

CONTENTS

VOLUME I

ESSAY I

	PAGE
THE ROMAN EMPIRE AND THE BRITISH EMPIRE IN INDIA	I-84
Conquest or Absorption by modern European nations of the less advanced races	1
Creation by this process of a sort of unity of mankind	2
Earlier effort of Rome to unify mankind	3
Part borne by England in the work of ruling and civilizing new territories	4
The Colonies of England: the British Empire in India	4
Position of Rome and England respectively in their Empires	8
Origin of the British Indian compared with that of the Roman Empire	8
Conditions favouring Roman and British Indian conquest	10
Military character of Roman and British rule	13
What the Roman and the English conquerors have owed to natural frontiers	14
Strength of the Roman and British armies	17
Efforts to find a scientific frontier	19
The Romans and English as Road and Railway Builders	21
Success of both in maintaining internal order and security	23
Character of Roman and British administration	26
Despotic system: measure of self-government left to the subjects	30
Variations in provincial administration in Roman Empire and India	35
Revenue and taxation of the two Empires	37
Employment of native subjects in civil and military posts	42
Civil rights of conquerors and of subjects	46
Respect shown to native religions and customs: contrast of religious feeling in ancient and in modern world	51
Character of the conquerors as a source of their strength	58
Contrasts between the two Empires: geographical position of the ruling race	61
Fusion of Romans and provincials: no similar fusion of English and Indians	62
Influence of Climate, of Colour, of Religion	63
Languages and literature in Roman Empire and in India	70

	PAGE
Influences which favoured fusion in Roman Empire absent from India	74
Retroactive influences of the provinces on Rome and of India on Britain	76
What the experience of the English in India has proved	79
Causes which overthrew the Roman Empire	80
Probable future of British power in India	82

ESSAY II

THE EXTENSION OF ROMAN AND ENGLISH LAW THROUGHOUT THE WORLD 85-144

Geographical areas now covered by Roman and by English Law	85
Extension of Roman Law by conquest	88
Methods of Legal Administration in the provinces	91
Gradual assimilation of Roman and Provincial Law	97
Establishment of one law for the Roman Empire	99
How the Romans were able to create an imperial law	103
Spread of Roman Law after the fall of the Western Empire	105
Diffusion of English Law over regions settled or conquered	110
Legal systems which the English found in India	113
Policy followed by the English in dealing with Indian Law	117
Codification in India	121
Reciprocal action of English and Native Law on one another	124
Merits and working of the Anglo-Indian Codes	127
Roman Law in the Empire compared with English Law in India	133
Probable future of English Law in India	138
English and Roman Law over the world	142

ESSAY III

FLEXIBLE AND RIGID CONSTITUTIONS	145-254
Observations on the Constitutions of Rome and England	145
Old Classification of Constitutions as Written and Unwritten	148
Proposed new classification	150
Flexible Constitutions: how far distinguishable from laws in general	154
Origin of Flexible Constitutions	159
Strength and weakness of Flexible Constitutions	163
Such Constitutions are rather elastic than unstable	168
Illustrations from the Constitutions of Rome and England	169
Dangers possibly inherent in Flexible Constitutions	175

	PAGE
Flexible Constitutions suited to aristocratic governments	178
Checks applied in Rome and in England	181
Influence of Constitutions on the mind of a nation	185
Illustrations from Rome and England	189
Capacity of Constitutions for Territorial Expansion	193
Enumeration of existing Rigid Constitutions	196
Circumstances under which Rigid Constitutions arise	200
Enactment and amendment of Rigid Constitutions	205
Various modes now in use for amending them	210
How far can Rigid Constitutions be definite or complete?	217
Stability of Rigid Constitutions	221
The interpretation of Rigid Constitutions	228
Contrast of Anglo-American doctrines with those of the European Continent	230
American views as to Interpretation	232
Suitability of Rigid Constitutions to Democracies	234
Recent changes of opinion in the United States and England	239
Probable future of the two types of Constitution	242
Proposals for federalizing the British Constitution	245
Possible creation of new States and Constitutions	249

ESSAY IV

THE ACTION OF CENTRIPETAL AND CENTRIFUGAL FORCES ON POLITICAL CONSTITUTIONS	255-311
The influence of aggregative and disjunctive forces on political societies	255
Tendencies which may act either Centripetally or Centrifugally	261
Influences of Interest and Sympathy	263
Illustrations of the action of Racial and Religious sentiment .	265
In the progress of civilization, material interest and senti- ment may be opposed	269
How Constitutions may use the existing Centripetal and Centrifugal forces	271
Illustrations from Commerce, Law and Religion	274
Instances of the troubles caused by Racial or Religious sentiment	281
Methods by which Constitutions may disarm or regulate the centrifugal forces: illustrations	286
Difficulties due to differences of colour in races	291
How the Constitutions of the United States and Switzerland have acted	296
The Centripetal force generally, but not always, dominant in European history	300

