

traordinarily like Mrs. Cabot's lady's-maid. You remember we saw Winslow speaking to her at Mrs. Cabot's party, and she said her name was Stella, too."

"Very likely."

"It can't be that they are the same."

"No."

"Why can't it be?"

"Because you just said it couldn't."

Mrs. Talbot did talk, but she could find nobody else to recognize the likeness, and Mrs. Cabot herself declared she never had employed a lady's-maid.

"It was a narrow escape, though," she said, several months afterward, to Mrs. Winslow, when the gossip had died down.

THE QUEEN, MINISTRY, LORDS, AND COMMONS.

THE social and commercial intercourse between England and the United States, which is becoming daily more intimate, is developing an extraordinary interest among the people of each nation in the affairs of the other, and in the construction and machinery of the government by which these affairs are regulated and controlled. With the view of partially meeting this desire the present article, compiled from the latest sources of information open to the writer, has been prepared.

The government of England may be divided into four departments, the Queen, Ministry, Lords, and Commons, each possessing separate and distinct functions, and each restraining, limiting, and controlling the others. It is neither a Democracy in which the sovereign power is vested in the people, nor an Aristocracy in which a few members distinguished by birth or wealth are supreme, nor, again, a Monarchy in which sovereign authority is wielded by a single person. It is a mixed government, formed out of all of these, and blending some of the advantages of each. This mixed government is called a Limited Monarchy, in which the crown has no absolute power, but must rule according to the usages of the constitution, and in subjection to the laws of the realm. The constitution, so called, is unwritten, and is made up of Parliamentary and constitutional law, or, in other words, of law and precedent. When Victoria was crowned she took the following oath, which is called the coronation oath:

"I solemnly promise and swear to govern the people of this kingdom of England, and the dominions thereto belonging, according to the statutes in Parliament agreed on, and the laws and customs of the same. I will to the utmost of my power cause law and justice in mercy to be executed in all my judgments. I will to the utmost of my power maintain the laws of God, the true profession of the Gospel, and the Protestant form of religion established by the law, and will preserve unto the bishops and clergy of this realm, and to the churches committed to my charge, all such rights and privileges as by law do or shall appertain unto them or any of them. The things which I have here before promised I will perform and keep, so help me God."

This mixed government is, therefore, a government in which the supreme power is virtually in the laws, though its majesty and administration are vested in a single person. Though it is called a hereditary monarchy, it is not absolutely so, for the right of inheritance rests upon, and may from time to time be changed by, act of Parliament. Under the provisions of the Act of Settlement, passed in 1701, this right is conditional upon the heir-apparent being a member of the Church of England, and of the issue of Princess Sophia of Hanover, who was a granddaughter of James I. At the death of the Duke of Gloucester in 1700 the succession of the crown was unprovided for after the death of William and Anne. The next in blood, after the children of James II., was the Duchess of Savoy, daughter of Henrietta, Duchess of Orleans, and then the family of the Elector of the Palatinate, all of whom had abjured the reformed faith, except Sophia, the wife of the Elector of Hanover. As papists were excluded from the succession by an act of Parliament, a bill was passed in the spring of 1701, known as the Act of Settlement, declaring Sophia and the heirs of her body next in succession to the King after the Princess of Denmark.

It is also said that the King or Queen can do no wrong; but this is only true in the sense that whatever is exceptionable in the conduct of public affairs is not to be imputed to the crown, because all its acts are presumed to have been done by some minister, who is responsible to Parliament. If, for instance, Victoria should command some unlawful act to be per-

formed, the act must be performed through the medium of a cabinet officer, who, if he obey the command, becomes responsible for a wrong administration of power. A striking illustration of this principle may be found in the case of Lord Danby, who was impeached by Parliament for writing a letter, which contained a postscript in the handwriting of Charles II., declaring that the letter had been written in obedience to his command.

The Queen alone can create a peer, baronet, or knight, and confer privileges on private persons. She alone can erect corporations, and raise and regulate fleets and armies, though under such restrictions relating to the appropriation and expenditure of money as make it impossible for her to exercise her power to the detriment of English liberty. She is the head of the Church; she convenes and dissolves all ecclesiastical synods and convocations, and nominates to vacant bishoprics and other Church offices. She sends ambassadors to foreign states, receives ambassadors at home, makes treaties and alliances, and declares war and peace, though her power in these respects also is in a large degree limited by the power of Parliament to enact or reject such laws as may be necessary to make it effective.

