

very thought would crush him. He ends, after being for a short time a cynic, perhaps a scoffer, by becoming a blind follower and devout worshipper of the Machine.

Devotion to the Machine chills the heart and stunts the political growth of the representative. The new representative recognises many evils in the body politic; reforms that he might inaugurate; useless expenditures that might be cut off; abuses that should only be named to be abolished. He goes to Ottawa for the first time, feeling that he can do some good, that he will leave his mark on the history of his country, that he will not have represented the people in vain. He comes back, after his first Session, recognising his own impotence to being about the most trifling political reform; that the safety of the country, *i.e.*, his Party, is bound up in every big and little abuse; that it is easier for him to give or save a hundred or a thousand dollars out of his private business than to spend or economise a dollar in the public service. He feels sick at heart and would confess aloud, if it were not for the party and the papers, that he would have done himself and the public much better service if he had stayed at home. He recognises after one Session how powerless he is before the Machine; but it takes him two or three Sessions to learn that he is not expected to take up the time of the House with the business of the country—or with his ideas on how the country should be governed—that it is only the business of the Machine to look after the country, and his business is only to look after the Machine. One of the young Members of the House, in a cynical mood, described the private members of the Commons as “Wooden Indians,” and “Painted Indians.” The “Wooden Indians” were the Government supporters, as their chief purpose is to be seen and counted, not to speak. The Opposition members are the “Painted Indians,” as their business is to look fierce, go on the war path occasionally, and howl.

As a matter of fact, a fourth-class clerk in one of the Government departments has more voice, for all practical purposes, in the government of the country than the average private Member. The influence of the private Member in opposition to the Government is simply *nil*. At Ottawa he is hardly recognised in polite society. He is a nobody. He may get up in the House and “howl” occasionally, but if he gets too demonstrative he is “banged down” with desk lids, or his brother Members file out and leave him to “beat the empty air.” The time he spends at Ottawa is simply wasted. If he has a private business he has injured it by his absence from home, while his constituency and the country have received no benefit from his time, supposed to be devoted to their service.

The Cabinet Minister is almost as helpless as the private Member before the Machine. He never dreams of effecting reforms or removing abuses in his colleagues' departments of the Government; he finds himself powerless to effect any in his own. So long as he is content to drift with the tide, to take things as he finds them, his office is a very pleasant one. The Machine is well oiled, and goes without friction. But the moment he turns around in his office with the idea of making changes, he finds himself gripped by the Machine, bound tight with red tape, paralysed by party interests. His subordinates are his masters. It is easier to remove a Minister than his deputy, or his second assistant-deputy, or the porter. Useless offices cannot be abolished or incompetent officials dismissed without paralysing the Machine. The offices were created by the Machine, and the Machine rarely parts with its creatures; the incompetent officials were appointed by past Ministers of the Machine, and the present Minister finds it pleasanter and more politic to keep them on than to part with them. The present Minister finds that all the Machine allows him to do is to make additions to the offices and officials; and thus abuse is piled on abuse, and over-expenditure weighed down by increased expenditure. Year by year sees the civil service expanding, the multiplicity of offices increasing, and the Departmental Blocks at Ottawa being enlarged. The Ministers are helpless when the Machine, like the horse-leech, demands “more!” Just now, at Ottawa, they are building a new block of offices, to hive the overflow from the lately “large-and-new,” now “old-and-overcrowded,” Departmental Blocks.

What simplicity, economy, or symmetry could a man expect to have in his house if a cruel fate prevented him from remodelling, pulling down or removing any part of the old dwelling, but allowed him and his successors freely to add new wings, make additions and projections at all times, in all manners and in all places!

What is true of the individual Minister is true of the Prime Minister and his whole Cabinet. The Government itself is helpless now to control or stop the Machine. It has grown too big and unwieldy for one man or a dozen men to control. They can simply look on and go with it, in its plunging, unwieldy, and headlong course to the unknown—saying that in the nature of things it must be so! that it is so in other countries! that the Machine is the best, greatest, and noblest thing that a man can have to govern himself and his country!

