modes of motion; and, finally, that all force is persistent and indestructible,[1] 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. The Queen's "Diamond Jubilee"; a Review of Sixty Years of English History, 1837–1897. — In the summer of 1887 Queen Victoria celebrated the fiftieth year of her reign; ten years later (June 22, 1897) the nation spontaneously rose to do honor to her "diamond jubilee." The splendid military pageant which marked that event in London was far more than a brilliant show, for it demonstrated the enthusiastic loyalty of the English people and of the English colonies.[2]

The real meaning of the occasion is best sought in a review of

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

[2] On the Queen's reign see: Ward's "Reign of Queen Victoria," 2 vols.; Molesworth's "England," 3 vols.; Walpole's "England," Vols. III.–IV.; Traill's "Social England," Vol. VI.; Aubrey's "Rise and Growth of the English Nation," Vol. III.; Escott's "Social Transformations of the Victorian Age"; Taswell-Langmead's "Constitutional History of England"; May's "Constitutional History of England" to 1870, Vol. II.; McCarthy's "History of Our Own Times," 5 vols.; the "Contemporary Review" for June, 1897; the "Review of Reviews" for June, 1897; the "English Illustrated Magazine" for July, 1897; Appleton's Annual Cyclopædia.

the record of the past three-score years. They have been, in large degree, a period of progress; perhaps, in fact, no similar period in European history has been so "crowded with benefit to humanity."

When Victoria came to the throne in her nineteenth year (1837) she found the kingdom seething with discontent, and the province of Canada approaching rebellion. In business circles reckless speculation and the bursting of "Bubble Companies" had been followed by "tight money" and "hard times." Among the poor matters were far worse. Wages were low, work was scarce, bread was dear. In the cities half-fed multitudes lived in cellars; in the country the same class occupied wretched cottages hardly better than cellars.[1]

The "New Poor Law,"[2] which had recently gone into effect (1834), eventually accomplished much good; but for a time it forced many laborers into the workhouse. This result aggravated the suffering and discontent, and the predominant feeling of the day may be seen reflected in the pages of Dickens, Kingsley, and Carlyle.[3]

Notwithstanding the passage of the Reform Bill[4] (1832) polit-

[1] See Cobbett's "Rural Rides," 1821–1832.

[2] The "New Poor Law": Between 1691 and 1834 the administration of relief for the poor was in the hands of justices of the peace, who gave aid indiscriminately to those who begged for it. In 1795 wages for ordinary laborers were so low that the justices resolved to grant an allowance to every poor family in accordance with its numbers. The result of this mistaken kindness was speedily seen; employers cut down wages to the starvation point, knowing that the magistrates would give help out of the poor fund. The consequence was that the tax rate for relief of the poor rose to a degree that became unbearable.

The "New Poor Law" of 1834 effected a sweeping reform: 1. It forbade outdoor relief to the able-bodied poor, and thus, in the end, compelled the employer to give better wages (but outdoor relief is now frequently granted); 2. It restricted aid to that given in workhouses, where the recipient, if in good health, was obliged to labor in return for what he received; 3. It greatly reduced the expense of supporting the poor by uniting parishes in workhouse "unions"; 4. It modified the old rigid Law of Settlement, thereby making it possible for those seeking employment to take their labor to the best market.

[3] See Dickens's "Oliver Twist" (1838); Carlyle's "Chartism" (1839); and Kingsley's "Yeast" and "Alton Locke" (1849).

[4] See Paragraph No. 625.

ical power was still held chiefly by men of property who distrusted the masses of the people. They feared that the widespread distress would culminate in riots, if not in open insurrection.

The Chartist movement,[1] which speedily began (1838), seemed to justify their apprehension. But the dreaded revolt never came; the evils of the times were gradually alleviated and, in some cases, cured. Confidence slowly took the place of distrust and fear, and when, in June, 1897, the Queen's "diamond jubilee" procession moved from Buckingham Palace to St. Paul's, and thence through one of the poorest quarters of London, none of the dense mass that filled the streets cheered more lustily than those who must always earn their daily bread by their daily toil.

The explanation of this marvellous change is to be found in the progress of good government, the extension of popular rights, and the advance of material improvements. Let us consider these changes in their natural order.

