Stout, Robert, Sir Dunedin, N.Z.
To the Editor of the Argus.

Sydney 23rd Augt 1883.

I have just seen a copy of your issue of the 16th. inst. containing a repost of one of Bishop Moorhouse's lectures on the apocalypse. The Bishop on this lecture refers to the resolution of sympathy passed the Australasian Secularists Conference with Messrs. [*unclear:* Foote] + Ramsay in their persecution. The Bishop has as much right to criticise the action of the Conference in this aspect as I have to refer to his lecture. He has however in his critisism done an injustice to the members of the conference.

First. Many sympathise with Messrs. Ramsay + Foote and belive they have been unjustly punished who entirely disapprove of their mode of attaching the popular creeds. When Y I mention that the following amongst others have petitioned the home secretary for their release the truth of this statement will more clearly appear. Herbert Spencer, Professors Huxley, Tyndall, E. Baird, Sidgwick, Knight, Fraser (Edinburgh) Masson, Spencer Baynes (St. Andrews) Revd J. Llewelyn Davies, Dr Abbott H. [*unclear:* Amger], Dr. Wm. Fairbairn (President Congregational Union), R. Glover (President Babtist Union) The editors of of the Daily News, Spectator, Academy and Leslie Stephen, Frances Gallon, J. Cotter Morrison: and some 200 others eminent in literature and science have signed the memorial.

Second. The Bishop has mixed up the Messrs Foote, Ramsay and the secularist conference with the Nihilists, Socialists, Anarchists and the Irish assassins and he led his audience to refer to the cause of nihilism, socialism, anarchism and Irish assassinations was atheism now. I first remark that all the Irish assassions were pious Roman Catholics then I state what cannot be controverted that the majority of the Nihilists have been named in the Dogmas of a church with which many of Bishop Moorhouse's [*unclear:* igionists] desire to unite. So far as I know the leading English secularists are extreme individualists holding views akin to those promulgated in Spencer's Social Statics. In Melbourne I also find little sympathy with the socialistic craze. If I were to mix up things as the Bishop has done. I might point to his mild kingsley-like socialism and tell him that it and the German socialism were alike a product of Christ's teaching. In fact that the teaching of the gospels are not those of the political economists whom Englishmen revere. Further I might ask how comes it that in those countries where the christian religion has held and has now the greatest power there is the greatest social unrest. I refer to Russia, Spain, Italy. Compare the safety of property and life in countries where the freethinkers are allowed freedom with the assassinations and robberies in lands where the priest is all powerful and will the [*unclear:* post hoe ergo propler hoe] be applicable?

Let us just add that it seems strange to me that the Bishop should imagine that the truth or falsehood of Christianity is to be tested by the actions of its non-believers. If the test was to be the life of its professors would it pass scatheless through the fire? And now leaving the Bishop would you on my eve of depature from Australia permit me to say a word or two about Victorian democracy. In New Zealand there is a general impression that there is a [*unclear:* near] democractic feeling in Victoria than in any other Australian Colony. I am sorry to state that it is my opinion this impression is erroneous. I apprehend that the highest ideal of true liberalism should be a state in which every one could act as he pleases so long as his action did not infringe the liberty of another. Is this the ideal of Victorian liberals? I am afraid that protection has debauched politics. That a mojority's vote can sanction everything seems to me now a part of a Victorian liberal's creed. Alas this is the antipodes of true liberalism. The reliance on state action that protextion has engendered and the building up of Melbourne and other towns at the State expense must also have its evil results in Victoria's future. Let me give two or three illustraions of the action of liberals.

- The secularists cannot charge admission fees to their Sunday lectures. Churches can charge for their pews. Why should there be such a destruction? Becuase the churches are in a majority. If the secularists held the control of the voting power would the right to charge for admission to their lectures be decided then. In New South Wales in New Zealand and in Queensland and I believe in South Australia they have this liberty why not in Victoria? When a deputation waited on the Colonial Secratary of New Zealand to urge upon him to adopt the Victorian practice he though the president of the Y.M.C.A. told them that if new rents were charged for the use of a church on Sunday he could not see why tickets for a lecture could not be sold. It is also stated in the Sydney papers that Mr Berry is going to prevent the use of the theatre to the secularists at all on the Sunday as their services are not devotional. Is the Chief Secretary of any ministry to be a judge of devotion? I from the Government Railways taking people from Melbounre to St Kilda and the suburbs was their mission devotional? [*unclear:* Nay] does not the Chief Secretary himself never indulge in a Sunday outing on a St. Kilda promenade. Now why if the object of the secularists was

entirely recreational should they be denied their recreation when the Government assists so many thousands to take them to this equal liberty.

- I note a tendency of Victorian democracy to strip the parliament and executive of political power. The control of the railways is to be vested in a board and a minister even in dealing with civil service promotion must act under commissioners. Is liberalism played out? Surely if the executive of a state cannot honestly and [*unclear:* purely] manage its railways it is unfit for other executive actions? Nay in heaven's name what is it for? Nor do I see that the purity of a government is to be obtained by delegating executive functions to what will be irresponsible commissioners. Of course there are blunders and jobs in a democracy so there are under all forms of government but if a democracy is the ideal form of government the true liberal should sacrifice himself and his party to obtain purity and not attempt to get rid of jobs by depriving the executive of power.
- As Iillustrating how little backbone there is in some Victorian Liberals let me alude to their action in the opening of the public library the art gallery + museum on Sunday. Because an irresponsible commission the public library trustees did it some grave constitutional question was said to be at stake and those who talked about Parliament losing its power voted for handing railway management to commissioners. Here again was it not the dread of losing the Wesleyan and Presbytarian vote more than any constitutional question that made many liberals so virtuously indignant at the action of the trustees?

And now let me end by saying that I am deeply impressed by the greatness of Victoria by the Splendour of her institutions by the energy of her citizens and by the kindness and hospitality of everywhere met. I thought it my duty however as one who longs to see the democratic sentament strong and the democratic party liberal to make the comments I have made and I hope they will not be taken in [*unclear:* bad heart]

I am etc.

The Bible in the Schools.

The following fragment was picked up to day outside of the Stuart street Oddfellows' Hall, where the Educational Institute is to meet to-morrow. [We did not know till now that there were Seers amongst the Dominies.—Ed. E S]

TIME, 1890.

SCENE. State School, not a hundred miles from Dunedin. Bible Lessons being given by the Headmaster.

Pupil reads Matthew xxii., verse 21 : "They say unto him 'Cæsar's.' Then he saith unto them, 'Render therefore unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's; and unto God the things that are God's.'"

MASTER (examining the class): What is meant by Cæsar and Cæsar's?

PUPIL A : Cæsar was a Roman Emperor.

MASTER : But what is meant by rendering unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's?

PUPIL B: Giving to him all that belongs to him.

MASTER : What belonged to him?

PUPIL A: A coin, with his head on it.

MASTER : That may have once belonged to him. But this verse has a particular meaning. Cæsar here stands for Government, and in some things we must recognise the Government. What things do the Government do?

PUPIL D : They look after the Railways

PUPIL E : They look after Schools.

PUPIL F : The policemen are Government men.

MASTKR : Can you tell me some things that we are not to look to Government to?

PUPIL A: Food.

PUPIL G : Religion. Government, papa says, should never meddle with Churches and Religion.

MASTER : Yes, boys, our Religion is a matter between us and God alone; and that is what is meant by rendering unto God the things that are God's.

Pupil G holds up his hand.

MASTER : Well, Gilbert, what is it?

PUPIL G : Please, sir, is this a Government School?

MASTER : Of course it is.

PUPIL G : Is the Bible a religious book?

MASTER : Profoundly so; but what makes you ask these questions?

PUPIL G : Please, sir, papa says that the Government should not teach Religion.

MASTER : Well, boys, that is a question I cannot say anything about. All I know is that some years ago some people thought that folks would get mad if the Bible was not taught in schools.

PUPIL G : Please, sir, is that fulfilling the verse?

MASTER : Well, boys, I cannot say.

PUPIL H : Please, sir, why does Thomas Jones not come to Bible lesson V He is out in the shed now, and it is cold and wet.

MASTER : His papa objects.

PUPIL H : Is it naughty not to read the Bible? We all like Thomas Jones, and his father is very good to US.

MASTER : Boys, it is time for writing lesson.

Sir J. Vogel on the Settlement of the Land.

