

ed, not by the inevitable antagonism of political measures, but simply for the sake of having a division; for the only justification of Mr. Brown's position lay in his plea of the absolute indispensability of parties in the good government of a country. Let us speak with the most generous acknowledgment of the benefits which have, necessarily or incidentally, resulted from party government, especially in the history of England and of other free countries. Yet is it not an utterly extravagant estimate of these benefits to look upon the system as forming an essential element in all healthy political action, and to insist therefore on the moral obligation of retaining it under all political conditions? It is surely no universal and eternal law of human life that men can govern themselves only by splitting into hostile cliques, who shall create fictitious causes of quarrel if the natural course of events do not furnish them with real ones. Not once or twice only in the history of the world have all the rival sections of a people coalesced by the irresistible force of their enthusiasm in a common righteous cause; nor need we despair of such coalitions in the future, when they are demanded by the moral developments of the human race. In such supreme moments of national harmony is it a national duty to detail an unfortunate section of the community to do the work of an *advocatus diaboli*, simply that their client may have his due, and the people be saved from violating the immutable obligation of government by parties? The truth is that government of men by keeping them at hostility with one another, so far from growing in favor with the progress of ethical and political knowledge, is falling into disrepute throughout all spheres of human life; and the only matter of surprise to the reflecting observer is that the system should have held its ground so long amid that western civilization which for fifteen hundred years has been based on the worship of a Being whose life and death are the perfect type of self-sacrifice for the good of others, and in the service of whom there was to be no longer any difference of Jew and Greek, of bond and free, of male and female, but all the separated sections of men were to become spiritually one. Still it is growing

into more general recognition, in theory as well as in practice, that any number of men,—whether the few who join in a commercial enterprise, or the millions who form a nation, or the hundreds of millions who compose the human race—can reach the highest welfare of their external as well as of their internal life by working in harmony rather than at discord with one another. The attempt to establish permanent international relations by means of war; the attempt to establish the gospel of glory to God, with peace on earth and good will among men, by the mutual antipathies of religious sects; the attempt to develop the wealth of nations or of individuals by selfish competition; all such efforts are doomed to abandonment by the higher races, like slavery and other social phenomena of uncivilized life, as belonging to a ruder stage of human progress. It is, therefore, no idle dream of Utopian statesmen which would secure the general welfare of a nation by all parties co-operating as far as possible, and separating into hostile relations only as a last unwelcome necessity, when there is no common course on which they can possibly agree.

This was evidently the view which was taken by the vast majority of Canadians at the first general election for the Dominion parliament. Mr. Brown practically demanded that their political life under the new confederation should be still an endless contest of the parties who had disturbed the old Province of Canada, and the answer to his demand was decided enough. He was himself defeated in the constituency which he had long represented, and the Government entered upon their duties backed by an enormous majority throughout the country as well as in parliament.

The result in itself was one on which the Canadians were to be congratulated; it was one of the most crushing defeats which the spirit of faction ever received. Yet the policy of Mr. Brown had the effect at which he aimed; it practically divided the politicians of the country into two factions again. The Government no longer represented the whole people, as it was the intention of the premier that it should—it represented once more a mere party, a party perhaps exasperated by an opposition which

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