time London and the principal seaports were connected with the great manufacturing towns, while steam navigation had also nearly doubled its vessels and its tonnage. Ten years later still, the whole country became involved in a speculative craze for building railroads. Hundreds of millions of pounds were invested; for a time Hudson, the "Railway King," as he was called, ruled supreme, and members of Parliament did homage to the man whose schemes promised to cover the whole island with a network of iron roads, every one of which was expected to make its stockholders rich. Eventually these projects ended in a panic, second only to that of the South Sea Bubble, and thousands found that steam could destroy fortunes even faster than it made them.

Toward the close of William's reign, between the years 1829 and 1834, a humble invention was perfected of which little was said at the time, but which contributed in no small degree to the comfort and convenience of every one. Up to this date the two most important of all civilizing agents-fire and light-could only be produced with much difficulty and at considerable expense. Various devices had been contrived to obtain them, but the common method continued to be the primitive one of striking a bit of flint and steel sharply together until a falling spark ignited a piece of tinder or half-burnt rag, which, when it caught, had, with no little expense of breath, to be blown into a flame. The progress of chemistry suggested the use of phosphorus, and after years of experiments the friction match was invented by an English apothecary, who thus gave to the world what is now the commonest, and perhaps at the same time the most useful domestic article in existence.

628. Summary. — William IV.'s short reign of seven years is marked (1) by the great Reform Bill of 1832, which took Parlia-

ment out of the hands of a moneyed clique and put it under the control of the people; (2) by the abolition of slavery in the British colonies, and factory reform; (3) by the introduction of the friction match, and by the building of the first successful line of railway.

VICTORIA 1837. -

629. The Queen's Descent; Stability of the Government. — As William IV. left no child to inherit the crown, he was succeeded by his niece, the Princess Victoria, daughter of his brother Edward, Duke of Kent. In her lineage the queen represents nearly the whole past sovereignty of the land over which she governs. The blood of both Cerdic, the first Saxon king, and of William the Conqueror, flows in her veins, — a fact which strikingly illustrates the vitality of the hereditary and conservative principles in the history of the English crown.

We see the full force of this when we pause to survey the ground we have passed over. Since the coming of the English to Britain a succession of important changes has taken place.

In 1066 the Normans crossed the Channel, invaded the island, conquered its inhabitants, and seized the throne. Five centuries later the religion of Rome was supplanted by the Protestant faith of Luther.

A hundred years after that event, civil war burst forth, the king was deposed and beheaded, and a republic established. A few years subsequently the monarchy was restored, only to be followed by a revolution, which changed the order of succession, drove one line of sovereigns from the land, and called in another from Germany to take their place. Meanwhile new political parties rose to power, the Reform Bill passed, and Parliament came to represent more perfectly than ever the will of the whole people; yet after all these events, at the end of more than ten centuries from the date

is thereby generated much more rapidly than it could otherwise be. The steam after it has done its work in the cylinders escapes into the smoke-pipe with great force, and of course increases the draught. Without these two improvements of Stephenson's the locomotive would never have attained a greater speed than five of six miles an hour.

¹ See table, Paragraph No. 581.

² The only exceptions are the Danish sovereigns and Harold II.

⁸ The Genealogical Table, page 402.

when Egbert first assumed the crown, we find England governed by a descendant of her earliest rulers!

630. A New Order of Things; the House of Commons now Supreme. — The new queen was but little over eighteen when called to the throne. At her accession a new order of things began. The Georges, with William IV., had insisted on dismissing their ministers, or chief political advisers, when they pleased, without condescending to give Parliament any reason for the change. That system, which may be considered as the last vestige of "personal government," that is, of the power of the crown to act without the advice of the nation, died with the late king.

With the coronation of Victoria the principle was established that henceforth the sovereign of the British Empire cannot remove the prime minister or his cabinet without the consent of the House of Commons elected by and directly representing the great body of the people; nor, on the other hand, would the sovereign now venture to retain a ministry which the Commons refused to support.²

Custom, too, has decided that the queen must give her sanction to any bill which Parliament approves and desires to make law; ³ so that if the two Houses should agree to draw up and send her own death warrant to the queen, she would be obliged to sign it, or abdicate.⁴

Thus the queen's real position to-day is that of a person who has much indirect influence and but little direct power — far less in fact than that of the President of the United States, who can exercise the right of vetoing a bill, thus preventing a majority of Congress from enacting a law; ¹ and may remove the lower class of office-holders at pleasure.

631. Sketch of the Peerage.—A change equally great has taken place with respect to the peers.² As that body has played a most important part in the government of England and still retains considerable influence, it may be well to consider their history and present condition. It will be remembered that the peerage originated with the Norman conquest. William rewarded the barons, or chief men, who fought under him at Hastings,³ with grants of immense estates, which were given on two conditions, one of military service at the call of the sovereign,⁴ the other their attendance at the royal council,⁵ an advisory and legislative body, which contained the germ of the present parliamentary system. It will thus be seen that the Conqueror made the possession of landed property directly dependent on the discharge of public duties. So that if on the one hand the conquest carried out the principle

"That they should take who have the power, And they should keep who can," 6

on the other, it insisted on the higher principle that in return for such *taking* and *keeping* the victors should bind themselves by oath both to defend and to govern the state.

¹ See McCarthy, History of Our Own Times.

