

population of the Island, would be large enough, in anything like an equipoise of parties, to hold the balance of power. In other words, it would be able to pillage us without limit, to say nothing of the demoralization of which we have already quite enough. At the same time we should have the quarrel between the white and black races in Jamaica, with all the troubles arising from it, on our hands. Nothing in the meantime would be gained which might not be equally well secured by fiscal arrangements. These arguments will surely prevail. Yet it may not be needless to enter a caveat against any more dealings with Canadian nationality behind the back of the Canadian people. Monarchical traditions prevent our statesmen from seeing what they owe the commonwealth and what, in a democratic era, sound policy dictates in this respect. The constitution of the Dominion itself lacks moral validity and the highest claim to allegiance, because it was settled by the politicians with the Imperial Government and was never submitted to the people. It would rather be too much if we were to wake up one morning and find that by an agreement between Ottawa, Downing St., and Mr. Solomon, we had been politically amalgamated with the black population of Jamaica.

THE garrulity of Lord Malmesbury's old age, though amiable, will not please his political friends. It will certainly not please the wearers of the primrose. Lord Beaconsfield has hitherto been the divinity of Imperialists, of Colonial Imperialists above all. To these it will be no agreeable surprise to find that in his private correspondence their idol spoke of the colonies as "those wretched colonies," that he looked forward to their independence in a few years, and regarded them in the meantime as "a millstone" round the neck of the Mother Country. It is true that a few years later he was publicly denouncing in lofty periods those who proposed to relieve England of such a millstone as the Ionian Islands, a malcontent dependency from which she derived neither military strength nor advantage of any kind, which, in case of war, would have required a garrison of fifteen or twenty thousand men, and the loss of which, since the cession, nobody has been heard to deplore, while Greece, the rising power of the Eastern Mediterranean, to which the Islands were ceded, became bound to England by a strong tie of gratitude and friendship. Possibly in that case something might be due to Mr. Disraeli's personal antipathy to eastern Christendom and his sympathy with Islam. But let enthusiastic Imperialists take notice that conventionality and hollowness sometimes lurk beneath the professions even of British statesmen. Let them take notice also of the real ground on which the British Jingo sets or affects to set a high value on the colonies. Are they likely to remain for ever dependencies, and in that character to contribute to the military strength of the Imperial power? Will they furnish men and money for wars in Afghanistan or for wars to maintain the dominion of the Turks over Christian slaves? If not, they are objects of contempt, and "millstones." There is no feeling of pride in the prospect of seeing England surrounded by a progeny of free nations, the heirs and images of her greatness; there is no appreciation of the moral strength or of the enhanced grandeur which she would derive from the attachment of such an offspring. Nor is there a thought as to the comparative effects of dependence and emancipation on the political character and destiny of the colonies themselves. The tie of mutual citizenship is so far from being highly prized that the Jingo is scarcely conscious of its existence. Emancipationists are always branded as Anti-Colonial. Yet the Emancipationist does prize and cherish all that the Jingo disregards, and his chief objection to the system upheld by the Imperialist is that it prevents the growth of that nobler empire of equality, free development, and spontaneous affection which alone is really worth founding, because it alone can endure for ever.

THE experts in American politics have all told us that Ohio being a Republican State, if the elections there went against the Republicans, Blaine's cause would be lost, but that a Republican victory in Ohio would not be decisive in his favour. Still, a great success in a case which was deemed both doubtful and important cannot fail to inspire his party and to draw the waiters upon Providence over to his side. The balance must now be said, at all events, to incline in his favour. His election to the Presidency will be a serious event. For the first time a man will appear at the head of the American Republic with a dark stain upon his personal honour. There have been unworthy Presidents before: Jackson was a barbarian, Polk and Buchanan were mean figures to be placed in the front of the State; Andrew Johnson was a meaner figure still. But the lowest of them could never have been suspected of such things as have been proved against Mr. Blaine. Let any one imagine the effect of such disclosures respecting the character of a Prime Minister of England.

