

ism and revolution. Switzerland was endangered by a complication, the struggle with the Jesuit order, and the resulting secession of Catholic cantons in the so-called "Sonderbund". Happily the liberal movements in Prussia and Austria, and the friendly attitude of England and France, left Switzerland to attend to her own affairs. The liberal cantons waged successful war against the seceding league, and the liberal leaders rose to the emergency and framed a constitution, which, with but one revision, that of 1874, remains to the present day. An interesting fact is that in the debates the plan for a national assembly based upon popular suffrage with a veto power by the cantons, was dropped in favor of one modelled consciously after the Constitution of the United States, with two legislative houses, one based upon popular suffrage, the other upon equal representation of the states or cantons.

The chauvinist or super-patriot may find Dierauer's annalistic pages far from satisfying. There is little color, no glitter of style, no eulogistic display of popular heroes. Objectiveness, painstaking accuracy, and thoroughness of research characterize Dierauer's history. Movements and events fascinate him more than individuals, and like fate itself he casts them upon the scrap-heap after they have performed their parts in the great progress of things. He closes his masterly work soberly with the words:

The union founded in 1848 has proved itself to be a happy achievement, for it was not, as once the Helvetic Republic, forced on by an unhistorical political doctrine from without, but designed after the pattern of native, historical traditions, and resulting from a constantly swelling inner movement. . . . May the regenerated Swiss Federation stride forward with confidence and while conditions in Europe are betimes in a state of ferment, observing strict neutrality, preserve the precious possessions of peace and the right of asylum.

One misses, as also in volume IV., all reference to the subject of emigration, though it may have had some bearing upon the liberal movement in Switzerland; one misses also such delightful summaries of contemporary Swiss literature as are found in volume IV. It is well to remember that Gottfried Keller's prose stories (occasional reference is made [p. 689, etc.] to his revolutionary and patriotic lyrics) furnish us with types of character which bring the revolutionary period of 1848 vividly before us, as *e. g.* *Das Fähnlein der Sieben Aufrechten*, where the seven stalwarts visualize all the eccentricities and also the virtues of the staunch republicans.

ALBERT B. FAUST.

Richard Cobden, the International Man. By J. A. HOBSON. [Makers of the Nineteenth Century.] (New York: Henry Holt and Company. 1919. Pp. 416. \$5.00.)

THIS is a fascinating but at the same time a tantalizing book. It is not a biography; it was not intended to be. As its author states, "It was designed, in the first instance, to rescue the memory of Cobden from the narrow misrepresentations to which it has been subjected by

giving stronger emphasis to his international work". But this purpose once achieved we are at the end of the volume. There is no correlation, to speak of, between Cobden the great economist, and Cobden the non-interventionist, between Cobden, genius of the Anti-Corn Law League, and Cobden of the British Peace Society. Professor Hobson has drawn a new, striking, and detailed sketch of Cobden; but it is only a sketch. His book is supplementary to Morley's biography, not complementary.

Composed for the most part of Cobden's correspondence, this book taps new, original material of great value, the more important being the letters written by Cobden to the Rev. Henry Richards of the British Peace Society, while only second in importance are various letters sent to Charles Sumner, transcribed especially for this book from the original documents in the Harvard Library and not included in the Sumner correspondence published in the *American Historical Review* (II. 306-319). In consequence this book becomes immediately a necessity to the student of the American Civil War, as well as to the student of pacifism.

To those of us who have regarded Cobden as largely immersed in the economic propaganda of free trade, it cannot but prove an enlightening volume. From 1850 to 1865 he was an active participant in a very earnest if not influential pacifist movement. Cobden was philosophically a "non-interventionist". But philosophy and action in his career were always closely linked. Hesitation was as foreign to his nature as was compromise. He knew no inhibitions, and like a true liberal was more loyal to intellectual ideas than to institutions. Intervention in foreign disputes he believed altogether wrong. Therefore, like all men who ride hobbies, he saw but one set of facts, and to them he ascribed exaggerated values.

In one sense of the word, the memory of Cobden has been rescued by this book; the reader cannot help being convinced that the interests of Cobden were international. But in another sense the popular conception of Cobden as a man of extreme dogmatism and mental inflexibility is heightened, not lessened, by these pages.

For the fifteen years in question Cobden fought bitterly every foreign intervention made by Great Britain. The Crimean War, the Indian Mutiny, the annexation of Burma, the defense of Don Pacifico, the Chinese War, the bombardment of Kagoshima, the occupation of Sarawak and of British Honduras, and the Ashantee War are all equally an evidence of the wickedness of intervention. Not once throughout these fifteen years does he approve of the protection of British lives by the British government through the use of force. Furthermore, his antagonism knew no discrimination. Many patriotic Englishmen believed the Crimean and the Chinese wars unjustified. But to Cobden the superb accomplishments of Rajah Brooke in Sarawak were of one piece with the chauvinism of Sir John Bowring in Canton, while missionaries in Burma and Africa might as well have been slave-traders as far as any recognition of their work by Cobden was concerned.

His reasoning at times is very curious. The brutalities of the revolting sepoys are turned by him into an argument against intervention in India. They did not thus treat one another, he argues, before the British came to India—an assumption contrary to fact—therefore the harsh behavior of the British in the peninsula must inferentially be the cause.

Professor Hobson tells us that Cobden was not a peace-at-any-price man; but he does not prove it. He states that Cobden "sometimes admitted that a cause might arise where a powerful nation was called upon to take up arms for the protection of another weak nation". But, as far as this reviewer knows, the sole justification for this claim is to be found in a foot-note in Morley's biography in which Cobden becomes so enthusiastic in the praise of Motley's *Dutch Republic* as to censure Queen Elizabeth for not intervening in Holland in the sixteenth century. According to Professor Hobson himself, Cobden wrote, "I am against any interference by the government of one country in the affairs of another nation, even if it be confined to moral suasion".

Cobden appears at his best in the correspondence with Charles Sumner. His criticism of the North is candid, and his interpretation of English sentiment toward the Civil War judicious. The obsession of free trade, however, which possessed him, is here curiously in evidence. He wrote that victory could only come to the North and intervention by Europe only be prevented by ending the blockade of the southern ports. The peace movement in Great Britain, indeed, was not only hampered by the intolerance and the narrow-mindedness of its leading protagonists, it was also retarded by the deification of trade and commerce which characterized those of Manchester. The fact that Cobden objected to the term "League of Brotherhood" and desired that "Peace Bazaar" be substituted in summoning a peace meeting is a unique and not insignificant fact. Cobden seems to have been a true predecessor of Norman Angell in believing that one can end war by proving it unprofitable.

WALTER P. HALL.

The Work of the Hague. Volume I. *The International Union of the Hague Conferences.* By WALTHER SCHÜCKING, Professor in the University of Marburg, Associate of the Institute of International Law. Volume II. *The Problem of an International Court of Justice.* By HANS WEHBERG, Gerichtsreferendar in Düsseldorf. Translated from the German by CHARLES G. FENWICK, Associate Professor of Political Science in Bryn Mawr College. [Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Division of International Law.] (New York: Oxford University Press; Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1918. Pp. xiv, 341; xxxiii, 251. \$6.00.)

PROFESSOR SCHÜCKING has made valuable contributions to the study of international law. This book upon the *International Union of the*