

Memorandum April 24
Full

SUGGESTED TOPICS FOR LONG TIME SURVEY

Rev. 10/11

The following topics involve repeated observation of political activities with a view to more accurate measurement and more effective analysis than we can now command.

I.

Political Reporting

The organization and presentation of fact material by governmental agencies. This involves the measurement and recording of government operations in more scientific form than at present. It would be partly a technical study in the measurement of government activities and partly a study in the means of translating these activities for purposes of intelligent democratic control.

II.

The Status of Science in the Government of Chicago

This would involve an inquiry into the circumstances under which intelligence enters into the local government in a creative way. It would necessitate a study of technical scientific equipment in local government; of the use made of constructive and inventive intelligence; and of the possibilities of further development in this direction.

III.

Citizenship

A study of the process of induction into citizenship, as seen in the immigrant from foreign countries, and the domestic immigrant, and the new voter. This would involve observation of the actual process of induction and a more fundamental study of the whole problem. This would include a study of the political adjustment of the immigrant to his new urban and national environment, and finally to a study of the political traits of ethnic groups and the effect of their mingling.

IV.
Political Education

This would include studies of secondary political education in Chicago as actually carried on, and with reference to its further possibilities of development. This would also include a study of adult education--the ways and means by which political education is carried on in the post-school period. The latter would involve fundamentally an intensive study of the data upon which political judgments rest.

V.
Non-Voting

A projection of the Non-voting study now in progress over a period of years, with a view of obtaining additional correlations by examining the situation from various angles, local, state, and national, and with reference to various types of economic and social interests.

VI.
Analysis of Referendum Votes

Taking each referendum as a huge questionnaire, such a study would involve an examination of the variations in answers given by various groups, social, economic, ethnic, and so on.

VII.
Political Mobility

A study of the relation of mobility to the formation of political conclusions and allegiances. This would involve a quantitative study of the extent of this process and an attempt, in a measure, to appreciate its effects. Though one of the most significant phenomena in the political control of municipalities, this problem is practically untouched.

VIII.
Race Contacts and Political Effects

A study of the political consequences arising from the contact of different types of race groups in metropolitan communities.

IV. Political Education

The study will consist of a survey of political education in Chicago as actually carried on, and with reference to the various possibilities of development. This will include a study of adult education, the ways and means by which political education is carried on in the past school period. The latter will involve particularly an intensive study of the data upon which political judgments rest.

V. Political Action

A suggestion of the non-voting study would progress over a period of years, with a view of obtaining additional information by examining the situation from various angles, local, state, and national, and with reference to various types of economic and social interests.

VI. Analysis of Political Action

Using the information as a basis for discussion, with a study which involve an examination of the variations in political action by various groups, social, economic, ethnic, and so on.

VII. Political Mobility

A study of the relation of mobility to the formation of political consciousness and allegiance. This would involve a descriptive study of the types of this process and its change, in a manner, so representative for effects. Though one of the most significant phenomena in the political context of metropolitan areas, this problem is generally neglected.

VIII. Race Problems and Political Action

A study of the political consequences arising from the contact of different types of race groups in metropolitan communities.

IX.

The Local Administration of Justice

The general outlines of such a study have been indicated by the Cleveland survey, although they might be very materially developed from the scientific point of view.

X.

Crime Prevention

An intensive study of ways and means of preventing crime in metropolitan communities, with reference to the fundamental causes of criminality and control of these causes.

XI.

A "Survey" of Local Governments

Such a study might be made in connection with the work of the Metropolitan Planning Commission now making a regional survey of the Chicago region extending fifty miles in every direction from State and Adams.

XII.

Political Psychology

Under this head there is a long list or series of studies in the measurement and analysis of political traits. This would involve analyses of political leaders and political followers, typical samples of community traits as modified by diverse situations.

Another type of study (now under way) involves an inquiry into the traits or characteristics of types of citizens (efficient, medium, inefficient) proceeding by examination of a considerable number of cases.

This might readily lead to experiments in controlled action and political education and training in the ways and means of producing different types of political tropisms. Obviously such studies must rest upon a further development of psychological analysis than we now possess, but for projects of long time study, these analyses cannot be overlooked.

IX. The Social Administration of Justice

The general outlines of such a study have been indicated by the

Cleveland survey, although they might be very materially developed from the
scientific point of view.

It is not possible to make a study of the social administration of justice

without a study of the social conditions which are the cause of crime.

An intensive study of the social conditions which are the cause of crime

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and control of these causes.

XI.
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MEMORANDUM ON FUNDAMENTAL PHASES OF RESEARCH IN
PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

I. The Social Setting of Public Administration

A study of significant group attitudes towards various phases of public administration such as, for instance, technical competence or equality of opportunity, permanent tenure or rotation, centralized control or decentralized control, etc., followed by a study of the mechanism of transfer of these attitudes into the effective control and response.

II. Human Nature in Administration

A study of the psychology of the civil servant as affected by the various incidents of public service; incentives in entering and remaining in the public service; nature and control of morale; the professional civil service as a social type; the effects of supervision, promotion, demotion, re-assignment, discipline, etc. A study of the effect of routine and monotony; obedience; anonymity; fatigue; co-operation. A study of the attitudes of civil servants toward (1) the state; (2) superior officers; (3) his work, etc., etc.

III. Human Nature as Affected by Administration

A study of the reactions of human nature to be repeated stimuli encountered in the course of administration such as traffic regulation, payment of taxes, purchase of stamps, registration for voting, collection of mails, administrative reports, etc., and also a study of reactions to special stimuli such as administrative reorganization, violation of the merit system, etc.