Christchurch,

July 5,

The following extract from a letter of Sir Julius Vogel to a prominent citizen in Christchurch is published in the evening paper:—

A subject on which I have been constantly thinking during the past few weeks is, How can settlement be best; promoted? I have twice tried to put apart large area for special settlement. First, I proposed a railway estate, but the proposition was not entertained. Secondly, I carried into effect a measure providing for setting apart a large forest area. This was upset immediately after I retired from office. I regard the disturbance of this plan with unmingled regret. Throughout Europe the forest populations are amongst the happiest and best-employed. My forest scheme would have led to the location and employment of a numerous population. Mr Mac[*unclear:* an]drew subsequently proposed a large railway estate, and had he remained in power I believe he would have carried out an advantageous scheme. He possesses those qualities of large hearted sympathy and breadth of view, the want of which made Mr Rollo ton unable to give effect to successful settlement. I think, in connection with railways now to be constructed, large areas should be set apart, and that they should be settled on a liberal and comprehensive basis. I think the exact plan should be referred to a select committee to determine, but I may point out the general features of a scheme which seems to me to promise the most success The object to be kept in view is to locate a large number of families, with holdings of from 100 to 500 acres, according to the quality of land. I would endeavour, while settlement was filling up, to establish an individual profit and a profit in common of a co-operative character, very much like the old Otago hundred system, only that the settlers should share the profits of grazing operations. These settlements should be self-governed, and arrangements should he made to enable the collective community to obtain money for improvements at about 5 per cent. Five thousand families In the Colony, and 5000 families of now arrivals could, I am convinced, under a plan of this kind be made happy and prosperous, whilst tin railway estates would yield in the end large results to recoup the cost of railways. If a system can be worked out by which individual owner ship and co-operative enterprise can be made to jointly aid each other, it will be susceptible of larger application than to the railway settlement. It may be made applicable to communities of farmers, much to the reduction of the burden under which they labour. You already know my views in favour of separate management by non-political boards of the railways in tin two Islands; of strengthening local government; of promoting local industries; and you are aware also that I prefer a land tax to a property tax. With regard to strengthening local government (decentralisation, as it is called), I am quite convinced that In doing so lies the best hope of true economy. As long as the local bodies have to trust only to Wellington they try to got as much expenditure as possible. If the power and the expenditure rested with them they would be as anxious for economy as they are now indifferent to it.

Mr Tennyson's National Song.

The following is the Poet Laureate's "English and Colonial National Song," which was sung for the first time in public at the St James' Hall on March 15. A sufficiently popular and impressive tune to which the words are set has been arranged by Mr Villiers Stanford for a solo voice and chorus, the latter taking up the burden at

the end of each stanza. Mr Santley declaimed the Laureate's lines with due emphasis, and the song was received with the loyal demonstrations which might have been expected under the circumstances :—

HANDS ALL ROUND.

First pledge our Queen this solemn night,
Then drink to England every guest,
That man's the best cosmopolite
Who loves his native country best!
May Freedom's oak for ever live,
With larger life from day to day:
That man's the true conservative
Who lops the mouldered branch away.

Hands all round ! God the traitor's hope confound !
To the great cause of Freedom drink, my friends,
And the great name of England round and round.

To all the loyal hearts who long
To keep our English Empire whole!
To all our noble song, the strong
New England of the Southern Pole!
To England under Indian skies,
To those dark millions of her realm!
To Canada whom we love and prize.
Whatever statesman hold the helm.

Hands all round! God the traitor's heart confound!
To the great name of England, drink, my friends,
And all her glorious Colonies round and round.

To all our statesmen so they be
True leaders of the land's desire!
To both our Houses, may they see
Beyond the Borough and the shire!
We sailed wherever ship could sail,
We founded many a mighty State,
Pray God our greatness may not fail
Through craven fears of being great.

Hands all round! God the traitor's hope confound!
To the great cause of Freedom, drink, my friends,
And the great name of England round and round.

THURSDAY, JULY 23, 1885.

THE statement delivered in the House on Tuesday night by the Minister of Education, of which we published a synopsis in our yesterday's issue, marks a new departure in the administration of our national school system. The statement is a very able one. Mr Stout stands on familiar ground, and he grasps the problem of public instruction not only in its bearings as a question of broad public policy, but also in those minute administrative details which we cannot expect the average Minister, placed by political exigencies at the head of this Department, to understand. There is no doubt a danger that a specialist—and the Hon. Mr Stout's early training warrants us in so classing him—might, when endowed with the powers of a Minister, be disposed to experiment with some little "fads" of his own. We can discover nothing of that kind about the measures of reform, or of administrative change, which are advocated in the address delivered on Tuesday night. On the contrary, the changes are not merely judicious, but are so clearly explained that their utility is self-evident, and commends them at once to the common sense of persons who cannot lay claim to any special knowledge of the subject. The proposed treatment of the Standards will materially aid the country teacher in performing his work to his own satisfaction, and so as to comply with the regulations laid down for him by his Board. The measures for gradually introducing drawing, technical instruction, and science into the school curriculum are also entirely in harmony with the bent of public opinion, and are thoroughly practical.

There will be some dissent from Mr Stout's views of secondary and University education, but we confess that they command our hearty approval. The elimination of elementary teaching from the secondary schools—making them entirely supplementary to the primary schools, and part of a uniform and complete system—is a step which has been very frequently advocated in these columns. The proposal should be carried further, so as to apply the endowments of secondary schools almost exclusively to the advancement of clever boys from the primary schools, by means of scholarships, making the sons of the wealthy contribute in fees a sum more nearly approaching the cost of their tuition than is the case at present. The expenditure last year on the Auckland Grammar School represented an average of over £28 per head per annum, and the fees amounted to only £10 10s and £8 8s. The difference of £18 is a large sum to contribute from public endowments towards the education of boys whose parents are well able to afford to educate their sons, or who should otherwise avail themselves of the lower standards of the primary schools. Still it is very difficult to draw the line. Mr Stout points out with convincing force that without liberal endowments secondary and University education could not exist; that the assistance given to these schools is most beneficial to the poorer class of students, who otherwise would be shut out from scholastic advantages which are easily within the reach of the wealthy; and that New Zealand, which is doing so much for the cause of universal education among the people, cannot afford to lag behind other nations in the higher walks of scholarship, nor refrain from giving those bright intellects which will be developed under our national school system the opportunity of ascending to the very pinnacle of scholastic ambition.

The religious question is one of much delicacy, and Mr Stout handled it with a discretion and absence of dogmatism, which has caused a very agreeable feeling of surprise. He states what is strictly true when he declares that the teaching in the public schools is not irreligious nor even secular. In Nelson's series of books there are many passages that teach the active and beneficent government of a personal Deity, to whom man is responsible. These are apparently against Mr Stout's convictions of what would constitute a perfect national system of instruction, but we do not hesitate to say it is the knowledge of this fact, and the very excellent moral instruction contained in the books ordinarily used in the schools, which has reconciled a majority of the people to the exclusion of Bible-reading.

Taken as a whole, the Statement is an exceedingly able one—the best on the subject that has ever been published in New Zealand—and we very heartily endorse the wish expressed in the House yesterday, that it should be printed in extenso for general circulation among teachers and other persons who are interested in the work of national education.

Correspondence.

Sir William Fox in Reply to Mr Stout.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NEW ZEALAND TIMES.

SIR,—My absence from Wellington for a few days prevented my attending Mr Stout's lecture in reply to mine on free thought. I presume from his remarks that he did not himself hear my lecture, and knew nothing of it but what he had read in the brief and very condensed report which appeared in the TIMES. I spoke for above an hour and a half, which would, if reported in extenso, have printed, at least, from three to four columns of

your paper. The report actually filled a little more than half a column. I don't in the least blame your reporter for this; but I think it will be admitted that a report in which, at least, three-fourths of what I did say was omitted was not a very safe ground for Mr Stout to stand on when he attempted to reply to my arguments; and the consequence is that his criticisms are, to a great extent, quite beside the mark—entirely in many instances misapprehending the tenor of my arguments, and, in others, omitting qualifications, illustrations, and deductions which, if given, would have struck the ground from under his feet. He has, in fact, through the greater part of his lecture, been simply beating the air. It is not, however, worth my while to respond to criticism of this sort, and, if I did, it would occupy much more space than you could afford. But there is one particular passage which is so personal towards myself that I feel bound to reply to it. Mr Stout (according to your reporter) said that " in regard to Sir William Fox's reference to Charles Bradlaugh and Annie Besant, the statement he had made was false and untrue, as neither of them had advocated free love; and Sir William Fox should, as a Christian, apologise for the slander he had heaped upon their heads." Now what really did say (and some who heard mo recollect lay exact words) was this; "That Mr Bradlaugh was an advocate of the vile system of free love was evident from his having, together with a female associate, the separated wife of a Church of England clergyman, published a book which had no other object then to promote the practice of that system." As to the personal relations of Mr Bradlaugh and the lady I desired my audience "to take particular notice, that I made no personal imputations upon them, and knew nothing whatever on the subject. But the book, I said, spoke for itself." And so I say still. The facts are as follows :—In 1876 or 1877, Mr Bradlaugh and Mrs Besant were indicted criminally for that they "unlawfully and wickedly devising, contriving, and intending to vitiate and corrupt the morals, as well of the youth as of divers ether subjects of the Queen, and so incite and encourage the said subjects to indecent, obscene, unnatural and immoral practices, and bring them into a state of wickedness, lewdness, and debauchery, unlawfully did print, publish, sell, and utter a certain indecent, lewd, filthy, bawdy, and obscene book called 'The Fruits of Philosophy,' thereby contaminating, vitiating, and corrupting morals, &c." The jury found that the book was published by the defendants, and that it was calculated to deprave the public mind, and a verdict of guilty was entered up. Lord Chief Justice Cockburn pronounced the sentence, "that each of the defendants be imprisoned for six months; that they pay a fine of L200 a-piece, and enter into recognisances of L500 to be of good behavior for the future." On reference to the Justices of Appeal, the judgment was, however, reversed, on the purely technical ground that the obscene book ought to have been set out verbatim in the indictment, which it was hot; but JudgeBramwell, in delivering the judgment of the court, expressly said that the decision come to was "of a purely technical nature, and quite apart from the merits—a dry point of law which had nothing to do with the merits of the case." The merits had been settled by the verdict of the jury after perusal of the books so well described in the indictment. I hope that Mr Stout has never read the book in question. If he has, he has no excuse for the coarse accusation of falsehood he makes against me. I have read it, and will describe it as well as I dare to do in a journal which meets the eye of many pure and virtuous people. The whole object of the book is, first to instruct the readers of either sex how they may habitually indulge in illicit or adulterous intercourse without fear of the consequences, and, secondly, to teach married persons how they may successfully prevent their having the burden of a family. Many arguments are used to convince them of the advantage of such practices; and the methods (some mechanical, others medicinal) are taught by which the desired ends may be accomplished. A book more completely adapted to corrupt the minds of its readers (particularly as the indictment says of the youthful portion), to inflame their passions, to harden their gentler feelings, to destroy domestic confidence and parental instincts, it is not, in my opinion, possible to conceive. If these be the "Fruits of the Freethinkers' Philosophy" it is time that those whom Mr Stout seeks to convert to that philosophy should be made aware of what lurks behind it. It is true that Bradlaugh and Mrs Besant were not the authors of the book. It was written years before they republished it, and forgotten till they raked it up and published it at sixpence a copy. Tens of thousands of copies of it have been circulated, not only in the Old Country, but in Melbourne and some of our New Zealand towns. To pretend for one moment that Mr Bradlaugh does not approve and advocate the opinions contained in a book which he has taken so much trouble to scatter broadcast, at the risk of long imprisonment and crushing fines, is a quibble of which I think even Mr Stout will hardly avail himself. My charge of Bradlaugh being an advocate of free love was founded on the perusal of this book, which may well be called the Catechism and Manual of the Free Love creed, and which, if a man's opinions are to be inferred from his acts, place Mr Bradlaugh in the first rank of its advocates from the day when he published the vile and wicked book.
WILLIAM FOX.