647. The Broadening of the Basis of Suffrage.—We have already described the far-reaching effects of the Reform Bill[2] of 1832, which granted representation in Parliament to a number of large towns hitherto without a voice in the National Legislature. Three years later (1835) came the Municipal Reform Act. It placed the government of towns, with the exception of London,[3] in the hands of the taxpayers who lived in them. This radical measure put a stop to the arbitrary and corrupt management which had existed when the town officers elected themselves and held their positions for life.[4] Furthermore, it prevented parliamentary candidates from buying up the entire municipal vote —

1 See Paragraph No. 634.

2 See Paragraph No. 625.

3 London proper, a district covering about a square mile, and once enclosed by walls, is still governed by a lord mayor, court of aldermen, and a common council elected mainly by members of the "city" companies, representing the mediæval trade guilds (see page 147). The metropolis outside the "city" is governed by the London County Council and by the Vestries or Parish Councils elected by the men and women residing in the parishes.

4 See Paragraph No. 640.

a thing which frequently happened so long as the towns were under the absolute control of a few individuals.

A generation passed before the next important step was taken. Then, as we have seen, the enactment of the "Second Reform Bill"[1] (1867) doubled the number of voters in England. The next year an act reduced the property qualification for suffrage in Scotland and Ireland; thus the ballot was largely increased throughout the United Kingdom.

The "Third Reform Act"[2] (1884) granted the right of suffrage to more than two million persons, chiefly of the agricultural and laboring classes.

But though these acts wrought an immense change by transferring political power from the hands of the few to the nation at large, further progress in this direction was destined to come soon. Originally the government of the shires, or counties, was in the hands of the people; they gradually lost it, and the wealthy landed proprietors obtained control. The "Local Government," or "County Council Act" (1888), restored the power in great measure to those who had parted with it, by putting the management of county affairs under the direction of a council elected by the householders of the shire. This council looks after the highways, the sanitary condition of towns, the education of children, and the care of the poor.

Six years later (1894) the principle of self-government was carried almost to the farthest point by the passage of the "Parish Council Bill." This did for small local populations what the Local Government Act did for the counties. It gave back to them certain rights which they once possessed, but which had been usurped by the squire, the parson, and a few privileged families.

Now every man and woman who has resided in the parish for a twelvemonth has the right, not only to vote for the members of the Parish Council, but to run as candidate for election to that

1 See Paragraph No. 640. 2 See same Paragraph.

body. This village parliament discusses all questions which are of public interest to the parish. It is in some respects more democratic even than a New England town-meeting, since it gives women a voice, a vote, and opportunity to hold office. Its work supplements that of the County Council and the National Parliament.

648. Overthrow of the "Spoils System"; the Army; the "Secret Ballot." — Meanwhile reforms not less important had been effected in the management of the civil service. The ancient power of the Crown to give fat pensions to its favorites had been pared down to the most modest proportions, but another great abuse still flourished like an evil weed in a rich soil.

For generations public offices had been regarded as public plunder, and the watchword of the politicians was: "Every man for himself, and the National Treasury for us all." Under this system of pillage the successful party in an election came down like a flock of vultures after a battle. They secured all the "spoils," from petty clerkships worth £100 a year up to places worth thousands.

In 1855 an effort was made to break up this corrupt and corrupting custom, but the real work was not accomplished until 1870. In that year England threw open the majority of the positions in the civil service to competitive examination. Henceforth the poorest day-laborer, whether man or woman, might, if competent, ask for any one of many places which formerly some political "boss" reserved as gifts for those who had obeyed his commands.

The next year (1871) the purchase of commissions in the army was abolished. This established the merit system in the ranks, and now military honors and military offices are open to all who can earn them.

The Registration Act (1843) suppressed election frauds to a large extent. It was supplemented (1872) by the introduction of the "secret ballot." [1] This did away with the intimidation of

[1] See Paragraph No. 634.

voters and put an end to the free fights and riots which had so frequently made the polls a political pandemonium.

649. Reforms in Law Procedures and the Administration of Justice; Treatment of the Insane. — Since the Queen's accession great changes for the better have been effected in simplifying the laws and in the administration of justice. When she came to the throne the Parliamentary Statutes at Large filled fifty-five 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 legislative and legal lore was taken in hand (1863) and has been happily progressing ever since.

The "Judicature Acts" (1873, 1877) united the chief courts in a single High Court of Justice. This reform did away with much confusion and expense. But the most striking changes for the better have been those made in the Court of Chancery [1] and the criminal courts. In 1825 the property belonging to suitors in the former court amounted to nearly forty millions of pounds.[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's neck twisted under his arm, and held him absolutely helpless, 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 Vic-

[1] See Paragraph No. 195.
[2] See Walpole's "History of England," Vol. III.

toria, 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."[1] 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.

