

the age contributed to the enduring possessions of postal science. It will appear, perhaps, that Norway has not described the service "in its prime" (p. 303), but rather in its victorious transition from youth and youthful deeds to the maturity of manhood. The packet service of England had its prime in the days of William III. and Queen Anne. Its growth under the early Georges was not equal to the requirements of the empire. The struggle against Napoleon and for supremacy brought out the full resources of England, and its postal needs on land and sea were met as they arose. In sea-mails and everything implied it was the age described by Norway that gave England her supremacy, which foreign nations have envied but not effectually challenged.

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*Democracy and Liberty.* By WILLIAM EDWARD HARTPOLE LECKY.  
(New York, London, and Bombay: Longmans, Green and Co.  
1896. Two vols., pp. xxi, 568; xix, 602.)

It is impossible in a review of ordinary length to give a complete idea, much less a thorough criticism, of a book that touches on so many aspects of politics and treats of so many problems in public life, as this last work by Mr. Lecky. It is necessary, therefore, to confine oneself to some of the more salient points which it presents. The first volume begins with a discussion of modern political institutions, and its dominant note is the decline of parliamentary government, attributed by the author to the wide extension of the suffrage, and to an entire abandonment of the connection between taxation and representation which was formerly the cardinal principle of the English government. Mr. Lecky is struck by the inefficiency of representative bodies in all countries, and he draws a picture of the political corruption in the United States, which, if somewhat highly colored, contains unfortunately far too much truth. Like many conservative Englishmen, however, he feels—and all the more keenly for his distrust of representative bodies—the great importance of the restraint on legislation furnished by the power of the American courts to hold statutes unconstitutional. It is certainly a striking fact that the Americans, among whom democracy on an extensive scale has been established longer than among any other people, should have been the first to learn to put their representatives under guardianship. The constitutions of many of the states are getting more and more elaborate, are limiting to a greater and greater extent the competence of the legislatures; and it is no less noticeable that within the last ten years there has been a decided increase in the readiness of the courts to hold statutes invalid on constitutional grounds. Curiously enough, this is quite as marked in the states where the judiciary is elective as it is in those where it is appointed. Nor does it seem to arouse any general disapprobation. Étienne Lamy has remarked that the great art in politics consists not in hearing those who speak, but in hearing those who are silent; and it is probable that if in America we could ascer-

tain the real sentiments of the people we should find that the activity of the courts in disregarding the acts of the legislature was highly popular.

Although Mr. Lecky is evidently of opinion that English representative institutions still work on a higher plane than those in other countries, he thinks that there is a marked decline in English parliamentary life; that there is a growing tendency to sacrifice important national interests to the ambition of the man, or the party, in order to win the votes of the various sections of the electorate. He points out the danger that legislation in the future will be the result of coalitions among a number of minorities each with a pet project that would stand no chance of being carried on its own merits. And in this connection he expresses the belief which is commonly held to-day, but which we do not share, that the great parties in England are destined to break in pieces, and be replaced by a number of small groups, such as are found in almost every legislative body on the continent. He does not attribute this to any general deterioration of the English people; for he holds that the character of the nation is by no means always shown by its public life, and that in England national character and the capacity for producing great men has not declined.

The main subject of Mr. Lecky's book is the connection between democracy and liberty, and on this he dwells at great length. He begins by referring to the fact, so often overlooked, that while in some ways the respect for personal liberty is much greater among Anglo-Saxons than in continental nations, in other ways it is much less.

"On the other hand," he says, "numerous restraints, prohibitions and punishments exist in England, and are strongly supported by English opinion, which would in other zones of thought be bitterly resented. It would seem, in many countries, a monstrous tyranny that poor parents should be compelled to send their children to school, and should be fined by a magistrate if they kept them at home in times when they most needed their services. The English Sunday wears to many Continental minds at least as repulsive an aspect as the Star Chamber would wear to a modern Englishman. That a man who wished to work on that day should not be allowed to do so; that a struggling shopkeeper should be forbidden, if he desired it, to open his shop; that a farmer should be prevented from reaping his own harvest when every fine day is of vital consequence to his interests; that poor men should be excluded by law on their one holiday from their place of meeting and refreshment; that nearly all forms of amusement, and even most of the public picture galleries, museums, and libraries should be closed on the day on which they could give the widest pleasure, would seem to many quite as serious an infringement of liberty as those acts against which Magna Charta and the Bill of Rights were directed."