This point of view for the long-time study of public administration is suggested in response to the desire of the donors of the fund to put the social sciences on a scientific foundation. In order to make a study which would have a permanent value not confined to the particular locality studies, it seems

RESEARCH IN THE FIELD OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

I. The Social Nature of Public Administration

A study of significant group activities which involve public administration such as, for instance, technical competence or efficiency of opportunity, government service or research, centralized control or decentralized control, etc., followed by a study of the behavior of members of these attitudes into the effective control and response.

II. Human Nature in Administration

A study of the psychology of the civil servant as affected by the various incidents of public service; incentives in ordering and resulting in the public service; nature and control of morale; the professional civil servant as a social type; the effects of supervision, promotion, demotion, re-assignment, discipline, etc. A study of the effect of routine and conformity; obedience; anonymity; fatigue; cooperation. A study of the attitudes of civil servants toward (1) the state; (2) superior officials; (3) the work, etc.

III. Human Nature as Affected by Administration

A study of the reactions of human nature to be repeated actual experience in the course of administration such as public regulation, payment of taxes, purchase of stamps, registration for voting, collection of sales taxes, etc. Also a study of reactions to special stimuli such as administrative reorganization, violation of the law, etc.

This point of view for the long-time study of public administration is suggested in response to the needs of the future of the field. The science on a scientific foundation. In order to make a study which will be a permanent value not confined to the particular policy studies, it is

necessary to carry the analysis of the factors affecting administration to some common element, which underlies administration or any phase of government wherever it may be observed, and that common element is human personality, which is assumed to react according to definite responses to given situations. A study of these reactions in the situations found in public administration should be of permanent value in revealing the particular set of conditions which drew forth normally the greatest effort of the public employee.

SUGGESTED TOPICS FOR LONG TIME SURVEY OF CHICAGO

BEARING PARTICULARLY UPON INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

- Problems 1 and 2 are designed to throw some light on the real importance of foreign affairs to the Chicago citizen. Problems 3 and 4 should be of value in framing a suitable immigration policy. Problems 5 and 6 should be of value for the same purpose, but also throw light on the fundamental bases of sound educational policy and eugenic legislation. Although all these problems relate to matters of political significance, problem 1 encroaches on the field of economics, problem 2 on history, and the remainder on the field of sociology.
1. The influence of political unrest in Europe upon the prosperity of Chicago. Correlation of years of European unrest as indicated by international war, political and social revolution, rapidly fluctuating exchange rates, unemployment, depreciation of government securities, diminution of real wages, military expenditures, etc., with the prosperity of Chicago as indicated by real estate values, tax returns, real wages, number of bank failures, number of strikes, rate of population increase, etc.
 2. The interest of Chicago people in foreign affairs. Study of typical newspapers, speeches of politicians, programs of clubs, lecture courses, attendance at University extension lectures, etc., to indicate the amount and character of the interest of different groups of Chicago people in international affairs over a long period of time.

necessary to carry the analysis of the factors affecting administration to some common element, which underlies administration in any phase of government, whether it be observed, and that common element is human personality. When it is assumed to react according to definite responses to given situations, a study of these reactions in the situations found in public administration should be of permanent value in revealing the personality set of conditions which have forth coming the greatest effort of the public employee.

SUGGESTED TOPICS FOR THE STUDY OF CHICAGO

BEARING PARTICULARLY MARK UPON THE IMPORTANCE OF THE CITY

Problem 1 and 2 are assigned to the students in the first semester of foreign affairs in the Chicago division. Problem 3 and 4 should be of value in forming a suitable immigration policy. Problem 5 and 6 should be of value for the same purpose, but also throw light on the fundamental issues of sound educational policy and general legislation. Although all these problems relate to matters of political significance, Problem 7 emphasizes on the field of economics, Problem 8 on history, and the remainder on the field of sociology.

1. The influence of political parties in Europe upon the prosperity of Chicago.

2. The influence of Europe of European interest as indicated by international war, political and social revolution, rapidly fluctuating exchange rates, unemployment, depression of government securities, distribution of food, wages, military expenditures, etc., also the prosperity of Chicago as indicated by real estate values, tax revenue, total wages, number of labor delivered, number of suicides, rate of population increase, etc.

3. The interest of Chicago people in foreign affairs. Study of official reports, speeches of politicians, programs of clubs, lecture courses, attendance at University extension lectures, etc., to indicate the nature and character of the interest of different groups of Chicago people in international affairs over a long period of time.

3. The influence of diverse population groups upon the working of political institutions. A detailed study and comparison of political methods, non-voting, attitude of representatives on civic problems, etc., in typical immigrant and native districts. (This bears on topic 8 in Professor Merriam's suggestions, and, as throwing light on national psychology, would bear on topic 6 below and on topic 12 in Professor Merriam's list.)
4. The persistence of foreign national interests among groups as indicated by the percentage of naturalization, foreign language press, remittances of money abroad, enlistments in foreign armies during war, foreign patriotic demonstrations on national holidays, etc. (This bears on topics 2 and 3 above and on topic 3 in Professor Merriam's suggestions.)
5. The tendency toward change in the physical and mental character of the population. Comparison of the rate of increase over a long period of years of different racial groups as negro, oriental, South European, North European, American stock, with examination of the causes whether birth rate, death rate, immigration, or emigration. Comparison from genealogical data of the rate of increase among typical superior and inferior families among the early settlers in Chicago, with study of the causes of differences. This investigation should throw some light on the contentions of such writers as MacDougal and Stoddard that the inferior in a democracy tend to swamp the superior.
6. The relative importance of heredity and environment in civic life. Extent to which non-voting, holding of public office, political work, etc., is hereditary. Different racial hereditary characteristics as indicated by differences in the process of Americanization among different racial groups. (Topics 3, 4, and 5 above would throw light on this problem as would topic 3 in Professor Merriam's list.)