Previous to the Revolution of 1688 the government of England was mainly carried on by virtue of what was called the royal prerogative, that is, by the King in person, with the advice of ministers appointed by himself, who were only responsible to their sovereign for their management of public affairs. One of the results, however, of that revolution was the transfer of the power of the state from the crown to the House of Commons. Instead of a government by prerogative, there was then established a government by Parliament, from whom all laws must emanate, requiring only the approval of the crown as a condition of their enactment.

As is well known, the Queen appoints her own advisers, irrespective of the wishes or approval of Parliament, and though popularly the Ministry is supposed to possess the whole executive power, no important measure is presented by them to the consideration of Parliament without her sanction and approval. It is not, however, essential that all acts and measures should be presented to Parliament through the channel of the Ministry, and Parliament may originate and pass acts at its

pleasure, subject to the constitutional right of the Queen to nullify them by her veto. The Queen can convene Parliament and terminate its sessions at will.

There have been but two instances in which the Lords and Commons have met by their own authority, namely, previous to the restoration of Charles II., and at the Revolution in 1688. There is one contingency, however, upon which, under authority of law, Parliament may meet without summons. It was provided in the reign of Anne that in case there should be no Parliament in being at the time of the demise of the crown, then "the last preceding Parliament shall immediately convene and sit at Westminster, as if the said Parliament had never been dissolved." Such a Parliament, however, by a statute in the reign of George III., can only continue in existence for six months, if not sooner dissolved.

This, then, is the power of the Queen. She may, with the advice of her Ministers alone, assemble, prorogue, and dissolve Parliament, declare war, confirm or disallow the acts of colonial legislatures, give effect to treaties, extend the term of patents, grant charters of incorporation to companies or municipal bodies, create ecclesiastical districts, regulate the Board of Admiralty, and make appointments to offices in the various departments of the state, create new offices and define the qualifications of persons to fill the same, and declare the periods at which certain acts of Parliament, the operation of which has been left to the Queen and Council, shall be enforced. With regard to the expenditure of money, it is expressly provided in the act of settlement, to which reference has been made, that money levied for the use of the crown without grant of Parliament is illegal. Thus the crown is entirely dependent upon Parliament for its revenues, but, though dependent, it has a direct control over all supplies when raised. The crown, acting with the advice of its responsible ministers, is charged with the management of all the revenues of the country, and with all payments for the public service. It makes known to the House of Commons by its annual budget its necessities, and the House grants such acts or supplies as these necessities require. The crown demands money, the Commons grant it, and the Lords assent, and no money can be voted

by Parliament for any purpose whatever except at the demand of the crown. No petition even for any sum of money relating to the public service can be received by Parliament unless recommended by the crown. On the other hand, no person can lend money to the crown, or to any department of state, without the sanction of Parliament, and all money transactions between the Bank of England and the Treasury are expressly forbidden. The Commons, of course, have the power of withholding supplies, but only once (in 1784) since the Revolution of 1688 has this power been exercised. There have been instances of expenditure of money without the knowledge of Parliament, but these have been rare, and only when a public exigency existed. At the beginning of the French Revolution Mr. Pitt advanced £1,200,000 to Germany, and in 1859-60 there was an excess of expenditure of more than £1,000,000. To meet these unforeseen disbursements provision is made by means of the Treasury Chest and the Civil Contingencies Fund. The Treasury Chest is a fund maintained to supply specie required by the Treasury Chests of colonies, and to make the necessary advances for carrying on the public service at the various military and naval stations, and is limited to £1,300,000. The Civil Contingencies Fund is limited to £120,000, and is for the purpose of defraying unforeseen expenditures for civil service at home. The revenue, or annual income of the country, derived from taxes imposed by Parliament, and from the income of certain estates which are called crown lands, is collected into a fund called the Consolidated Fund. The first charge on this fund is the interest on the national debt, called the funds, and on the unfunded debt. The next charge is the civil list—an allowance to the Queen for the support of her household and the dignity of the crown. This is fixed by statute at £385,000, to be paid annually, for the following purposes: her Majesty's privy purse, £60,000; salaries of her household and retired allowances, £131,000; expense of the household, £172,500; royal bounty and special services, £13,200; and the remainder for pensions and miscellaneous expenses. On the Consolidated Fund are also charged various salaries allowed to members of the royal family. The sum for carrying on the civil government, including the salaries of the min-

