

in the world, irrespective of the mischief done to commerce by the agitation and suspense. The Persians once decided the election of a king by the neighing of a horse. The method was cheap, and Darius was at least as good as Harrison, Polk, or Buchanan. Besides exciting the worst passions, opening the floodgates of calumny, and bringing all dangerous issues to a crisis which once produced, and has since threatened to produce, civil war, this contest suspends for the time all useful legislation, and narrows the views of American statesmen so that they have no thought for anything, however vital, at home or abroad, which is not likely to turn a vote. It is alleged that the interest of the people is excited in the great issues of the time; so in a certain way it is, but only as the issues are cards in the hand of the political gamblers. No serious thought or worthy aspiration has ever been engendered in any person's breast by such a political prize fight. And for what is the object to be attained? Does it really signify who is President? If you ask ten Americans that question, five of them will tell you that it does signify, but the other five will tell you that the President is too closely hedged about by system, precedents and circumstances to have really much will of his own. That which does too manifestly depend on the result of the election is an enormous mass of patronage, the fell source of place-hunting vermin which infest the body politic in ever-increasing swarms. A single head for a free state is altogether an imaginary necessity; the idea is a survival of the monarchical system; nothing is needed at most except a President of the Executive Council to represent the Commonwealth on occasions of state. To attempt to forecast the result of this election is hopeless. In a Presidential election all the dark manoeuvres of a Papal election are reproduced on a national arena, and there is wheel within wheel of intrigue. The prominent men on the Republican side at present are Arthur, Blaine and Edmunds. Blaine is the most brilliant of the three, but his ambitious foreign policy may alarm commerce, which has begun to exercise a sort of veto for the protection of her interest like that which was exercised in a Papal election by the ambassadors of the three great Catholic powers; as was seen in the case of Hancock, who might have been elected but for an unfortunate betrayal of sympathy, or apparent sympathy, with the Greenbackers. Edmunds is the favourite of the Reform and Anti-Machine wing of the party, which our warmest sympathies must attend. Arthur, though originally a Machinist, has managed, as President, to steer a middle course, and has improved his position in general esteem. If personal appearance and bearing were the things of most importance President Arthur would certainly be a good head of the State. But it is more than likely that the prominent men will kill each other, and that their partisans, weary with the bootless conflict, and perhaps wanting to get to dinner, will again acquiesce at last in the nomination of some obscure man. Robert Lincoln, the Secretary for War, has personal recommendations besides his father's name, and might have been a likely man if he had not been "boomed" too soon. General Grant hovers, a spectral form, on the horizon, but his pretensions seem not to be serious. On the Democratic side all, as yet, is darkness, and the split in the party on the tariff question will render agreement on a candidate very difficult. The Democrats have the best man of all in Mr. Bayard, but unfortunately he is upright and honourable to a degree which renders him wholly unavailable.

At election time the stereotyped homily is always read to recusant citizens who fail to take an active part in the nominations, and thus let the cause of the community go by default. They are told that they must attend the Primaries and make their influence felt, or else cease to complain of the men nominated as not to their mind. In the same way the Cincinnati riot is ascribed to the neglect of civic duty on the part of the best people, who it is said, leave the municipal elections to the ward politicians with their train; and eloquent invectives are delivered against such criminal apathy. This is all very fine, but it is very futile. Let an independent citizen attend a primary or a party convention of any kind, he will find that everything has been settled beforehand by the wirepullers behind the scenes, and if he attempts to interfere, he will be quietly, or, if he is obstreperous, roughly set aside. The unorganized has no chance against the organized; nor has the man whose time is given to an honest calling any chance against the professional politician who gives his time to the craft by which he makes his bread. While the party system lasts the nominations will be in the hands of the wirepullers, and the attempts of patriotic individuals to take them out of those hands will end in nothing but disappointment and humiliation. All that the independent citizen can do for the country is to keep himself independent, and out of the nominees whom the two parties put before him always to vote for the best or the least bad man. This, if the number of the independents is not contemptibly small, will be a salutary restraint upon the recklessness of

party nominations. It is the best feature in the Presidential election that there is evidently felt to be now a large body of electors beyond the reach of either of the Machines, to the sentiment of which some deference must be paid. It is not unlikely that the disintegration of Party itself may be destined to commence in this way.

