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Mr. Chairman, and Fellow Members of the American Political Science Association, Ladies and Gentlemen:

Our allied associations hold their annual meetings this year under conditions that justify their existence and their work so completely that it would waste both time and effort to use a single moment for apology or explanation. Most of us belong to several or to all of these bodies of thoughtful men and women engaged in the study of human society in its more public aspects and relations. I have had the benefit of membership in the Historical and Economic Associations from the very day of their organization more than twenty years ago. It has been most encouraging through these years to note the wonderful expansion of study in the fields of history and economics, especially under the guidance of our universities and colleges.

In his presidential address two years ago, Professor Goodnow set forth the reasons for the formation of

the Political Science Association. His presentation was sound in philosophy and strong in its outlines of the field to be cultivated by this new society. A further reason of a highly practical sort that Professor Goodnow might have stated lies in the emergence upon this field of study and action of a body of trained and competent men like Professor Goodnow himself, who are primarily political scientists rather than historians or economists. The logical differentiation of the subject-matter is one thing, and the appearance of a group of men dealing by preference with that material is something quite different. With us in the United States this development of a trained body of political scientists is a comparatively recent fact.

It is true enough that our colleagues of the Historical Association and our brethren of the Economic and Sociological groups are also political scientists in the very nature of the conditions under which they are now living in this American republic, but there are ample grounds of advantage and convenience in meeting sometimes in a distinct and restricted capacity. Thus Mr. Gladstone, working at one desk, was a theologian; sitting at another desk, he was a classical scholar; and at still another desk, a financier and political economist.

Our Political Science Association has entered upon the publication of a quarterly review. Let him who would appreciate the scope of our interest read the opening number of this new periodical, and find both in its major articles and its minor notes and comments what a wealth of current topics belongs to our membership in its political science character that it could not well deal with at the historian's table or in the alcove of the economist. There is a broad field of international life and relationship that

comes within the purview of this Association; there is great usefulness and opportunity in the study of comparative legislation as well as that of internationalism as expressed through diplomacy.

Besides the vast field of study and work for the political scientists that the law-making activity of government affords, we have always with us the tasks and problems of scientific administration; that is to say, the carrying out of the purposes and intents of existing laws for the attainment of the best possible results.

It will be remembered that Professor Goodnow in his address two years ago laid special stress upon this phase of the science of political life in view of his own concern with administrative law. It is highly interesting, therefore, at this point, to mention the fact that the Executive Council of the Association has determined to ask the organization to sanction a special and important inquiry to be made within that field. With all the newer activities of government there is no diminution of the responsibility of those placed in authority for the fulfillment of the more ancient tasks. The maintenance of law and order through proper exercise of the police power remains after all a function of government that does not lose anything, even in relative importance, as other public activities multiply around it. It is fundamental and necessary. As our social life becomes more complicated with the growth of population, the increase in wealth, and the many new phases of human activity, the exercise of the police power grows ever more vital, as it also grows more delicate and difficult.

Yet here we have a subject of great concern that has been, comparatively speaking, neglected by those fitted to give it calm and thorough consideration. One munici-

pality after another—face to face with inefficiency and scandal in the police administration—tries the first remedy that seems to fit the exigencies of the moment. Some communities throw upon the ordinary police force an astounding initiative in the administration of laws relating to the manners and morals of the community, in addition to a full responsibility for protecting peaceable citizens against crimes of violence and maintaining ordinary conditions of public safety. There is no uniformity of motive or of standard in our American police administration. We have a dozen different theories as to the status and tenure of the ordinary patrolman, and fifty different practices as regards the higher control of the uniformed body. For the greater part of our country, the population lives under rural rather than urban conditions, and in many States the lack of a system of rural police is more responsible than any other thing for abhorrent crime on the one hand, and for the equally abhorrent practice of lynch law on the other hand. We have much to learn from a study and comparison of police administration throughout the United States. We have also a vast deal to learn from the organization and work of the police in Great Britain, France, Germany, Austria-Hungary, Italy and other countries.

This organization of ours is not partisan, or sectional, or propagandist in its nature. It is, nevertheless, made up of men who are both willing and eager to see the results of their scientific study of political life and conditions converted to the practical ends of statesmanship. Accordingly it is hoped by the men whom you have appointed to serve on your Executive Council that this Association may from time to time procure from public-spirited citizens the funds needful for the careful and exhaustive study of some

great subject in political science, with a view to the orderly presentation of facts and the formulating of conclusions that will be of practical benefit to the perplexed legislator in the time of his need. In this fashion the National Municipal League has been of great service to American cities in its provision of the outlines of a model charter, and in its work in the field of uniform municipal accounting.

A series of inquiries ably conducted under the auspices of this Association, carried on with diligence and energy, both without bias and in the purely scientific spirit, might come to have an almost monumental character and importance. Suggestions for such inquiries will occur from time to time, and I shall carefully avoid any endeavor to commit the Association to subjects further than the one now maturely recommended by the Executive Council. But I believe that there will be a very general agreement that this Association can render an extremely useful service to the country, without departing in the smallest degree from its scientific methods of work, by authorizing from time to time some special inquiry to be undertaken and followed by a systematic report for the public benefit.