The New Zealand Herald,

Tuesday, May 12, 1885

Address By Sir G. Grey.

LAST evening, according to announcement, Sir George Grey addressed a public meeting at the Theatre Royal, under the auspices of the Liberal Association. The house, from floor to ceiling, was thronged with a dense audience, the passages and doorways being filled. The stage was as much thronged as the rest of the house by those to whom invitations bad been issued, and included were the members of the public bodies and representative men, and a considerable number of ladies. The dress circle was also crowded by ladies and their escorts, for whom this part of the house was reserved.

Amongst those on the front ranks of the stage there were :—Patara Te Tuhi, Honana Maioha, and Te Heata, Kingite natives, who were accompanied by Mr. C. O. Davis. Commander Fayenz and another officer of the Saida were also present.

On Sir George Grey's arrival he was greeted with rounds of applause, and as he walked up to the front, accompanied by the Mayor and the members of the committee of the Liberal Association, he was again greeted with enthusiastic applause.

When silence had been restored, His Worship the MAYOR, on taking the chair, read the advertisement convening the meeting. He said it was only necessary to announce by advertisement that Sir George Grey was to address a public meeting, and the result was the large audience such as was now assembled. After a few further remarks, he called upon Sir George Grey to address the meeting.

Introductory.

Sir GEORGE GREY rose amidst renewed cheering, tie said: Mr. Chairman, ladies, and gentlemen,—Since I last had the pleasure of meeting you here very great events have taken place, and it seems almost necessary that we should on this occasion consider those events regarding wars, and the steps the different colonies have taken in respect of those events. I daresay you will all remember when I addressed you a great movement had been commenced in Australia on the subject of the federation of the Empire, making it one for certain purposes. The idea was then entertained of making New Zealand a sort of province of Australia. We discussed that subject here, and determined that it would be a mistake to do so, and our determination was adopted in the other portions of the colony, and that matter was dropped. (Cheers.) Then, as you will recollect, I gave you a *simile* which accurately expressed the position. It was that, unknown to Europe and the rest of the world a new people had come into existence, who represented those people whose lives had been passed in the wilds disregarded, and who suddenly rose into life, and all Europe looked to see what this youth would do. I told you then that some other movement would be made by this youth, and that it would be looked for anxiously. I did not know then where that movement would take place, but I had the hope that as the first movement had taken its rise in Australia, the next would be in New Zealand. (Cheers.) That was my hope.

New South Wales Assistance to Great Britain.

Well, a great series of events took place in Africa, and England lost many gallant officers and many gallant men, and failed, after all, to save the hero of the time, General Gordon. (Loud cheers.) More disasters than successes overtook our forces. Again this new being to whom I have referred took the lead, and the generous offer of assistance to Britain attracted the attention not only of Great Britain, but of the whole civilised world. They felt, in fact, that a new, Empire had sprung into existence—a united Empire. And now, you must bear this in mind. No hero can be born into a nation without elevating that nation — giving rise to heroic thoughts, inciting other men to follow his example, and in that way doing a great amount of good. The young nation gives an example of that kind. That is far beyond the example of a single hero. In fact, it makes a movement which may determine the destinies of an entire Empire (cheers); and that movement has been made. And where has it been made? In New South Wales. And many people will say, "What did New South Wales owe to England of gratitude?" It was founded, they will say, as a convict colony, where the lash was for ever heard, and men were flogged almost out of the semblance of humanity, until they said themselves that the hearts of men had been taken from them, and the hearts of brutes had been put in the place of human beings. (Cheers.) And you would have thought—you would have imagined in your own mind—that that was the last place from which such a movement of gratitude would come. Bear this in mind, that when we talk of convict colonies, we

little understand what were the customs of the times in which those colonies were founded. People were then transported at the will of two Justices of the Peace for seven years—two ordinary Justices of the Peace—for crimes which would now be punished with a few days imprisonment. (Cheers.) Girls, as I have heard, were transported for gathering a few bunches of shrubs in the domain of some great noble, thereby setting a bad example. Patriots were banished, as in the case of those men from Scotland who were looked upon as martyrs, and monuments were now erected to them. Do not conceive that they were all bad. But whether bad or not they were all badly treated. Hence we find, partly from the necessity of the occasion—for amongst them of course were some who were bad, and who might have had recourse to many acts of violence, and those to restrain them were but few in number, and mutinies were dreaded, and fear creates tyranny on all occasions, and they were, in point of fact, subjected to indiguities, to punishments, which I could not speak of before this mixed assembly, and underwent very great suffering undeservedly and unjustly. Therefore, I tell you, you must recollect that that nation was not a nation of convicts such as we should speak of now, but a nation in some instances of most deserving persons, and having amongst their convicts really great and good men. (Cheers.) Therefore, do not let us wonder at what New South "Wales did. Let us rather admire their conduct—that, forgetting all the past, the good prevailed in their hearts, and that they came forward with a great and generous offering which has moved I may say every heart in the British isles, and has made all other nations look with envy upon Great Britain at the present moment. (Cheers.)

NEW ZEALAND'S WANT OF ACTION.

But what of ourselves! What nation owes such gratitude to Great Britain as New Zealand? How many gallant officers and men have laid down their lives on your behalf? How many seamen lie buried in your soil, who fell fighting for you when you were likely to be swept away by a large native population? If any people in the world owe gratitude to Great Britain, it is the people of New Zealand. Is it any wonder then that some of us think that he would fain that New Zealand had been the first to send some message to Great Britain—some such words as these : "We, the people of New Zealand, grateful for past benefits, now having an opportunity of testifying our gratitude, hasten so to do. Tell us in what way we can aid you. We make no specific offer, but in New Zealand there are willing hearts and hands and open purses—say what you wish your children here to do, and you shall find we are not laggards to carry out your wishes." (Cheers.) I have been, as it were, shut out from the world. I know not whether it is the case, but I have heard of no such message being sent. I have heard of no expression coming from the people of New Zealand as to what they would wish to have done. Perhaps it is too late to do that now, but you may depend upon it that a great opportunity has been lost of setting the example to future generations of this country of what they should do, and of what their fathers did to testify their gratitude and show their affection for the country which had done so much for them. I cannot help lamenting that, and I believe many of those who hear me will wish also that some such step had been taken. (Cheers.)

New Zealand's Position.

But now let us look at our position here, and what our probable future must be, if wars take place. What ideal are the youth of New Zealand to set before them as to what their future conduct should be in this country with reference to the exterior world? Generally you will all see this, that you are not like a European nation in one respect. You have no enemies touching your frontier—no enemy near you. You cannot, like Germany, march upon France. There is no France for you to attack. Nor can you, like France, invade the rest of Europe. You have no enemies about you of that kind. But you will require a population able to defend their country from any foe that ventures to attempt to land here, and ventures to attempt to subjugate you to his power. *That* you Will absolutely require. You must have a population trained to arms to a certain extent. (Cheers.) You must have some kind of permanent force, to some extent, to take care of the defences which you may erect, and what warlike materials you may collect. That will be a necessity. And then can anyone doubt, if you do that, that you can defend your country? That if a few natives defend their country against a great European force for a considerable period of time, would you, when you were a more populous and a more numerous people, fail to defend the same country against any European force that might come here? Who can doubt you would be able to defend yourselves, and your country would be really impregnable? So far you are in safety. But then you may say, what career is open to our young men? What career is there for a legitimate ambition? In what way are they to take a part in the great events of the world, to earn distinction for themselves and to reflect upon us as the nation from whom they come?

An Imperial-Colonial Navy.

