

to be the masters; and though England continues to be a monarchy in name, yet it is well-nigh a republic in fact.

In feudal times the motto of knighthood was *Noblesse oblige* — or, nobility of rank demands nobility of character. To-day the motto of every free nation should be, Liberty is Responsibility, for henceforth both in England and America the people who govern are bound, by their own history and their own declared principles, to use their opportunities to govern well.

The danger of the past lay in the tyranny of the minority, that of the present is the tyranny of the majority. The great problem of our time is to learn how to reconcile the interests of each with the welfare of all. To do that, whether on an island or on a continent, in England or America, is to build up the kingdom of justice and good will upon the earth.

648. Characteristics of English History; the Unity of the English-Speaking Race; Conclusion. — This rapid and imperfect sketch shows what has been accomplished by the people of Britain. Other European peoples may have developed earlier, and made perhaps more rapid advances in certain forms of civilization, but none have surpassed, nay, none have equalled, the English-speaking race in the practical character and permanence of their progress. Guizot says¹ the true order of national development in free government is, first, to convert the natural liberties of man into clearly defined political rights; and, next, to guarantee the security of those rights by the establishment of forces capable of maintaining them. Nowhere do we find better illustrations of this law of progress than in the history of England, and of the colonies which England has planted. Trial by jury,² the legal right to resist oppression,³ legislative representation,⁴ religious freedom,⁵ and, finally, the principle that all political power is a trust held for the public good⁶ — these are the assured results of Anglo-

¹ Guizot's History of Representative Government, Lecture VI.

² See Paragraph No. 227.

⁴ See Paragraph No. 265.

⁶ See Macaulay's Essay on Walpole.

³ See Paragraph No. 313.

⁵ See Paragraph No. 548, and note 2.

Saxon growth, and the legitimate heritage of every nation of Anglo-Saxon descent.

Here, in America, we sometimes lose sight of what those have done for us who occupied the world before we came into it. We forget that English history is in a very large degree our history, and that England is, as Hawthorne liked to call it, "our old home." In fact, if we go back less than three centuries, the record of America becomes one with that of the mother country, which first discovered¹ and first permanently settled this, and which gave us for leaders and educators Washington, Franklin, the Adamsses, and John Harvard. In descent, by far the greater part of us are of English blood;² while in language, literature, law, legislative forms of government, and the essential features of civilization, we all owe to England a greater debt than to any other country; and without a knowledge of her history we cannot rightly understand our own. Standing on her soil we possess practically the same personal rights that we do here; we speak the same tongue, we meet with the same familiar names. We feel that whatever is glorious in her past is ours also; that Westminster Abbey belongs as much to us as to her, for our ancestors helped to build its walls, and their dust is gathered in its tombs; that Shakespeare and Milton belong to us in like manner, for they wrote in the language we speak, for the instruction and delight of our fathers' fathers, who beat back the Spanish Armada, and gave their lives for liberty on the fields of Marston Moor and Naseby.

Let it be granted that grave issues have arisen in the past to separate us; yet, after all, our interests and our sympathies, like

¹ See Paragraphs No. 387 and No. 473.

² In 1840 the population of the United States, in round numbers, was 17,000,000, of whom the greater part were probably of English descent. Since then there has been an enormous immigration, forty per cent of which was from the British Islands; but it is perhaps safe to say that three-quarters of our present population of 60,000,000 are those who were living here in 1840, with their descendants. Of the immigrants coming from non-English-speaking races, the Germans predominate, and it is to them, as we have seen, that the English owe their origin, they being in fact but a modification of the Teutonic race.