Of course the present Government is not responsible for the Machine. If Mr. Blake and his friends were in power, they would be equally helpless, and happy in their helplessness. He and they know nothing better than to run with the Machine. Nothing in the way of improvement is to be expected from our present tribe of politicians, who are party men, and believe party government to be the best government. The farce must play itself out for ten years or a century, the people paying for the performance that demoralises them. The Machine will run on from bad to worse, taxation increasing, incompetence increasing, political evils growing greater and graver, until the people outside of Parliament wake up to the fact that the country is greater than the Machine, that the people are more numerous than the politicians, and that party government for this country is not synonymous with “government by the people for the people.” Then a cry will go up to destroy the Machine; and the fraud, sham, and delusion of party government in a country where there are no parties and should be no parties—in the sense we understand parties now—shall cease to exist; and the people will marvel how they existed and lived under the incubus so long!

L. N.

GEORGIAN AND VICTORIAN EXPANSION.

A REVIEW of the enlargement of Great Britain's borders seems to be a natural sequel to the Jubilee celebrated so recently to the honour of the Queen. It forms the subject of the Rede Lecture delivered by Mr. Seeley, Professor of Modern History at Cambridge, before an audience not purely academic, in the Senate House of Cambridge, of which the following is the substance:—

It behoves Sir Robert Rede's lecturer, he said, to be careful in the matter he selects, but the one which is at this moment occupying all minds, which being historical falls within my own department, is the most suitable. How does this Victorian age look when it is compared with other periods of English history? When we try to form a general estimate of it we are very apt to fall into vague exaggeration; we easily persuade ourselves that it far surpasses all former ages; while again some among us are prone to think all its glories a vain delusion, and to regard it in reality as a period of dissolution and decline. In spite, however, of much that may be alleged in the way of drawback, this age will I think be one of belief in itself; and when a French poet predicts that a hundred years hence it will be remembered as an age of brass, we shall answer that an age of mere material progress might deserve such an epithet, but that this is also an age of unparalleled discovery. For the better comprehension of our subject, the Victorian age may be defined as a stage in the corporate life of a great organism. No mere country; no mere population; not a mere multitude of individuals; but a great organic whole, composed of individuals. The organs of this organism are its institutions, magistrates, ministers, assemblies. They grow and are modified from time to time according to the needs of the whole.

The brightest side of the Victorian age undoubtedly is to be seen in the growth of the colonies and dependencies. At home there seems to be a shadow to every light. At home development is either impeded or made dangerous by want of room. Everywhere is congestion, not only in the East of London but the West of Ireland. It is otherwise in those vast regions which have become the inheritance of our race. For them this half century has been a period of uninterrupted growth and almost of unclouded sunshine.

We are thinking of an age which lies between '37 and '87 of the nineteenth century. I will ask you to recall the corresponding part of the eighteenth century. Perhaps the period between 1737 and 1787 does not stand out with very great distinctness before your minds. In 1737, then, Queen Caroline died, and the opposition against Walpole began to gather head. That year may be called the beginning of the second part of George the Second's reign, and in 1787 the younger Pitt was almost at his zenith, and the country was prosperous and contented. Between those dates lie two or three wars; but had they any great importance, had they any great unity, so that we should regard the period as a great and striking change in the development of England? Perhaps you might not be disposed to think so.

I have been led to see in it, however, a remarkable importance, and I find in it a character in some respects strongly resembling, in others strongly contrasted with, our Victorian age.

The occurrences of this time are apt to escape our attention because they took place for the most part outside of England. They were indeed on a vast scale, but they were remote. The Georgian age stands out now before us as that of the first conquest of Canada and the creation of British India, while the Victorian will be marked as the opening era of the Australian Continent, and that of the foundation of the Dominion of Canada: and here, at once, on the side of resemblance, a great point of contrast appears, for the former period witnessed another event of the same order, equally vast and equally remote, but tragical for England—the great secession of the American Colonies. The latter has seen no such catastrophe. In both centuries it is the same England acting on the whole in the same way, annexing easily vast regions beyond the ocean, but finding it less easy to hold than to grasp, to keep than to acquire. For if the eighteenth gave us Canada and India, the seventeenth gave us those great colonies which we afterwards lost. From the time of James I. we have been colonisers of the New World. The propensity to colonise which first showed itself when the charter was given to Virginia in 1606 has since grown upon us.