² So carefully does the queen guard herself against any political influence adverse to that of the ministry (and hence of the majority of the House of Commons), that the Mistress of the Robes, or head of her majesty's household, now changes with the ministry, and it is furthermore understood that any ladies under her whose presence might be politically inconvenient to the premier shall retire "of their own accord." In other words, the in-coming ministry have the right to remodel the queen's household—or any other body of offices—in whatever degree they think requisite, and the late Prince Albert could not even appoint his own private secretary, but much to his chagrin had to accept one appointed for him by the prime minister. See May's Constitutional History of England, and Martin's Life of the Prince Consort, vol. 5.

⁸ Queen Anne was the last sovereign who vetoed a bill. That was in 1707. During the hundred and eighty years which have followed no English sovereign has ventured to repeat the experiment.

⁴ See Bagehot, The English Constitution.

¹ Congress may, however, pass a law over the President's veto, providing they can get a two-thirds vote in its favor.

² Peers (from the Latin pares, equals). The word first occurs in an act of Parliament, 1322, —" Pares et proceres regni Angliæ spirituales et temporales."

The names of the great barons have been preserved in Domesday Book (see Paragraph No. 169), in the roll of Battle Abbey (though that was tampered with by the monks), and on the wall of the twelfth century church at Dives, Normandy, where the Conqueror built his ships,

⁴ See Paragraph No. 200.

⁵ See Paragraph No. 200.

Wordsworth, Rob Roy's Grave.

In later reigns the king summoned other influential men to attend Parliament, who, to distinguish them from the original barons by land-tenure, were called "barons by writ"; and subsequently it became customary for the sovereign to create barons by letters-patent, as is the method at present.

The original baronage continued predominant until the Wars of the Roses³ so nearly destroyed the ancient nobility, that, as Lord Beaconsfield, says, "A Norman baron was almost as rare a being in England then as a wolf is now." With the coming in of the Tudors a new nobility was created. Even this has become in great measure extinct, and those who now sit in the House of Lords can seldom trace their titles further back than the Georges, who created great numbers of peers in return for political services either rendered or expected.

Politically speaking, the nobility of England, unlike the old nobility of France, is as a rule strictly confined to the male head of the family. None of the children of the most powerful duke or lord have during his life any civil or legal rights or privileges above that of the poorest and obscurest peasant in Great Britain.⁶ They are simply commoners. But by courtesy, the eldest son of a nobleman usually receives a part of his father's title, and at his death he enters into possession of his estate⁷ and rank, and takes his seat in the House of Lords, having in many cases been a member of the House of Commons by election for a number of years before. The younger sons inherit neither hereditary title, political power, nor landed property, but quite generally obtain offices in the civil service, or positions in the army or the church.

The whole number of peers is, in round numbers, about five hundred.¹ They may be said to own most of the land of England. Their average incomes are estimated at £22,000 (\$110,000), or an aggregate of £11,000,000 (\$55,000,000), an amount certainly not greater, if indeed it equals, the combined incomes of half a dozen leading American capitalists.

One of the most remarkable things about the peerage in modern times is the fact that its ranks have been constantly recruited from the people; and just as any boy born in America feels himself a possible senator or president, so any Englishman who has commanding ability may, like Pitt, Disraeli, Churchill, Nelson, Wellesley, Brougham, Tennyson, or Macaulay, hope to win and wear a coronet; for brains and character go to the front in England just as surely as they do elsewhere.

In their legislative action the peers are, with very rare exceptions, ultra conservative. They have seldom granted their assent to any liberal measure except from pressure of the most unmistakable kind. It is for their interest to keep things as they are, and hence they fight against every tendency to give the people a larger measure of power. They opposed the Habeas Corpus Act under Charles II., the Great Reform Bill of 1832, the Education Bill of 1834, the admission of the Jews to Parliament, the repeal of the Corn Laws, and the later extensions of the franchise; but, on the other hand, it was their influence which compelled John to sign Magna Carta; it was one of their number - Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester-who called the House of Commons into being; and it was the lords as leaders who inaugurated the Revolution of 1688, and established constitutional sovereignty under William and Mary in the place of the arbitrary and despotic self-will of James II.

It is the fashion with impatient radicals to style the Lords "titled obstructionists," privileged to block the way to all improvements;

¹ See Paragraph No. 315. ² See Paragraph No. 315. ⁸ See Paragraph No. 368.

⁴ Beaconsfield's Coningsby. 5 See Paragraph No. 404.

⁶ Even the younger children of the sovereign are no exception to this rule. The only one born with a title is the eldest, who is Duke of Cornwall by birth, and is created Prince of Wales. The others are simply commoners. See Freeman's Growth of the English Constitution.

⁷ So strictly is property entailed, that there are proprietors of large estates, who cannot so much as cut down a tree without permission of the heir. Badeau's English Aristocracy.

About four hundred and seventy-five temporal peers and twenty-five spiritual peers (archbishops and bishops).

but as a matter of fact they have often done the country good service by checking hurried and ill-considered legislation; and though the time may perhaps be not very far distant when a hereditary House of Lords will cease to exist, yet there will always be need in England, as in every other civilized country, of an upper legislative house, composed of men whose motto is to "make haste slowly."

Meanwhile, though England continues to lay strong emphasis on nobility of rank and blood, yet she is never forgetful of the honor due to nobility of character. Perhaps it is the consciousness of this fact which in recent times has led men like Mr. Gladstone to decline a title, content, as not a few of the descendants of the old Saxon families are, with the influence won by an unsullied name and a long and illustrious career. Eight hundred years ago the House of Lords was the only legislative and executive body in the country; now, nearly all the business is done in the House of Commons, and not a penny of money can be voted for any purpose whatever except the Commons first propose it. Thus taxation, the most important of all measures, has passed from the peers to the direct representatives of the people.