The writer of this review remembers how a friend was told in Germany that it was absurd to boast of personal freedom in a country where a man was not allowed to buy a glass of beer on Sunday. The fact is that the Continental nations are less inclined than Anglo-Saxons to interfere on moral grounds with conduct which concerns the participants alone and does not affect their neighbors, while they are far more inclined to restrain

any acts that may influence the opinions or conduct of others. It is common, for example, to find on the continent that a man may drink as much as he pleases, but that without the permission of the government he cannot found a society for encouraging temperance; and that he may spend his Sundays as he likes, but may not start a religious body for the purpose of inculcating any particular observance of the day. In short, to put the matter somewhat broadly and inaccurately, it may be said that there is more private personal freedom in France than in England, but less social, corporate, or organic liberty.

Mr. Lecky takes up in turn the various kinds of liberty and their development of late years. From this point of view he discusses the subjects of religion, of education, of the observance of Sunday, of the restraint of gambling and drunkenness, and of marriage and divorce. He treats the questions that arise from the philosophic and the historical standpoint, and shows how far the tendency in each of these matters has been towards greater freedom, and how far towards greater restraint.

Perhaps the most interesting part of the book is that which is devoted to socialism and labor questions. The author begins with the fact so much emphasized of late, that socialistic theories are a "revival of beliefs which had been supposed to have been long since finally exploded — the aspirations to customs belonging to early and rudimentary stages of society." "This tendency," he remarks, "in the midst of the many and violent agitations of modern life, to revert to archaic types of thought and custom, will hereafter be considered one of the most remarkable characteristics of the nineteenth century. It may be traced in more than one department of European literature; in Tractarian theology, which seeks its ideals in the Church as it existed before the Reformation; in pre-Raphaelite art, which regards Raphael and Michael Angelo as a decadence, and seeks its models among their predecessors. These two last movements, at least, have in a great degree spent their force; but we are living in the centre of a reaction towards Tudor regulation of industry and an almost Oriental exaggeration of the powers of the State, though there are already, I think, some signs of the inevitable revolt which is to come." Democracy is certainly reversing most strangely the principles of its earlier career, and the socialists are advocating in its name doctrines which its founders regarded with the utmost aversion. Any one, indeed, who reads now for the first time Buckle's *History of Civilization* is puzzled and perplexed to understand how any one could ever have believed in a necessary connection between democracy and individual liberty.

Mr. Lecky traces the history of socialistic theories and their relation to democracy, noting how the French Revolution began with a condemnation of all restraints on the liberty of the individual, especially in such matters as restrictions upon the freedom of labor. From this time he follows the growth of modern socialism from Godwin and Saint-Simon, through the movements of 1848, down to Marx, Lassalle, and the writers of the present day who are firmly convinced that they are carrying out

the principles of 1789. He then proceeds to discuss the attempts to put socialistic theories into operation in the form of labor and factory laws. Although he considers that the attempt to organize a "vast, fluctuating, highly locomotive population . . . on the plan and framework of a socialistic state is the idlest of dreams," he recognizes the incalculable danger of experiments in this direction; and, like the classic writers, he feels that "the best security of the industrial fabric is to be found in the wide division and diffusion of property, which softens the lines of class demarcation, and gives the great masses of the people a close and evident interest in the security of property, the maintenance of contracts, the credit and well-being of the State." In spite of the increased sense of the inequality of fortunes, he believes that wealth is really becoming more and more evenly distributed. "If it is true," he says, "that, with the agglomeration of industries, great capital is more and more needed for successful industry, it is also true that a great capital is ceasing more and more to imply a great capitalist. It often consists mainly of the combination of a large number of moderate, or even very small, shareholders, and the chief industries of the world are thus coming rapidly to rest on a broad proprietary basis."