isters, judges, and others, is also charged to the Consolidated Fund, and the remainder is paid into the exchequer to defray the expenses of the army, navy, and civil service.

With regard to the power of the Queen to declare war, it may be said that such a power is a barren one in her hands, for not only is it impossible to carry on a war without a vote of money and supplies by Parliament, but the number of men to be employed in the army and navy is annually fixed by Parliament; and it is a direct violation of the constitution for the crown to raise more men for the land and sea forces than Parliament has voted. It will thus be seen how limited the power of the Queen is, and how dependent she is in all her acts on the approval of a Parliament representing the feelings, opinions, and will of the people. She can appoint her ministers to administer the government, but whenever the Ministry is defeated in the House of Commons on important measures it goes out of office, and another Ministry is appointed whose policy is more in accord with public opinion as represented by the Commons. The Ministry, however, when defeated, may advise the crown to dissolve Parliament and appeal to the people, who by a new election may either return a majority favorable or opposed to their measures. Thus it will be seen that, after all, England is governed by the people through the Commons, and not by the crown.

That part of the government which is called the Ministry is more complicated in its structure, and more difficult to understand and define, than any other in that wonderful piece of intricate machinery. What is commonly called the Ministry has never been recognized by law, but grew out of the custom of a few of the Privy or King's Council meeting in the royal cabinet and assuming the power of advising the crown on important measures of government. The real name of what we call the Ministry is the Cabinet, or Cabinet Council, as the history of its origin implies. The only council required by law is the Privy Council, and when official announcement is made of the members of the cabinet they are announced simply as members of that council appointed to fill certain offices. The Privy Council of England is coeval with its monarchy, but as the custom of confiding advice and counsel to the cabinet

has grown, its powers have largely diminished, and the whole council has not been convened since 1839. The Privy Councillors are appointed, without limit to their number, by the sovereign, and they may be dismissed, or the council may be dissolved, at the royal pleasure. No qualification is necessary except that they shall be native-born subjects of Great Britain, and a disability in this respect may be removed by an act of Parliament, as it was in the cases of Prince Albert and the King of the Belgians. The Privy Council consists of the members of the royal family, the Archbishops of York and Canterbury, the Bishop of London, the cabinet ministers *ex officio*, the Lord Chancellor, the chief officers of the royal household, the Judges of the Courts of Equity, the Chief Justices of the Courts of Common Law, the Ecclesiastical and Admiralty Judges, the Judge Advocate, the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, the Speaker of the House of Commons, the Ambassadors and the chief Ministers Plenipotentiary, the Governors of the chief colonies, the Commander-in-chief, the Vice-President of the Committee of Council for Education, and such others as the crown may appoint. A Privy Councillor is styled Right Honorable, and takes precedence of all baronets, knights, and younger sons of viscounts and barons. It was in the reign of Henry VI. that the King's Council first assumed the name of Privy Council, and it was also during the minority of that King that a select council gradually emerged from the larger body, which ultimately resulted in the modern cabinet. In earlier times it was wholly subservient to the will of the monarch, and was often the instrument of unconstitutional and arbitrary proceedings. Since the Revolution it has lost much of its dignity, and now the only relic of its authority in criminal matters is its power of taking examinations and issuing commitments for treason. It still, however, continues to exercise an original jurisdiction in advising the crown concerning the grants of charters, and it has assumed exclusive appellate jurisdiction over the colonies and dependencies of the crown. Theoretically the Privy Council retains its ancient supremacy, and in a constitutional point of view is presumed to be the only legal and responsible council of the crown. The Ministry proper, or rather those members of the Privy Council who are members of