650. Progress in the Education of the Masses; the Universities; Religious Toleration. — Since 1837 the advance in popular education has equaled that made in the extension of suffrage and in civil service reform. When Victoria began her reign a very large proportion of the children of the poor were growing up in a state of barbarism. Practically they knew little more of books or schools than the young Hottentots of South Africa. The marriage register shows that as late as 1840 forty per cent of the Queen's adult subjects could not write their names in the book; now the number who have to "make their mark" in that interesting volume is only about one in ten. This proves, as Lord Brougham said, that "the schoolmaster" has been "abroad" in the land.

The national system of education began (1870) with the opening of what are popularly known as the "Board Schools."[2] Later,

[1] Encyclopædia Britannica, 9th ed., "Insanity."
[2] See Paragraph No. 641.

the "Assisted Education Act" (1891) made provision for those who had not means to pay even a few pence a week for instruction. This law puts the key of knowledge within reach of every child in England, so that elementary education there is now as free to the poor as it is in the United States.

The universities have felt the new impulse. The abolition of religious tests for degrees at Oxford and Cambridge (1871) threw open the doors of those venerable seats of learning to students of every faith. Since then colleges for women have been established at Oxford and in the vicinity of Cambridge, and the "university extension" examinations, with "college settlements" in London and other large cities have long been doing excellent work.

The religious toleration granted in the universities was in accord with the general movement of the age. It will be remembered that the Catholics were admitted to sit in Parliament[1] late in the reign of George IV. (1829), and that under Victoria the Jews were admitted (1858) to the same right.[2] Finally, Mr. Bradlaugh carried his "Oaths Bill" through Parliament (1888), and so opened the National Legislature to persons, not only of all religious beliefs, but of none. In the meantime the compulsory payment of rates for the support of the Church of England had been abolished (1868);[3] and the next year (1869) was made memorable by the just and generous act by which Mr. Gladstone disestablished the Irish branch of the English Church.[4]

651. Transportation and Communication. — When the Queen ascended the throne, the locomotive[5] was threatening to supersede the stage-coach; but the progress of steam as a motor power on land had not been rapid, and England then had less than 200 miles of railway open;[6] there are now about 14,000. The passenger accommodation was limited. Those who could in-

[1] See Paragraph No. 618. [2] See Paragraph No. 640. [3] See Paragraph No. 641.
[4] See Paragraph No. 641. [5] See Paragraph No. 627.
[6] Part of what is now the "London and Northwestern Railway," between London, Manchester, and Liverpool.

dulge in such luxuries sometimes preferred to travel in their own private carriages placed on platform cars for transportation. For those who took first-class tickets there were excellent and roomy compartments at very high prices. The second-class fared tolerably well, but the unfortunate third-class were crowded like cattle into open trucks which did not have even roofs to keep the rain out. All this has changed, and now the workingman flies through the country at the rate of fifty miles an hour, for a penny a mile, and has all the comforts that a reasonable being can ask for.

Cheap postage[1] came in (1840) with the extension of railways. Every letter, for the first time, carried on it a stamp bearing the portrait of the young Queen, and in this way the English people came to know her better than they had ever known any preceding sovereign.

Half-a-dozen years later the telegraph made instantaneous communication possible, so that now, by the outlay of sixpence, one can send a brief despatch to any part of the United Kingdom.

652. Light in Dark Places; Photography; Ether and the New Surgery. — The invention of the friction-match (1834),[2] the abolition of the tax on windows (1851),[3] with the introduction of American petroleum, speedily dispelled the almost subterraneous gloom of the laborer's cottage. Meanwhile photography had revealed the astonishing fact that the sun is always ready, not only to make a picture, but to take one, and that nothing is so humble as to be beneath his notice.

In 1846 news came across the Atlantic from Boston that Dr. Morton had rendered surgery painless by the use of ether. Before a year passed the English hospitals were employing the anæsthetic. Sir James Y. Simpson introduced chloroform (1847). They have abolished the terror of the surgeon's knife, and have lengthened life by making it possible to perform operations requiring time, and which few patients had been able to bear.