Well, you have this opportunity before you. If you please, you can, by a contribution, absolutely identify

yourselves with the British navy, supply a part of it, and in reality make the navy of New Zealand and Great Britain one. (Cheers.) Your contingent at present may be very small; you find the funds necessary; let Great Britain find the ships; let your navy be absorbed in hers and be identical with Great Britain. It is true that for years you have had the right of having two vacancies in the navy placed at the disposal of the people of New Zealand. When I was in office as Governor last time, there were a good many here who were allowed to enter the British navy, to pass their examinations and join their vessels here, and become identified with the naval officers of Great Britain. But if you acted in the manner I speak of a far larger proportion of vacancies would be given to you. And would it be no satisfaction to you if the necessity existed—a war in which the Empire was engaged in some cause which was worthy of a nation undertaking—that you could read in the list of men who performed heroic actions the names of men born in New Zealand, seeing them rise to distinction in the navy of the greatest Empire in the world? Would it be no pleasure to parents to see their children come out here to positions of distinction? Would it be no gratification to you if upon some future occasion, some heroic naval officer who had rendered great service to his country returned here, and the whole population could receive him with triumph? It is scenes of the kind which make a people great, which give rise to poets in a nation, to painters who depict the deeds performed, that in a thousand ways awaken emulation in the minds of the people of the country. And great actions performed in the public service give rise to great actions in public life, because they call into existence noble ambitions, ambitions to do noble actions; actions which stamp nobility upon the man, and if repeated by large numbers of people stamp nobility upon the entire race. (Cheers) I therefore would ask the people of Auckland carefully to consider this subject—Whether they will or Will not consent to bear a part in defraying the expenses of the navy of the British Empire, and in that way giving assistance to, and in that way absolutely and actively identifying themselves with, the whole British Empire, and whether, having done that, they will or will not here call into existence—I may say drill into existence, practice into existence—as fine a race of volunteers or militia, or whatever you please to call them, as any other country can show, (Cheers.)

The Question of Capitation.

But I say this : Will you see that some proper capitation allowance is given to these men—(great cheering)—something fair, something just and equitable? I don't ask you to give them a pieee of paper enabling them to select some piece of land, which they almost immediately part with for a mere trifle to some speculator. (Cheers.) That is to waste your land, and not to settle the population upon and merely to give rise to speculative tricks, but to give a fair capitation allowance, and to a sufficient number of men. (Cheers.) I say a fair capitation; and then looking a little beyond your own district—looking at the colony at large—insist upon your Ministers not squandering upon companies in which they are interested the public funds—(cheers)—not relieving, *for* instance, the New Zealand Agricultural Company, and the Ministers who are identified with it and the Waimea Plains Railway—not relieving them of a few thousands a-year of rates, when they are giving an immense value to their property by the railroads made—(cheers)—not having your Legislative Council increased by ten or eleven members in a single session—(cheers) — and an annual expense of between £200 and £300 a-year entailed upon you for each of those members for his lifetime—but making your Ministers cease squandering upon themselves and their friends the public funds, and devoting them to the defence of the country and the creation of such a force as I speak of. (Cheers.) You have been told here, in this very theatre, to be patriotic, and not to think of capitation allowance. I say be patriotic, but do think of the company of which the man who said that is the solicitor, think of the people at large, and let the public funds be devoted to the great purposes of the defence of the colony, instead of being dealt out with a niggardly hand, and so wasted, because insufficient to call into existence anything worthy of the people of this country. (Cheers.)

The Pacific Islands.

Well, now, let us look outside of us. I have said you have no other nation to contend with, and you have really a great object in view. Before you lies the whole Pacific. The commerce of that region has to be developed; its people are to be civilised, its islands to be occupied by persons who can direct and elevate their inhabitants, who can make them worthy citizens, producers of valuable products, consumers of valuable manufactured goods, and a people who may prize liberty and be dealt with upon fair terms, and not forcibly or violently annexed by conquerors. For what is the meaning of your forcibly annexing them? It means dearly to reduce them to a state of slavery, because it is to force them to deal with particular nations, to force them to give the produce of their labour to some particular nation of Europe—for they are all anxious to get some portion of these regions—and if men are compelled to par with their produce, having no choice in the matter, and to buy goods from persons whom they do not like, and to work and labour for that purpose, are they not, I

ask, to all intents and purposes slaves? Let us go forth, dealing liberally and fairly with them, trying to elevate them; and looking at the number of islands scattered throughout the ocean, there is work for all of us for a century to come, work of the noblest kind—calling into existence a new island nation such as the world has never before seen. That is quite enough to occupy the ambition of every youth in New Zealand—the care of his own country, the bearing part in the toils and glory of the British nation, and the civilising of the vast and numerous islands which lie to the north of this colony—a noble task for all of us to undertake. That is what I look upon as the future destiny of New Zealand, one desirable in the extreme, and, I can only say, would I were a young man again—(cheers) — to bear part in the great events to come ! But if I cannot be that, at least I can try to fire with enthusiasm and incite those who are to undertake the task of fulfilling the great destiny to which the New Zealand people have been born as heirs. (Cheers.)

The Situation in Europe.

Now let me venture to give you my own ideas upon what you may look forward to with regard to events likely to take place in Europe. I ask you all not to think that this Russian difficulty is terminated. Don't take a flattering thought of that kind to your mind. My own impression is this, that for years it must go on and endure. Let us look at the world as it really is, as you have seen it yourselves. Let us reduce these views to plain first truths, and you will find that for two thousand years the northern nations, having a bad climate to endure, having vast extents of bad soil in their dominions, have continually found themselves in this position—although there were tracks of unoccupied land no person could occupy them with any hope of being able to obtain produce to repay the labour and money spent in the cultivation of the soil. And for two thousand years these northern nations have been pressing down upon Europe, first in one direction and then in another. In the heart of the nations there existed a great sense of uneasiness. They heard of finer climates, better soils and lands lying west, and they desired to move, and in vast multitudes they accumulated and bore down upon Europe. They were repulsed, driven back, slaughtered by millions at a time, and again they came, and submerged the Roman Umpire, and settled themselves in the finest countries in Europe. Then the Turks came into Europe, having laid waste some of the finest provinces in Asia Minor. Asia Minor was populous and wealthy; it is now but slightly populated and in extreme poverty, the land lying waste and the people gone. The vast hordes of Russia knowing this, and their hearts throbbing with anxiety to escape from the snows and ice of the north, long to move down into finer climates and occupy these waste lands. But you find this :

Britain says no. Populated or unpopulated the land is taken by the Turks, and must remain unoccupied by you, and we will drive you back to the gloomy recesses of your forests and your long winters again. But where are they to move? On the westward you have Austria, Germany, Italy, and France, all enclosing them On the east between themselves and Afghanistan, lies Central Asia, so fertile in some places, waste in others, and no Czar in the world, no Government in the world, could keep the Russian population from pressing down and trying to take possession of these places. And so they will continue to advance for years to come. You may say so far and no further, and they will rest for a time, but when new millions spring into existence, and new wants arise, they must find an existence where un-populated countries are, and you may as well attempt to prevent the birds migrating to where food supplies are to be obtained as to stop the Russians from seeking new outlets for their commerce and population. What have we done ourselves? Where would Great Britain and Ireland have been had it not been for America—(cheers)—had it not been for Australia and New Zealand? (Cheers.) Could we have allowed ourselves to be shut up? Could any Government have held us all back? You saw the Puritan Fathers led away, and none could stop them; and this great exodus from our own country has taken place all over the world, and the Germans have come with us; Germany has emptied a large number of her population into America, Canada, New Zealand, and South America, And do you think the Russians can be prevented finally and conclusively from spreading out into other countries. You may rely upon it we have entered upon a course, perhaps necessary, perhaps justly—I wont enter into the question now—which must naturally produce disturbances for, I believe, a century or two centuries to come, and it is simply a question when war will break out. That it will break out I am perfectly certain, and we ought to be prepared. This is called the Eastern Question, but in the times of the Romans when Marcus Aurelius, probably one of the greatest men who ever lived, died heartbroken on the Danube, having failed to drive these migrating hordes back, it was called the Northern Question. And although conditions have changed, although they march now in uniforms instead of the skins of animals, and fire muskets instead of using bows and arrows and spears, the human heart is the same, and longs for a finer climate and richer soil, and to escape from the pressure of population and poverty to where they can live in prosperity and comfort. If you shut them in you will have Nihilism, as you had civil wars in England. We have had no revolutions in England since the exodus went on.

Colonial Matters : Serfs or Freemen.

Now having glanced at some of the great events which have taken place since we last met, I come to others of more domestic interest. What constitutes a great nation is this : Though events of transcendent importance are passing outside and likely even to burst in upon them, they still preserve their equanimity of mind and attend to their own affairs. They don't let their own nation go to ruin whilst they look outside. They have sagacity, energy, and ability enough to manage their own affairs and their domestic relations. Let us look at our own affairs, and see how we stand here. You think here you are all free men—(laughter)—and you are continually told that, I hear them say to you: "Sir George Grey tells you you are serfs—and are you so? Can't you go and eat and drink what you like? Have not you good wages?" Well, let us just look at the question whether we are so free. Firstly, my idea of freedom is this : That each man within the limits of the law can do what he likes, and each nation makes its own laws, that is, the people themselves make them. That is my idea of freedom. (Cheers.) I call a nation which obeys laws made by the few a nation of slaves. (Cheers.) Now one of the characteristics of slavery is this : A man has slaves and he is thought to be very good to them. He perhaps says to them, "I will give you a few provision grounds and you can grow a little food for yourselves in the evening when your work is over—(laughter)—and this will enable you to get a few luxuries." And the slaves are delighted. They say, "God bless Massa, how good he is." (Great laughter.) I have seen advertisements from time to time saying so-and-so is a friend of the working man. (Laughter, and cries of "Garrard!") The friend of the working man says, "Let us give him another half holiday in the year," and the working men immediately say, "God bless massa; how good he is !" (Renewed laughter.) They don't seem to chink whether they have the power to take care of themselves or not. The trains are their own; but if any one said he had got the fares reduced a little lower they would no doubt say, "God bless massa !" (Cheers.) But I will come back to that point, I will take this point, I will show you how things work here.

