

and providing that a province shall be entitled to a number of members in the House of Commons not less than that of its senators. Documents chosen from the periods, 1791-1840 and 1840-1867, form the largest part of the collection. This is as it should be, for between 1791 and 1867, and especially between 1828 and 1854, constitutional developments in Canada and to some extent also in the Maritime Provinces, proceeded at a pace which today comes as a surprise to students of the constitutional history of either England or the United States. This is not the place to recount these developments, but it may be remarked that in the whole realm of constitutional history in English-speaking countries there is nothing of more absorbing interest than the struggle in the United Provinces of Canada for responsible government as it developed in the period from 1841 to 1854. The volume contains no index. However, a synopsis of the documents running to twenty-two pages makes up, to some extent, for this deficiency.

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*National Self-Government, its Growth and Principles.* By RAMSAY MUIR. New York, Henry Holt and Company, 1918.—xi, 312 pp.

*The Culmination of Modern History* is the rather ambitious supertitle under which Professor Muir groups his trilogy, *Nationalism and Internationalism*, *The Expansion of Europe* and *National Self-Government*. Last in order of publication, the volume on *National Self-Government* is logically the prelude to the other two, for obviously internationalism is built on the foundations of a conscious and well-developed nationalism, which is also the condition, both material and moral, of colonial expansion. Professor Muir confesses, however, that his volumes were not planned with logical forethought. They all grew, he says, out of a lecture given before a popular audience to show "how all the greatest political developments of the modern world were being brought simultaneously to a great test in the world war." These developments—nationality, international cooperation, self-government through representative institutions, the extension of the political and economic influence of Europe into the non-European world—all seemed to the author to grow together in closer relation to one another even as they were differentiated in his mind, and each accumulated the material for a separate volume.

In the work on *National Self-Government*, Professor Muir has a double purpose: First, to pass in historical survey the growth of the

machinery of self-government in the various states of Western Europe ; and second, to use this historical material as a text for the discussion of the problems of self-government under the various difficulties which it has to face in the inherited character and traditions of peoples. The second purpose outweighs the first in the author's mind. He calls his book "a political essay rather than a formal history, an attempt at what may be called 'historical politics', a blend of narrative and analysis".

The plan and structure of the book are admirable. After a sketch of the rudimentary organs of parliamentarianism in the medieval estates, the author describes the emergence of the "dogmas of liberty" in the great revolutions at the close of the eighteenth century and proceeds to the political transformations of the nineteenth. These latter he considers under these topics: "The Era of Liberal Revolutions, 1815-1855" and "The Era of National Unification, 1855-1878". Here the preponderantly historical or descriptive part of the book gives place to the politico-philosophical analysis of "the rival systems" of parliamentary and autocratic government in operation (1878-1900) and the brewing of the storm of the great world war.

In covering so vast a subject the author, of course, has to limit his description of the institutions of Western Europe to those that are most important and typical. Germany, Austro-Hungary, Russia, France and England furnish almost all of the material. And in the latter part of the book the argument narrows virtually to a comparison of the British and the German political systems as the sharply contrasted examples of democracy and autocracy. In the final chapter on "The Supreme Issue", the author becomes almost lyric in his prophecy of the destinies of self-governing peoples.

Throughout the book, as notably in the volume on *The Expansion of Europe*, Professor Muir is insistent on the virtues of England and perhaps to her failures (if not her faults) "a little blind". For example, the collapse of Russia after the promise of Brusilov's "drives" was due, according to Professor Muir, to "half-heartedness, corruption, and frank treason" (page 284); but readers of Morgenthau's and Masefield's stories of what happened at Gallipoli know that the Russian *débâcle* was not wholly due to German intrigue.