3. The influence of diverse population groups upon the working of political institutions. A detailed study and comparison of political methods, voting, attitude of representatives on civil rights, etc. in typical immigrant and native districts. (This bears on topics 1 and 2 in Professor Hartman's suggestions, and on changing light on national psychology, would bear on topic 2 below and on topic 12 in Professor Hartman's list.)
4. The persistence of foreign cultural influences among groups as indicated by the percentage of naturalization, foreign language groups, persistence of many ancient customs in foreign areas, foreign festivals, immersions on national holidays, etc. (This bears on topics 2 and 3 above and on topic 2 in Professor Hartman's suggestions.)
5. The tendency toward change in the physical and mental character of the population. Comparison of the rate of increase over a long period of years of different racial groups as native, naturalized, foreign born, foreign born, American stock, with examination of the causes whether birth rate, death rate, immigration, or emigration. Comparison with immigration and of the rate of increase among typical superior and inferior families among the early settlers in Chicago, with study of the causes of differences. This investigation should show more light on the conditions of such with as Hootch and Gortner that the interest in a temporary trend to ward the superior.
6. The relative importance of heredity and environment in civil life. Factors to which non-hereditary holding of public office, political work, etc. is hereditary. Different social heredity characteristics as indicated by differences in the groups of immigration among different racial groups (Topics 2, 4, and 5 above would throw light on this problem as would topic 3 in Professor Hartman's list.)

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PRACTICAL POLITICS

For the purpose of providing additional training in practical politics, the following special lines of work should 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 governing parliamentary processes and also provide practice in actual parliamentary organization.
3. Students of both of these courses would be in close touch with the work of the Local Research Committee, and would be afforded opportunities for practical work in this connection.

It is also necessary to provide in connection with practical political work a POLITICAL SCIENCE LABORATORY.

This laboratory would consist of a special room or rooms containing material necessary for practical experiments. There should be provided polling booths and sample ballots, governmental blanks and forms of all types, current material regarding the process of government, charts and maps and pictures. Such a room would provide the material and atmosphere favorable to political work.

CONFERENCES.

Facilities for conferences on political problems would make the University of Chicago a center for practical consideration of certain current questions, and would bring in to us

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Facilities for conferences on political problems would make the University of Chicago a center for practical consideration of certain current questions, and would bring in to us

many eminent practical specialists from various sections of the country and outside as on the subject of elections, public administration, international affairs.

Our students would necessarily be brought in contact with these men and with the discussion of the problems, and this would tend to make their view of politics more intimate and concrete.

For additional student training in practical politics the following equipment is suggested:-

One Professor Politics	\$7500
One Professor of Citizenship	\$7500
Laboratory maintenance	\$5000
Conferences	<u>\$5000 to \$10,000</u>
Total	\$25,000 to \$30,000

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III

The University of Chicago

The Graduate School of Arts and Literature

April 1, 1924

Sent from PRESIDENT'S OFFICE

APR 7 1924

to Mr. Wilkins

Upon return send to FILES

Received files APR 11 1924

OFFICE OF THE DEAN

Dear Mr. President:

I have taken up with Professor Merriam the question of the desirability of a course on "The Causes and Prevention of War" as suggested in your letter of the 22nd ult. Mr. Merriam tells me that he has included in the program of his Department for next year (Autumn Quarter, 1924) a course entitled "International Organization." It is number 68 and will deal with such topics as systems of international relations, political guarantees, foreign methods of settling international disputes, international administrative organization, the League of Nations, etc. The course is to be given by Quincy Wright. He also informs me that he has planned another course (number 67) entitled "Causes of War." This will include the consideration of such problems as the preservation of peace, historic plans for the prevention of war, the psychological economic and political causes of war, and remedies that have been proposed. This course also will be given by Quincy Wright, but will not be given until the following year, 1925-26.

If the course to be given next year proves satisfactory, Merriam plans to give it and number 67 in alternate years. It seems to me that this program of his covers the situation in a very satisfactory way. The treatment of the subjects will, of course, be strictly objective and without the faintest tinge of propaganda. His attitude toward the problem involved is precisely that of a biologist working on some problem in his field. The sole object is to get at the underlying facts. I was very glad to hear Merriam state his view so clearly on the subject, and I am in entire sympathy with his attitude.

It seems to me that your memorandum on the question of military instruction gives an excellent statement of the case. I am sure that everyone will agree with you that the quality of the instruction in this department should be in accordance with the standards of the University as a whole. One important point that you touch upon is the necessity of making it clear to the students that the department has the support of the University. While it should not be pushed to the detriment of other departments, it should be given a fair chance of development. I believe that this point ought to be made very clear to all the Deans and Professors. I think that it would be disastrous for us to encourage any movement in the direction of doing away with this department. In the organization of the courses in the Department of Political Science to which I have referred above and in the attitude of the University toward the military work, we must, I think, be especially careful to avoid anything that will tend to develop in our student body the taint of pacifism which has appeared at Northwestern University and in other colleges. Discontinuance of the department or discouragement of it at this juncture, in my opinion, would do the University a great deal of harm.

Sincerely yours,

G. F. Lang

Dean.

President E. D. Burton
Harper Library

OK
E.H.W.

Sent from PRESIDENT'S OFFICE
 APR 7 1924
 to Mr. H. H. H. H.
 Open return sent to H. H. H.
 APR 11 1924
 Received from

The University of Chicago
 The Graduate School of Arts and Literature
 April 1, 1924

OFFICE OF THE DEAN

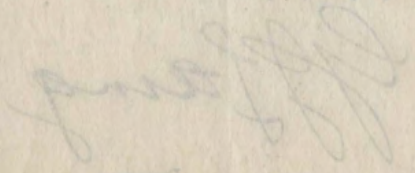
Dear Mr. President:

I have taken up with Professor Merriam the question of the desirability of a course on "The Causes and Prevention of War" as suggested in your letter of the 22nd ult. Mr. Merriam feels that he has included in the program of his Department for next year (Autumn Quarter, 1924) a course entitled "International Organization." It is number 85 and will deal with such topics as systems of international relations, political guarantees, foreign methods of settling international disputes, international administrative organization, the League of Nations, etc. The course is to be given by Quincy Wright. He also informs me that he has planned another course (number 87) entitled "Causes of War." This will include the consideration of such problems as the psychological, economic and political causes of war, and remedies that have been proposed. This course also will be given by Quincy Wright, but will not be given until the following year, 1925-26.