632. The Queen's Marriage. — In 1840 the queen, then in her twenty-first year, married her cousin, Prince Albert of Saxe Coburg

Gotha, a duchy of Central Germany.¹ The prince was about her own age, of fine personal appearance, and had just graduated from one of the German universities. He was particularly interested in art and education, and throughout his life used his influence to raise the standard of both.

633. Sir Rowland Hill's Postal Reforms. — The same year Sir Rowland Hill introduced a uniform system of cheap postage, by which rates were reduced to a penny for a single letter to any part of the United Kingdom.³ Since then cheap telegrams and the transportation of parcels by mail (a kind of government express known as parcel-post) have followed, — all, improvements of immense practical benefit.

634. Rise of the Chartists. — The feeling attending the passage of the Reform Bill of 1832 had passed away; but now a

Other measures may originate in either House, but practically nearly all begin with the Commons, though they require the assent of the Lords to become law. This, however, is now never refused for any great length of time in any important matter in which the people are interested.

The following points are also of interest:-

All laws relating to the rights of peers must originate in the House of Lords.
 Estate and naturalization laws also begin in the Lords.

^{2.} A law directly affecting the House of Commons originates in that House.

^{3.} There is one bill only which the crown has the right of initiating—an Act of General Pardon.

When a bill has passed both Houses, it receives the royal assent in the following words (a form which probably originated with the Norman kings): "La reigne le veult" ("The queen wills it so"); when, in the past, the royal assent was refused, the denial was expressed thus: "La reigne s'avisera" ("The queen will consider it").

The House of Lords is the Supreme Court of Appeal in the kingdom; and it is the tribunal by which persons impeached by the House of Commons are tried.

I Income of the Queen and Royal Family.—Up to the accession of George III, the royal income was derived from two sources: I. Taxation; 2. The rents and profits of the crown lands. George III, surrendered his right to these lands in return for a fixed income granted by Parliament. Since then, every sovereign has done the same. The queen's income is £385,000 (\$1,863,400, calling the pound \$4.84). The royal family receive in addition, £156,000 (\$755,040), or a total of £541,000 (\$2618,440).

The English sovereign has at present the following powers, all of which are practically vested in the ministry:—

I. The power of summoning, proroguing (suspending the action of), and dissolving Parliament at pleasure.

^{2.} Of refusing assent to any bill (obsolete).

^{3.} Of making peace, declaring war, and making treaties,

^{4.} Of pardoning convicted offenders; of coining money.

^{.5.} Of creating peers, appointing archbishops and bishops, and in general granting all titles of rank and honor.

^{6.} Of the supreme command of the army and navy. The appointment to all offices in the gift of the government, which was formerly in the hands of the sovereign, is now under the control of the prime minister, acting in connection with the civil-service and other commissions.

The postage even within the limits of England proper had been as high as a shilling (twenty-five cents). A poor woman, who wished to hear regularly from her brother, but who could not afford to pay this sum, hit on an ingenious plan for doing so without expense to either side. Sir Rowland Hill happened to learn of it, and was so struck by the circumstance that he at once set to work to devise a reform which should make it possible for the poorest to send and receive letters. See McCarthy's Epoch of Reform, 1830-1850.

popular agitation began, which produced even greater excitement. Although the new law had equalized parliamentary representation and had enlarged the tranchise to a very considerable degree, yet the great body of workingmen were still unable to vote. A radical party now arose, which undertook to secure further measures of reform. They embodied their measures in a document called the "People's Charter," which demanded, (1) Universal male suffrage; (2) That the voting at elections should be by ballot; (3) Annual Parliaments; (4) The payment of members of Parliament; (5) The abolition of the property qualification for parliamentary candidates;1 (6) The division of the whole country into equal electoral districts. The Chartists, as the advocates of these measures called themselves, held public meetings, organized clubs, and published newspapers to disseminate their principles; but for many years little visible progress was made by them. In 1848 the French revolution which dethroned King Louis Philippe imparted fresh impetus to the Chartist movement. The leader of it was Feargus O'Connor. He now formed the plan of sending a monster petition to Parliament, containing, it was claimed, nearly five million signatures, praying for the passage of the charter. It was furthermore arranged that a procession of a million or more of signers should act as an escort to the document, which made a wagon-load in itself. The government became alarmed at the threatened demonstration, and forbade it, on the ground that it was an attempt to coerce legislation. In order that peace might be preserved in London, 250,000 special policemen were sworn in, among whom, it is said, was Louis Napoleon, then a refugee in England.

The Duke of Wellington took command ot a large body of

troops held in reserve to defend the city; and the Bank of England, the Houses of Parliament, the British Museum, and other public buildings were made ready to withstand a siege.

It was now the Chartists' turn to be frightened. When they assembled on Kennington Common they numbered less than 30,000; the procession of a million which was to march across Westminster bridge dwindled to half a dozen; and the huge petition when unrolled and examined was found to contain only about a third of the boasted number of names. Further examination caused still greater shrinkage, for it was discovered that many of the signatures were spurious, having been put down in jest, or copied from grave-stones and old London directories. With that discovery the whole movement collapsed, and the House of Commons rang with "inextinguishable laughter" over the national scare.

Still the demands of the Chartists had a solid foundation of good sense, which not even the blustering braggadocio of the leaders of the movement could wholly destroy. The reforms asked for were needed, and since then they have been in great part accomplished by the steady, quiet influence of reason and of time.