What makes the matter worse is that the great public issues having been cast comparatively into the background by the refusal of the Democrats to take up the glove thrown down by the Republicans on the Tariff question, the contest has become personal, and the question of character is the main issue. The election of Mr. Blaine will be the ratification of a standard which will be taken as the moral maximum, not only by all politicians, but by every young and ambitious man. Yet if Mr. Blaine becomes President, we must all pray for his life. That he is a man of real ability his speeches and writings vouch, and if he professes intense hatred of England or love of the Invincibles we may cherish the comfortable assurance that his profession is insincere, that he will give effect to it no further than his personal game requires, and that he will keep his country and the world out of serious mischief if he can. But Logan is a demagogue of the coarsest kind, who thoroughly shares the mob passions to which he appeals and is perfectly capable of putting in action the violent nonsense which fills his incoherent and ungrammatical harangues. If by any accident he gets power into his hands the consequences may be serious. It seems certain that notwithstanding the loyalty of Tammany to the loaves and fishes, the Irish, in considerable numbers, have gone over to Blaine, and that if he wins, it will be partly by Nationalist votes, in which case Nationalism is not unlikely to be represented in his government. This makes the outlook darker. But on the other hand it may be the beginning of a happy change in the character of the Democratic Party. The only bond between the Conservative wing of the Party and the Irish wing was Slavery: that being now a thing of the past, the unnatural connection may come to an end, the Party may become simply Conservative, and favourable at the same time to a reduction of taxation and to administrative reform. Cleveland, in short, who is loved by the best Democrats, as they avowed at Chicago, for having made the Tammany corruptionists his enemies, may prove to be the typical man of the Democratic future.

IN the meantime the system of Presidential Elections by popular vote is revealing its full beneficence. The cost in money of choosing an Executive Officer for four years will, according to experts, reach a sum which spread over the President's term far exceeds the expense of any court in Europe. To this there are to be added the loss of time and labour, the interruption of industry and the disturbance of commerce, the last of which items is most serious. But the expense is the least part of the matter where riches abound as they do among the people of the United States. The greatest evils of the system are the venomous passions which it excites and the evil agencies which it calls into play. The Presidential Election itself was still three weeks off when blood was already being shed at two places, Cincinnati, as a matter of course, being one of the two. A legion of political intriguers and corruptionists is everywhere at work bedevilling the constituencies and demoralizing the people; nor do the more respectable politicians and the citizens of the higher class who take an interest in politics altogether escape defilement from the pitch which as Party managers they are obliged to handle. Should the result chance to be disputed, as in the case of Hayes and Tilden, an event always possible in the midst of so much violence and chicanery, the nation may again be brought to the verge of a civil war. Amidst the frenzy of the Party conflict, each Party being ready to sell its soul to any demon for a vote, the spirits of political evil gain preternatural power; and the Union now stands a fair chance of virtually receiving a government at the hands of a set of people who avow that the principal object of their allegiance is not the American Republic, the force of which they only desire to use as the instrument of an Irish feud, while their votes will be given to the candidate who is most likely to involve the State in a ruinous war. With each recurring election the violence of the struggle seems to increase, and the strain upon the commonwealth to become more intense: it is hardly conceivable that any political machinery should be strong enough to bear forever the stress of these periodical convulsions. Yet all this is as purely the result of accident as anything in politics can be. The framers of the Constitution, when they hesitated between the plan of giving the election of the President to the Legislature and that of entrusting it to a special College, little dreamed that in embracing the latter plan they were instituting a quadrennial carnival of discord and corruption. The fate of their measure is a warning to all statesmen, and among others to the statesmen of England, at this juncture, in erecting or reforming institutions, not merely to consider the propriety and justice of a measure on paper, but to forecast, as far as possible, its practical working. No extraordinary foresight would have been required to tell the architects of the American Constitution that the election of a College for the nonce would result in a mandate and would soon degenerate into a cumbrous mode of registering