

of England, many thousands of the population were left without representation. Their demands to have this inequality righted resulted in the Reform Bill of 1832, which broke up in great measure the political monopoly hitherto enjoyed by the landholders and aristocracy, and distributed the power among the middle classes. The accession of Queen Victoria established the principle that the cabinet should be held directly responsible to the majority of the House of Commons, and that they should not be appointed contrary to the wish, or dismissed contrary to the consent, of that majority. By the Reform Bills of 1867 and 1884, the suffrage has been greatly extended, so that, practically, the centre of political gravity which was formerly among the wealthy and privileged classes, and which passed from them to the manufacturing and mercantile population, has shifted to the working classes, who now possess the balance of power in England almost as completely as they do in America. Thus we see that by gradual steps those who once had few or no rights, have come to be the masters; and though England continues to be a monarchy in name, yet it is well-nigh a republic in fact.

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

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

**659. Characteristics of English History; the Unity of the English-Speaking Race; Conclusion.** — This rapid and imperfect sketch shows what has been accomplished by the people of Britain. Other European peoples may have developed earlier, and made

perhaps more rapid advances in certain forms of civilization, but none have surpassed, nay, none have equalled, the English-speaking race in the practical character and permanence of their progress. Guizot says<sup>1</sup> the true order of national development in free government is, first, to convert the natural liberties of man into clearly defined political rights; and, next, to guarantee the security of those rights by the establishment of forces capable of maintaining them. Nowhere do we find better illustrations of this law of progress than in the history of England, and of the colonies which England has planted. Trial by jury,<sup>2</sup> the legal right to resist oppression,<sup>3</sup> legislative representation,<sup>4</sup> religious freedom,<sup>5</sup> and, finally, the principle that all political power is a trust held for the public good<sup>6</sup> — these are the assured results of Anglo-Saxon growth, and the legitimate heritage of every nation of Anglo-Saxon descent.

Here, in America, we sometimes lose sight of what those have done for us who occupied the world before we came into it. We forget that English history is in a very large degree our history, and that England is, as Hawthorne liked to call it, "our old home." In fact, if we go back less than three centuries, the record of America becomes one with that of the mother country, which first discovered<sup>7</sup> and first permanently settled this, and which gave us for leaders and educators Washington, Franklin, the Adamses, and John Harvard. In descent, by far the greater part of us are of English blood;<sup>8</sup> while in language, literature, law,

<sup>1</sup> Guizot's History of Representative Government, Lecture VI.

<sup>2</sup> See Paragraph No. 227.

<sup>3</sup> See Paragraph No. 313.

<sup>4</sup> See Paragraph No. 265.

<sup>5</sup> See Paragraph No. 548, and note 2.

<sup>6</sup> See Macaulay's Essay on Walpole.

<sup>7</sup> See Paragraphs No. 387 and No. 473.

<sup>8</sup> In 1840 the population of the United States, in round numbers, was 17,000,000, of whom the greater part were probably of English descent. Since then there has been an enormous immigration forty per cent of which was from the British islands; but it is perhaps safe to say that three-quarters of our present population are those who were living here in 1840, with their descendants. Of the immigrants coming from non-English-speaking races, the Germans predominate, and it is to them, as we have seen, that the English owe their origin, they being in fact but a modification of the Teutonic race.



legislative forms of government, and the essential features of civilization, we all owe to England a greater debt than to any other country ; and without a knowledge of her history we cannot rightly understand our own. Standing on her soil we possess practically the same personal rights that we do here ; we speak the same tongue, we meet with the same familiar names. We feel that whatever is glorious in her past is ours also ; that Westminster Abbey belongs as much to us as to her, for our ancestors helped to build its walls, and their dust is gathered in its tombs ; that Shakespeare and Milton belong to us in like manner, for they wrote in the language we speak, for the instruction and delight of our fathers' fathers, who beat back the Spanish Armada, and gave their lives for liberty on the fields of Marston Moor and Naseby.

Let it be granted that grave issues have arisen in the past to separate us ; yet, after all, our interests and our sympathies, like our national histories, have more in common than they have apart. The progress of each country now reacts for good on the other. If we consider the total combined population of the United States and of the British Empire, we find that to-day upwards of one hundred and twenty millions of people speak the English tongue, and are governed by the fundamental principles of English constitutional law. They hold possession of over twelve millions of square miles of the earth's surface — an area nearly equal to the united continents of North America and Europe.<sup>1</sup> By far the greater part of the wealth and power of the globe is theirs. They have expanded by their territorial and colonial growth as no other people have. They have absorbed and assimilated the millions of emigrants from every race and of every tongue which have poured into their dominions. The result is, that the inhabitants of the British islands, of Australia, New Zealand, the United States and Canada, practically form one great Anglo-

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<sup>1</sup> This estimate does not include the English Protectorates amounting (1897) to 2,240,400 square miles.



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Saxon race, diverse in origin, separated by distance, but everywhere exhibiting the same spirit of intelligent enterprise and of steady, resistless growth. Thus considered, America and England are necessary one to the other. Their interests now and in the future are essentially the same.

In view of these facts let us say, with an eminent thinker,<sup>1</sup> whose intellectual home is on both sides the Atlantic, "Whatever there be between the two nations to forget and forgive, is forgotten and forgiven. If the two peoples, which are one, be true to their duty, who can doubt that the destinies of the world are in their hands?"

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<sup>1</sup> Archdeacon Farrar, Address on General Grant, Westminster Abbey, 1885.