How Things Work Here.

You had a great lecture upon politics here, and I confess it confounded me. (Laughter.) If you look at it you will find this : politics were made to consist of bamboozling your fellow-men in the Assembly, and playing upon their selfishness and cupidity if you wanted them to do so and so. That I don't agree to at all. If you look clearly at any single thing done, a single measure introduced, and take and study it, and see what it leads to, you can tell to a certainty whether at the end of so many years it will have produced a debasing or a good effect upon the population. I am going to ask you to follow me into what I will call an interesting excursion into the past history of the colony. I will show you certain things and the remedy which is proposed for them, and ask you whether if it is carried out it will not end in two-thirds of the population of New Zealand being in an absolute state of slavery. Let us try to-night to imagine ourselves transported from scene to scene. There was a Lord Lyttelton—the father of the present Lord Lyttelton—a most excellent man really. He persecuted me very much once, but ended in our being great friends. He was a good man, but a man of no judgment. He was easily led, and he was led by very wily men. He commenced to travel in Now Zealand. He was one of the great leaders of the Canterbury Association, which tried to get a third of the colony to found bishoprics of the Church of England upon a greater scale than was ever known before. (Laughter.) They were defeated. Having travelled in New Zealand, he got home to a place called Stourbridge, and there delivered a series of lectures, and said this : "On 22nd February, 1868, we got off the coast by a solitary lake called Lake Lyndore, and went with Mr. Charles Harper, son of the bishop, riding, and a pack horse going loose before us carrying our bags, over nine miles of lonely plain and hills, and sheep runs, to his house of Lake Coleridge, a far pleasanter specimen of a squatting station than Stourbridge, the lake being beautiful and picturesque, and surrounded by grand hills. Here he was living in great comfort with a newly-married wife—(laughter)—in a small but good house. It was there we had the excellent bread I mentioned. There was no church for many miles round, and Mr. Harper read evening prayers to a few shepherds and servants. The first office was eight miles off. The run was about 50,000 acres. Nominally, anyone might come in and buy any of this land over the squatters' heads, but besides that, in any of these remote places it would not be worth buying, the country squatters had what is called a pre-emptive right to buy, at the fixed price of £2 an acre, such parts of the land as they had made certain improvements upon. They asked to "spot," as it was called, these improvements in different parts of the run, the effect being that the intermediate parts were valueless without them, and these they thus secured." You were told you could not buy this land, but in the Land Office there lay these contracts giving certain pre-emptive rights, and the result was to render these great runs absolutely valueless. That is the first picture, and you see the necessary result of such a condition of affairs—that as population increases there would be no land for the people to go upon, no small farms, no happy families cultivating the land in different directions. You will see at once that had this system been followed great poverty must have overtaken the poor in Christchurch. I will ask you to accompany me to another scene. The Minister for Lands is in Christchurch, and there is a reporter with him. Mr. Ballance is questioned about the distress in Christchurch, and he says : "I cannot help thinking it is the way

in which your Canterbury land system has been carried out." He says nothing as to its being wrong. That is the curse of the place and a large cause of the stagnatian of the town." I say we could have foretold that, I ask you whether any sensible man would not have seen it. "Men have taken up all the spare land in the back country, and stagnation has set in." Could not we have foretold that? Then he says the difficulty is to find land to answer his re-quirements. "The worst of it is that we have in Canterbury such a difficulty in finding what is wanted—that is, land." Now look at this. Mr. Ballance says this land having been taken away has been the curse of the place, and the result is the difficulty of getting land to relieve the people; yet Mr. Ballance and the other Ministers have quite recently offered to give a million acres to a foreign company, and are trying to rob you of another million of acres to give a great foreign company the power of becoming landlords in this country if they please. That is in order to get the West Coast Railway made. You will see what will be the result of a million of acres being handed over to a foreign company. I need not ask you whether you understand it or not. You must, after what has taken place before. He goes on and says, "In other provinces he is providing land for the future. I will go back to that presently. Then he goes on to say this (the reporter presses him upon this point): They all want to make out, these great men, that there is no distress, and Mr. Ballance says thus, as the result of his observation,—you will see that Mr. Ballance is striving after good, but a kind of blindness has come upon him. He says thus to the reporter; "It is nonsense to say the distress here is all among the loafers. There is quiet want. Honest, sober, industrious fellows, married men with families, have come to me, and put the case so soberly and plainly that I am convinced the matter is serious." (Cheers.) There is that for you, and that is the state Canterbury is in. He says, "I have heard plenty of people here abuse the unemployed for not jumping at work at 4s and 4s 6d a day." That is what the Government had offered, and he says that he hears lots of people abusing those men; and adds, "But some of these fellows who came to me were married men with six children, 8s to pay for rent, and were dependent on odd jobs—two days out of the week idle, perhaps." That seems to have been an average, I made a calculation of that, which I think Mr. Ballance did not, because he only said he thought it hard for them to live. But if you work it out, it is this; 4s 6d. That gives 27s a week for six days' work, and 8s is the rent they had to pay. This man has a wife and six children. Take the rent away, and that leaves 19s. On the average, they lose two days a week, that is 9s. Take that away, you have 10s left to keep his wife and six children; that is 2d a day per head to each individual of that family, for food, clothing, medicines, fire, light, and everything that human beings want. (Cheers.) Very well. Now go with me again. Travelling into one of these houses of that twopence a day a-head family, think of those people I What is the food eaten, what are the clothes worn, what the firing in the cold weather, what are the comforts in sickness, what are the means for burying a dead child perishing for want of proper food and comfort? Ask yourselves is it not a pitiful thing that we as men ought not to try a remedy to put an end to it. (Cheers.) Then Mr. Ballance goes on and gives his plan for putting an end to this. Now, let us consider that. First, I think I will put this question. Are a population that have to labour, the married people with families, upon the condition of having twopence a day a-head to spend, and with that cannot go away? They have not money to pay their passages off, any means of escape—from the way in which these enormous properties are held. I ask you are they slaves, or are they not? (Cries of "slaves.") Here is the plan for their relief Mr. Ballance says he is going to take mind, he says he cannot get the land at present, although he has given a million acres away lately. (Cheers.) He says : "Small blocks conveniently situated as may be to railway, within reasonable distance of market. On perpetual lease, rent fixed first ruling prices every twenty-one years, valuation to be leased to labourers, who will be compelled by Government terms to make their homes there, will be placed in neighbourhood where there is work all round." They are to be compelled by the Government terms to live there and make these places their homes. They cannot get away or they lose it all. They are to be placed in neighbourhoods convenient to railways, and on which there is to be work all round. That is, necessarily they must go amongst these great freeholders to labour for them. They are to be more tenants; their rents continually raised. "The blocks are small, because they are in no way intended to be farmers. I do not intend that they should make their living out of these blocks. (Laughter.) Simply that, by a small system of cultivation, they shall be able to supplement what they earn in the usual way. A residence qualification and good character is all that will be asked, and, of course, no man will be allowed to take up more than one block." The land given to them is not to be large enough for them to earn their living on it. Stress is to be put on them compelling them to work otherwise. I do not know whether you understand me. (A voice : Perfectly.) This is the plan, "a residence qualification"—that is, that they are always to stop there—and "of good character" (laughter), and all that will be asked, and of course no man would be allowed to take up more than one block, or else, you see, he might earn his living off bis block without working. (Laughter.) "The small holders, not to be bound too stringently, are to be at liberty to sell out their rights, and to move away to take larger blocks if they can afford it." (Laughter.) Well, I ask, what rights they have? Their land is not sufficient to support themselves, and what is to become of their children afterwards but to be tenants paying rents, perhaps continually increasing, and these enormous landowners, with their property all about them. I did not tell you all that Lord Lyttleton says. I omitted, I think, to turn over. He says he visited Sir John Hall's station—30,000 acres