The printed or written ballot has been substituted for the old method of electing candidates by a show of hands or by shouting yes or no—a method by which it was easy to make blunders, and equally easy to commit frauds. The property qualification has been abolished, so that the poorest day-laborer may now run for Parliament. The right of "manhood suffrage" has been, as we shall see, greatly extended, and before the century closes, it is safe to say that every man in England will have a voice in the elections.

635. The Corn Laws.—At the accession of the queen protective duties or taxes existed in Great Britain on all imported breadstuffs and on many manufactured articles. Sir Robert Peel, who became prime minister in 1841, favored a reduction in the last class of duties, but believed it necessary to maintain the

¹ Property Qualification: In 1711 an act was passed requiring candidates for election to the House of Commons to have an income of not less than three hundred pounds derived from landed property. The object of this law was to secure members who would be comparatively free from the temptation of receiving bribes from the crown, and also to keep the landed proprietors in power to the exclusion of rich merchants. This law was repealed in 1858.

former in order to keep up the price of grain and thus encourage the English farmers. The result of this mistaken policy was great distress among workingmen, who could not afford out of their miserable wages to pay high prices for bread. A number of philanthropists led by Richard Cobden and John Bright organized an Anti-Corn Law League¹ to obtain the repeal of the grain duties.

On the other hand, Ebenezer Elliott, the "Corn Law Rhymer," as he was popularly called, gave voice to the sufferings of the poor in rude but vigorous verse; which appealed to the excited feelings of thousands in such words as these:—

"England! what for mine and me,
What hath bread tax done for thee?

* * *
Cursed thy harvests, cursed thy land,
Hunger-stung thy skill'd right hand."

When, however, session after session of Parliament passed and nothing was done for the relief of the perishing multitudes, many were in despair, and at meetings held to discuss measures, crowds joined in singing Elliott's new national anthem:—

"When wilt Thou save the people?
O God of mercy! when?
Not kings and lords, but nations!
Not thrones and crowns, but men!
Flowers of thy heart, O God, are they!
Let them not pass, like weeds, away!
Their heritage a sunless day!
God save the people!"

Still the government was not convinced; the corn laws were enforced, and the situation grew daily more desperate and more threatening.

636. The Irish Famine; Repeal of the Corn Laws; Free Trade. — At last the Irish famine opened the premier's eyes.

When in Elizabeth's reign, Sir Walter Raleigh introduced the cheap but precarious potato into Ireland, his motive was one of pure good will. He could not foresee that it would in time become in that country an almost universal food, that through its very abundance the population would rapidly increase, and that then by the sudden failure of the crop terrible destitution would ensue. Such was the case in the summer of 1845. It is said by eye-witnesses that in a single night the entire potato crop was destroyed by blight, and that the healthy plants were transformed into a mass of putrefying vegetation. Thus at one fell stroke the food of nearly a whole nation was cut off.¹

In the years that followed, the famine became appalling. The starving peasants left their miserable huts and streamed into the towns for relief, only to die of hunger in the streets.

Parliament responded nobly to the piteous calls for help, and voted in all no less than \$50,000,000 to relieve the distress.² Subscriptions were also taken up in London and the chief towns by which large sums were obtained, and America contributed ship-loads of provisions and a good deal of money; but the misery was so great that even these measures failed to accomplish what was hoped, and when the famine was over, and its results came to be estimated, it was found that Ireland had lost about 2,000,000 (or one-fourth) of her population.³ This was the combined effect of starvation, of the various diseases that followed in its path, and of emigration.⁴ In the face of such appalling facts, and of the bad harvests and distress in England, the prime minister could hold out no longer, and by a gradual process, extending from 1846 to 1849, the obnoxious corn laws were gradually repealed with the exception of a trifling duty, which was finally removed in 1869.

¹ Corn is the name given in England to wheat or other grain used for food. Indian corn, called maize, is seldom eaten.

¹ O'Connor, The Parnell Movement (The Famine).

² Molesworth's History of England from 1830, Vol. II.

⁸ The actual number of deaths from starvation, or fever caused by insufficient food, was estimated at from 200,000 to 300,000. See Encyclopædia Britannica, "Ireland."

⁴ McCarthy, History of Our Own Times, vol. 1.

The beginning once made, free trade in nearly everything, except wine, spirits, and tobacco, followed. They were, and still are, subject to a heavy duty, perhaps because the government believes, as Napoleon did, that the vices have broad backs and can comfortably carry the heaviest taxes. But, by a singular contrast, while nearly all goods and products now enter England free, yet Australia and several other colonies continue to impose duties on imports from the mother country.

637. The World's Fair; Repeal of the Window and the Newspaper Tax; the Atlantic Cable. — In 1851 the great industrial exhibition known as the "World's Fair" was opened in Hyde Park, London. The original plan of it was conceived by Prince Albert; and it proved to be not only a complete success in itself, but it led to many similar fairs on the part of different nations. For the first time in history, the products and inventions of all countries on the globe were brought together under one roof, in a gigantic structure of glass and iron called the "Crystal Palace," which is still in use for exhibition purposes at Sydenham, a suburb of London.

The same year, the barbarous tax on light and air, known as the "Window Tax," was repealed; and from that date the Englishman, whether in London or out, might enjoy his sunshine,—when he could get it,—without having to pay for every beam: a luxury, which only the rich could afford. A little later, a stamp tax on newspapers, which had been devised in Queen Anne's time in the avowed hope of crushing them out, was repealed; and the result was that henceforth the workingman, as he sat by his fire-side, could inform himself of what the world was doing and thinking,—two things of which he had before known almost nothing, and cared, perhaps, even less.

