

the party system is in its lower grades, the conduct of wire-pullers who have obtained employment in the public service too often gives the community reason to know.

The idea that political party has a universal and perpetual basis in difference of temperament is absurd in itself, because no such sharp division of temperament exists; and it is belied by the whole history of faction, which shows that the bond commonly speaking is one not of temperament, but of interest or connection. A great movement, no doubt, attracts the young and sanguine, while it repels the cautious and the phlegmatic; but great movements are the exception. As a rule, where a State is divided into factions, you will find a mixture of temperaments, as well as of ages and sexes, on both sides; and on both sides you will find violence and roguery in the ascendant, and their ascendancy growing more complete the longer the reign of faction lasts. As a matter of course, each party proclaims, and, perhaps persuades itself, that its public morality is infinitely superior to that of its antagonist; but the onlooker sees that they are all of the same blood, brought up under the same influences, identical in their rules of private conduct; and that, in public life, they pursue precisely the same objects by the same means. The party in power is the more corrupt, only because it has in its hands the instruments of corruption; the party out of power boasts the purity to which an adverse fortune has for the time condemned it.

Politicians of the higher class among ourselves, while they pensively bow to party as a necessity, protest against its narrowness, its tyranny, its unreasonableness, its calumnious virulence. The necessity is imaginary; the protest is the voice of the future. Not division, mutual hatred, exclusion of half the citizens from the service of the country in the fancied interest of the other half, surrender of the political conscience into the hands of unscrupulous wire-pullers for the sake of organizing a party victory; but concord and co-operation for the common good, are the natural and normal state of a civilized nation. Out of government by faction we must in the