If the course to be given next year proves satisfactory, Merriam plans to give it and number 87 in alternate years. It seems to me that this program of his covers the situation in a very satisfactory way. The treatment of the subjects will, of course, be strictly objective and without the faintest trace of propaganda. His attitude toward the problem involved is precisely that of a biologist working on some problem in his field. The sole object is to get at the underlying facts. I was very glad to hear Merriam state his view so clearly on the subject, and I am in entire sympathy with his attitude.

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Sincerely yours,



President E. D. Burton
 Harper Library

Dean

OK
E.H.

III
McI

Pol Sci

March 22, 1924

My dear Mr. Laing:

Have I raised with you the question whether the Department of Political Science could give a course on "The Causes and Prevention of War." If not, would you be willing to consider it and discuss it with Herrism?

The suggestion is associated in my mind with question which is now before us, whether the Department of Military Science is to be continued. On this latter point I am enclosing a copy of the statement which I have recently confirmed for discussion, but which in fact also does represent my own thinking upon the matter up to date. If the Department is to be continued it must, I think, be put upon a high level educationally and otherwise, and its work perhaps needs to be balanced with courses of instruction that furnish a compensating emphasis.

Very truly yours,

E D Burton

Mr. G. J. Laing
University of Chicago

EDB:HP

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Very truly yours,

Mr. G. J. Laine
University of Chicago

EDB:HP

III

The University of Chicago

Department of Political Science

July 18th, 1923

President Burton,

Office of the President,

Dear President Burton:-

I have been asked to comment on certain figures showing registration in political science courses in recent years. I cannot explain the policy of the Department during this period, but there are certain factors in the situation on which I can throw some light.

I. Statistical.

These figures, I am informed, do not include in later years the registration of political science students in Constitutional Law, Administrative Law and other courses originally given wholly as political science courses. This diminishes the number of graduates registrations in political science.

The term "all other" covers a number of students who are in reality graduate students from S.S.A., C&A, Law, or otherwise, and tends to weaken the validity of the statistical calculations.

II. The 9 major prerequisite for political science I was abandoned during this period and additional elementary courses were provided. This was done in view of the policy of providing facilities of training for citizenship as early as possible. It increased the number of undergraduates and the percentage of them, although the work was chiefly done by assistants and fellows.

III. The establishment of the Law School resulted in the loss of

The University of Chicago
Department of Political Science

July 18th, 1933

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The University of Chicago

Department of Political Science

such courses as Constitutional Law, Administrative Law and others, originally included as political science students. This operated adversely to the development of graduate work in government, for the time being.

IV. The personnel available for graduate work was not kept up to meet the demand, to say nothing of leading the way. At the beginning of this period we had Professors James, Judson, Freund. Mr. Freund's time was given to the Law School and our courses made Law courses. Mr. Judson and Mr. James were occupied with Presidential duties. Their places were not filled ~~care~~ except by Prof. Dodd for a short period.

I need not say that graduate work cannot be kept up without men for that purpose, and these we have not had.

In my own case funds and opportunities for research, not available at the University, were opened elsewhere, as:-

The City Club Committee on Municipal Revenues ; the Chicago Bureau of Public Efficiency of whose executive committee I was chairman for some time; the Chicago Crime Committee of which I was chairman; the Chicago Harbor Commission of which I was secretary; the National Institute of Public Administration of whose executive committee I am a member; etc. etc. The work of these groups constituted a considerable fund for research, which was not, however, available for University purposes.

The University of Chicago
Department of Political Science

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The University of Chicago

Department of Political Science

V. Our plans for future work have already been submitted in a separate memorandum, and are pointed in the direction of research work, partly of the kind it has been possible to do outside the University, and partly of a type not before attempted. I assume, however, that what is desired here is comment on the past rather than on the future, and hence I refrain from further discussion of our prospects .

Respectfully submitted,

Charles F. Merriam

The University of Chicago
Department of Political Science

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Respectfully submitted,

Charles F. Hermann

Mr. Plimpton

August

The University of Chicago

Pol. Science

III

Department of Political Science

July 3, 1923

I don't whether it is new
of all the facts, this 4-

hence should be earned on

the President's hand. Can you

suggest any other way of doing it?

Yes.

Reserve

EDB

Board

August

President Ernest D. Burton,
University of Chicago.

Dear President Burton:

Our attention has just been called to the
Second International Congress of Public Administration
to be held in Brussels, Belgium, September 23 to 28,
1923.

The First Congress was held in Brussels in
1910 and published as a result of its conferences five
important volumes.

This Congress will be attended by leading
students of administration from all over the world, and
by men in public office in various countries. As the
University of Chicago is now probably the foremost
American university giving attention to this rapidly
growing field, we believe it is highly desirable that
our representative should attend the Congress and pre-
sent there our conception of the problem of adminis-
tration. A knowledge of what has been done in other
countries leads us to believe not only that our represen-
tative will bring back much of value, but that he will
be able to add something of importance to the conference.

With this in mind, we desire to request the
appropriation of \$400 to the Department of Political
Science to cover the major portion of the expenses of
Professor Leonard D. White for the purpose of represent-
ing the University on this occasion.

Respectfully yours,

Charles S. Merriam

CEM:HJT



President Ernest D. Burton,
University of Chicago.

Dear President Burton:

Our attention has just been called to the
Second International Congress of Public Administration
to be held in Brussels, Belgium, September 23 to 28,
1923.