To get this news of the world's life more speedily, the first Atlantic cable, connecting England with America, was laid in 1858. Since then, a large part of the globe has been joined in like manner; and all the great cities of every civilized land are practically one in their knowledge of events. So many improvements have also been made in the use of electricity, not only for the transmission of intelligence, but as an illuminator, and more recently still as a motive power, that it now seems probable that "the age of steam" is soon to be superseded by the higher "age of electricity."

638. The Opium War; the War in the Crimea; the Rebellion in India. — Up to 1854 no wars occurred in this reign worthy of mention, with the exception of that with China in 1830. At that time the Chinese emperor, either from a desire to put a stop to the consumption of opium in his dominions, or because he wished to encourage the home production of the drug,1 prohibited its importation. As the English in India were largely engaged in the production of opium for the Chinese market, the people of that country smoking it instead of tobacco, - the British government insisted that the emperor should not interfere with so lucrative a trade. War ensued. The Chinese, being unable to contend against English gunboats, were soon forced to withdraw their prohibition of the foreign opium traffic; and the English government, with the planters of India, reaped a golden reward of many millions for their deliberate violation of the rights of a heathen and half-civilized people. The war opened five important ports to British trade, and subsequent wars opened a number more on the rivers in the interior.

In 1853 Turkey declared war against Russia. The latter power had insisted on protecting all Christians in the Turkish dominions against the oppression of the sultan. England and France considered the czar's championship of the Christians as a mere pretext for occupying Turkish territory. To prevent this

¹ By far the greater part of the opium consumed in China is now raised, either with or without the full consent of the government, by the Chinese themselves. The probability is that before many years' the home production will supply the entire demand, and thus exclude importations of the drug from India. It is estimated that about one hundred millions of the population of China are addicted to opium-smoking.

aggression they formed an alliance with the sultan, which resulted in the Russo-Turkish war, and ended by the taking of Sebastopol by the allied forces. Russia was obliged to retract her demands; and peace was declared in the spring of 1856.

The following year was memorable for the outbreak of the Sepoy rebellion in India. The real cause of the revolt was probably a long-smothered feeling of resentment on the part of the Sepoy, or native, troops against English rule, - a feeling that dates back to the extortion and misgovernment of Warren Hastings. The immediate cause of the uprising was the introduction of an improved rifle using a greased cartridge, which had to be bitten off before being rammed down. To the Hindoo the fat of cattle or swine is an abomination; and his religion forbids his tasting it. An attempt on the part of the government to enforce the use of the new cartridge brought on a general mutiny. During the revolt, the native troops perpetrated the most horrible atrocities on the English women and children who fell into their hands. When the insurrection was finally quelled under Havelock and Campbell, the English soldiers retaliated by binding numbers of prisoners to the mouths of cannon and blowing them to shreds. At the close of the rebellion, the government of India was wholly transferred to the crown; and in 1876 the queen received the title of Empress of India.

639. Death of Prince Albert; the American Civil War. — Late in 1861 the prince consort died suddenly. In him the nation lost an earnest promoter of social, educational, and industrial reforms; and the United States, a true and judicious friend, who at a most critical period in the Civil War used his influence to maintain peace between the two countries.

Since his death the queen has held no court; and so complete has been her seclusion that in 1868 a radical member of Parliament moved that her majesty be invited to abdicate or choose a regent. The motion was indignantly rejected; but it revealed the feeling which quite generally exists, that "the real queen died with her husband, and that only her shadow remains."

In the spring of the year (1861) in which Prince Albert died, civil war broke out between the Northern and Southern States of the American Union. A few weeks later, the queen issued a proclamation declaring her "determination to maintain a strict and impartial neutrality in the contest between the said contending parties." The rights of belligerents—in other words, all the rights of war according to the law of nations—were granted to the South equally with the North; and her majesty's subjects were warned against aiding either side in the conflict.

The progress of the war caused terrible distress in Lancashire, owing to the cutting-off of supplies of cotton for the mills through the blockade of the ports of the Confederate States. The starving weavers, however, gave their moral support to the North, and continued steadfast to the cause of the Union even in the sorest period of their suffering. The great majority of the manufacturers and business classes generally, the Liverpool merchants, the nobility, with a few exceptions, and most of the distinguished political and social leaders, in Parliament and out, with nearly all the influential journals, sympathized with the efforts of the South to establish an independent confederacy.1 Late in the autumn of 1861 Captain Wilkes, of the United States Navy, boarded the British mailsteamer Trent, and seized Messrs. Mason and Slidell, Confederate commissioners, on their way to England. When intelligence of the act was conveyed to President Lincoln, he expressed his unqualified disapproval of it, saying: "This is the very thing the British captains used to do. They claimed the right of searching

¹ Lord John Russell (Foreign Secretary), Lord Brougham, Sir John Bowring, Carlyle, Ruskin, the London *Times* and *Punch*, espoused the cause of the South more or less openly; while others, like Mr. Gladstone, declared their full belief in the ultimate success of the Confederacy.

On the other hand, Prince Albert, John Bright, John Stuart Mill, Professor Newman, and the London Daily News defended the cause of the North.

After the death of President Lincoln, Punch manfully acknowledged (see issue of May 6, 1865), that it had been altogether wrong in its estimate of him and his measures; and Mr. Gladstone, in his "Kin beyond Sea" in "Gleanings of Past Years," paid a noble tribute to the course pursued by America since the close of the war.

American ships, and carrying men out of them. That was the cause of the War of 1812. Now, we cannot abandon our own principles; we shall have to give up these men, and apologize for what we have done."

Accordingly, on a demand made by the British government, a demand which, through the influence of the prince consort, and with the approval of the queen, was couched in most conciliatory language,—the commissioners were given up, and an apology made by Secretary Seward.