This leads me to certain further observations with regard to the membership of this Association, rather than the Association itself. We find ourselves living in a time of intense activity in political fields. The economic life is undoubtedly the dominant concern of our modern populations. But everywhere there is evident a powerful determination to make use of the State, that is to say, of governmental power and agency, for the control or for the modification of tendencies in the economic life. Invention and capital are moving forward as never before in their magnificent mission of wealth production. The

altruist and the captain of labor are at work as never before for the better distribution of the results of wealth production, for the maintenance of decent standards of living, the increase in the margin of leisure, the emancipation of childhood, the refinement and ennobling of women, the spread of education—the maintenance of an intelligent democracy as the basis of our political life.

Almost innumerable are the problems that present themselves as the State endeavors, through law and through administration, to fix the conditions under which economic forces shall have their play without disturbing a reasonable freedom of economic action. The political phases of this business require great study and caution. What shall be the rules of the game? The rude play of *laissez faire* principles, the undisturbed working of the law of supply and demand, the natural trend of the iron law of wages, the operation of the law of population regardless of bacteriologists and health boards—all these principles and forces of the economic life would better meet and clash and find their own conclusions than come under ill-considered or paralyzing control at the hands of doctrinaire and fanatical law-makers and administrators. Better no rules of the game than very bad ones. But for better or for worse, the political powers have been invoked to regulate economic forces.

Our democracy in the main is open-minded. The political scientist must lose no chance to influence the statesman on the one hand, and to supply intellectual pabulum to the people on the other hand. There has been enormous fresh production of wealth in recent years, but there is not nearly enough wealth as yet to make everybody reasonably and suitably well-off. Consequently, it follows that the political economist and soci-

ologist must join with the political scientist to insist that government in its dealing with economic forces shall take care not to discourage wealth production. On the contrary, government may justly do a vast number of things to help the people increase the sum total of the annual social income.

It is through some perception of this principle that our National and State governments are encouraging agriculture, to the end that the chief industry of the country may yield more bountifully every year. The administration of the public domain has kept in mind more or less intelligently this principle of promoting the sum total of the wealth production of the country. The government's policy as touching such subjects as money, currency, and banking, as respects patents and copyrights, and a great number of other matters of economic concern, has made for the protection and encouragement of productive effort. The general liberality of American policy in the matter of joint stock corporations has unquestionably made it feasible for capital to concentrate and to apply itself with advantage to manufacturing and other forms of industry.

We have been passing through a period of immense industrial prosperity, and it still remains with us. It would be a great calamity to adopt any governmental policy or set of policies, in whatever spirit of justice, and with whatever motive of social righteousness, that should so operate as to put a sudden and severe check upon this state of industrial prosperity. I am well aware that this dictum of mine may be misunderstood and may be controverted. But I hold to my proposition that we need in this country a much larger annual maximum of wealth production than we have as yet attained, and that general prosperity and bountiful production, even with abuses in

the unrestrained play of economic energy, are better guaranties for an approximately fair distribution of benefits than are public policies of a restraining sort that might operate to check production, while intended to bring about a more ethical distribution.

The railroad must be built; the water power must be developed; the mine must be exploited; the mill must be operated at full capacity—or the people must go hungry and ill-clad, while the school remains a cabin and its teacher is ill-paid and unfit.

This Association is not partisan, is not a body of reformers, is concerned with no propaganda; it could therefore study with absolute calmness and impartiality the question how steamship subsidies really work in other countries. It could study general or particular phases of the tariff question with complacence and serenity. It could study the national ownership of railroads, or the principles and practices of rate regulation. Above all, it can help to bring to a hundred questions now under discussion in the affairs of the nation, of the States, or of the municipalities the spirit of calmness, of inquiry, of reasonable discussion—in short, the scientific spirit. In order that the scientific spirit may prevail in our public life, there must be an intelligent citizenship, and for that reason the political scientist must always and everywhere insist upon it that education in the right kind and degree is the foremost concern of a democratic state. Let education stand first, in logic and in practical statesmanship. The political scientist may next concern himself with every phase of the machinery of the political life, whether legal or extra-legal. And he may equally concern himself with the policies of legislation and statesmanship, and with the methods of administration.

Fellow members of the Political Science Association, I beg to congratulate you upon the work you have personally been doing in the field of political science. You have now a membership of nearly four hundred. Many of you are engaged in university teaching, and you have sent out into the country hundreds of young men who are already giving a good account of themselves in our public life. You have written and published books which, brought together, would make a collection of several thousand volumes, dealing with general or special subjects in the field of political science; and these books have had a wide influence upon political thought and upon the course of public action. Further than that, your point of view has not been merely that of detached scientific observers, but, in addition to your work as investigators, teachers and writers, you have all of you participated in a direct and valuable personal way in the work of practical public life. Some of you have served on charter commissions and helped reconstruct the machinery of city government. Some have helped to draft improved ballot laws, some have given effective advice in reforming methods of public taxation. An ever-increasing number of the members of this Association, or of the young men who have come under their teaching and influence, have been drawn into occasional or permanent participation in the actual work of making the laws or shaping the policies of the country, or else in the work of perfecting the administration of government. Nobody cares any longer whether members of an association like this are classed as republicans or democrats; protectionists, or free traders; nationalists, or states' rights men; socialists, or individualists; municipal traders, or anti-public-ownership men; for corporations, or against them; for or against trades-unionism.

There is a general conviction that scientific students like those who unite in the carrying on of organizations like this, have a large common stock of sincerity and of intelligence, and a habit of mind which checks controversial attitudes and faddish enthusiasms, where questions of clear fact and of scientific bearing are essentially involved. For that reason our students of political science are obtaining an ever-increasing influence as a moderating and mediating element in the processes of our political life.