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not rest an excessive confidence on the sharpness of their analytical distinctions. Here, as elsewhere, they are perhaps too prone to claim that they have at last discovered the real solution, sought in vain, or overlooked, by previous enquirers, and that the subject is now so transparently clear that the right conclusion becomes inevitable. But, on the other hand, they have undoubtedly here, as elsewhere, contributed by their extensive knowledge of the actual facts, and by their able cross-examination of them, to elucidate materially the problem. To the whole of their writing the Baconian epithet of *lucifera* may be justly applied. Our only doubt is whether to some extent even in this second and concluding portion, as, in a greater degree, in the earlier historical part, their evident endeavour to make their work *fructifera* may not have resulted in casting across the dry light of the pure science they profess to love a disturbing shadow. But that they have made a contribution to economic research, of which it is easy to underrate the difficulty, and hard to overestimate the value, must, we are convinced, be evident to every candid reader; and by their pains, their energy, and their ability they have set an example, which can only be followed with profit to the cause of systematic social inquiry.

L. L. PRICE

Social Switzerland. By WILLIAM HARBUTT DAWSON. (London: Chapman and Hall, 1897.)

MR. DAWSON tells us why he has written his book. He thinks it will help Englishmen to get out of some of their own difficulties. "The investigations, of which it (the book) is a record, were undertaken in the hope and belief that the experience of Switzerland, in not a few directions of social reform, would prove of assistance in our country, by throwing light, not, indeed, upon our problems—for they are clear and plain to view—but upon the treatment of them."

Now, I really think it would have been preferable not to know why he has written his book, because the motive he gives, instead of acting as a *captatio benevolentiae*, for which, I suppose, it was meant, is such as to put the reader on a wrong track, viz., on the look-out for lessons concerning England, if it does not provoke his criticism from the very first. Don't most people know, from personal experience, that it has never done *them* any good to be looking at what has done *other* people good? If *you* don't know how to make money by yourself, will it help you much to ask another person how *he* managed to make money? Are not the only lessons worth learning those which you have picked up by yourself, by having them driven into you *volens volens*? If other people's experience is to be of any good to you, you must make sure that your case is like theirs, at least, in its leading features. Now this is just what you can't make sure of in most cases. And, if you don't, and will take the physic of some neighbour of yours, you'll only get all the worse for it. As a rule, everybody has to scramble for

himself, according to systems adapted to his own case, invented by himself, and corrected according to variations in circumstances, It may be sad, but it seems to be true, that we can very rarely give our neighbour a hand at anything with anything like a real or permanent benefit for him.

Of course, I exaggerate in saying so, and what I really mean is only this: to request those who might be tempted to run straight off into imitation, to take first an intellectual bath by going over again some of the chapters of G. C. Lewis's treatise *On the Methods of Observation and Reasoning in Politics*, say his chapter on "Practical Examples and Real Models." In the case of Swiss examples this is particularly necessary. A Swiss State is such a little thing that it has no analogy whatever with other European States. Everybody knows everybody. Now quantitative differences lead to qualitative differences in political or social matters. Take an example. Zurich, some years ago, passed a law fixing a minimum of wages for all the operatives employed by the municipality. Lausanne is now going to do the same, because the socialists are in power. Well, no doubt the measure is absurd. If the legal minimum is equal to equilibrium wages, it is useless. If it is lower, it will never be applied. If it is above, you must get rid of the supply which at that price is in excess of the demand by some arbitrary system of choosing among the operatives those who are to be kept on the premises. It is easy to imagine what this arbitrary system would mean in a large political community, say at New York or at Naples. At Zurich it means nothing at all, and it will mean nothing at all at Lausanne. People are thoroughly honest and righteous and full of public spirit. The pressure of public opinion being enormous, is an effective check upon all unfair and hasty proceedings. The only effect of the law is that the authority can arbitrarily choose the men they think fittest, and as their decision is a perfectly fair one, it can't even be urged that the municipality are doing a bit of bad business; the efficiency of the men chosen probably makes them worth their wages, and if there were no law, enlightened interest would lead to their receiving those very same wages and the preference before other competitors tendering work for lower wages.

Mr. Dawson's book only discusses certain chosen topics among the many which could be treated under such a heading as "Social Switzerland." These topics all concern direct interests of the labouring classes. First come six chapters "On the Organisation and Protection of Labour"; then three chapters "On Industrial Peace"; a very full discussion of the problem of the unemployed follows in six chapters. The three last topics are "Poor-Law Agencies," "Technical Education," and the "Control of Drink Traffic."

