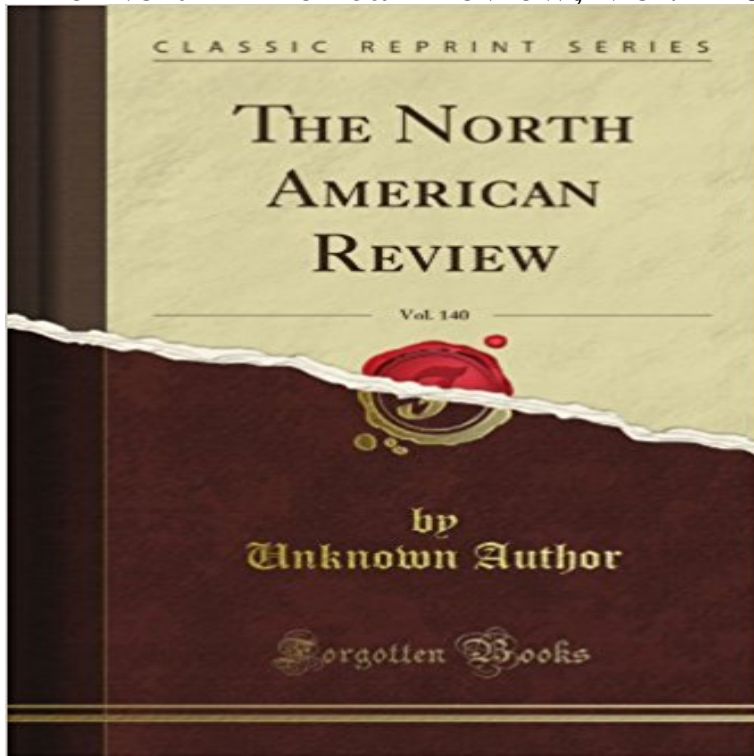


The North American Review, Vol. 140 (Classic Reprint)



It is also assumed that experience has shown political parties to be a general convenience for carrying on the practical operations of the governmental system. They are not the creature of the state, but of exigencies in the state that may be local or transient. They are a foe to good government when they substitute subordinate ends for the order and welfare of society 5they are a usurpation when they invade personal independence of thought or action jthey are unpatriotic when they coerce political conduct to the damage of personal manhood; and they are an impertinence when they undertake to dictate to the judgment or conscience of the individual voter. Vituperation in politics is largely due to party in politics. All the personal animosities between politicians in the whole country would not go very far to produce the venom discharged from press and platform in the course of a presidential election; nor would it be distilled or diffused to any considerable extent by the mere heating and antagonizing force of differences of opinion on great matters of public concern. It is true that some of these, pertaining to both domestic and foreign policy, so affect material industries and profits as to engage passion as well as reason and arouse a polemical temper. Begarded, how ever, purely as subjects of national legislation, or as studies in political economy, it cannot be supposed that State rights and federal centralization, internal revenue or improvements, the tariff or the currency, could ever provoke more than a moderate amount of angry abuse. Into other questions, like slavery, repudiation, Mormonism, and the regulation of the sale of liquors, a moral sentiment enters that is not unlikely to find vent in immoral speech. Yet it can hardly be doubted that reasonable limits would be set to all this sort of evil but for the instigation of that peculiar element (Typographical errors above are due to

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