of as fine land as there is in the world almost. And then this concerns Auckland people. Mr. Ballance goes on to say :—"The difficulty is to find land that will answer my requirements. The worst of it is that here in Canterbury it is so difficult to find what is wanted." (He had given away 1,000,000 acres.) " In other provinces I am providing for the future. The maps are being dotted over with thousand-acre blocks, to be cut up into small holdings. Married men will have the preference in obtaining them." Here in Auckland you have the power of taking up homestead lands which are freeholds, and you have the power of buying lands in many other ways—what right has any individual upon his own will to come in and withdraw from sale on the terms now existing, many of these thousand-acre blocks in the Auckland province, and dot the maps all over with them, and say "None of you shall occupy these lands except on the terms of living on them, and going there as men who must labour,"—labouring part of your time. What right has he to do that? I say none, without our consent being in some manner first obtained. (Cheers.) I firmly believe that this is in his mind a most benevolent scheme and that it never occurred to him that all the land in New Zealand having been ours, much of which having been wrongfully taken away, that these children should be living upon twopence a head a day in Christchurch. It is a reproach to US, I say, all these things taking place. It was not fair to those poor creatures who must go anywhere that they are sent to got their means of living to place them upon small blocks where they must reside, where they must labour, and from which they cannot escape. It is a mistake, and we must not allow this system to be carried out. (Cheers.) Now I am going to ask you to accompany me to another scene, and that is a scene in this theatre, an audience such as surrounds me now, perhaps some of you were here, and this is one of the most extraordinary scenes I ever heard of in my life, and you all seem to have passe it over as a thing of no consequence whatever. And the thing is this :—The Premier speaks to you here, and he says:—" We have still in our possession as a colony millions of acres of land. There is no question more practical to us than to lay down some rule to ourselves as to the lands we have shall be dealt with. As to the lands which have passed from us and been sold, that is at present out of the range of our practical politics. ('No, no.')" No politics must touch this land. Well, I think it is the very height of practical politics. (Cheers.) He then goes on, "I will tell you why. No State can afford to enter upon a career of repudiation or shake public credit. A State that is unjust will have its members unjust, and injustice in the end never succeeds. (Cheers)." I dare say some of those who hear me now cheered (laughter), "And in the end injustice never succeeds," and you cheered without thinking whether it is injustice or not. (Laughter.) The sentiment carries people away naturally enough. (Laughter and cheers.) And then he goes on, "It is misleading to those who call themselves Liberals, by setting before them an ideal out of the range of their practical grasp, when there is a question which needs all their energy and attention to carry out. (Cheers.)" These are very remarkable words, and you cheered again. I did not remark that some poor fellow called "No, no"—when I think he was quite right. He appears to have been the only one who did not cheer, and he was put down in a moment. (Laughter.) This is the scene you are looking on. Then he says "No generation has a right to partition the land, or to say to the generation following "We have decided for you how the earth's surface is to be occupied." I ask you if he tells you these lands have passed from you forever, whether they were taken wrongfully or not, and that you shan't get them. Does he say how the earth's surface is to be partitioned out? Does he tell your children and your grand-children how the earth is to be partitioned, and you shall not touch it? Is not this an evident contradiction? (Yes, yes.) I would put this to you. He says "No State can afford to enter on a career of repudiation, or shake public credit. A State that is unjust will have its members unjust, and injustice is in the end never successful. "Now I ask you—every one of these men at Canterbury have the same right that we have, we all have a right, the same right to these lands—undoubtedly in many instances their children have been wrongfully deprived of them,—I ask you, is there justice due to those starving children or not as well as to the rich man? (Cheers.) Has Justice her eyes blinded so that she may not see whether a man is rich or poor? I ask you whether if for those starving, innocent children, there is no justice? The earth is partitioned and gone from them forever, and it is said to them, Go and starve, be slaves, and enrich the progeny of those men who wrongfully took the land from you. Is that just? (Cheers.) Does not justice lie in two ways? Are not the scales to be evenly balanced? There are many ways in which something may be done. I believe in the English proverb, that where there is a wrong there is a remedy. If Mr. Stout is the great lawyer it is said that Sir Julius Vogel says—if he is to be our future Chief Justice, as I suppose he probably will be, it does not do for him to tell us that a wrong such as Mr. Ballance, his colleague, has seen, and that the law provides no remedy that a wrong exists, and that the law provides no remedy for the wrong. I say it does.

Sir George Grey's Remedy.

There is one kind of remedy we -might obtain—I fear that in making the statement I do, great unpopularity must overtake me. (No, no.) I believe so. I have thought this subject out in woods and by the seashore, and alone with nature, and I see my duty clearly, and my way clearly, and if I march alone upon the track, I will

follow it! (Cheers.) I say this, let us begin in a mild way. Every bit of land that you get now is obtained on onerous conditions. You pay enormously for it. You got homestead land, but what do you pay? A man is obliged to live on it. He is obliged to build a house of certain value, obliged to make certain improvements in a certain period of time, and in the end he pays far more than the rich man ever paid. I think I shall be quite justified. I shall not go so far as to charge the men who own land in New Zealand that unless they live upon it like these deferred payment settlers, but on the other hand I say I shall bring in a Bill which requires—and it is not much that for every thousand acres of land a man has he shall support one labourer at full wages throughout the whole year upon it (loud and prolonged cheers), and the man with 20,000 acres shall keep 200 families—not all for sheep; something for men, in God's name I say it I (Prolonged cheers.) There is partly justice at least for these children. There is a home where fair wages can be earned, and whence they may go forth and buy land in some place where they like afterwards. There, I say, justice can come in. But I have another idea. I say let the Government, instead of sending these people up in that way, buy land back from the persons who have it. Buy it back at its fair value; buy it back with interest given upon the money, and say this: Every man who has spent money upon land innocently, and has received a Crown grant, he is safe, his interests shall be protected in every way. Every man who has bought land that is Crown granted, he shall be protected because he is innocent, but we will have an inquiry made into all those properties, and wherever it turns out that a man who was a member of the Provincial Government, or who was a member of the General Assembly or a Minister in office, that made these regulations under which the people were ruined and allowed them to be wrongfully deprived by tricks in the Land Office, every such man being member of a Government, or a member of the Assembly that made a law of that sort, or sanctioned ragulations, if he has used his position to acquire land wrongfully and unjustly, although we allow the man who has purchased from to be protected, we will follow the original wrong-doer. (Cheers.) Let that be the law too. I say then you will do complete and simple justice, you will not check public credit, but you will come upon the wrong-doer and prevent him rioting in wealth whilst these children have to live upon twopence a-day a head. (Cheers.) In these ways I see my way clearly without injuring anyone, to place the colony in a far more healthy state than it would be under such regulations as are proposed. I believe that all will agree that such proceedings will be beneficial; that they injure no man; take nothing from any man who has been just; take nothing from any man who has made a purchase, and who was no wrong-doer; but if what amounts really to a wrongful taking of the public lands should be covered by a law, if that has taken place I say we have a perfect right to see that the wrong doer does not walk off with £50 000, or £100,000, or a quarter of a million pounds perhaps in his pocket. I think we ought not to allow that. (Cheers.) I think I have made clear this to you, that you can see that these regulations of Mr. Ballance, if carried out, must greatly injure the poor populations, and I believe you cannot injure the poor without injuring the rich at the same time. You cannot injure one portion of the community without injuring the whole. I think you will all admit if you look at it you will see plainly in the regulations themselves traces of what I point out.

The Waimea Plains Railway.

I will now pass to one other subject, because this is important too. I have told you that really we have no power at present. Just consider the state that your parliament is in. For example, we had the question upon which I wish to concentrate your attention—the Waimea Plains railway—before us last session. We had that before us, and you know the Government proposes to buy all the district railways. Let me just explain to you how these things occur and take place. What occurred when I went to Wellington was this : At the beginning of last session I went down there knowing that the Atkinson party, when in office, introduced a Bill for the purchase of these railways, which Bill was only defeated by the greatest possible exertions that were made. But the Bill was defeated, and my fear was that another attempt would be made to introduce a similar Bill again. I believed that the company were so powerful that they would accomplish their object, and we should have to buy the railway, whether the majority of the people or the majority of the House really liked it or not. And I went down to Wellington, knowing a new Parliament had met, with a very large number of new members in it, and these new members knew nothing of one another. They had never been brought together. And the Atkinson Government were still in office. It appeared to me a matter of the utmost necessity that before any decision was come to, the House should have been opened, and the House should have sat, and there should have been some discussion, and the members should have found out what the calibre of the different leaders of the House was and decide who they would follow, what Government they would put in, and that the thing should be deliberately done and with fair knowledge. But, arriving there just before the session took place, I went down in the evening to the House, to the library, to read. And presently a gentleman came in, and told me that Sir. Scout and Mr. Montgomery bad gone up to my house to try to see me, I said very well, I am very sorry, but, probably, they will return. They soon came back again, and then a message was sent to me that they wished to see me in