The First Congress was held in Brussels in
1910 and published as a result of its conferences five
important volumes.

This Congress will be attended by leading
students of administration from all over the world, and
by men in public office in various countries. As the
University of Chicago is now probably the foremost
American university giving attention to this rapidly
growing field, we believe it is highly desirable that
our representative should attend the Congress and pre-
sent there our conception of the problem of adminis-
tration. A knowledge of what has been done in other
countries leads us to believe not only that our represen-
tative will bring back much of value, but that he will
be able to add something of importance to the conference.

With this in mind, we desire to request the
appropriation of \$400 to the Department of Political
Science to cover the major portion of the expenses of
Professor Leonard D. White for the purpose of represent-
ing the University on this occasion.

Respectfully yours,

Charles F. Johnson

CH:ELT

Pol. Sci.

IV

July 2, 1923.

My dear Mr. Merriam:

I write to request you to serve as Chairman for the Department of Political Science. As you are aware, I have long considered the matter of reducing the term of office of Chairmen of Departments from three years to one year, this rule to be applicable in such appointments from this time forward. With this in mind I should be glad to have it understood that your appointment is for one year or three, according to the rule which may be adopted in the near future.

Very truly yours,

Mr. Charles E. Merriam,
The University of Chicago.

EDB:CB

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BDB:GB

Pol Sci

An Invitation
to the
Second Annual Meeting
of the
National Conference on the Science of Politics

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

SEPTEMBER 8-12, 1924

The purpose of the Conference is to concentrate attention upon the problems of technique and method by which political science may emerge into a science of politics. This means that political theory must be founded upon the facts of political experience and not upon the unsupported speculation of the theorist. To this end the descriptive, historical, and comparative methods are of themselves inadequate save as they ascertain and organize material facts of evidential value. The political scientist must concentrate his attention more upon the objective evidences of political life. His chief concern must be in the determination of what facts may be material to a specific project of research and in the collection and statistical interpretation of such facts.

This involves new problems of methodology, for it is the absence of an adequate technique and method that constitutes the chief obstacle to scientific progress in the field of politics. By a series of annual conferences it is hoped that some real contribution can be made. It seems obvious that the problems of method cannot be solved by a frontal attack, but rather by a comparison and discussion of different methods as applied to specific projects of research. The problem of method requires inventive genius, broad scholarship, constructive imagination, practical experience, and a scientific spirit. Because of the apparent need of these diverse talents, the method of procedure that seems best suited to the task at hand is the round-table conference, where different personalities may combine in a common effort, under the stimulus of mutual criticism and suggestion. To each round table will be assigned a particular project, and the

members of each group will confine their efforts to the problems of method as they pertain to the subject assigned.

The rules under which the Conference will be held require each member to work with one group during the entire session. The Executive Committee reserves the right to assign members to particular round tables, but wherever possible members will be assigned according to the preference expressed. There will be a registration fee of \$5.00 to defray incidental expenses and to cover the cost of publishing the proceedings of the Conference.

It is extremely important that those who are interested should reply at once as the round-table directors wish to know several months in advance the membership of their groups in order that adequate plans may be made, in co-operation with the members, for the work of the Conference.

The list of round tables and directors follows:

I. Politics and Psychology: A study of the significance of psychology for the study of government and of certain specific problems involving both psychology and politics. L. L. Thurstone, Bureau of Public Personnel Research, Washington, D.C.

II. The Personnel Problem: Scoring the work of the Civil Service Commission. W. E. Mosher, Bureau of Municipal Research, National Institute of Public Administration.

III. Public Finance: State supervision of municipal finance. F. P. Gruenberg, formerly director of the Bureau of Municipal Research of Philadelphia.

IV. Legislation. H. W. Dodds, editor of *National Municipal Review*.

V. Political Statistics: The measurement of public opinion. A. N. Holcombe, professor of political science, Harvard University.

VI. Public Law: Implied limitations on legislatures in American constitutional law. C. G. Haines, professor of law, University of Texas.

VII. Nominating Methods: The development of a technique for testing the usefulness of a nominating method. Victor J. West, professor of political science, Stanford University.

VIII. International Organization: International judicial organization and practice. Pitman B. Potter, associate professor of political science, University of Wisconsin.

IX. Municipal Administration: Development of a method of rating the relative efficiency of cities. E. A. Cottrell, professor of political science, Stanford University.

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The University of Chicago has made splendid provision for the accommodation of members of the Conference. The general headquarters will be in the spacious and comfortable rooms of the Reynolds Club, at the corner of University Avenue and Fifty-eighth Street. It is ideally equipped and located for the general meetings and the round tables as well as for social purposes.

Housing accommodations for the members of the Conference, except those who come with their families, will be reserved at Gates Hall (formerly known as Middle Divinity). This dormitory has been recently refitted and will be found entirely satisfactory. Rooms can be secured for \$1.00 a day. The Quadrangle Club, with its luxurious and comfortable appointments, directly opposite the Reynolds Club, extends its hospitality to the members of the Conference. Meals will be served in the Quadrangle Club, breakfast a la carte, luncheon 75 cents, and dinner 85 cents. The other facilities of the Club, including the tennis courts, billiard rooms, lounge, and sun-parlor will also be at the disposal of the Conference.

Comfortable and adequate housing accommodations for women and for those who bring their families will be provided in a near-by fraternity house at rates approximately the same as those furnished by the University, to be definitely announced later.

A wide variety of entertainment will be available. The University has a large number of tennis courts; near by Jackson Park,

reached by a convenient bus line, has two golf courses, and on the lake front the municipal bathing beach. In the parks are opportunities for boating and various outdoor games. Excursions are planned to Lincoln Park by boat along the water front and through the park system by automobile. Other trips to the steel mills, packing plants, shopping centers, and other points of interest will be arranged on request, as far as the program of the Conference will allow.

