

No short review can do justice to a work of this kind, but it may be enough to call attention to the need of recognizing the moral sanctions and the Christian ethic as factors in the solution of the problems which confront modern governments. This book will well repay study by politicians who desire to know how the ideals of Christianity have entered into the development of the modern state and upon whose acceptance the permanence of the modern state depends.

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*The Life of Sir Henry Campbell Bannerman.* By J. A. SPENDER. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1924. Two volumes. Pp. iii, 351; 411.)

The late British premier has been most fortunate in his biographer. Mr. Spender was exceptionally well equipped for the task by reason of his close personal relations and intimate political associations with the late Liberal leader. Furthermore, he has brought to his study a more scientific point of view than is usually reflected in the glowing biographies of deceased statesmen. "The duty of a biographer," as he well says, "is not to force his own views on the reader but to provide the material on which the reader may form his own opinion." That duty he has ably and sympathetically performed.

The author has presented us with a splendid picture of a genial, canny Scot who combined in an unusual degree the qualities of a moral leader with the gifts of a practical statesman. "In politics he was, in the words of Mr. Asquith, an idealist in aim and an optimist by temperament. Great causes appealed to him. He was not ashamed even on the verge of old age to 'see visions and to dream dreams.' He had no misgivings as to the future of democracy. He had a single-minded and an unquenchable faith in the unceasing progress and the growing unity of mankind. None the less in the selection of means in the daily work of tilling the political field, in the choice of this man or that for some particular task, he showed not only the practical shrewdness which came from his Scottish ancestors, but the outlook, the detachment, the insight of a cultivated citizen of the world." He was, in short, the finest product of Gladstonian liberalism.

The early years of the premier's political life were rather dull and uninteresting. Only slowly did he come to maturity. As a private member of the House, and even as a cabinet minister, he showed little promise of superior parliamentary gifts or statesmanship. He was

happy in his political associations and content with the faithful performance of his parliamentary and administrative duties. His subsequent selection as leader of the opposition in the House of Commons was manifestly a make-shift appointment which threatened for a time to prove disastrous to the fortunes of the party. Few political leaders, in truth, have been exposed to such scorn and indignities, not only from his opponents, but even from within the ranks of his own party. But he bore these attacks with remarkable courage and equanimity and even in the darkest moments did not lose faith in the ultimate triumph of the principles of liberalism and democracy. His faith was supported "not only by his stubborn, indomitable character and his loyalty to principles but by a belief in the qualities of his countrymen, Scottish and English, so intense and abiding as to enable him to possess his soul against the day when the dust and hubbub subsided and the decent plain folk of England were themselves again." In this case, at least, his political faith was not misplaced. Friend and foe alike learned to respect his high integrity; and when at last he emerged triumphant out of great tribulations he had won a place in the confidence and affection of his countrymen such as has been vouchsafed to few public leaders.

It is not surprising, therefore, that the author has been tempted to devote perhaps too much attention to the *Sturm und Drang* period of his political life. The factional struggles of the Liberal leaders undoubtedly played a large part in the political thought of the country at that time, but today these dissensions seem relatively unimportant save as they forecast the future disruption of the Liberal party now so much in evidence.

But for this undue emphasis upon purely internal or domestic affairs "C. B." himself was largely responsible. Like many of his fellow Liberals of that day he was at heart essentially a Little Englander in his political philosophy and outlook, and was only interested in foreign and imperial events insofar as they reacted on English politics or appealed to his democratic and humanitarian sympathies. He was, for example, almost blind to the imperial aspects of Mr. Chamberlain's program, and to the even more striking political significance of the participation of the dominions in the South African War. In short, he thought of the Empire in terms of Mid-Victorian liberalism. He had scarcely begun to think imperially.

He was apparently almost equally oblivious to the approaching war menace on the Continent. His outlook on foreign affairs was colored

throughout by a generous philosophy of international good-will which led him to hope and believe that matters would turn out all right in the end. He was a staunch supporter of the *entente cordiale* and of the *rapprochement* of Russia. The adjustment of the long standing difficulties with France and Russia would, he hoped, serve as a precedent for a similar understanding with Germany. He at least was no party to the policy of German encirclement, howsoever blameworthy he may have been for his unhappy part in the military pour parlers with France. In short, the beneficent ideals of "C. B.," as the author points out, afford the best defense of the peaceful intentions of the British government prior to the war.

This work, we may then assert, more than sustains the author's literary reputation. It is in most respects an admirable example of what a biography ought to be. Throughout the two volumes the author is careful to keep his own views and judgments well in the background and to present the personality and policy of his subject in proper relations to the events and philosophy of his own day. He has shown rare discrimination in the selection of his original material and in fitting it into his interpretation of the life and character of the deceased statesman.

In conclusion we cannot refrain from quoting the author's just tribute to his memory:

"No man was ever more of a democrat and less of a demagogue than Campbell-Bannerman, and if there is anything that may be learnt from his example, it is that a man may still in this country save his life by losing it, and win popular applause and affection by bravely resisting the tumults and excitements of the hour. Of all the arts of manipulating opinion, currying favour with newspapers, trimming sails to the popular breeze, he was wholly innocent. Right or wrong he never had his ears to the ground, or could he turn from a course in which his convictions were engaged by the fear of the polling-booth."

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*The American Colonies in the Eighteenth Century.* By HERBERT L. OSGOOD, PH.D., LL.D. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1924. Two volumes. Pp. xxxii, 552; xxiv, 554.)

These two handsome volumes include the first half of the manuscript of the late Professor Osgood's history of the American colonies from 1690 to 1763. Those who are acquainted with his three earlier