessary to outline the field of knowledge that it covers and to indicate the boundary lines that separate it from other allied sciences. Political science may be briefly defined as the science of the state. It deals with mankind viewed as organized political units. It includes a historical survey of the origin of the state, tracing the beginnings of political life as they emerged from earlier social forms. It considers, also, the development of the state as it evolved from simple to complex, — from the loosely organized tribal horde to the modern state with its highly specialized government. Such a study must include not only the actual historic evolution of the state, but also the development of political ideas and theories, since they powerfully influenced state development, especially after man began consciously to direct and modify what was at first largely unconscious growth. Political science must also analyze the fundamental nature of the state, its organization, its relation to the individuals that compose it, and its relation to other states. In addition, it

must describe modern states as they actually exist and must compare and classify their governments. Finally, political science deals, to a certain degree, with what the state ought to be,—with the ultimate ends of the state and the proper functions of its government. It is thus a historical investigation of what the state has been, an analytical study of what the state is, and a politico-ethical discussion of what the state should be.

Its leading subdivisions, therefore, are :<sup>1</sup>

1. *Historical political science*,—the origin and development of political forms.

2. *Political theory*,—a philosophic study of the fundamental concepts of the state.

3. *Descriptive political science*,—an analysis and description of existing political forms.

4. *Applied political science*,—the principles that should control the administration of political affairs ; the proper province and functions of government.

**2. Relation to allied sciences.** Political science, as one of the sciences dealing with the relations of man to man, stands in close affiliation with the other social sciences, as a subdivision of a broader field, or as a general field including more specialized subdivisions, or as an allied science having points of contact. For example :

1. *Political science and sociology.* Sociology, the science of society, deals with man in all his social relations. These may vary from commercial or religious interests, almost world-wide in scope, to the single family or the narrowest fraternal group ; and such organizations are, in many cases, little concerned with state boundaries. Political science, the science of the state, deals with man in his political relations alone. It views mankind as divided into organized political societies, each with its government which creates and enforces law. Political science is thus narrower than sociology, and is, in a general sense, one of its subdivisions.

2. *Political science and history.* History is a record of past events and movements, their causes and interrelations. It includes a survey of conditions and developments in economic, religious,

<sup>1</sup> Willoughby, *The Nature of the State*, p. 4.

intellectual, and social affairs, as well as a study of states, their growth and organization, and their relations with one another. Economic, religious, intellectual, and social institutions, however, have no bearing upon political science, except as they affect the life of the state. On the other hand, political history furnishes the major part of the raw material for political science. From its data concerning numerous concrete states are drawn the general conclusions of political theory as to the fundamental nature of the state; and on the basis of its information is built up the science of comparative government. Its records of past states, with their successes and failures, also throw light upon the vexed questions of the best form of government under given conditions, and of the proper functions of governmental activity. History gives thus, as has been aptly said, "the third dimension of political science."<sup>1</sup>

3. *Political science and economics.* Economics, the science of wealth, deals with man's individual and social activity in the production, distribution, and consumption of wealth, under conditions both physical and psychological. In so far as this activity is individual, or concerns any social organization except the state, its relation to political science is remote. An important part of economics, however, deals with the activity of the state in regard to wealth. Such subjects as taxation, currency, and governmental industries form a field common to both sciences, economics viewing them as certain forms of man's total activity with regard to wealth; political science viewing them as certain functions of governmental administration. In addition, economic conditions materially affect the organization and development of the state; and the state in turn, by its laws, frequently modifies economic conditions. The rise of feudal government on a basis fundamentally economic is a good example of the former; and even a casual acquaintance with modern conditions shows the close connection existing between business and politics. The way in which the state may influence economic conditions is illustrated by corporation legislation, tariff laws, and labor regulations.

4. *Political science and ethics.* Ethics, the science that deals with conduct in so far as conduct is considered right or wrong,

<sup>1</sup> Willoughby, *The Nature of the State*, p. 5.

also has points of contact with political science. The origin of moral ideas is closely connected with the origin of the state. Both arose in that early group life, based on kinship and religion, when custom was law and when moral and political ideas were not differentiated. With the development of civilization and the conflict between private and group interests, custom gave way to conscience, or individual morality, on the one hand, and to law, or political morality, on the other. Right and wrong with individual or social sanction were distinguished from rights and obligations with political sanction. Yet the relation between morals and law is still close. Moral ideas, when they become widespread and powerful, tend inevitably to be crystallized into law, since the same individuals that form social standards are those that comprise the state. On the other hand, laws that attempt to force moral ideas in advance of their time usually fail in administration. Besides, it is from the ethical standpoint alone that the state is ultimately justified; and the proper functions of government must be determined in last analysis on the basis of the ethical compromise that secures the greatest good to the individual and at the same time promotes the greatest common welfare.

5. *Political Science and Jurisprudence.* Jurisprudence, which may be briefly defined as the science of law, is properly classed as a subdivision of political science. The principles of law in general, and the specific rules that determine the organization of a given state, its relation to its citizens, and the regulations that it enforces among them, together with such agreements among states as approach definite legal statement and enforcement,—all are included in a science that attempts a complete explanation of state existence and activities.