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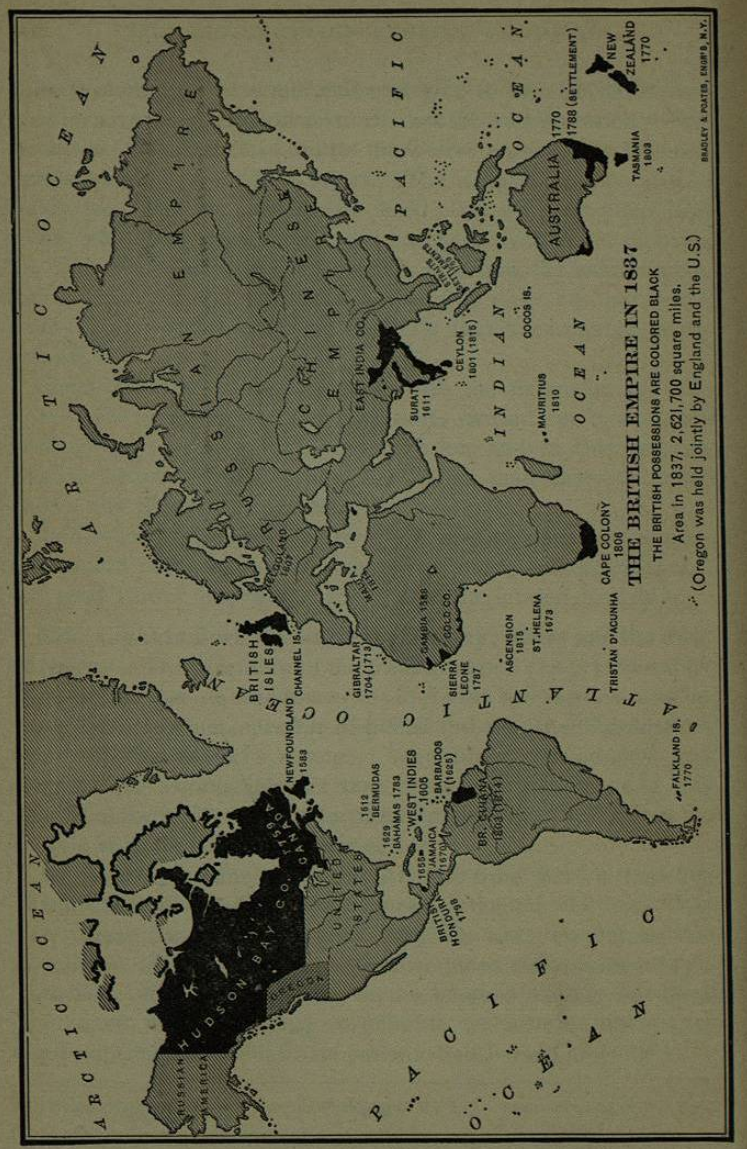
[1] See Paragraph No. 633. [2] See Paragraph No. 627. [3] See Paragraph No. 637.



A score of years later Sir Joseph Lister called attention to antiseptic methods in surgery. They have suggested precautions, formerly unknown, by which multitudes of lives have been saved.

653. Progress of the Laboring Classes; Free Trade. — At the date of the Queen's accession an enormous mass of laws existed restricting trade and the free action of workingmen. Only three years before Victoria's coronation six poor agricultural laborers in Dorsetshire were transported to penal servitude at Botany Bay for seven years, for peacefully combining to secure an increase of their miserable wages of six shillings a week. In fact, the so-called "Conspiracy Laws," which made labor unions liable to prosecution, were not wholly repealed until the nineteenth century was far advanced. Then (1871–1876) the "Trades Union Acts" recognized the right of workingmen to form associations to protect their interests by the use of all lawful measures. Since that time Trades Unions have gained very largely in numbers and financial strength. In many ways, in connection with the Coöperative Societies and Stores, they have accomplished great good. They will accomplish more still if they succeed in teaching their members to study the condition of industry in England, to respect the action of those workers who do not join associations, and to see clearly that "if men have a right to combine," they must also "have an equal right to refuse to combine."

In 1837 the English Corn Laws[1] virtually shut out the importation of grain from foreign countries. The population had outgrown its food supply, and bread was so dear that even the agricultural laborer cried out. "I be protected," said he, "but I be starving." The long and bitter fight against the "Corn Laws" resulted not only in their gradual abolition (1846), but in the opening of English ports to the products and manufactures of the world, so that, with the exception of tobacco, wines, spirits, and a few other articles, all imports enter the kingdom free.

But though Great Britain carries out Peel's theory, — that it is

[1] See Paragraph No. 635.