In the course of his discussion of socialism, Mr. Lecky brings into strong relief the relation between communistic principles and the institution of marriage. He points out that so long as the family exists, and parents bring up their own children, it will be impossible to overthrow the universal desire of providing for them, which can only be done by means of individual property; whereas, if all children were brought up by the State, it would be much less difficult to introduce the ownership of property in common. It is clear, therefore, that the continental socialistic writers, who decry marriage altogether, are far more logical than the English and American socialistic writers, who maintain their respect for it.

After reading the book, one cannot help feeling that Mr. Lecky's partisanship is a trifle too evident when he deals with questions of current English politics. This is unfortunate, as it mars to some extent the scientific value of his work. It must also be said that the book suffers a little from the lack of a systematic method of treatment. The subjects dealt with are not classified and arranged so as to give the reader a perfectly clear idea of their relation to one another or to democracy. Some of the phenomena, for example, which the author observes at the present day can hardly be attributed with certainty to democratic institutions. Political corruption, for example, was more rife in the England of Walpole and Newcastle than at the present day. Nor is the exceeding size of the sums that are squandered necessarily the result of an extended franchise. It is rather the result of increased productiveness and extravagance which may, perhaps, be connected with democracy, but which are certainly not a necessary result of the political institutions of the present day. The effects of democracy are indeed so mixed with the results

flowing from other causes that it is impossible for us, standing in the raging whirlpool of the present, to see clearly the various streams that are flowing about us. Although democracy is undoubtedly the cause of a good many evils, it is rash to attribute to that one source all the evils from which we suffer. It is, perhaps, safer to suspend judgment and say, with Edmond Scherer, "*La démocratie est une étape dans cette marche fatale vers un but ignoré, et dès lors la démocratie ne mérite tout à fait ni les craintes qu'elle éveille, ni l'ardeur qu'elle inspire.*"

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*The Journal of Captain William Pote, jr.*, during his Captivity in the French and Indian War, from May, 1745, to August, 1747. (New York: Dodd, Mead and Co. 1896. Pp. xxxvii, 223.)

THE Pote journal is a manuscript volume of 234 closely written pages,  $6\frac{3}{4} \times 4\frac{1}{4}$  inches in size. The paper is of strong texture, and the quality of the ink is so good that one experiences no difficulty in reading every line of the manuscript. It was kept by Captain William Pote, jr., of that part of Falmouth, Me., now known as Woodford's, during his enforced residence at Quebec, as a prisoner of war. His fellow-prisoners were the Rev. John Norton and Nehemiah How, whose slender tracts of forty and twenty-two pages each have, up to this time, furnished the only record we have had of this captivity. Pote's narrative is very complete, and supplies the missing links in the chain of episodes and events. He was careful to note every incident which occurred, and nothing seems to have escaped his observant eye. When released, he took the precaution to hand the journal to one of the female prisoners, who concealed it about her person, and it thus escaped confiscation. On one of the fly-leaves is the signature of the chief engineer of Nova Scotia, John Henry Bastide, to whom the author reported on his arrival at Louisburg, and at the end is the autograph of Pote.

The "Account of the Journal" is written by Bishop John Fletcher Hurst, who acquired the manuscript while in Geneva, Switzerland, in August, 1890. He examined his "find" with curiosity and delight, though at first he was not quite sure of its value. On his return to America he submitted the treasure to Messrs. George H. Moore, Wilberforce Eames, and Charles L. Woodward, of New York, skilled students of colonial Americana, and their opinion influenced his determination to publish it. As a result, we have a valuable, interesting, and sumptuous book. The edition comprises 350 copies on Holland hand-made paper, and twenty-five extra copies on Japan paper, octavo. There is a frontispiece on parchment paper, showing Bellin's "Plan of Annapolis Royal," taken from Charlevoix's *Nouvelle France*. There is a sketch-map giving the route of Captain Pote's toilsome journey to Quebec. Dr. Hurst's "account" is supplemented by an exceedingly useful historical introduction, from the pen of that eminent genealogist and scholar, Mr. Victor H. Paltsits, of the