The local Committee on Arrangements consists of Harold F. Gosnell, Rodney L. Mott, Miss Louise Overacker, Quincy Wright, and Leonard D. White, chairman.

Keep this announcement for future reference

Please mail this by May 24, if possible, to

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The University of Chicago
Chicago, Illinois

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Please make lodging reservations for me for _____ persons in

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City and state _____

F 5 III

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Street number _____

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A SCHOOL OF POLITICS A NEED OF AMERICAN LIFE

Time Has Come When What Has Heretofore Been Rather a Trade or An Occupation
Should Be Converted into a Profession by Putting It Upon a Higher Level, With
Loftier Intellectual and Ethical Standards—Political Life Has Become so
Complicated that Competent, Well Trained and High-Minded Men Are
the Prime Need in Public Affairs Today—Impartial Research for
Proper Information of Public*

By ERNEST DEWITT BURTON
President of the University of Chicago

SOME men collect postage stamps, some autographs, some pictures of famous artists. I have taken of late to collecting new experiences. For many years I have been talking to ministers and teachers and other common people, but not to many others. A year ago I added a new experience by addressing the American Medical Association, drawing heavily I must confess upon my physician friends for facts and ideas. Two or three weeks ago I had my first experience in having as my guest and table companion an heir to a throne. Lords and Sirs I had met before, but never before a Prince of the Blood. Tonight I think I am reaching the climax of novelty and temerity in speaking for the first time to a company of lawyers. To be sure I have a brother who has been practicing law in Chicago for towards forty years, and many friends in the legal profession. But this acquaintance has not prepared me to speak to lawyers, for its basis has been as little in a knowledge of law on my part as of Greek Grammar on theirs.

I have decided therefore that instead of trying to enter your field, where I should certainly be at a disadvantage, I shall be wise to keep to my own bailiwick and talk, as I usually do these days, on a phase of education. This course of action the more commends itself to me because while I know little law, you all know something about education.

Our American universities have now for about half a century been undergoing a gradual transformation. This movement may be dated from 1876, when Johns Hopkins University was founded. It received another decided impulse in 1892 with the founding of the University of Chicago. It involves two elements that may perhaps seem remote from one another, but in fact are closely related. These two elements are research and service. Of course neither of them is wholly new. What is new is putting a new emphasis on them both. Previous to 1876 we had no real universities in this country. We had colleges and professional schools. In both of these the emphasis was almost exclusively on the education of individuals, by the impartation of knowledge. The college aimed to give its students general preparation for life or for further study by imparting to them a certain body of knowledge and a certain power of appreciation. It amply justified its existence by its results, though it does not follow that its policy could not be improved upon.

The professional school was almost wholly a training school for the practice of a particular profession.

Its spirit and aims were those of what we should today call a trade school. The minister learned how to preach and how to conduct a church; the lawyer how to plead cases and transact the business of a consultant attorney; the doctor was taught what remedies to administer for certain diseases that were recognized by their symptoms and how to deal with fractured bones and the like. Few of them became investigators or scholars. This came later in their experience if it ever came at all.

It was scarcely within the view or thought of that period that either professors or students had any obligation or function in the realm of research, i.e., in the assembling of data and the study of them in such way as to add to the sum of human knowledge. Knowledge was thought of in general as a stable quantity, and the same was true in general of the methods of practicing any profession or trade. That old maxim of the Rabbi's of twenty centuries ago was still largely followed: "He is the perfect teacher who receives a brimming cup from his Master and passes it on to his pupil without adding a drop or spilling a drop." A Turkish farmer was given a modern plow, by which with less labor than he had formerly used he could produce larger crops. He used it for a little time, and then discarded it on the ground that it was a disrespectful reflection on his ancestors to attempt to do things better than they had done them. I do not mean that the educators of fifty years ago were as severely hide-bound as this Turkish farmer but it is true that education was largely a matter of passing on to the next generation the body of knowledge and skills that had been received from the preceding. Increase of the world's knowledge was sporadic and lay outside the regular processes of education.

Today research is a recognized part of a university's task and of the educational process. In its fullest sense, the actual ascertaining of what no one knew before, it belongs of course only to the higher level of university work, to the professor and the research fellow rather than to the ordinary student. But as a spirit and attitude it is gradually permeating the whole educational scheme. Education is no longer a process of give and take in which the professor or text book does all the giving and the student does the taking. It is an active process of observation and reasoning and acquisition. This is pre-eminently the new note in education.

Another new note in education not less significant is that of service. Of course it was not absent fifty years ago. Men founded colleges not to make money out of them, and students in all kinds of schools were taught that they ought to live their lives unselfishly.

*Address to the Members of the Bar Association of Chicago, October 29, 1924, by Ernest D. Burton, President of the University of Chicago.

But the dominant note of most schools was on the preparation of the individual for his work in life. Gradually it has come to be recognized that our Universities at least have a larger duty of service than that which they discharge when they educate a certain number of youth. What they learn by their research they are bound to give out for the benefit of the community at large. To the extent of their ability they are under obligation to be centers of helpful influence in the region in which they are located. All that they have they have received. They hold it in trust for the service of all.

To the education of the individual and the development of character, the modern university adds, therefore, the relatively new keynote of research and a new emphasis on service.

This brings me to the topic on which I was announced to speak, A Need of American Life. Partly because we have reached the point in the development of our educational methods which I have been endeavoring to describe, partly for other cogent reasons, I believe we have come to a time when we ought to recognize a new profession and make definite provision in our universities for the education of men for this profession.

When I call it a new profession I am not indeed quite accurate. For in fact men have been practicing it for centuries, only not as a distinct profession for which definite and broad preparation should be provided and made. Perhaps I should rather speak of converting an occupation or a trade into a profession by putting it upon a higher level, with higher standards, intellectually and ethically.

