

would have voting as strictly enforced as attendance at military drill or the exercise of the functions of jurymen. Blank votes, however, may always be resorted to in order to evade the law, and to many the very demand for compulsory voting shows the weakness of the whole plan of direct interference by the people in legislation.

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LE GOUVERNEMENT DANS LA DEMOCRATIE, par ÉMILE DE LAVELEYE. 2 Vols. Pp. XV., 392 and 472. Paris, 1891.

In the preface to this last important work of the late M. de Laveleye, the author tells us that while he was collecting materials for a book upon Political Economy, Dupont White said to him, "Write rather a book on Politics. There are many, perhaps too many, who are treating Political Economy, but few who are treating Politics." When we consider the number of hours per week that our newspaper and magazine readers spend over political discussions, this remark of Dupont White seems strange; but with all of our writing upon politics, few can be said to treat the subject with any degree of thoroughness or system. Consequently such books as this and the late notable work of Mr. Sidgwick on the "Elements of Politics" are doubly welcome.

The chief matter for regret in connection with such works is that most of our politicians who give their time to the reading and studying of politics in newspapers and in practical life will hardly find the leisure to read these more comprehensive and thorough studies. This work, like that of Mr. Sidgwick, treats of the nature of governments and of human rights, discusses at length the functions of states, and then takes up the various means adopted by civilized governments for performing these functions. Legislatures, their composition and organization; the executive, with his powers and duties and relations to the legislature; political parties, their significance, benefits and evils; the nature of the suffrage, and nearly all of the most important questions of politics are treated fully and impartially.

In a brief review it is impossible to note more than a few of the interesting discussions given, but a word may be said regarding some that lead to conclusions somewhat different from those generally accepted by us or that touch upon topics which in this country are ordinarily not considered political.

To those who are accustomed to listen to the promises of candidates on the eve of election with reference to their intentions toward their constituents, the author's view of the relations of constituents and representatives might seem strange. He thinks that a constituency ought freely to choose the man most capable of making good laws and of governing well of those who in a general way represent their point of view in politics, and that then the constituents should stand by their representative without trying to impose upon him their wishes; such an opinion as this merits careful consideration. In these days, when in our country there is so strong a tendency toward making our representatives in Congress and State Legislatures, not to speak of nominating conventions, mere delegates to record the wishes of their constituents, instead of representative men from the constituency, whose business it is to deliberate intelligently and conscientiously upon the affairs of State and then to take independent action, we seem to be drifting toward the *referendum*, toward government, not by representatives, but by the people directly. Is the tendency a desirable one?

In contrast to the drift towards socialism, which we find in so many writers, Laveleye's opinion as to the end of the State may be cited. "The mission of the State is no longer to bend the citizen to its purposes, but to make the laws which permit individuals to attain, through their own efforts, to the full enjoyment of the fruits of their labor and to the complete development of their faculties." And yet the author is not an extreme individualist and believer in *laissez-faire*, for in a succeeding chapter upon the functions of the State, he agrees with Quesnay in saying, "The State is force

put at the service of justice. Its transitory but not less important function is to favor the advancement of civilization. It is primarily the judge and the policeman, but it is also the builder of roads and the school-master."

Most of our later students of Sociology will turn with interest to the chapter entitled "Society is not an Organism;" but in the chapter, after all, we merely find our attention drawn to the danger of pushing too far the comparison between the biological and the social organisms. The author simply wishes to insist upon the fact that in society the individuals which compose the organism have lives of their own. "Society is only the sum total (*ensemble*) of the relations existing between the individuals which compose it; relations are not a person."

The constitution makers in our new States might do well, instead of confining their reading largely to the constitutions of some of the older States in our country, to read some of the author's arguments with reference to the length of time for which representatives should be elected, to the pay of representatives, to the ideal basis of the suffrage, to methods of preventing illegitimate influences in elections, and so on. Without giving his arguments at length upon any of these points, it is interesting to note that he, with Mr. Sidgwick, thinks that our short terms of legislative offices, for one year or two years, have an injurious effect, in that they tend to make of the representative a mere delegate; and that the terms should therefore be longer. They should not be too long, for if they are, the representatives will cease to represent the ruling opinion in the country and will then pursue their own interests and not those of the people. Seven years, even five years, Laveleye considers too long a term; four years seems preferable, with a partial renewal of the chamber at each election.

He believes in the American idea so far as to favor low salaries for representatives. He fears somewhat, apparently, the unintelligent vote, for while he thinks that the suffrage should be extended until it is practically universal, with the

exception of soldiers, in some cases of preachers, etc., he still thinks that universal education resulting in universal political capacity should precede universal suffrage.

To preserve the purity of the ballot and check all kinds of illegitimate influences, he favors the secret Australian ballot system, as carried out in Belgium, and thinks further that all the expenses of the election ought to be borne by the State and not by the candidates. He well says: "If these expenses are borne by the candidates, the question will seem to be one of individual interest rather than the good of the State, whereas the election of a representative or of a municipal councillor is above all a matter of public interest."

He goes somewhat outside the field of politics, as Americans ordinarily view it, in advocating the congregational system of electing pastors to churches, thinking that the training that the church members thus get in popular elections will have a beneficial influence upon politics. The evil influence of the clergy in elections also seems to him worthy of extended comment. These discussions show mainly that the environment of the author was not that of an American.

The method of the book is not merely analytical and psychological, but is also in good part historical, and the author makes frequent use of his extended knowledge of books and men and government; and a work that has discussed at length the general principles of politics, with especial reference to bringing out the advantages of democratic government and the necessary conditions for its success, closes fitly with a long chapter upon the lessons that history teaches us upon these different questions.

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DAS KREDITWESEN DER STAATEN UND STÄDTE DER NORDAMERIKANISCHEN UNION, in seiner historischen Entwicklung, von DR. CARL COPPING PLEHN. Pp. 93. Jena, 1891.

This work of an American student, now Professor at Middlebury, Vt., is a convenient summary of the history of public