

mere American passion. The persistence of the French Republic is due to it. The free constitutions of Germany, Italy, Scandinavia, Holland, Belgium and Spain are its offspring. Its career in Great Britain has been peculiarly proud, furnishing a record second in splendor to none in humanity's whole history.

To English liberalism is mainly due that noble succession of reform acts, extending the political franchise until at last manhood suffrage is realized in Britain, if anything, more perfectly than in the United States. Laws have been passed unshackling British trade and commerce greatly to the benefit of the common people. Class privileges have been curtailed or abolished. Popular election has been carried into counties and municipalities, placing the peasant and the mechanic in competition to hold his own against wealth and rank as he could never do before. The old extra voting power of the rich has been mostly annulled, the public service purified and opened to the humblest, the administration of justice immensely improved. Most remarkable of all, a system of public education has been launched by which the poorest youth who will may gain intelligence that shall be worthy of his freedom and enable him to utilize and enjoy it.

Why, then, is democracy so in the dumps? What is it that balks its progress and even threatens its end? Certainly no superficial circumstance. Deep forces are here and a little tedious underground work will pay if it promises to displace them.

One doubtless is the vision that bare civil and political liberty does not constitute and does not assure the liberty which has been the in-

spiration of liberalist struggle. The French Revolution programme of simply knocking off political shackles does not go to the root of things.

The hopes of political liberals a century ago have not been realized. Poverty and oppression have not come to an end. *Laisssez faire* has proved no gospel. Though wealth and culture have immensely advanced, there is ground for believing that the last hundred years, the age which free institutions proudly call their own, have been the unhappiest century on record. This period of freedom and political equality, of status changed to contract and of a ballot for all, is precisely the one in which pessimism has been born—pessimism, that is no longer the smart hobby of a few but the fixed conviction of multitudes.

Till within a quarter of a century civilized men have always had at their disposal, free save for the slight exertion and expense of going to it, abundance of arable land in desirable latitudes. Whenever acute poverty, whenever social congestion, whenever feuds threatened anywhere, the oppressed, the beaten, the discontented had only to move into fresh fields where they could lay under pleasanter auspices the foundations of new states. All civilized communities, however far from the free land, were aided, mostwise without knowing it, by the existence of such land. In hard times a few would emigrate, advancing wages for the rest or else presenting a fall. Strifes between cliques or classes were kept from extremity. If aught like tyranny got foothold great numbers would flee.

In communities near the free