

GOVT 2500

BURPOLS

Seminar 3:

Late-Medieval and Early Modern Bureaucracy
in Western and Near Eastern States

Emergence of Bureaucracy

1. Discussion of “Western model,” but keep in mind significant differences

- early Sung China (960-1067)
- features of papal hierarchy and administration
- Ottoman Empire (Barkey)

2. Crucial change: reorganization of household government in Sicily, in English monarchy after Norman Conquest, and in 13th-14th c. France (Rosenberg)

Establishment of new, central bodies in finance, administration and justice (Exchequer/Chancery).

Rosenberg: These are not yet BURs, but “special parts of the king’s organization” (p. 3). “The dynastic court remained the center of initiative and decision” (p. 4). “State” = “Estate”

Emergence of Bureaucracy

1. Bureaucracy in Western Europe grows from royal household

- hence early BUR forms are “patrimonial” (Weber) in part.
- T.F. Tout: institutions “in court” versus “out of court.”
- Crucial Q becomes independence of civil officials from Crown

2. Prussia/France: Transition is from dynastic absolutism to bureaucratic absolutism

3. England: Transition is from regal bureaucracy to public bureaucracy or parliamentary state.

Ottoman Case

Ottoman Empire: 1300s-1924

Main sultans: Mehmed II (the Conqueror) [1451-81],
Suleyman (the Magnificent, the Lawgiver) [1520-66],
Ahmed I [1603-17], Mehmed IV (the Hunter) [1649-87]

Barkey's focus: imperial consolidation and
bureaucratic/state centralization, 1550-1650

Crucial feature of Ottoman centralization: lack of rural
rebellion [compare to French, English cases, or see
Skocpol]

Concessions to bandits in outlying areas represent quasi-
strategy. Not weakness of state but its adaptive
strength.

Emergence of BUR in England

12th century: Norman and Angevin kings see institutions move “out of court” (Tout). Also, increase in written records, literacy as demand of BUR job.

Baronage and King contest control of the “great departments” (esp Exchequer and Chancery). Chancery moves out, replaced by Privy Seal.

Elizabethan BUR: emergence of educated, literate “laity” of potential professional middle and upper-middle class. (Education in law).

Emergence of military bureaucracy (Council of Marine [Henry VIII] and Lord High Admiral, Navy Office and Ordnance Office), and growth in Secretaries of State and Clerks of Privy Council.

By comparison, French absolutist BUR not nearly as efficient in extraction, but much larger (proportionally and absolutely).

BUR in England under Stuarts

James I: follows Elizabethan precedent in according greater power to Lord Chancellor (Godfrey, 275). BUR and jud roles fused.

Also under James I, emergence of budgetary constraint under Lord Cranfield, 1st earl of Middlesex. Builds reputation among nobility and Crown, but offends office holders with his emphasis on economy.

Even with modernization, still sale of offices to buy off nobility.

Evolution of specialized Treasury (Treasury Commissioners) as distinct from Exchequer: informational capacity grows, along with it **fiscal planning**.

As empire expands, increasing reliance upon Customs under Tudor and Stuart regimes. Also creation of revenue courts.

Emergence of Bureaucracy

Dynastic absolutism, along with empire, creates larger and more autonomous BUR. But also contains the seeds of its own destruction.

- Rise of “public law” to detriment of traditional law and “private law.”
- Rise of parliamentary state in England
- Proprietary principle: dynastic absolutism buys off nobility with offices as property (Godfrey Goodman on James I).

Rosenberg’s “BUR Absolutism”: Displacement of old patrimonial officials by “new, removable bureaucrats.” Rise of oligarchic bureaucracy as a force independent from Crown and nobility.

- Increasingly diverse recruitment paths to BUR (Rosenberg, 60-61)
- Ascendance of military bureaucrats and officials
- Create new offices to counteract the power of older ones

Back to England, after 1660

After restoration of Charles II, conversion of regulations of Navy to statute

Wars against Louis XIV lead to growth of Navy and of naval administration (Baugh: “well established” by 1714).

Emergence of **administrative planning** [office separate from (political) Admiralty Board]:

“The main ingredients of a recipe for victory had to be supplied by the ministry. It was the ministry’s responsibility to provide enough money to maintain the fleet in peacetime; to recognize the critical problem of mobilization and to take precautions accordingly; not to flinch at the expense of a long war; and to allow ships to be deployed according to strategic need rather than to yield indiscriminately to every influential trading interest that petitioned for protection by convoys and cruisers. These were the ministry’s responsibilities because they involved political issues.” [Baugh, British Naval Administration in the Age of Walpole, 501]

Prussian BUR Evolution

After Napoleonic invasions (early 1800s), “Era of Reform” (1807-1812), led by ministerial bureaucracy. (Crown discredited.)

- Karl August Furst von Hardenberg
- Freidrich Karl Freiherr von und zum Stein (reorganizes central government, mixing Napoleonic police state with constitutional monarchy)
- Early meritocratic ideas (“the career open to talent”)

“The reorganized central government remained free from all popular control. The servants of the state, having freed themselves from arbitrary interference by the king and the accident of the monarch’s personal leadership, subordinated the dynastic interest to the good of their state and to the aspiration of a wider public.” (Rosenberg, 210)

Civil BUR “had been transformed into a powerful, independent political oligarchy at the expense of the crown.” (R, 216)

English Civil Adm under George III

Statutory basis

Also accumulated body of adm precedent, functioning much as in common law and Chancery

Firm establishment of departments, fuller evolution of Customs, home revenue collection much more efficient.

Chester: system of “diffused authority.” Redundant agents keep checks on one another, but also dissolution of regal authority.

Appr. 12,000 civil servants under Crown in 1780. Small by comparative standards, yet highly informative as to American and U.S. BUR evolution.