	PAGE
Effects of Conquest and of Dynastic Succession	303
Probable future strength of the centrifugal and centripetal forces respectively	307
Present tendency to the enlargement or consolidation of States is not necessarily permanent	309

ESSAY V

PRIMITIVE ICELAND	312-358
Discovery and Settlement of Iceland	312
Beginnings of a Polity : the Thing	316
Rise of the Goði or Priest-Chieftain	317
The first political constitution of the island	322
Judicial organization and powers of the Althing	325
The Speaker of the Law	327
Thingvellir and the meetings of the Althing	327
General character of the Icelandic Republic	333
Growth and character of the law of Iceland	335
Complexity of the constitution and the law	337
Sources of our knowledge of the law	341
Illustrations of features of the early law	343
An action for the ejection of ghosts	345
The Judicial Duel : Story of Gunnlaug Snake's Tongue and Helga the Fair	348
The introduction of Christianity	350
Reflections on the early history of Iceland	353
Fall of the Republic : subsequent fortunes of the isle	356

ESSAY VI

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES AS SEEN IN THE PAST	359-429
Value of contemporary views of an institution	359
The <i>Federalist</i> : Alex. Hamilton and James Madison	360
The United States in A. D. 1788	361
Predictions of the opponents of the New Constitution	366
Views of its supporters : dangers feared by them	369
Examination of the predictions of 1788	374
Characteristic merits and defects of American Democracy only slightly foreseen	378
The <i>Democracy in America</i> of Alexis de Tocqueville	381
Merits and flaws in Tocqueville's study of the United States	382
His insufficient knowledge of England	385
His preoccupation with France	387

CONTENTS

XV

	PAGE
The deficiencies observable in his book scarcely affect its present value	390
Condition of the United States in Tocqueville's day	392
His description of the salient features of the nation.	397
Advantages which he conceives Democracy to have secured	403
Evils he discovers in American Democracy	404
Causes which in his view maintain Republican government	406
His forecasts: the negroes: weakness of the Federal Union.	408
Points omitted in his description	413
Chief events in the United States since Tocqueville's time	415
Chief political changes of the last sixty-seven years	417
Examination of Tocqueville's predictions	418
Summary of Tocqueville's conclusions	425
General course of events in America since 1788	427
What Tocqueville would say to-day	428

ESSAY VII

TWO SOUTH AFRICAN CONSTITUTIONS	430-467
Originality of the Constitutions of the two Dutch Republics	430
Circumstances under which they arose	432
Constitution of the Orange Free State	436
Constitution of the South African Republic (Transvaal).	441
Observations on the Constitution of the South African Republic	448
Is it a Rigid or a Flexible Constitution?	449
Controversy as to the so-called 'testing power'	452
The Constitution is certainly a Flexible one	453
Observations upon both these Constitutions	455
Comparison of these Constitutions with that of Britain and that of the United States	458
Relations of Executive and Legislature in these Dutch Republics	460
Practical Working of the Constitution of the Orange Free State	463
Working of the Constitution of the South African Republic	464
Postscript	466

ESSAY VIII

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE COMMONWEALTH OF AUSTRALIA	468-553
Interest attaching to the new Constitution of Australia	468
Origin and progress of the movement for federalizing Australia	471

	PAGE
Causes which induced Federation	477
Influence of a Pan-Australian sentiment	480
Physical and racial conditions favouring Federation	483
Comparison with the conditions of the United States and of Canada	487
Two leading types of Federal Government	489
Distribution of powers between the Nation and the States in the Australian Constitution	491
Position of the Australian States under the Constitution	494
Differences from the Federal systems of the United States and of Canada	498
The National Government : few restrictions on its powers	501
The Legislature : Representation of the States in the Senate	503
The House of Representatives	506
The Executive and the Judiciary	508
Question as to Constitutional Appeals : the British Govern- ment yield to Australian sentiment	509
Intended working of the scheme of Government : The Cabinet	513
Provision against legislative deadlocks	516
Relations of the Two Houses	518
Financial provisions : railways and rivers	521
Location of the national capital : admission of New States	522
Mode of amending the Constitution	523
Relations of the Australian Commonwealth to the British Crown	525
General comparison of the Australian Constitution with that of the United States	527
Comparison with that of the Dominion of Canada	528
Further observations on the Constitution	531
It is less strictly Federal and more National than that of the United States	532
Its highly democratic character	535
It contemplates a party system	539
Difficulties which may arise from the existence of a third party	540
What political issues are likely to arise in Australia ?	542
Probable prominence of Economic questions	545
Possible creation and admission of New States	547
Will New Zealand enter the Federation ?	548
Tendencies to consolidation may be strengthened by disputes with foreign powers	550
Future relations of Australia to Britain	551