the whip's room. So I went, and going into the whip's room I found them seated there, and then Mr. Stout made to me proposals as to assisting a Government—no Government being named—on certain terms. I need not mention these proposals, because I prefer he should do so for himself, so that there might be no misunderstanding as to what he said. That is not material to the point. However, he made certain proposals, and I imagined from the proposals that there was something that I did not like, and I thought to myself, who knows but there is this Waimea Railway underneath this. And the proposals were such that I could not have stopped it if it had been. So I said from the way he was speaking, it had been decided what the Government was to be—he said, "Oh yes, certainly, I am to be Prime Minister, and Sir Julius Vogel is to be Treasurer." Then I thought to myself, well it appears to me that this is very wrong, because any audacious man might at any time seize upon the Government. It seemed to me something like what Cromwell did, because none of us bad been consulted, and then I thought of the railway, and I simply said I should have nothing to do with the thing, and I left them, and so that ended. There was another proposal to me afterwards by four gentleman who came to me—of whom Mr. Stout and Mr. Montgomery were two. What actually took place, however, was that at last the Stout-Vogel Government came into office, and six days after they came into office they brought down a Bill to secure the Waimea Railway and the purchase of the district railways, as that the thing must have been to a certain extent prepared. But I am going to leave that part of the subject and proceed to the question I want to draw your attention to. What took place in the House, or in both Houses, is very remarkable, and to me it is a matter of the highest interest. But at first I may tell you that the Bill was brought in in another form by the Atkinson Government, and at first they got on very well together, and there was nothing said of any misconduct on the part of the Atkinson Government—nothing at all; and that being the case, I supposed there was nothing to be said, but unfortunately the Government found that the Legislative Council were likely to throw the Bill out, and a gentleman who took a part in that was Mr. Oliver, who had been the Minister for Public Works when the Atkinson Government brought this Bill in. Mr. Oliver said in the Council that he was convinced the Government were not acting fairly to the Council; in fact they were threatening or bribing, as he termed it. He said : "But I would say that my feelings have been rather aroused against this proposal to a greater extent than would have been otherwise the case by the means which have been taken to cajole and threatens members of this Council—those members of the Council who were supposed to be interested in other measures which are now proposed to Parliamens. Hints have been conveyed to the supposed shareholders in other matters affected by other measures which the Government have proposed, and which are now being dealt with in another place, that unless they voted for this measure, unless this particular measure was passed by the Council, the Government would abandon the other Bills; and this was held out as a threat, or possibly I might say as a bribe, I do not know which to call it. But that threat I will pass by." Very well; then some Government members took this up in the Council, and Mr. Miller got up and said, "I will save the honorable gentleman the trouble of replying further, by entirely corroborating what the Hon. Mr. Oliver has said." So there are two members who agree that the Government were, in point of fact, threatening the Council; trying to bring influence upon them, by threatening to withdraw other measures. (Cheers.) Mr. Stout was very angry at this, and what he does is this. He makes a speech, and this Is what I wish you to consider. He said :—"I do not wish, upon a motion of this kind, to reflect upon the other Chamber, or upon individual members of it, though I would observe, if the Reports of what is said in the other Chamber are correct, one of the members of the late Government seems to be unable to rise in his place, on any occasion, without making a personal attack upon myself—even upon this very question of the district railways—though he was the last person who I should have made a debate on that measure the occasion for making personal reflections. If he had any proper feeling with regard to his past action, he should not have made any such references, he being a gentleman who, in order to appear pure before Parliament and the country, forced the Waimea Plains Railway Company to buy back his shares at par, although they were not selling at par. His action is certainly rather peculiar." (Laughter.) Now to that I say this, that here are two gentlemen acting in the most friendly way possible, and because one opposes this thing, then suddenly he is accused of this dishonest conduct in his public capacity when Minister for Public Works. When the Premier had ascertained that, in my belief, he ought to have moved for a committee of enquiry into it—(cheers)—and ought not to have brought it up in this kind of way in the House, after a quarrel had taken place between them. You will see there are accusations of dishonesty on the two sides, one against the other. The country should, in my opinion, take care that the Waimea Railway Bill should not pass, while those in office were interested in it. (Cheers.) The next thing that took place is this, and this is also remarkable. Mr. Rolleston then attacks the Government upon the same subject, and Mr. Stout then says this : "Then I go further, and ask who was jobbing behind the House about the Waimea Plains Railway, and why was the jobbery committed? I should like to know what right the Government had to guarantee interest on the Waimea Plains Railway Bonds, without a special Act of this House, who did it, and for whose vote was this done? Does the honorable member think that the older members of the House do not know all about it, and why this guarantee was given to the Insurance Department for this interest paid? Yes; and the Government was afterwards called

upon to pay the interest, and look to the Company to be recouped. I cannot stand the virtuous indignation which is put on about this Bill." I remark again that if that interest was guaranteed for the purpose of buying votes it was the duty of the Treasurer when he came into office to move for a committee, and had an enquiry into the circumstances. Then we should have known the whole facts, and he and the Premier ought not to have brought it out in the House in this way only after a quarrel had taken place between them. Let me show you what Mr. Seddon says in reference to that, corroborating what Mr. Stout said. He is supporting him:—"I have known a time when a majority of members in this House were determined a change of Government should take place. Certain members, who shall be nameless, were, I know, largely interested in these district railways, and when it came to the point, and when the division bell ran?, we found those members were not present at the division. They were actually lolling on the sofas in their lobby. But we found shortly after that the Government, of which the member for Geraldine was a member, had advanced large sums of money to those companies. And that hon. member stands up here to-day, and puts on an air of virtuous indignation after being member of a Government that for three years owed its existence to lending this money for those votes that were bought." I think the Government should be compelled to refrain from going on in this matter, and all those interested in the companies—some foreign companies some companies in the country—until all those interested in them have ceased to be members of the Government which can force a Bill through the House. (Cheers.) Sir Julius Vogel says the same thing. He says : " My colleague stated in no disguised language the other day that he considered the transaction of letting those contracts an unmitigated piece of folly. The hon. gentleman did not take up that question." That is his statement It is all to the same purpose, but I really do feel that when we have those statements made that we should be compelled to pay £750,000 or a million, taking Mr. Montgomery's computation, for railways regarding which these discussions have taken place. It is wrong thing, I say it is a very sad thing, that in the Parliament of New Zealand, Ministers in office should get up and make these direct charges against one another, and no enquiry whatever should take place, and that this railway Bill should be carried by a triumphant cheering majority in spite of the efforts of other members of the house. I ought, to his honour; to say that the man who made the strongest and most able resistance against it was Mr. Moss, member for Parnell. (Cheers.)

CONCLUSION.

I come back then to the point from which I started; but I say whilst these things can take place we have no true freedom, and what you must do is to make up your mind to stand by those men who are determined that a change shall take place in the constitution of the Government; that there shall be so plural voting, that everyone shall have one vote and no more; that the Legislative Council in the present form shall not continue to exist, to which nine new members have already been added during the recess to carry this next session. A tyrant is bad enough, but if tyrants do not succeed one another, you might hope that when one died you might come to an end of the tyranny; bat if you have a Legislative Council for life, they may die off one by one, but there comes no end of the tyranny till the whole are gone. (Cheers.) The alteration I ask you to nave made is this : That if an Act is passed twice by either Chamber of the Legislature and the other Chamber twice rejects it, an appeal appeal shall be made to the people, and they at their polling-places shall vote whether ft shall be the law of the land. (Cheers.) If that be done, then it does not matter what Council we have. It is petting late—(A voice : "Go on")—and what I shall say now to you is this : that I have said much that will give offence to many. I have produced documents which they thought were long since forgotten, (Laughter.) I have done that, but I really felt when I read the fact of those families living upon twopence a day a head, in a land of plenty and a soil of the utmost fertility, and knew that that soil had been in great part wrongfully taken from those who ought all to be in wealth; when I knew the children were growng up in poverty, and that the grandchildren after them would be in worse poverty—I felt a duty rested on me which no personal consideration whatever could induce me to abandon. (Cheers.) Mr. Stout says it is better to go floating about from side to side and looking in every direction, taking care not to be swept away altogether by the tide; although he has told you this—I know what I believe to be my duty, what I believe to be right, and nothing shall ever move me from sticking to these questions which I have so long fought out, so long as Providence permits me. (Loud cheers.)

Mr. W. F. FARNALL in a speech in which he could not allow the vote he meant to propose to be a simple vote of thanks, but an expression of their confidence in Sir George Grey as the leader of the Liberal party in New Zealand, proposed, "That this meeting tenders its hearty thanks to Sir George Grey for his address; that it places the utmost confidence in' him as the leader of the Liberal party in New Zealand, and that it also expresses its opinion that such a leader should be supported by every man in the colony who wishes for the well being of his fellow colonists."

Mr. T. B. HILL said he had very great pleasure in seconding the resolution, and he was sure every Liberal would re-echo the expression made use of by Sir George Grey when he said he wished he was a younger man,

to lead them to that victory which he said he was able to do now. (Cheers.) If the present Ministry were such rogues [Here Sir George Grey pulled Mr. Hill and remonstrated against the use of this term.], and, Mr. Hill went on to say from their actions he thought the quicker they turned them out the better. (Laughter.) The electors and Liberals throughout New Zealand should return to Parliament those holding true Liberal views and opinions, and who would go in to support Sir George Grey, He told them he would bring down a Bill to cure all the evils he had pointed out, and he hoped they would return men to Parliament to help him to carry it. He had great pleasure in seconding the resolution.

The motion was put to the meeting, and carried unanimously, and when the result was announced by the Mayor it was received with prolonged applause.

Sir GEORGE GREY rose amid renewed cheering and said : I thank you very sincerely for the vote of confidence you have given me, and I ask you now to accord a hearty vote of thanks to His Worship the Mayor for the able manner in which he has presided to-night.. Mr. Waddel, in his exertions for the good of this city, has never been surpassed by any Mayor you have had. (Cheers.)

The vote was accorded with acclamation.

Three cheers were called for Sir George Grey, and were lustily accorded, after which the meeting dispersed.

To the South.

To the South, to the South to the land of the free,
Where avalauch huge slides down to the sea,
Where the mountains all teem with silver' and gold,
And rare floral wealth, starts out of the would,
Where sheep in vast flocks, with paunches so full,
Give a harvest of mutton, and another of wool'
Give clothes for your back, and food for your mouth,
Away, far away, to the land of the south.
To the South to the South [unclear: ss]

To the South, to the South, where the rivers that [unclear: sow]
Are dancing all mad, the ocean to go,
Where lakes glass the mountains, which fringe them [unclear: crassed]
And water alls make big echoes resound;
Where the Maori is eager, to sell you his land,
And wive you beside, if you be not too grand,
Where the Winter's no frost, and summer's no drought
Away far away, to the land of the South
To the South, to the South &c

To the South, to the South, there's wealth to be made,
By pick, and by axe, by plough, and by spade,.
The forest to fell, the sod to upturn.
The land all to fence, and its rankness to burn,
There's cities to build, and roadways to make,
And a nation to start, on the old one's wake,
Where one lives like a king, and not hand to month,
Away, far away, to the land of the South.
To the South, to the South &c.