During the progress of the war, a number of fast-sailing vessels were fitted out in Great Britain, and employed in running the blockade of the Southern ports, for the purpose of supplying them with arms, ammunition, and manufactured goods of various kinds. Later, several gunboats were built in British shipyards by agents of the Confederate government, for the purpose of attacking the commerce of the United States. The most famous of these privateers was the Alabama, built expressly for the Confederate service by Laird, of Liverpool, armed with British cannon, and manned chiefly by British sailors. Though notified of her true character, Lord Palmerston, then prime minister, allowed her to leave port, satisfied with the pretext that she was going on a trial trip.1 She set sail on her career of destruction, and soon drove nearly every American merchant vessel from the seas. In the summer of 1864 she was defeated and sunk by the United States gunboat Kearsarge. After the war the government of the United States demanded damages from Great Britain for losses caused by the Alabama and other English-built privateers. A treaty was agreed to by the two nations; and by its provisions an international court was held at Geneva, Switzerland, which awarded \$15,500,000 in gold as compensation to the United States, which was duly paid. The most important result of this treaty and tribunal was that they established a precedent

for settling by arbitration on equitable and amicable terms whatever questions might arise in future between the two nations.¹

640. The Second Reform Bill; Woman Suffrage; Admission of Jews to Parliament. - Excellent as was the Reform Bill of 1832,2 many thoughtful men felt that it did not go far enough. There was also great need of municipal reform, since in many cities the tax-payers had no voice in the management of local affairs, and the city officers spent the income of large charitable funds in feasting and merry-making while the poor got little or nothing. In 1835 a law was passed giving tax-payers in such cities3 control of municipal elections. By a subsequent amendment, the ballot in such cases was extended to women,4 and for the first time perhaps in modern history woman suffrage was formally granted by supreme legislative act. A number of years later, the political restrictions imposed on the Jews were removed. Up to this time (1858) this class of citizens, though very wealthy and influential in London and some other cities, and although entitled to vote and hold municipal office, were yet debarred from Parliament by a law which required them to make oath "on the faith of a Christian." This law was now so modified that Baron Rothschild took his seat among the legislators of the country.5

In 1867 Mr. Disraeli (afterward Earl of Beaconsfield), the leader of the Tory, or Conservative, party, brought in a second Reform Bill, which became a law. This provided what is called "household suffrage," or, in other words, gave the right to vote to

¹ The queen's advocate gave his opinion that the *Alabama* should be detained; but it reached the Foreign Secretary (Lord Russell) just after she had put to sea.

¹ This treaty imposed duties on neutral governments of a far more stringent sort than Great Britain had hitherto been willing to concede. It resulted, furthermore, in the passage of an act of Parliament, punishing with severe penalties such illegal ship-building as that of the *Alabama*. See Sheldon Amos, Fifty Years of the English Constitution, 1830–1880,

² See Paragraph No. 625.

³ This municipal act did not include the city of London.

Woman suffrage was granted to single women and widows (householders) in 1869. In 1870 an act was passed enabling them to vote at school-board elections, and also to become members of such boards.

⁵ See Macaulay's Essays, "Civil Disabilities of the Jews."

every householder in all the towns of the kingdom who paid a tax for the support of the poor, and to all lodgers paying a rental of £10 (\$50) yearly; it also increased the number of voters among small property-holders in counties.

There still, however, remained a large class in the country districts for whom nothing had been done. The men who tilled the soil were miserably poor and miserably ignorant. Joseph Arch, a Warwickshire farm laborer, who had been educated by hunger and toil, succeeded in establishing a national union among men of his class, of which he became president, and eventually, mainly through his efforts, they secured the ballot. Since then, under the Liberal ministry of Mr. Gladstone, a third Reform Bill has been passed, which went into operation in 1886, by which all residents of counties throughout the United Kingdom have the right to vote on the same condition as those of towns.

It is estimated that this law added about two and a half millions of voters, and that there is now one voter to every six persons of the total population, whereas, before the passing of the first Reform Bill (1832), there was not over one in fifty. In the first "People's Parliament," in 1886, Joseph Arch, and several others, were returned as representatives of classes of the population who, up to that date, had had no voice in the legislation of the country. One step more, and a short one, and Great Britain, like America, will have universal "manhood suffrage."

641. Abolition of Compulsory Church Rates; Disestablishment of the Irish Episcopal Church; the Education Act.—While these reforms were taking place with respect to elections, others of great importance were also being effected. Since its establishment the Church of England had compelled all persons, of whatever belief, to pay taxes for the maintenance of the church of the parish where they resided. Methodists, Baptists, and other Dissenters, objected to this law as unjust, since in addition to the expense of supporting their own form of worship, they were obliged to contribute

In 1870 a system of common schools was established throughout the kingdom under the direction of a government board, and hence popularly known as "Board Schools." Up to this date most of the children of the poor had been educated in schools maintained by the Church of England, the various dissenting denominations, and by charitable associations, or such endowments as those of Edward VI. It was found, however, that more than half of the children of the country were not reached by these institutions, but were growing up in such a state of dense ignorance, that in the agricultural districts a large proportion could neither read nor write. By the "Board Schools" elementary unsectarian instruction is made compulsory, and though not wholly free, it is so nearly so that it is brought within the means of the poorest. A year later the universities and colleges, with most of the offices

toward maintaining one with which they had no sympathy. So great had the opposition become to paying their "church rates," that in 1859 there were over fifteen hundred parishes in England in which the authorities could not collect them. After much agitation a law was finally passed abolishing this mode of tax, and making the payment of rates purely voluntary.1 A similar act of justice was soon after granted to Ireland.2 At the time of the union of the two countries in 1800,3 the maintenance of the Protestant Episcopal Church continued to remain obligatory upon the Irish people, although only a very small part of them were of that faith. Mr. Gladstone's law disestablishing this branch of the national church left all religious denominations in Ireland to the voluntary support of those who belonged to them, so that henceforth the English resident in that country can no longer claim the privilege of worshipping God at the expense of his Roman Catholic neighbor.