the cabinet, constitute the chief members of the administration. The practice of consulting a few members of the Privy Council had existed, as has been said, for a long period, but the first allusion to the cabinet council occurs in the reign of Charles I. It was extremely unpopular at first, and it was not till 1783 that it was regulated by those rules which it now enforces. Formerly the King met with the Ministry; but at the accession of George I., the first Hanoverian prince on the throne of England, the practice was discontinued, merely because he was unable to speak or understand the English language. The free and unrestrained discussion of measures in his absence proved so beneficial that the old practice has never been revived. Before that time the cabinet was not necessarily composed of men of similar judgment and principles, and at times there were at the same board Whigs and Tories, and High-Churchmen and Dissenters, and it was no uncommon thing for colleagues to take opposite sides in Parliament. But since 1812 it has been an established principle that all cabinets are to be constructed on some basis of political union agreed upon by the members when they accept office. It is also distinctly understood that members are jointly and personally responsible for each other's acts, and that on the resignation of the Prime Minister his colleagues shall resign also. It is, of course, well known that the crown in organizing a cabinet only appoints the Premier, and that the other members are selected by him, and always, except in rare cases, without dictation from the crown. The first instance of the resignation of a Prime Minister resulting from an adverse vote of the Commons was in the case of Sir Robert Walpole; and the resignation of the Ministry of Lord North, under George III., was the first instance of a simultaneous change of the whole administration in deference to the opinion of the Commons. From that time, however, a change of Ministry has been simultaneous and complete. The number of those constituting the cabinet is indefinite. The members who *ex officio* constitute the cabinet are the Prime Minister (or First Lord of the Treasury), the Lord High Chancellor, the Lord President of the Council, the Lord Privy Seal, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, the Secretary of State for Home Department,

the Secretary of State for Colonies, the Secretary of State for War, the Secretary of State for India, the First Lord of the Admiralty, the President of the Board of Trade, and sometimes the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, the First Commissioner of Works, the President of the Local Government Board, the Postmaster-General, and the Chief Secretary for Ireland.

The present cabinet is composed of the following members:

First Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer—Right Hon. William E. Gladstone.

Lord Chancellor—Lord Selborne.

Lord President of the Council—Earl Spencer.

Lord Privy Seal—Duke of Argyll.

Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs—Earl Granville.

Secretary of State for India—Marquis of Hartington.

Secretary of State for Home Department—Sir W. Vernon Harcourt.

Secretary of State for Colonies—Earl of Kimberley.

Secretary of State for War—Right Hon. Hugh C. E. Childers.

First Lord of the Admiralty—Earl of Northbrook.

Chief Secretary for Ireland—Right Hon. W. E. Forster.

Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster—Right Hon. John Bright.

President of Local Gov. Board—Mr. Dodson.

President of Board of Trade—Mr. Chamberlain.

Like the cabinet, the office of Prime Minister is unknown to the law and constitution. He is simply the member of the cabinet who especially possesses the confidence of the crown, and may be either a Peer or a Commoner. Lord Rockingham in 1765, the Duke of Portland in 1782, and Mr. Addington in 1812 had never held any office when they were appointed Prime Ministers. Lord Bute became Premier before he had even spoken in Parliament, and Mr. Pitt was Prime Minister at the age of twenty-four. Before 1806 the Premiership was occasionally held in connection with the office of Chancellor of the Exchequer, or Secretary of State, or Lord Chancellor, but it is now invariably held in connection with the office of the First Lord of the Treasury. The First Lord of the Treasury does not, of course, confine himself to the departmental business of the Treasury, but must be cognizant of all matters of real importance that take place in the different departments. He is the medium between the cabinet and the sovereign, and is expected to be present almost continually in Parliament to explain and defend the policy of the government. He is virtually

responsible for the disposal of the entire patronage of the crown, selects all his colleagues, and can insist upon a decision of the cabinet upon any measure in accordance with his own views, inasmuch as he has the power of dissolving it by his own resignation. Ordinary questions, however, are decided in the cabinet by a vote.