The profession of which I am speaking is politics, service of the community through holding and filling public offices of all grades and kinds. I have in mind city politics with its many departments, state politics from the governorship down, national politics, legislative and executive, international politics, and public service in foreign lands in its various phases. For the judicial function provision is perhaps already made in our law schools and the practice of law.

But I am thinking also of a service in the sphere of political life that would not necessarily involve the actual holding of office. I mean the painstaking and fair minded investigation of the many questions which arise in political life, but on which both voters and officials are now largely compelled to guess what is right or fall back on their prejudice because nobody really knows the facts or what the effect of a certain policy would be. I strongly suspect that we often vote directly against our own interest and the interest of the community simply because we do not know what is for our interest, or for that of the public.

Perhaps I may venture to draw an illustration from British politics. Early in August of this year when the Dawes Reparation Plan was announced and most of the English people were welcoming it as likely to bring relief to the whole of Europe, England included, the London Daily Mail began a violent denunciation of it. It predicted that as soon as Germany had the capital which this plan would put into her hands, she would flood England with cheap manufactures, and aggravate the already serious measure of unemployment and all the evils that go with it. A few days later the Times had a signed editorial by Sidney Brooks in which without referring to the articles of the Daily Mail he pointed out that there could be no solid prosperity for England till the continent of Europe was stabilized, that the continent could not be

stabilized while Germany was in chaos, and furthermore that England could not have Germany as a customer without also having her as a competitor.

A few days after this I was talking with an Englishman who to these statements of Sidney Brooks' added that one prime cause of England's unemployment was the loss of her trade with India; and that the loss of her trade with India was largely due to two causes, first the fact that under conditions as they have been for three or four years, India could not sell her raw materials to Germany as she formerly did, and second that because of the general instability the people of India were afraid to spend their money and were burying it in their gardens. Now the rehabilitation of Germany, he contended, would tend to correct both these situations. When Germany again has capital she will begin again to buy India's jute, confidence will be restored, and India will again resume her trade with England.

I am not putting forth an argument for the Dawes Report. Such a splendid achievement as that needs no praise from me. What I am endeavoring to do is to illustrate how complicated our political questions are today, and how impossible it is without thorough investigation to find the right solution of them.

Adhering still to the safe ground of British politics, may I cite another illustration? The British bricklayer lays 300 bricks a day. He undoubtedly could lay three to four times as many without at all endangering his health. His reason for refusing to lay more is that if he did he would throw himself or his companions out of work and so increase unemployment. At the same moment he and all his fellow workmen are paying burdensomely high rent for the houses in which they live because of the great shortage of houses. Because rents are high everything else is high, and rents are high because houses are scarce, and houses are scarce because the bricklayer lays only a third as many bricks as he might. Thus the workman is caught in a vicious circle, and in that most fallacious of fallacies that the way to increase wealth and comfort is to reduce production. The less you make the more you will have.

My point is not to blame the British workman. I do not think he is able alone to extricate himself from his maze. What I am again endeavoring to show is that political questions, most of which are at bottom economic questions, or have a large economic element, are too difficult to be solved except by the thorough study of men broadly educated in this field. Yet it is with just such questions the legislators and executives are called upon constantly to deal.

We have a racial question on the Pacific Coast the solution of which may eventually involve us in the most far-reaching consequences, domestic and international. How many of us who have opinions on the subject, how many of those whose votes in legislature or Congress have helped to determine the policy of the country on this matter, really know the facts and understand their significance?

But let us turn to the executive side of the matter. One of the greatest forward steps in the direction of promoting public welfare in recent years has been the introduction of what is called preventive medicine. I refer to measures for preventing disease, especially contagious and infectious disease, instead of trying to cure them after they have begun. As a result of this movement smallpox and yellow fever and malaria have almost disappeared from civilized lands. This development has in turn led to the establishment of public

health departments and the appointment of public health officers, and this in turn to the creation of schools of public health for preparing men for these positions. For the competent public health officer is quite a different person from the ordinary practicing physician. There is one excellent school of this kind in Baltimore and the beginnings of another in Boston and I hope that some day there will be one in Chicago.

But where is there a school in which men can be trained for the numerous other positions of responsibility in our municipal and state governments? In Europe city management is a profession for which men definitely prepare. With us men arrive in these positions on almost any other basis than fitness for them. Sometimes we are fortunate, as Chicago is at this moment in the office of Mayor and of Commissioner of Public Works, but for what proportion of the last thirty years has Chicago been fortunate?

Now the conclusion that I draw from this whole situation, which I have so imperfectly sketched, is that what has hitherto been an occupation into which men have drifted under all sorts of influences ought now to become a profession, the high and honorable profession of politics or public service, a profession with its high intellectual qualifications and its high ethical standards.

Gentlemen, I verily believe that today the need of such a profession, on the intellectual and moral level which I have suggested is to say the least as great as that of any of the existing professions. Society has become so highly organized, political questions have become so complicated and their issues so far-reaching, the happiness and well-being of so many people are dependent on what we do politically, the world has become so bound together in the bundle of life, and America has acquired, partly gradually, partly suddenly, so vast an influence in the world, that there is today a need inferior to none other of competent and high-minded men in public life. Much as we need ministers of religion to set before us high ideals of life and deepen our sense of the eternal realities, much as we need teachers to educate our youth, much as we need doctors to cure our diseases, and lawyers to adjust our personal and business affairs, much as we need musicians and painters, sculptors and architects to stimulate and to satisfy our sense of beauty, none of these needs is greater—I verily doubt whether any of them quite equals—our need of high-minded, broad-minded, intelligent politicians.

Of what use is it to maintain schools and churches and art institutes, of what use to settle our personal differences of opinion, or cure our diseases if the ship of state is not to escape the rocks of disaster which it does not require a morbid imagination to perceive among the possibilities of the near future?