¹ The Representation Act.

¹ Church rates were levied on all occupiers of land or houses within the parish. They were abolished in 1868. The Church of England is now mainly supported by a tax on landowners, and by its endowments.

² The Disestablishment Bill was passed in 1869, and took effect in 1871.

See Paragraph No. 609.

⁴ See Paragraph No. 417.

and professorships connected with them, were thrown open to all persons without regard to religious belief; whereas, formerly, no one could graduate from Oxford or Cambridge without subscribing to the doctrines of the Church of England.

642. The First Irish Land Act. - The same year (1870) that the government undertook to provide for the education of the masses, Mr. Gladstone, then prime minister and head of the Liberal party, brought in a bill for the relief of the Irish peasantry. The circumstances under which land was held in Ireland were peculiar. A very large part - in fact about all the best of that island - was, and still is, owned by Englishmen whose ancestors obtained it through the wholesale confiscations of Cromwell, James I., and later sovereigns, in punishment for rebellion. Very few English landlords have cared to live in the country or to do anything for its improvement. Their overseers believed they did their whole duty when they forced the farm tenants to pay the largest amount of rent that could be wrung from them, and they had it in their power to dispossess a tenant of his land whenever they saw fit, without giving a reason for the act. If by his labor the tenant made the land more fertile, he reaped no profit from his industry, for the rent was at once increased, and swallowed up all that he raised. Such a system of extortion was destructive to the peasant farmer, and produced nothing for him but misery and discontent. The new law endeavored to remedy these evils by providing that if a landlord ejected a rent-paying tenant, he should pay him damages, and also allow him a fair sum for whatever improvements he had made. In addition, provision was made for a ready means of arbitration between landlord and tenant, and the tenant who failed to pay an exorbitant rate was not to be hastily or unjustly driven from the land,

643. Distress in Ireland; the Land League.—It was hoped by the friends of the measure that the new law would be productive of relief; but from 1876 to 1879 the potato crop failed in Ireland, and the country seemed threatened with a famine like

that of 1845. Thousands who could not get the means to pay even a moderate rent, much less the amounts demanded, were now forced to leave their cabins and seek shelter in the bogs, with the prospect of dying there of starvation. This state of things led a number of influential Irishmen to form a Land League, which had for its object the abolition of the present landlord system, and the securing of such legislation as should eventually result in giving the Irish peasantry possession of the soil they cultivated.

Later, the League came to have a membership of several hundred thousand persons, extending over the greater part of Ireland. Finding that it was difficult to get parliamentary help for their grievances, the League resolved to try a different kind of tactics. Accordingly they formed a compact not to work for, buy from, sell to, or have any intercourse with, such landlords, or their agents, or with any other person, who extorted exorbitant rent, ejected tenants unable to pay, or took possession of land from which tenants had been unjustly driven. This process of social excommunication was first tried on an English agent, or overseer, named Boycott, and soon became famous under the name of "boycotting." As the struggle went on, many of the suffering poor became desperate. Farm buildings, belonging to landlords and their agents, were burned, cattle horribly mutilated, and a number of the agents shot. At the same time the cry rose of No Rent, Death to the Landlords! Hundreds of tenants now refused to pay for the places they held; and even attacked those who did. Eventually the lawlessness of the country provoked the government to take severe measures: the Land League, which was believed to be responsible for the refusal to pay rent, and for the accompanying outrages, was suppressed; but the feeling which gave rise to it could not be extinguished, and it soon burst forth more violently than ever.

644. The Second Irish Land Act; Fenian and Communist Outrages. — In 1881 Mr. Gladstone succeeded in carrying through a second land law, which it was hoped might be more effective in

relieving the Irish peasants than the first had been. This measure is familiarly known as the "Three F's,"—Fair-rent, Fixity-of-tenure, and Free-sale. By the provisions of this act the tenant may appeal to a board of land commissioners appointed by the law to fix the rate of his rent in case the demands made by the landlord seem to him excessive. Next, he can continue to hold his farm, provided he pays the rate determined on, for a period of fifteen years, during which time the rent cannot be raised nor the tenant evicted except for violation of agreement or persistent neglect or waste of the land; lastly, he may sell his tenancy when he sees fit to the highest bidder.

After the passage of this second Land Act, Lord Frederick Cavendish, chief secretary of Ireland, and Mr. Burke, a prominent government official, were murdered in Phoenix Park, Dublin. Later, members of various secret and communistic societies perpetrated dynamite outrages in London and other parts of England for the purpose of intimidating the government. These dastardly plots for destruction and murder have been denounced with horror by the leaders of the Irish National Party, who declare that "the cause of Ireland is not to be served by the knife of the assassin or the infernal machine." Notwithstanding the vindictive feeling which these rash acts have caused, despite also of the passage of the coercion bill of 1887, the majority of the more intelligent and thoughtful of the Irish people have faith that the logic of events will ultimately obtain for them the full enjoyment of those political rights which England so fully possesses, and which she cannot, without being false to herself, deny to her sister-island.