The Lord Chancellor, the next in order in the cabinet, is, with the exception of the Archbishop of Canterbury, the highest officer in the realm. The name Chancellor is derived from the word *cancellarius*—a notary or scribe, as the Chancellor once was—because he sat behind a lattice (called in Latin *cancellus*), to avoid being crowded by the people. He is *ex officio* a member of the Privy Council, cabinet minister, and Prolocutor of the House of Lords. To him belongs the appointment of all justices of the peace, and he is the patron of all the King's livings under the value of £20 per annum. He is the guardian of all infants, idiots, and lunatics, and has the general superintendence of all charitable uses in the kingdom. All this is in addition to the extensive jurisdiction which he exercises in his judicial capacity in the Court of Chancery. In former times he was Prime Minister, but since the Earl of Clarendon held both offices in the reign of Charles II., the Lord Chancellor has never been Premier.

The Lord President of the Council, the third member of the cabinet, is the presiding officer of the Privy Council, and holds his position in the Ministry by virtue of that position. He sits next to the sovereign at the council table, to propose the business to be enacted, and has general superintendence and control of the department of education. The Lord Privy Seal has charge of the Privy Seal, and his duties are mainly to affix the seal to grants, appointments, creation of honors, and to patents of inventions. He is also a member of the cabinet *ex officio*.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer has entire control and management of all matters relating to the receipt and expenditure of public money, including even the private revenues of the Queen. He lays before the House of Commons an annual statement of the estimated expenses of the government, and of the ways and means by which it is proposed to meet them. This statement has long been known as the annual budget, from the French word *bougette*, or bag. Formerly he was the

principal officer of the Court of Exchequer, but he now has little connection with it, only taking his seat with the Barons at the annual nomination of sheriffs. At the court, which is held once in six years, "for the trial of the pyx," for determining the weight and fineness of the gold and silver coins issued from the Mint, in the absence of the Lord Chancellor he presides, and delivers a charge to the pyx jury.

Next to the Chancellor of the Exchequer come the Secretaries of State, whose duties are plainly indicated by their titles. They are the Home Secretary, who controls all matters relating to the internal affairs, of Great Britain and Ireland, the internal peace of the United Kingdom, the security of the laws, and the general superintendence of the administration of criminal justice; the Secretary for Foreign Affairs, who is the official organ of the crown in all communications between Great Britain and foreign powers; the Secretary for the Colonies, who superintends the government of the various colonial possessions, appoints their Governors, and makes such recommendations and suggestions as may be expedient to assist the deliberations of the colonial councils, and to promote the welfare of colonial subjects; the Secretary for War, in whose hands the supreme and responsible authority over the whole military business of the country is placed; and the Secretary for India, who possesses all the powers once exercised by the East India Company and the Board of Control. Next comes the First Lord of the Admiralty. The Admiralty consists of the First Lord and four Junior Lords, who are called the Lords of the Admiralty. They conduct the administration of the entire naval force of the empire, both at home and abroad, command the royal marines, control the royal dock-yards, and have an exclusive jurisdiction over harbors and inlets throughout the kingdom. After the First Lord of the Admiralty comes the President of the Board of Trade, whose duty it is to take cognizance of all matters relating to trade and commerce, and to protect the mercantile interests of the kingdom; to advise the Foreign Office in commercial matters arising out of treaties or negotiations with foreign powers, the Home Office with respect to the grant and provisions of letters patent, the Colonial Office upon questions affecting com-

mercial relations with the colonies, and the Treasury as to contemplated alterations in the customs and excise laws.

This, then, is the cabinet of ministers, to whom the executive powers of the crown are intrusted. They must sit in Parliament, where the support or defeat of their policy will either prolong their term of office or compel them to resign. If Parliament declares by an adverse vote that it can no longer follow the ministers, a change must take place. Thus it will be seen that the people, through the Commons, are the rulers, and not the Ministry.

The Queen appoints the Prime Minister; he appoints his colleagues, and the success of their policy must depend on the Lords and Commons. The ultimate verdict on every exercise of political power must be sought in the House of Commons, and the House of Commons means the people. The elasticity of such a government must be apparent. The Queen has no policy; her impersonality is absolute; she is Whig or Tory as her Ministry represents either of these political parties, and the complexion of the Ministry is shaped and toned by the voice of the people. There can be no continued antagonism between the administration and Parliament, clogging the wheels and disturbing the whole machinery of legislation, for the Ministry must either yield to the wishes of Parliament or resign and give place to a cabinet representing its views and policy.