LORD ROSEBERY has been visiting the Australian Colonies, and has evidently come back, as all persons of quality when they visit colonies do come back, with the pleasing conviction that the people are passionately devoted to the present system, and burn to shed their blood for it. Only they want "sympathy." But how is "sympathy" to be supplied? What is it, in plain English, that Lord Rosebery wishes to see done? Can the toiling millions of Great Britain be made to take away their eyes and minds from the work before them, and waft daily salutations to their brethren on the other side of the globe? Is there to be a muezzin at the top of each church tower in England to call the population morning and night to acts of reciprocal affection with the Antipodes? If increase of sympathy means multiplication of knighthoods or more frequent investments of British capital in colonial companies, the demand is intelligible and feasible. Perfect equality is another thing often insisted on as essential to the continuance of the political connection; but political science will succeed in combining equality with dependence, and with the moral and social character of dependencies, when geometry has found a circle with the properties of a square. If tenacity of life in any fallacy could surprise, we might be surprised to find Lord Rosebery once more repeating that trade and emigration follow the flag. Trade, if anything, avoids the flag, inasmuch as exchange usually takes place between those nations which differ most widely in their productions, natural or industrial, and these are generally found under different governments. So long as England controlled the tariffs of the colonies, of course she reaped a commercial advantage from the political connection, as she still does in the case of India; but the colonies have now asserted their commercial autonomy, and they treat British, just as they treat foreign, goods. That emigration follows the flag is a notion to which Lord Rosebery could not possibly adhere after a visit to this continent, at least, if he went out of Government House. Another of his arguments for persisting in the present policy tells directly against himself. He points to the long continuance of enmity between Great Britain and the American colonies after the Revolution as a proof that half a century of bad feeling is sure to follow separation; but the practical inference from the example cited is that we ought to avert the possibility of a hostile rupture by taking care to part betimes and in peace. Lord Rosebery, in opposition to the Imperial Federationists, strenuously advocates a large measure of colonial self-government; but if a large measure would increase amity it is difficult to see why a complete measure should beget hatred. "England is the parent of many colonies, one of which is now among the greatest and most flourishing empires in the world; by that and others we have carried our language, our free institutions and our system of laws to the most remote corners of the globe. What we have thus planted is now taking root, and what we now foster as colonies will be no doubt, one day or other, themselves free nations, the communicators of freedom to other countries. If I am told that for this we have made great sacrifices I say let it be so, for in spite of these sacrifices England remains, for its extent, still the most powerful and the most happy nation that exists, or ever has existed. I say, moreover, that we should be well paid for all the sacrifices we may yet be called upon to make, if we are to add to the rich harvest of glory we have already reaped by being the parent of countries in which the same happiness and prosperity that have distinguished this country will, I trust, for many ages to come, be enjoyed. That will be our reward for establishing our superfluous population, not only in America, but in other quarters of the world. What can be a grander feeling for Englishmen than that England has done its duty to the world by attempting, and successfully too, to improve it? Whether Canada is to remain for ever dependent on England, or is to become an independent state—not, I trust, by hostile separation, but by amicable arrangement—it is still the duty and interest of this country to imbue it with English feeling, and benefit it by means of English laws and institutions." So spoke Mr. Huskisson, a leading member of the Duke of Wellington's administration, in a debate on the Canadian question. Men of all opinions, in those days at least, saw facts in their natural light, and talked sense: they sought for England a substantial and attainable greatness. Now comes the imaginative and rhetorical school, with its Expansion of England and Imperial Confederation, grasping at the moon and letting the union with Ireland go.

It would appear that the Tory leaders in England have been falling out among themselves, and that between Lord Salisbury and Lord Ran-