

of tendencies shown in all government of a more or less democratic character. Thus, the general assembly which represented the people more directly, from the beginning fought for and finally won the initial right to levy taxes and make appropriations. During the whole period from 1702-1738 it steadily increased in power at the expense of the governor and of the royal council—the upper legislative house. Again, Bagehot, Dicey, Wilson and others have pointed out the fact that today the most successful governor-general of a self-governing colony is the one who, following the great example set by the crown in England, endeavors to rule by influence and not by direct assertion of authority. This was strikingly shown 200 years ago by the experience of the royal governors of New Jersey, who were usually successful only in so far as they followed the former method in their administration of the colony. Says Dr. Tanner: "Taking the part played by the governor in the work of legislation as a whole, our study shows that the office was respected by the legislative bodies, and . . . when the post was held by men who sought the welfare of the province, they could obtain reasonable measures which did not run absolutely counter to colonial views. The extent of the directing influence possessed by the governor, on the other hand, depended upon his political skill and his ability in handling men" (p. 231). Of the seven governors discussed, Robert Hunter (1710-1719) was the most tactful and capable and also the most successful.

In spite of the criticism stated above, the work is a valuable and authoritative treatment of a period which has been described heretofore only by historians of "amateur" or "popular" ability. Dr. Tanner shows keen, accurate and scholarly judgment in his evaluation of historical evidence, and it is to be hoped that he will complete his task by a further work carrying the narrative at least to the outbreak of the Revolution.

WILLIAM STARR MYERS.

*A Sovereign People: A Study of Swiss Democracy* By HENRY DEMAREST LLOYD, edited by JOHN A. HOBSON. (New York: Doubleday, Page and Company. 1907. Pp. xvi, 273.)

The editor of this book undertook a difficult task. He was obliged to write a volume of commentary upon the life of a nation from notes taken by another hand. The memoranda were indeed very abundant, but the difficulty of entering into the spirit of the original observer was none the less great. Mr. Hobson has, however, succeeded so well that

we wonder at times who is speaking. Occasional paragraphs of enthusiastic comment awaken a desire to know whether it be the voice of the editor or his friend. But this is idle curiosity, for the value of the book depends on the facts with which its arguments are sustained.

The work is not a complete description of administration in Switzerland, but justifies its title by considering those portions of the governmental framework in which the people come in immediate contact with public affairs. After a brief historical view of the growth of Swiss democracy there are chapters on the community, and on the "Landes-gemeinde," or town meeting plan of state government. The greater number of cantons follow the representative system, but the author describes the various checks employed to control legislative bodies. In all but one of the states there is to be found some form of referendum or initiative. The extension of direct legislation to the federal government is of more recent origin and the subject, consequently, gives rise to speculation as to how far this will go and how profitable has been the experience. In summing up the matter in a later chapter the author is of the opinion that the referendum and initiative have been very beneficial in Swiss politics. They have proved to be conservative in legislation and have abolished the political machine in administration. A study of the statute book shows that only a small per cent of proposed laws have been rejected, and that the popular vote does not prove to be an extinguisher of representative deliberation and initiative.

In view of this close control of legislation by the people, the management of public utilities assumes a different aspect from that found in monarchical countries. The nationalization of railroads in Switzerland took place as the result of a popular vote, following a previous experiment with the monopoly of the manufacture of alcohol. The latter measure has had no marked effect on the drink habit, but is a great financial success. Hence, perhaps, the cheerfulness with which the federal ownership of railways was approved, but back of it all lies the historic fact that for centuries states and communities have been accustomed to some form of public property. A chapter on municipal ownership gives the recent situation in regard to street railways, water, light, and other public utilities.

So much has been accomplished for democracy that socialism in Switzerland does not assume the extreme radical tendencies found in some other countries. Since results must in the end be obtained through the people rather than the politicians, the socialistic societies devote themselves to campaigns of education, and since the country is popu-

lated with small property owners, a revolutionary socialism would be rejected with horror. Capitalism has not made itself oppressively felt because there are no great opportunities for the exploitation of the public. There are no deposits of coal or iron, and transportation is owned by the state. Forests and water power are carefully supervised and the chances for private monopoly are minute. The political outlook therefore seems bright.

The author approached his subject as a thorough believer in democracy, and consequently found himself in sympathy with Swiss institutions, but the facts are so marshalled and his opinions are for the most part so temperately expressed that the argument for wider extension of direct democracy commands respect.

J. M. VINCENT.

ESSAI SUR L'HISTOIRE DES DOCTRINES DU CONTRAT SOCIAL. By FREDERIC ATGER. (Nîmes: Imprimerie Cooperative "La Laborieuse." 1906. Pp. 432.)

This work is almost spoiled by the exceedingly poor typographical workmanship. Two pages are taken up with "errata" and even then only a few of the numerous errors are corrected. It is to be regretted that in a work of merit, which this certainly is, the author should not have employed a better printer.

About one quarter of the treatise is taken up with the history of the theories of the social contract in antiquity and the middle ages. The balance of the work is devoted to a history of them from the sixteenth century to the present day. For this later period the author is able to go into considerable detail concerning the political and social conditions of the countries of Europe and to show how these conditions encouraged the spread of the theories of the social contract.

He does not, however, attempt to enumerate and describe all the writings in which the theory of the social contract is to be found. Any critic will find that certain works are not mentioned which might be included, but in general the selection of authors to be treated is well made and the treatises fully described. Though a little diffuse in certain portions the book is an excellent compendium of information along the line with which it deals in the field of political theory. Numerous quotations are given in support of the author's statements, but in no sense has he brought to light any new material or even presented it in a new fashion.