The House of Lords is composed of the lords spiritual and temporal. In the reign of Henry III. 123 prelates and only 23 temporal lords composed the House. At the time of Henry VIII. the spiritual and temporal lords were about equal in number. At the present time the spiritual lords are the Archbishops of Canterbury and York and 24 bishops of the Church of England. They are lords of Parliament only, and not peers. The lords temporal are dukes, marquises, earls, viscounts, and barons, whose titles are all hereditary. The title of duke was first conferred on Edward the Black Prince, whom Edward III. created Duke of Cornwall. Marquises were originally lords of the marches, or borders, and derived their title from the offices held by them. The first who was created a marquis was Robert de Vere, Earl of Oxford, in 1198. Earls were in existence before the Conquest, under the title of ealdormen, and to these lords the administration of the shires was committed. After

the Conquest they were called counts, and hence the shires were called counties. Viscounts were first created in the reign of Henry VI., and the title of baron was in existence long before the Norman Conquest. The number of the House of Lords is not limited. In the reign of Henry VII. the temporal peers were only 29; at the death of Elizabeth they were increased to 60; the Stuarts raised the number to 150, which William III. and Queen Anne still further increased to 168. On the union of Scotland in 1707, 16 peers of Scotland were added; and on the union of Ireland in 1800, 28 peers of Ireland. Since that time numerous additions have been made, so that at the present time, in addition to 26 lords spiritual, there are sitting in the House of Lords 5 peers of the blood royal, 21 dukes, 19 marquises, 113 earls, 24 viscounts, 250 barons, 14 Scottish representative peers elected for each Parliament, and 28 Irish elected for life—making a total in the House of 500 lords spiritual and temporal. Though the titles of the lords are hereditary, the peerage is constantly undergoing changes, resulting from extinctions and additions. Of the sixty peerages in existence at the death of Elizabeth, forty are now extinct. The blood of the people is constantly finding its way into the channels of the peerage, and new and fresh elements are taking the place of those which have died out and disappeared. Drapers, tailors, apothecaries, wool-dealers, silk-workers, merchants, jewellers, goldsmiths, tradesmen, barbers, coal-dealers, money-lenders, and manufacturers were ancestors of many who now boast of their noble blood. The most striking instances are those of Lord Tenterden, the grandson of a barber; Lord Gifford, the son of a grocer; Lord Beaconsfield, the son of an author; Lord Truro, the son of a tradesman, who married the cousin of the Queen; Lord Eldon, the son of a coal agent; Lord Clyde, the son of a cabinet-maker; Lord Ellenborough, the son of a country clergyman; Lord Ashburton, a merchant; and Lord Lyndhurst, the son of a portrait painter, the American Copley.

In the House of Lords is the throne occupied by the Queen at the opening of Parliament, and in front of the throne is the woolsack occupied by the Lord Chancellor—a sort of ottoman with a sack of wool for a seat, an emblem of the source of England's national wealth. The spir-

itual lords and the administrative party sit on the right, the opposition on the left, and the neutrals on cross benches between the two. A quorum of the Lords is three, and important measures are often passed with less than twenty members present. Though the House of Lords has no power to originate money bills, it has a perfect right to initiate other measures—a right so rarely exercised, however, that it is now generally understood that the province of the Peers is chiefly to control and amend projects of legislation which emanate from the Commons. The most distinguishing feature of the Lords is their judicature, which relates to the trial of peers, claims of peerage and offices of honor, and contested elections of peers of Scotland and Ireland. They constitute the supreme court of judicature, the tribunal of appeal in the last resort, and the court for trial of cases of impeachment. Though apparently a branch of the government representing the aristocracy, so far from being an element from which danger may arise to the liberties of the people, the House of Lords serves only as a wholesome regulator to the legislation of the Commons.