645. The Leading Names in Science, Literature, and Art.—
In the progress of science the present age has had no equal in the past history of England, except in the discovery of the law of gravitation by Sir Isaac Newton. That great thinker demonstrated that all forms of matter, great or small, near or distant, are governed by one universal law. In like manner the researches of the past fifty years have virtually established the belief that all material forms,

whether living or not, obey an equally universal law of development, by which the higher are derived from the lower through a succession of gradual but progressive changes.

This conception originated long before the beginning of the Victorian era, but it lacked the acknowledged support of carefully examined facts, and was regarded by most sensible men as a plausible but untenable idea. The thinker who did more than any other to supply the facts, and to put the theory, so far as it relates to natural history, on a solid and lasting foundation, was the distinguished English naturalist, Charles Darwin, who died in 1882, and found an honored resting-place in Westminster Abbey, near the graves of the well-known geologist, Sir Charles Lyell, and Livingstone, the African explorer.

On his return in 1837 from a voyage of scientific discovery round the world, he began to examine and classify the facts which he had collected, and continued to collect, relating to natural history. After twenty-two years of uninterrupted labor he published a work ("The Origin of Species") in 1859 in which he showed that animal life owes its course of development to the struggle for existence and "the survival of the fittest." Darwin's work may truthfully be said to have wrought a revolution in the study of nature as great as that accomplished by Newton in the seventeenth century. Though calling forth the most heated and prolonged discussion, the Darwinian theory has gradually made its way, and is now generally received, though sometimes in a modified form, by nearly every eminent man of science throughout the world. A little later than the date at which Mr. Darwin began his researches, Sir William Grove, an eminent electrician, commenced a series of experiments which have led to a great change in our conceptions of matter and force. He showed that heat, light, and electricity are mutually convertible; that they must be regarded as

¹ Alfred Russell Wallace, also noted as a naturalist, worked out the theory of evolution by "natural selection" about the same time, though not so fully with respect to details, as Darwin; as each of these investigators arrived at his conclusions independently of the other, the theory was thus doubly confirmed.

modes of motion; and, finally, that all force is persistent and indestructible, thus proving, as Professor Tyndall says, that "To nature, nothing can be added; from nature, nothing can be taken away." Together, these, with kindred discoveries, have resulted in the theory of evolution, or development, which Herbert Spencer and others have endeavored to make the basis of a system of philosophy embracing the whole field of nature and life.

In literature so many names of note are found that the mere enumeration of them would be impracticable here. It will be sufficient to mention the novelists, Dickens, Thackeray, Brontë, and "George Eliot"; the historians, Hallam, Arnold, Grote, Macaulay, Alison, Buckle, Froude, and Freeman; the essayists, Carlyle, Landor, and De Quincey; the poets, Browning and Tennyson; the philosophical writers, Hamilton, Mill, and Spencer; with Lyell, Faraday, Carpenter, Tyndall, Huxley, and Wallace in science; the eminent art-critic and writer on political economy, John Ruskin; and in addition, the chief artists of the period, Millais, Rossetti, Burne-Jones, Watts, and Hunt.

646. Progress in England.—The legislation of the last twenty-five years offers abundant evidence that Macaulay was right when he declared that "the history of England is the history of a great and progressive nation." Merely to read the records of the statute-book during that time would convince any person not hopelessly prejudiced that no people of Europe have made greater advancement than the people of Great Britain. Nor has this progress been confined to political reform. On the contrary, it is found in every department of thought and action. Since the beginning of the century, and, in fact, to a great degree since the accession of the present queen, the systems of law and judicature have been in large measure reconstructed.² This is especially evident in the

Court of Chancery¹ and the criminal courts. In 1825 the property belonging to suitors in the former court amounted to nearly two hundred millions of dollars.² The simplest case required a dozen years for its settlement, while difficult ones consumed a lifetime, or more, and were handed down from father to son—a legacy of baffled hopes, of increasing expense, of mental suffering worse than that of hereditary disease. Much has been done to remedy these evils, which Dickens set forth with such power in his novel, "Bleak House," and which at one time seemed so utterly hopeless that it was customary for a prize-fighter, when he had got his opponent wholly at his mercy, to declare that he had his head "in chancery"!

In criminal courts an equal reform has taken place, and men accused of burglary and murder are now allowed to have counsel to defend them; whereas, up to the era of the coronation of Victoria, they were obliged to plead their own cases as best they might against skilled public prosecutors, who used every resource known to the law to convict them.

Great changes for the better have also taken place in the treatment of the insane. Until near the close of the last century, this unfortunate class was quite generally regarded as possessed by demons, and dealt with accordingly. In 1792 William Tuke, a member of the Society of Friends, inaugurated a better system; but the old method continued for many years longer. In fact, we have the highest authority for saying, that down to a late period in the present century the inmates of many asylums were worse off than the most desperate criminals. They were shut up in dark, and often filthy, cells, where "they were chained to the wall, flogged, starved, and not infrequently killed." Since then, all mechanical restraint has been abolished, and the patients are, as a rule, treated with the care and kindness which their condition demands.

¹ An Essay on the Correlation of Physical Forces, by W. R. Grove.

² Twenty-five years ago the Parliamentary Statutes filled forty-four huge folio volumes, and the Common Law, as contained in judicial decisions dating from the time of Edward II., filled about twelve hundred more. The work of examining, digesting, and consolidating this enormous mass of legal lore was begun in 1863, and is still in progress.

¹ See Paragraph No. 195.

² See Walpole's History of England, Vol. III.

⁸ Encyclopædia Britannica, 9th ed., "Insanity."