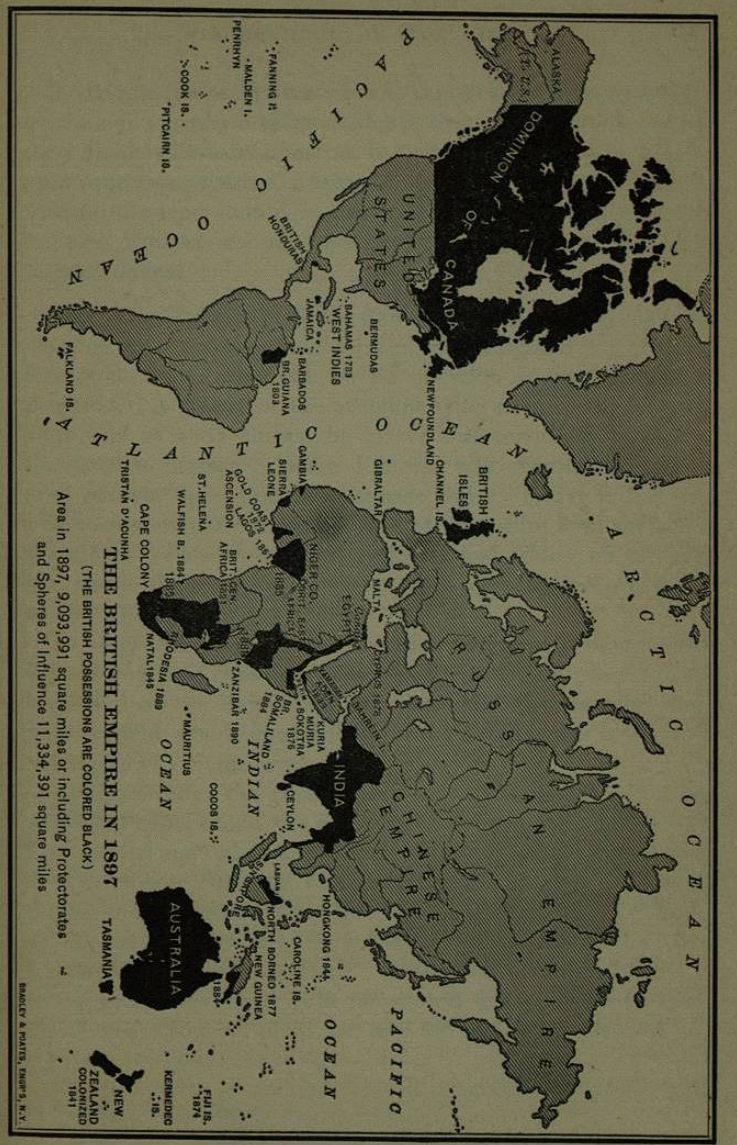
better to make things cheap for the sake of those who buy them, rather than dear for the sake of those who produce them, — yet all the English colonies, with the exception of New South Wales, impose protective duties even against British products. One of the interesting questions suggested by the Queen's Jubilee is whether England's children in Australia, New Zealand, and Canada will take any steps toward forming a commercial free-trade union with the mother-country.

654. The Agricultural Outlook. — To-day the agricultural problem is one of the most serious England has to solve. Just as New England now depends in large measure on the West for its food supply, so Great Britain depends on America for breadstuffs. Thousands of acres of fertile soil have gone out of cultivation in the Eastern half of the island, partly because of bad harvests, but mainly because the farmers cannot compete with foreign wheat. The Royal Agricultural Commission in its recent report (1897) can suggest no remedy, and believes matters must grow worse. A leading English journal,[1] in commenting on the the Report, says: "The sad and sober fact is that the English farmer's occupation is gone, or nearly gone, never to return."

The depression has ruined many tillers of the soil, and has driven the rural population more and more into the already over-crowded towns. There they bid against the laboring men for work, and so reduce wages to the lowest point. If they fail to get work, they become an added burden on the poor-rates, and taxes rise accordingly.

Should no remedy be found, and should land continue to go out of cultivation, it is difficult to see how the majority of proprietors can resist the temptation to break up and sell their estates. The tendency of the Consolidated Death Duties Act (1894) is believed by many to work in the same direction. It imposes an inheritance tax on the heirs to landed property, which they frequently find it hard to meet, especially when their tenants have abandoned their farms rather than try to pay the rent.

[1] "The Bristol Times and Mirror," Aug. 5, 1897.



To-day a few thousand wealthy families hold the title-deeds to the soil on which thirty millions live. Generally speaking, the rent they demand does not seem to be excessive.[1] It is an open question whether England would be the gainer if, as in France, the land should be cut up into small holdings, worked by men without capital and hence without power to make improvements.

655. The Colonial Expansion of England. — Meanwhile, whether from an economic point of view England is gaining or losing at home, there can be no question as to her colonial progress. A glance at the accompanying map of the world in 1837 and in 1897 shows the marvellous territorial growth of the British Empire. When Victoria was crowned it had an area of less than 3,000,000 square miles; to-day it has over 11,000,000, or more than one-fifth of the entire land surface of the globe. This shows that England has added, on the average, more than 145,000 square miles of territory every year of the Queen's reign.

In 1837 Australia began its career as a penal colony with a few shiploads of convicts; now it is a prosperous, powerful, and loyal part of the Empire. Sixty years ago New Zealand was a mission-field where cannibalism still existed; now it is one of the leaders in civilization.