So much space has been devoted to a review of the powers of the Queen, Ministry, and House of Lords, that but little is left for the House of Commons. Though its members have always been elected, yet from 1688 to 1832 its control was really in the hands of the great governing families. The Reform Bill of 1832 and the Household Suffrage Act of 1867 transferred it to the middle classes. From the Restoration to George III. the condition of the representative system, as connected with elections for the Commons, was demoralized and corrupt. Corporations usurped the franchises of their boroughs, so that a large number became what are called close, or rotten boroughs, or boroughs in the hands of limited and self-appointed bodies. Then there was another large class of boroughs, called nomination boroughs, which were the absolute property of individuals, who disposed of the representation at pleasure. It has been stated that at one time 84 persons sent 154 members to Parliament. The Reform Bill of 1832 took away 143 seats from 56 disfranchised and 32 partly disfranchised boroughs. Of these seats 64 were given to 42 new boroughs, and 65 to fresh divisions of the counties. The remainder were distributed between Scot-

land and Ireland, so that the English and Welsh counties were raised to 159 members against 337 borough members. Freeholders of the yearly value of £10, householders of £10, leaseholders of £50 with twenty-year leases, and tenants at will occupying lands or tenements paying a rent of not less than £50 a year, were entitled to vote. But even the Reform Bill left many abuses uncorrected. The bill of 1867 extended the borough franchise to all occupants of dwelling-houses for twelve months previous to the 31st of July in any year, who have been rated to the poor rates as ordinary occupants, and to lodgers who have occupied for the same period lodgings of the annual value, unfurnished, of £10. The household valuation was reduced from £10 to £5, the leaseholder from £10 to £5, and the occupation franchise from £50 to £12. These reform measures increased the number of electors from 1,350,000 to 2,470,000, of whom about 750,000 belong to the working classes.

It is stated by A. C. Ewald, in a valuable work on the English government, from which the writer has largely drawn in the compilation of this article, that the number of members of the House of Commons is 652—England and Wales 487, Scotland 60, and Ireland 105. It is a settled principle of English law that a member after he is chosen can not relinquish his seat unless he accepts office under the crown. In order to evade this law, a practice has grown up of accepting the nominal office of steward of Chiltern Hundreds, an office in the gift of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. After accepting the new office he can resign it, and thus find his way out of Parliament. The Chiltern Hills are a range of chalk hills in Buckinghamshire, formerly covered with thick beech-wood, of which portions only still remain, to remind travellers of the robbers once infesting them, for whose suppression the steward's office was originally created, but which is now only filled transiently for the purpose above mentioned.

The House is divided into two great rival political parties, the Conservatives and Liberals. The Conservatives are subdivided into Tories and Liberal Conservatives, and the Liberals into Whigs and Radicals. The Tories are strongly attached to the letter of the Constitution, and the Liberal Conservatives hold to its

spirit, but acknowledge the necessity of a slow but sure progress. The Whigs support the Constitution, but advocate its modification, especially with regard to civil and religious liberty, while the Radicals take their stand on the rights of man, and would like to remodel the Constitution somewhat on the plan of American democracy, advocating universal suffrage, separation of church and state, the abolition of the House of Lords and all distinctions of rank.

It is unnecessary to go further into an examination of the constitution and powers of the House of Commons. Its jurisdiction has been indicated in the review of the other branches of the government. It is sufficient to say that it represents the will of the most intelligent classes, and that the right of franchise, in the election of its members, is increasing with the increasing number of those among the people who are able to enjoy it with intelligence and judgment.

THE BRIDGE.

WHERE, as a lordly dream,
Glides the deep winding stream
For evermore,
Calm, as in conscious strength,
Bends thy majestic length
From shore to shore.

Life, in its fevered heat,
Surges, with pulsing feet,
Restless, above;
Doomed, in its anxious flow,
Like the strong tide below,
Onward to move.

Strange is the motley throng:
Hearts yet untaught of wrong,
Thoughtless of pain,
Mingle with souls accursed—
Sands in a desert thirst,
Clouds without rain.

While o'er thee and below
Swift the twin currents flow,
Thy form serene,
Still as the shades that sleep
On the reflecting deep,
Arches between.

O, teach thy power to me!—
Calm 'mid all storms to be,
And evermore,
Over Time's restless tide,
World-weary feet to guide
From shore to shore.