

attempt is made to give a picture of the political society of which the old electoral and parliamentary system was the consummate flower. The subject was apparently not grasped as a whole, or in its setting, but in parts. The book does not indicate that the authors had dwelt intellectually in the old aristocratic society of Great Britain long enough to become thoroughly conversant with it. It indicates diligent note-taking rather than wide reading and prolonged meditation. The book is therefore hard to read. It is a work to be consulted rather than read through. Though of great value as a contribution to knowledge, it is not itself in all respects a finished product.

HERBERT L. OSGOOD.

Self-Government in Canada and how it was achieved: The Story of Lord Durham's Report. By F. BRADSHAW. London, P. S. King and Son, 1903. — 414 pp.

It does not seem likely at present that Mr. Chamberlain will succeed in convincing the British people that preferential tariffs are necessary to the preservation of the empire, but at least he has the satisfaction of knowing that his agitation has aroused the keenest public interest in colonial questions. Of the many books dealing with those questions which have appeared in the last half decade, few, if any, teach such valuable lessons as are to be found in the volume under review. Great Britain has never faced a more difficult colonial problem than that which confronted her in Canada at the close of the Seven Years' War, and the story of her struggles to find a satisfactory solution is one of the most instructive chapters in the history of the empire. The central feature of the book is an exhaustive analysis of Lord Durham's report. But to appreciate this document one must have a picture of the social, economic, religious and political conditions of the country at the time when it was written. One hundred and twelve pages are accordingly devoted to a sketch of the history of Canada from the English conquest in 1760 to Durham's arrival in 1838. The "rule of the soldiery," the constitutions of 1774 and 1791, the Papineau and Mackenzie agitations and the rebellion of 1837 are discussed briefly but thoroughly. The reader is thus saved the necessity of plodding through the ponderous tomes of Kingsford to get in touch with the historical situation.

The disturbances of 1837 were restricted to Upper Canada, where there was a large American element, and to Lower Canada, where the French predominated. There was also considerable dissatisfaction in

the Maritime Provinces, but the intensely British character of the population prevented an open revolt. In Upper Canada the ruling class was composed of the earliest English settlers and of American loyalists who had left the United States at the close of the Revolution. An oligarchy at Toronto, the so-called "family compact," practically controlled the government. Opposed to it were the Dissenters, whose ranks were recruited largely from the later American, Irish and Scotch settlers. Political and religious questions were involved, but, as Mr Bradshaw shows, the most serious grievances were economic in character. The "family compact" and the Established Church had received huge grants of the best land in the province, which they were unable to improve and settle. The people also suffered from the lack of transportation facilities. The Welland canal had been constructed at great expense, and work had been begun on the Cornwall canal, but for lack of capital it was not completed. The government was accordingly compelled to meet enormous interest charges and to keep in repair a public work, which, under the circumstances, was comparatively useless. The situation was made worse by the persistent refusal of Lower Canada to take any steps toward deepening the St. Lawrence. In Lower Canada the French Roman Catholic majority was arrayed against the English Protestant minority, an ignorant and inefficient peasantry against merchants of wealth and intelligence. The French had numbers, the English had wealth; the French voted the taxes, the English had to pay them. As Durham expressed it, there were "two nations warring in the bosom of a single state." That there should have been continual strife between these factions in the two provinces was inevitable. But when the final appeal to arms was made, only the most extreme radicals responded. The Methodist influence was thrown against Mackenzie in Upper Canada, and the influence of the *curés* against Papineau in Lower Canada.

Lord Durham arrived at Quebec, May 28, 1838. The act which provided for his appointment and the instructions which he received from the government were apparently intended to confer upon him the powers of a dictator. At any rate, he acted upon that hypothesis. One of his measures was to issue an ordinance by which the leaders in the recent rebellion, without being permitted even the form of a trial, were condemned to exile in the Bermudas and were threatened with death in case they returned. Parliament disapproved of the ordinance, and he resigned.

Although he was in Canada only five months, Durham was able, with the aid of a valuable corps of assistants, to make a careful study

of the situation. The results were published in the report, which has been characterized as "one of the ablest state documents ever penned." Bradshaw gives us a detailed study of each of its five sections: Lower Canada, Upper Canada, the Maritime Provinces, public lands and emigration, and recommendations. The various problems, racial, religious, political, social and economic, are explained and discussed with thoroughness and freedom from prejudice. Durham's recommendations have been of great value to the British government. He advocated the union between Upper and Lower Canada, which was brought about in 1841. That measure, to be sure, proved unwise, but the remedy adopted for the evil in 1867 was that of a legislative union of all the provinces, which had also been suggested in the report. Finally, the extension of the system of parliamentary government to the colonies, the foundation of Britain's new colonial policy, was strongly recommended by Durham, although he did not originate the idea.

The problem of authorship is one of the most interesting questions that have come up in connection with the report. The truth of the epigram that "Wakefield thought it, Buller wrote it, Durham signed it" was called into question many years ago. John Stuart Mill regarded Buller as practically the sole author; an article in the *British Quarterly Review* for November, 1849, attributed it to Wakefield; Egerton is equally convinced that the credit belongs to Lord Durham himself; Dr. Garnett divides the honors almost evenly between Buller and Durham and assigns to Wakefield a subordinate share (see the *English Historical Review*, April and July, 1902). Bradshaw's account confirms Dr. Garnett's theory of triple authorship, but he is inclined to be more favorable to Wakefield and Durham and a little less so to Buller.

W. ROY SMITH.

BRYN MAWR COLLEGE.

South Carolina as a Royal Province, 1719-1776. By W. ROY SMITH. New York, The Macmillan Company, 1903. — 441 pp.

This work is essentially a development of the following thesis:

Without assuming, as Chalmers does, that the colonists were all along consciously striving for independence, I think we may safely affirm that the real history of the revolt dates from the founding of the first English settlements in Virginia. . . . The object of this monograph is to trace the progress of the struggle in South Carolina, with the hope that it may throw some light upon the history of the American Revolution [preface, p. v].