But to drop all suggestions of an alarmist tone, who can render a larger service to his country than the man who, with adequate preparation for it and in a spirit of service, enters public life? What larger service is possible than that which is open to the Commissioner of Public Works, or the Mayor of the City, or the Governor of the State, or the national legislator, or the minister to a foreign country? I neither need nor desire to depreciate any of the established professions when I set forth the need and the worth of the profession of politics.

But if these things are so, then there follows I believe another inference, viz, that at various places in this country, and in several of our universities, there should be established a thoroughly equipped School

of Politics, ranking with the best schools of the other learned professions.

It should in my judgment be, as our schools of Law, Medicine and Theology are, or are rapidly becoming, primarily a Graduate School, in the sense that men should enter it after a complete, or nearly complete college course. It should be as most of these schools are, or are rapidly becoming, a school both of research and of preparation for a profession. In other words, it should aim on the one hand to make thorough investigations of the multitudinous problems of political life, and on the other hand definitely to prepare men for the profession of politics.

The student who receives his degree from this school should be thoroughly grounded in history, general and political, in economics, in the fundamental facts of the nature and organization of human society. He should have a good command not only of English but of the other modern languages, that his studies may not be limited to material available in English. He should be thoroughly acquainted with the history of his own country and its political institutions, national, state, and municipal. He should know the origin, history, and content of the Common Law. His horizon should be broadened by the beginnings at least of knowledge of world affairs. He should have had actual contact with political life, and actual experience in political action. The clinical side of his training is certainly as important as that of the physician and the teacher. He must have been trained in the methods of research and have acquired the investigative attitude of mind. There is no excuse today for ready made standardized procedure in the treatment of disease or the care of social ills. Least of all can the competent politician deal with the problems that he will meet by any set of fixed rules. He must be prepared to meet every new situation in a spirit of research asking first for the facts and then trying to discover what course of action they call for. The more he knows about precedents and previous practices the better, but he must not be the slave of them. The graduate of the School of Politics should be a man of scholarship, but of scholarship that he knows how to apply to practical politics.

But the School of Politics should do more than prepare men for professional service in public life. It should also offer to all students of the university a knowledge of the facts and principles of political life which would dispose them to accept the responsibilities of citizenship, and sufficient training in practical politics to enable them to meet their responsibilities effectively. Making a few high-minded politicians it ought to make many political-minded citizens.

When I first began to think about a school of this kind about a year ago, I did not think that there existed anything of just this character in any American university and did not know that anyone was planning to establish such a school, though I knew, of course, that there were departments of Political Science in most of our universities. But I soon discovered that Johns Hopkins University was endeavoring to raise money for a school approximately like what I had in mind, and I learned only yesterday in New York that another eastern institution has just received a gift to start it in the same direction. These are to my mind only confirmations of my own strong judgment that Schools of Politics are among the pressing needs not of American education so much as of American life.

It may be safely predicted that the graduates of such a school would not always have an easy time.

They would not be prepared to step to the head of their profession any more than the graduate of the Law School is ready for the Supreme Bench, or the young physician able at once to enter upon a lucrative practice. They would have to go through their years of practical apprenticeship as do the men in any other profession. They would be subject to the additional disadvantage that the places for which they would be prepared are not usually filled on a basis of competitive examination or wholly on a basis of merit, but by political appointment or by election. Progress would undoubtedly be slow. Yet I think that we may depend on the intelligence of the American people when they really see a good thing to avail themselves of it. I was told quite recently by a man who is familiar with the situation that there has been a perceptible improvement in the type of man who is appointed to the position of health officer as the number of men competently trained for this office has increased. I believe we might expect the same thing to happen all along the line.

I recognize too that the country has been producing men of the kind that I am speaking of without any special school. Such men as Theodore Roosevelt, and Woodrow Wilson, and Robert Bacon, and my own namesake but not relative, in Ohio, Theodore E. Burton, and Albert J. Beveridge, and Albert A. Sprague are illustrations of this fact. But this does not at all prove that we do not need the school. There were lawyers before there were law schools, and physicians before there were medical schools, and great teachers who had never been inside of a school of education. But as we have gradually come to see that we cannot provide an adequate number of men of high quality in these older professions, so in respect to the profession of politics I believe we have reached the point in American history when we imperatively need a school of Politics.

In one respect I hope that we shall not repeat our past experience in these other fields. If any of you

have read President Eliot's reminiscences of his life as President of Harvard, you know that fifty years ago medical education was on an extremely low level, so low that the Dean of the Harvard Medical School protested against introducing written examinations into the school on the ground that most medical students could scarcely read or write. I see no reason why the school of Politics should repeat this history. It will have to develop from small beginnings perhaps, but it ought to start upon as high a level as that which the best schools of law and medicine and theology have now attained.

Finally may I answer a question which perhaps has been in your minds, why I have persistently used the terms politics and political, which carry with them for many people at least a suggestion of corruption and soil, rather than such highly honorable terms as statecraft and statesmanship. My answer is that I have chosen my terms deliberately, and because I am very desirous that this enterprise, when it achieves the stage of being an enterprise and not a dream, shall keep its feet on the ground. I want it upon a high level, but not in the clouds. A number of people were once discussing what was the proper length of a man's legs, and not coming to an agreement, they appealed to Lincoln, who answered "Well, I have always thought that a man's legs ought to be long enough to reach the ground." A school of Politics must keep its feet on the ground. It may have, it must have its political philosophy and its political ideals. It must not be a training school of political expediency. But it must deal with conditions as they are. Its basal data must be facts, not theories. It must fit men to enter political life with high ideals and purposes, but with capacity to serve humanity under the conditions of today.

Such a school, I say again, can render a service of unsurpassed value to the life of America of today and to the generations to come. I hope it may soon be a reality.