Mr. Dawson approves of most of the institutions or measures he reports on. I can't say I think him biassed in doing this, generally; if he is biassed, his bias has done its work in a preceding stadium,

that is, in the choice of the topics. He paints where the sun shines, but there he paints true to nature. I would take exception only to one of his chapters, the last one, on the drink traffic. Mr. Dawson has gone for information to head-quarters. M. Milliet, the distinguished member of the International Statistical Institute, has given him every information he thought he needed concerning the department he manages. I suppose that, as a rule, it is best to go to head-quarters for information. But rules are all of them of the species which puts schoolboys into despair when they have to learn Latin or Greek. Is there not a tale of Cæsar not being always quite trustworthy in his *De Bello Gallico*? And is there not a tale of Bonaparte's *Mémoires* not having always the very best information concerning his own campaigns? Now, in the case of the Alcohol Monopoly, perhaps M. Milliet ought to have suggested to Mr. Dawson to take a look at the opinions of his opponent, who was chief of the *Département Fédéral de l'Agriculture*, when it was proposed to reform the taxes on alcohol, and who discussed the whole matter again after ten years' experiment—I mean Monsieur Numa Droz. (This essay on the Alcohol Monopoly is reprinted in his *Essais Économiques*.) Facts, and conclusions to be drawn from facts, come out very differently.

However, this chapter in Mr. Dawson's book is one of the shorter ones, and whatever criticism it may merit, it does not spoil the rest of his work, which is excellent. If, having begun by the tail of the book—perhaps from a latent desire to see if there was any poison in it—we now run through it in the inverse order in which it is written, we come to the chapter on Technical Education, and hit upon the one point where Mr. Dawson's hope and belief that his book may contain materials for imitation abroad—*cum grano salis*—is justified. The two leading concerns of Swiss Governments are to give the citizens quick and cheap justice and cheap and practical instruction. This is so much the case that any traveller through Switzerland will be struck by the fact that the finest modern buildings are either schools or courts of justice, and, together, are about the only things worth seeing, as far as modern architectures are concerned. If, thereupon, he looked into the budgets, he would see what a very large proportion of the expenses are absorbed by these two items. And with the States vie the municipalities and private enterprises. Private enterprise is, of course, superseded in popular instruction, but holds its own in instruction for the middle classes, and particularly for girls of the better classes, acting as a model for State enterprise which lags behind in initiative. Private enterprise also tries to correct the physical damage of excess in school work, creating by public subscription playgrounds in the greatest possible vicinity to schools. Mr. Dawson limits his study of the schools to those which are strictly technical, schools for arts and crafts, schools for engineering, commercial schools, and the polytechnicum.

He gives us a history of these institutions, figures and descriptions.

The whole movement in this direction is remarkably recent. It dates from 1884. Mr. Dawson thinks it came from France. In this he is perfectly right. Lorenz von Stein shows clearly, in the volume of his *Verwaltungslehre*, which treats of public instruction, that all continental superior technical instruction has originally been copied from the special schools instituted in France under the first empire. I don't think Switzerland has, as yet, superior schools of commerce which can rival with the schools of Antwerp, Paris, Venice, or Trieste, and it lacks also books for commercial studies of the kind and quality of those of Yeats. What are really marvellous are its schools for artisans. It is partially due to them that all lower kind of work is done by foreigners, especially Italians and Germans, whilst the Swiss have the leadership. The Swiss do perhaps more than any other people for the practical education of their women, and I believe the results must be felt powerfully on public wealth. It has been observed by competent people that what helps France over most of the follies committed by its men, is the economic, orderly, and active spirit of its women of the middle and lower classes. Now the Swiss women even seem superior under this point of view.

Mr. Dawson's following chapter is the one I read with the greatest interest, because it treats of the help given to those who need it and merit it, or, at least, have not demerited it. He tells of the homes for the aged poor, of the shelter for the homeless, and of children's holiday colonies. A singular feature strikes one throughout all the book: in the German cantons public interests are generally looked after by the State; in the Latin cantons private institutions do a large portion of the work. The German cantons are permeated with State socialism; the French cantons are in a larger measure for individualism. If the first state of things is such as might have been expected, the second one is not so. Mr. Dawson gives figures for the expenses of the various institutions, and goes into such details about them that he must have visited most of them himself. This is, to my mind, the chapter from which most can be translated, without particular difficulties, into English or any other language. The only difficulty which I would expect in Latin countries is this, that it would be a loss not to utilise the enormous charitable power embodied in the Church. Charity and religious sentiment go there still hand in hand. A non-confessional humanitarian sentiment is as yet not developed on such a scale as to command great masses of personal and material capital. Whether this is the case in England Mr. Dawson must know better than I do.

Mr. Dawson's chapter on the problem of the unemployed does not help us very much. The Swiss evidently can't square the circle any better than other people can. We read of out-of-work insurance at Berne, St. Gall, Basle. What will come of the experiment tried at Basle, according to a plan drawn up by Professor Adler, we had better wait and see, rather than take Professor Adler's prophecies. At St.