Again, in 1837 the greater part of Africa was simply a geographical expression; the coast had been explored, but most of the interior was unknown. Through the efforts of Livingstone and those who followed him (1840–1890), the interior was explored and the source of the Nile was discovered (1863); Stanley succeeded in his great work on the Congo River, and the "dark continent" ceased to be dark. Trade was opened with the interior, the discovery of gold mines and diamond mines stimulated emigration, railroads are now being pushed forward, new

[1] This is the opinion of the Royal Commission; but Gibbins's "Industry in England" (1896), p. 441, takes the opposite view.

markets are springing up, and Africa, once the puzzle of the world, seems likely to become one of the great fields which the Anglo-Saxon race is determined to control, if not to possess.

656. England's Change of Feeling toward her Colonies; the Policy of Justice; Arbitration vs. War. — One of the most striking features of the "diamond jubilee" celebration was the prominence given to the Colonial Prime Ministers. Less than half a century ago the men who governed England regarded Canada and Australia as "a source of weakness," and the Colonial Office in London knew so little of the latter country that it made ridiculous blunders in attempting to address official despatches to Melbourne, Australia.[1] Even as late as 1852 Disraeli, then Chancellor of the Exchequer, wrote to Lord Malmesbury in regard to the Newfoundland fisheries dispute: "These wretched colonies will all be independent, too, in a few years, and are a millstone round our necks." Twenty years afterward Disraeli, later Lord Beaconsfield, declared that one of the great objects he and his party had in view was to uphold the British Empire and to do everything to maintain its unity. That feeling has steadily gained in power and was never stronger than it is to-day. If the colonies respond by actions as well as words, "imperial federation" will soon become something more than a high-sounding phrase.

But to make such federation harmonious and complete the support of Ireland must be obtained. That country is the only member of the United Kingdom whose representatives in Parliament refused, as a rule, to take part in the celebration of the Queen's reign. They felt that their island had never been placed on a true equality with its stronger and more prosperous neighbor. In fact, the Royal Commission, appointed to inquire into the relative taxation of England and Ireland, reported (1897) nearly unanimously that "for a great many years Ireland had paid annually more than £2,000,000 beyond her just

[1] Traill's "Social England," VI., 684.

proportion of taxation."[1] It has been estimated that the total excess thus extorted during the Queen's reign amounts to nearly £100,000,000.

Recently (1897) Mr. Balfour, First Lord of the Treasury, announced that he should soon introduce a bill in Parliament granting Ireland local government on the same popular foundation that it rests on in England and Scotland, and accompanying the measure with a grant from the Imperial Exchequer of £700,000 a year. With regard to the over-taxation, Parliament is now debating whether the money shall be paid back or whether the present rate of Irish taxation shall be so far reduced as to make good the excess that has been taken from that unfortunate country. Here, then, as in the case when certain Englishmen of Cape Colony attempted (1895) to overthrow the Dutch Republic which adjoins them, Parliament appears resolved to adopt the policy of justice and equal rights.[2]

The recognition of the principle of international arbitration by England in the *Alabama* case,[3] in the Behring Sea Seal Fisheries dispute (1893), and in the Venezuela boundary controversy (1896) shows that the English people see that the victories of peace are worth as much to a nation as the victories

[1] McCarthy's "History of Our Own Times," V., 487.

[2] In 1836, when England annexed Cape Colony, South Africa, the Boers, or Dutch inhabitants of that region, left it, and established a Republic in the neighboring territory of the Transvaal. In 1877 England annexed the Transvaal. The Boers rose in arms and at the battle of Majuba Hill (1880) won a decisive victory which secured the acknowledgment of their independence. Toward the close of 1895 Dr. Jameson, a prominent man in the British settlement of Cape Colony, led an armed raid into the Transvaal with the intent of overthrowing the Dutch Republic or of compelling it to grant certain political rights to a large number of Englishmen engaged in mining within the jurisdiction of the Republic. Jameson and his force were utterly defeated by the Dutch, and the leader was made prisoner and sent to England for trial. He was there sentenced to jail. A Parliamentary Committee reported (1897) that Mr. Rhodes, Prime Minister of Cape Colony, was practically responsible for Jameson's raid. The Committee charged the Prime Minister with "an astounding breach of international comity."

[3] See Paragraph No. 639.

of war. Sixty years ago such arbitration would hardly have been possible; to-day it has the support of the ablest men on both sides of the Atlantic.