It is astonishing to find in a book of such evident merit and scholarship as many errors and misconceptions as Professor Muir incorporates in his chapter on the American and French Revolutions. One wonders from what source save imagination he could have gathered the misinformation on the American political system which appears on pages

37 to 44. He affirms that at the time of our independence there was "social and political equality" in the new republic, that America in the early years of her nationhood was "preserved by her geographical position from all serious danger of foreign complications", that an amendment to the Constitution could not become effective "until two-thirds of the separate states had decided by majorities of three to one to accept an alteration of the Constitution", that the Supreme Court held the income tax invalid in 1895 because it deprived citizens of their property "otherwise than by process of law", that the President is "irremovable during his period of office", that he cannot declare war "without the *assent* of the legislature", and that the American Constitution had "only in a very slight degree influenced the forms" in which the demands for political liberty in other lands were embodied (see Professor Brooks' volume on *The Government and Politics of Switzerland*, and Dr. Curtis' dissertation on *The Influence of the American Constitution on the Constitution of the French Republic of 1848*, to say nothing of the constitutions of the Latin-American republics). And how many students of the French Revolution, having in mind the work of Turgot, Necker, Malesherbes and Mirabeau, could acquiesce in the statement (page 46) that the Revolution at its beginning "took the form not of definite and measurable projects of reform, but first of an analysis of the nature and aims of human society at large, and secondly, of a series of bold and unqualified doctrines, not relating solely to the circumstances of France, but claiming a universal validity"! All that Professor Muir sees (at least all that he notes) in the French Revolution is what was "shallow", "doctrinaire", "vague" and "unpractical" (page 49).

At any rate it is fortunate that Professor Muir has grouped his false or questionable statements almost entirely in the short chapter on the revolutions of the eighteenth century. Outside those few pages there is little to take exception to, though the reader wonders how the author can say that the Stuarts "never dreamt of placing restrictions" on local governments (page 23), or why he dates the Dreyfus affair "1897-1900" (page 199), and the terminus of the Conservative reaction in England "1906" (page 207) when the Campbell-Bannerman ministry was seated in power the year before, or how Karl Marx would feel if he heard himself described as the "inspiration" of those who "scorn the dream of coöperation for the common weal" (page 286).

But we should not miss the forest by dwelling on a few diseased trees. What Professor Muir set out to do he has done with brilliancy and conviction. He has shown that "the fortunes of self-government

are bound up with the fortunes of nationalism, since it is only in communities unified by national feeling that genuine self-government is possible" (page 240).

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*The Patrimony of the Roman Church in the Time of Gregory the Great.* By EDWARD SPEARING. London, Cambridge University Press, 1918.—xix, 147 pp.

This little book, the author of which gave his life upon a battlefield in France in 1916, is based upon a study of the letters of Gregory the Great and upon the treatises of Ewald, Borgia, Zaccaria, Hartmann and Grisar. After an introductory statement of the importance of the patrimony as the foundation of the material greatness of the medieval papacy, in that it enabled the pope to become a powerful independent ruler, twenty pages are devoted to a discussion of the growth and extent of patrimony under Gregory the Great. It is shown that while the Christian Church in Rome had acquired considerable wealth in the early days, the acquisition of great estates by the church dates from the legalization by the Emperor Constantine of gifts of property to it. Roman nobles who had embraced Christianity made enormous donations to the church, especially during the fifth century, and these were further increased by imperial bounties. Patrimony was also augmented by a "small but continuous stream of goods and estates" of deceased church dignitaries, monks and slaves (page 4). Of these three sources, the gifts from the faithful nobles were by far the most important. The estates were widely distributed, but for administrative purposes they were grouped together to form large territories such as those of Italy, Sicily, Illyria, Gaul and Africa.

Following a brief discussion of the various patrimonies, of which that of Sicily was the most important, the second chapter deals with the government or general system of administration. Papal administration of the patrimony was largely imperialistic in character. The pope as an absolute monarch was comparable with the emperor, "the rectors with the provincial governors, while the Church, like the State, possessed its defensors, notaries, and courts of justice" (page 21). Considerable detail is given to the appointment, powers and duties of these officials. Of especial importance is the discussion of the efforts of the church to build up a system of organized poor relief in connection with the administration of the various patrimonies.

In the third chapter a rather detailed explanation is given of the internal organization of each patrimony, but of greater import is the