Gall the essay has been a failure. At Berne, in opposition to what the insurance is at Basle, the system is voluntary, with a subsidy from the municipality. Dr. Wassilieff is its author. The system began on new lines only in 1895. We are now only in 1898, and it would be rash to say anything of its success or want of success. Do we know anything like coefficients of unemployment for different trades, in different places, at various ages? Why, we don't yet even know all we need about expectation of life according to sexes, professions, diseases, &c., &c., to get life insurance tables straight. This is a subject concerning which I would say the Swiss might turn to Mr. Drage for advice. In the same chapter Mr. Dawson describes labour bureaux. These are excellent institutions. Only, they are not new, and you must not expect them to work wonders all at once. Excellent are also the institutions Mr. Dawson speaks of under the heading "Industrial Peace." I very much doubt if the future will show us a unification of courts or a specification. In Italy the Tribunaux de Commerce have been abolished. So has also fared nearly every kind of administrative court. Every civil question goes before the same court, has the same judges and the same procedure. Recently *probi-viri* have been instituted. Will the future show us a whole series of special forums according to the interests or the qualities of the contending parties? I think the complexity of modern life is such that a certain number of divisions will be necessary, as judges who are not in the business don't understand what is in and behind the cases they are called upon to decide. Now, the contending parties will never feel as if they had been fairly dealt with if they know the judges can't master the questions which are put before them. And then, peace of mind and conscience is not obtained!

Mr. Dawson's last, or rather first chapter, treats of the federal factory laws, of the labour laws of the cantons, of the house industries, of the workmen's secretary, of the Grütli Association, and of model industrial colonies. There is a mixture of wise and silly measures. But what is a silly measure? Well, I take it to be anything which in the long run won't succeed. The Swiss are going in for a good deal of socialism; but it is of the minor species, that is, it just worries a little. I think they'll have to be careful about what they are doing. Lots of foreign money is in Switzerland because it thought itself safe there till now. Lots of foreigners have built houses there and taken an interest in local industries. If the Swiss monetary *régime* were not humpbacked bimetallism, so that you can't get anything else than paper or five-franc pieces, unless you pay a premium, the Swiss banks would be even to a greater extent than they are the depositaries of foreign capital. Switzerland is, as yet, a very nice country because it has free trade in a larger measure than other continental countries, small taxes, no troublesome bureaucracy, a perfect system of justice, an educated, laborious, and quiet population. But, if socialists will make it uncomfortable, they might find out that

they'll very soon have the whole country to themselves, just as the priests got Spain.

To sum up, Mr. Dawson's book is written by a man who has looked for himself into everything he writes about. It is full of facts agreeably portrayed. He is generally favourable to what he has observed in Switzerland, but he is not blind to weak sides. I think the book would interest any economist.

MAFFEO PANTALEONI

Railway Nationalisation. By CLEMENT EDWARDS, with a Preface by SIR CHARLES DILKE. Pp. xii., 233. (London: Methuen, 1898 [actually published in November, 1897].)

THE origin of this book is stated by the author to have been a desire to find "a reform of genuine national importance" upon which "it would be possible to get the scattered elements of the Progressive Party to unite for pressing to an immediate and successful issue." The Land Question first suggested itself, but those who agreed as to ends differed as to means, so it had to be put aside. "We then turned to Railway Nationalisation and . . . were profoundly impressed with its promising character"—possibly because the subject had not been sufficiently discussed for difficulties and differences to have come to the surface. And so the book was written "in the midst of a busy life . . . to serve the adjunctive purpose of a simple handbook to a work-a-day movement." Under these circumstances it would perhaps be unreasonable to expect to find in Mr. Clement Edwards' book a scientific treatise of permanent value. He has collected a number of quotations and assertions and arguments such as may serve for the use of speakers or journalists who are prepared in advance to support the cause of Railway Nationalisation, but has made no attempt to deal with the subject at first hand, or to disengage the essence of State and private ownership respectively from the accidents.

The first requisite of a "handbook to a work-a-day movement," even if it be only "adjunctive," is accuracy of fact. And Mr. Edwards' facts are unfortunately very far from accurate. The one or two instances given below will have the further use of showing what amount of general familiarity with the subject Mr. Edwards possesses. On page 33 as "an indication of the extent to which the large companies control the small ones by means of subsidies" he gives a list of forty "companies subsidised [by the Great Western] with the amounts of the subsidies in 1894 and 1895." The total for 1895 is set down as £146,000. No authority is given for the table, nor does Mr. Edwards define the word "subsidy." But it is not usual to call the money which a man expends on his own property a subsidy, nor do we usually describe paying rent for a house as subsidising our lessor. Yet Mr. Edwards sets down £24,000 spent on the Birkenhead and £10,000 spent on the Shrewsbury and Hereford—presumably rent charges—as sub-