657. The Condition of the Mass of the English People To-day. — Since the accession of Victoria the condition of the great body of the English people has immensely improved. We no longer hear of workingmen and women stifling the pangs of hunger by the habitual use of opium, as thousands did at the beginning of the reign.[1] Wages have risen, hours of labor have been shortened, and, although England no longer enjoys the absolute commercial supremacy she once boasted,[2] she still remains one of the greatest industrial nations of the world.

Not only has the average wealth of the country greatly increased, but deposits in savings-banks prove that the workingmen are laying away large sums which were formerly spent in drink. Statistics show that pauperism, drunkenness, and crime have materially diminished. On the other hand, free libraries, reading-rooms, and art galleries have been opened in all the large towns. Liverpool is no longer "that black spot on the Mersey" which its cellar population of 40,000 and its hideous slums, with a population of nearly 70,000 more, once made it. Sanitary regulations, with house-to-house inspection, have done away with filth and disease, which were formerly accepted as a matter of course, and new safeguards now protect the health

[1] Ward's "Reign of Queen Victoria," II., 51.

[2] *England's loss of commercial supremacy.* — In 1865 Prof. Jevons of England predicted that the enormous output of coal and iron in the British Isles could not continue another century without such an enhancement in cost as would make it practically impossible for Great Britain to compete with the United States in the production of crude iron. The Right Honorable Leonard H. Courtney in a recent address (1897) read before the Royal Statistical Society of London shows that the production of pig iron in the United States exceeds that of England in the ratio of 6 to 5, while the American production of steel is double that of England, which now imports that metal to a considerable extent from us. The present indications are that the United States will soon dispute England's exports of all kinds of iron to neutral markets, and may soon outrival her in various other manufactured exports.

and life of classes of the population who were once simply miserable outcasts. Hospitals and charitable associations, with bands of trained nurses, provide for the sick and suffering poor. Prison discipline has ceased to be the terrible thing it was when Charles Reade wrote "Never too Late to Mend," and the convict in his cell no longer feels that he is utterly helpless and friendless.

It is no exaggeration to say that the best men and the best minds in England, without distinction of rank or class, are now laboring for the advancement of the people. They see, what has never been so clearly seen before, that the nation is a unit, that the welfare of each depends ultimately on the welfare of all, and that the higher a man stands, and the greater his wealth and privileges, so much the more is he bound to extend a helping hand to those less favored than himself.

The Socialists demand the abolition of private property in land and the nationalizing, not only of the soil, but of all mines, railways, water-works, and docks in the Kingdom. Thus far, however, they have shown no disposition to attain their objects by violent action. England, by nature conservative, is slow to break the bond of historic continuity which connects her present with her past. "Do you think we shall ever have a second revolution?" the Duke of Wellington was once asked. "We may," answered the great general, "but if we do, it will come by act of Parliament." That reply probably expresses the general temper of the people, who believe that they can gain by the ballot more than they can by an appeal to force, knowing that theirs is

> "A land of settled government,
> A land of just and old renown,
> Where freedom broadens slowly down,
> From precedent to precedent."[1]

658. General Summary of the Rise of the English People. — Such is the condition of England near the close of the nine-

[1] Tennyson's "You Ask Me Why."

teenth century, in the "diamond jubilee" year of the Victorian era. If we pause now and look back to the time when the island of Britain first became inhabited, we shall see the successive steps which have transformed a few thousand barbarians into a great and powerful empire.[1]

1. Judging from the remains of their flint implements and weapons, we have every reason to suppose that the original population of Britain was in no respect superior to the American Indians that Columbus found in the New World. They had the equality which everywhere prevails among savages, where all are alike ignorant, alike poor, and alike miserable. The tribal unity which bound them together in hostile clans resembled that found among a pack of wolves or a herd of buffalo — it was instinctive rather than intelligent, and sprang from necessity rather than from independent choice. Gradually these tribes learned to make tools and weapons of bronze, and to some extent even of iron; then they ceased the wandering life of men who live by hunting and fishing, and began to cultivate the soil, raise herds of cattle, and live in rudely fortified towns. Such was their condition when Cæsar invaded the island, and when the power of Roman armies and Roman civilization reduced the aborigines to a state but little better than that of the most abject slavery. When, after several centuries of occupation, the Roman power was withdrawn, we find that the race they had subjugated had gained nothing from their conquerors, but that, on the other hand, they had lost much of their native courage and manhood.

2. With the Saxon invasion the true history of the country may be said to begin. The fierce blue-eyed German race living on the shores of the Baltic and of the North Sea, brought with them a love of liberty and a power to defend it which even the Romans in their continental campaigns had not been able to subdue. They laid the foundations of a new nation; their speech, their laws, their customs, became permanent, and by them the Britain of the Celts

[1] See Map of British Empire in 1897.

and the Romans was baptized with that name of England which it has ever since retained.

3. Five hundred years later came the Norman Conquest. By it the Saxons were temporarily brought into subjection to a people who, though they spoke a different language, sprang originally from the same Germanic stock as themselves.

This conquest introduced higher elements of civilization, the life of England was to a certain extent united with the broader and more cultivated life of the continent, and the feudal or military tenure of the land, which had begun among the Saxons, was fully organized and developed. At the same time the king became the real head of the government, which before was practically in the hands of the nobles, who threatened to split it up into a self-destructive anarchy.

The most striking feature of this period was the fact that political liberty depended wholly on the possession of the soil. The landless man was a slave or a serf; in either case, so far as the state was concerned, his rank was simply zero. Above him there was, properly speaking, no English people; that is, no great body of inhabitants united by common descent, by participation in the government, by common interests, by pride of nationality and love of country. On the contrary, there were only classes separated by strongly marked lines — ranks of clergy, or ranks of nobles, with their dependents. Those who owned and ruled the country were Normans, speaking a different tongue from those below, and looking upon them with that contempt with which the victor regards the vanquished, while those below returned the feeling with sullen hate and fear.

4. The rise of the people was obscure and gradual. It began in the conflicts between the barons and the crown. In those contests both parties needed the help of the working classes. To get it each side made haste to grant some privilege to those whose assistance they required. Next, the foreign wars had no small influence, since friendly relations naturally sprang up between those

who fought side by side, and the Saxon yeoman and the Norman knight henceforth felt that England was their common home, and that in her cause they must forget differences of rank and blood.

It was, however, in the provisions of the Great Charter that the people first gained legal recognition. When the barons forced King John to issue that document, they found it expedient to protect the rights of all. For that reason, the great nobles and the clergy made common cause with peasants, tradesmen, and serfs. Finally, the rise of the free cities secured to their inhabitants many of the privileges of self-government, while the Wat Tyler insurrection of a later period led eventually to the emancipation of that numerous class which was bound to the soil.

5. But the real unity of the people first showed itself unmistakably in consequence of a new system of taxation, levied on persons of small property as well as on the wealthy landholders. The moment the government laid hands on the tradesman's and the laborer's pockets, they demanded to have a share in legislation. Out of that demand sprang the House of Commons, a body, as its name implies, made up of representatives chosen mainly from the people and by the people.

The great contest now was for the power to levy taxes — if the king could do it he might take the subject's money when he pleased; if Parliament alone had the control in this matter, then it would be as they pleased. Little by little not only did Parliament obtain the coveted power, but that part of Parliament which directly represented the people got it, and it was finally settled that no tax could be demanded save by their vote. This victory, however, was not gained except by a long and bitter conflict, in which sometimes one and sometimes the other of the contestants got the best of it, and in which also Jack Cade's insurrection in behalf of free elections had its full influence. But though temporarily beaten, the people never quite gave up the struggle; thus "the murmuring Parliament of Mary became the grumbling Parliament of Elizabeth, and finally the rebellious and victorious Parliament of Charles I.," when the executioner's axe settled the question who was to rule.

6. Meanwhile a great change had taken place in the condition of the aristocracy. The wars of the Roses had destroyed the power of the Norman barons, and the Tudors — especially Henry VIII. by his action in suppressing the monasteries, and granting the lands to his favorites — virtually created a new aristocracy, many of whom sprang from the ranks of the people.

Under Cromwell, a republic was nominally established, and the House of Lords temporarily abolished; but all power was really in the hands of the Army, with the Protector at its head. After the restoration of the monarchy, the government of the country was carried on mainly by the two great political parties, the Whigs and the Tories, representing the Cavaliers and Roundheads, or the aristocratic and people's parties of the civil war. With the flight of James II., the passage of the Bill of Rights and the Act of Settlement, Parliament set aside the regular hereditary order of succession, and established a new order, in which the sovereign was made dependent on the people for his right to rule. Next, the Mutiny Bill put the power of the army practically into the hands of Parliament, which already held full control of the purse. The Toleration Act granted liberty of worship, and the abolition of the censorship of the press gave freedom to expression. With the coming in of George I., the king ceased to appoint his cabinet, leaving its formation to his prime minister. Hereafter the cabinet no longer met with the king, and the executive functions of the government were conducted, to a constantly increasing extent, without his taking any active part in them. Still, though the people through Parliament claimed to rule, yet the great landholders, and especially the Whig nobility, held the chief power; the sovereign, it is true, no longer tried to govern in spite of Parliament, but by controlling elections and legislation he managed to govern through it.

7. With the invention of the steam-engine, and the growth of great manufacturing towns in the central and northern counties