Lines by a New Chum.

Who did my trusting soul ensnare,
By specious tales of all that's fair,
And bright and good, and rich and rare?
New Zealand.

Who, thus allured did bring me here,
Away from friends and country dear,
And promised, oh, so much a year?
New Zealand.

Who starved me on the brimy deep,
And forced us all like pigs to slesp,
Whilst insects vile o'er us did creep?
New Zealand.

Who, when at last again on shore,
Of boasted work with cash galore,
Did basely cheat me more and more?
New Zealand.

Who, not alone in work did cheat,
Poor Unemployed that walk the street—
For all-round swindling you can't beat?
New Zealand.

Where is the promised freehold land,
So rich, so cheap, with climate grand,
The homestead for the toil-worn hand?
New Zealand.

The land's too dear, we cannot buy,
So like the work is all "my eye,"
The rich may laugh, the poor must cry.
New Zealand.

The unemployeds' long bitter cry,
From town and country wailing high,

And wife and children's weary sigh.
New Zealand.

The morning comes, the sun shines bright,
The birds sing in the pleasant light,
We only wish the day was night.
New Zealand.

Who is to blame for our sad state,
Our stranded lives, our luckless fate?
Oh, villains! well you've earned our hate.
New Zealand.

Where soulless landsharks rule the land,
And traders cheat on every hand.
Can honest toilers make a stand?
New Zealand.

The country holdings worked by tramps—
Poor waifs of swaggers' only, camps;
Their bed of boards, the moon their lamps.
New Zealand.

Look in the workshops through the land,
All worked by boys' unpracticed hand,
For greed of gain—all understand.
New Zealand.

Poor married man oft forced to roam,
Or starve in towns too well is known,
Where can the married make a home?
New Zealand.

Whilst Maories riot in the sun,
All paid from taxes hardly won,
Poor whites may view, not share the fun
New Zealand.

What right have Maories to the land?

Not tilled by them, on every hand,
Is what I cannot understand.
New Zealand.

My brothers, starving far and near;
Crowding the towns through all the year,
Our right to these waste lands is clear.
New Zealand.

Let Maories keep the land they use,
'Tis theirs—their rights we'll not abuse,
But do not our poor wants refuse.
New Zealand.

Have we not rights as well as they?
Then do us justice whilst you may.
What times are coming? Who can say.
New Zealand.

By false pretence you lured us here,
The work, the land, you said 'twas clear
We should enjoy from year to year.
New Zealand.

For fish, a snake; for bread a stone.
Rascals! the sin is all your own;
Tour selfishness is plainly shown.
New Zealand.

Our time, our life is wasted quite—
The weary day, the weary night—
Better had we not seen the light.
New Zealand.

My brothers ! shall we crouch, or fly?
Our cause is just, our children cry.
Then up, and right the wrong—or die.
New Zealand.

Eucalyptus Globulus.

Wintry days art with us
Muddy, black, and drear,
People looking savage,
Gloomy and severe;
Men and women wailing,
Children looking thin,
Fathers looking out for
Bread they cannot win;
Tailors staring blankly,
Work they cannot see;
Won't take down the shutters
Country's up a tree,

Eucalyptus Globu-
lus is what I mean,
With its graceful branches,
Foliage of green.
Shelter for the weary,
Resting place for all,
Shin it up, my hearties,
Be it e'er so tall;
Sparrows from the house-top,
Merry, blythe, and free,
Tell you every morning
Country's up a tree.

Parliament assembled
Twenty days ago,
Business of the country,
Going very slow;
Honorarium grabbers,
Ministers of Crown,
Smoking in the lobbies
Loafing about town;
Cannot see in thunder
Why they can't agree !
Scheming for more plunder—
Country's up a tree.

Vogel first was sent for,
Linked himself to Stout,
Country didn't like it,
Members kicked them out;
Akaroa's darling.
Rubicund old Mao,
T'ranga, Wanganui
Tumbled with the sack;
Every honest member
Rubb'd his hands with glee,

Sit till next December—
Country's up a tree.

Thomson was invited
Much to Stout's alarm,
Wasn't he delighted
Ministry to form;
Said to Stout and Vogel,
"He may laugh who wins,"
Christchurch North revolted
Kicked him on the shins;
Limped he in the lobby
Pitiful to see, Shouted for a bobby—
Country's up a tree.

Next to Grey he hobbled
Asking him to join,
Thomson and his party
Fingering the coin;
Agitator hoary,
Not an easy prey,
Stamped nor raged nor swore he
Mildly said "Good day;"
Thomson's altered visage
Horrible to pee
On a man of his age—
Country's up a tree,

Shakes his fist in anger
Shuffles out of sight,
For the undertaking
Lost his appetite;
Bellamy's he enters,
Everybody warns.
Listens to Mataura's
"Gentlemanly yarns;"
Lengthened are all faces,
None the joke can see,
Shocking as the case is—
Country's up a tree.

Beaten in all quarters
Nothing but rebuff
Come from cliques and parties,
Treatment very rough;
Hies he to Sir William,
With a choking sob.

Grieved enough to kill him,
Chucks he up the job;
Coveted portfolio
He will never see,
Won't admire this olio—
Country's up a tree

Coffin sable made him
His constituency,
And by rail conveyed him
Passage-ticket free;
Christian burial decent
Solemnly awaits,
Not allowed to enter
Cemetery gates;
No one cares a button—
What a jubilee !
Cold as frozen mutton—
Country's up a tree,

Bore the burden loathsome
For a pleasure trip,
What a trick they played him,
Plunged in Hatch's dip !
Then with fierce cremation
Went he up the spout,
Summary damnation
'Cos he murdered Stout
And his mates who promised
Set New Zealand free,
This and other rubbish !
Country's up a tree.

Comes the great Pro-Consul
Boldly to the front,
Ready, aye and eager
Bear the battle's brunt;
Waits he on the Major
With his virgin vows;
What the devil means this
Lowering of brows?
Tells Sir George to leave him,
Just to let him be,
Never could deceive him—
Country's up a tree,

Poor Sir George is fretting,

Looking very pale.
But his knife is whetting—
Cut the Major's tail!
Stout and Vogel savage
Snap their wicked jaws,
Murder, riot, ravage,
Clip the Major's claws;
Twenty-ninth of August,
Half-past two it be;
Won't they have a braw gust—
Country's up a tree.

If they lick the Major
What will happen then?
Parliament possesses
No more able men
Like to those rejected
For the country's good;
All the other fellows'
Heads are made of wood;
Hunger for a billet
Is the game I see;
Rob the country, kill it—
Country's up a tree.

Governor's a Tartar
None would like to eatch,
Freedom will net barter
Get them dipped by Hatch;
He alone is able
Stop the little game,
Clear Augean stable—
Cromwell did the same;
Send them to the country.
In each ear a flea,
We'll know how to meet them !
Country's up a tree.

At the next election,
When they're on their legs,
Very sweet confection,
Flour and rotten eggs,
We'll their jackets plaster
And their heads adorn,
Never ran they faster,
Wish were never born;
Honest men and clever.
Men from meanness free,
Soon will fill their places—

Country's up a tree.

TM DOOLAN.
Tin' O'Curry rode. WiUinton,
29th August, 1884.

—The Swiss Clairvoyant—

From out that free,—that Alpine land,
The glorious land of Tell,
Whose men have won from tyrant's hand—
That which they love so well;

Who've won that liberty which stands—
Foremost on Europe's [*unclear:* soll]
The useless pomp of king disdain,
Resist their dire control

From this choice land a stranger here,
A mystic stranger he,
Physician of an order rare,
And of the modest fee.

A wondrous poorer he has—occult,
A power which strikes one dumb,
For when with him you would consult,
You're only to be mum.

To daring will he take a trance—
By method he's devis'd,
Then is the quick—the searching glance,
And you're diagnosis'd.

He marks how your interior jogs,
Scans the whole course of life,
Discerns just where your systems clogs,
And where disease is rife.

He takes at will the inside view,
And marks your every scar,

Divides your every pain with you,
And feels just how you are.

And this he does by natural power,—
By some must subtle sense,
Will do it all within the hour,
And for some twelve score pence.

Nor need you his acquaintance make—
If oceans interfere,
For at a pinch a case he'll take—
On just a lock of hair.

Ah Nature's charg'd him with strange power
And with a will as strange,
All things by turn in one short hour,
So given he to change.

Impetuous as the mountain stream—
New fed by melted snows,
Fiery as the scorching beam—
When fresh from Sol it goes.

Impatient of command—control,
He's Nature's wayward child,
Still of the kindly generous soul—
For all this will so wild.

Erratic as a comet fresh—
From the last solar tie,
Swift as the bird from fowler's mesh—
For liberty doth fly.

So round about the earth he sped,
For many a long long year,
By restless spirit ever led—
The wayward course to steer.

But ah! 'neath Austral heavens a star—

Did cross this fitful course,
One with sack mild, such thrilling light,
Nought could withstand its force.

This star of healthy broke its round,
And did his orbit close,
So now to lesser orbit bound,
With us he doth repose.

Now doth his constant presence bless—
With gifts as rare as choice.
Now we to love, and love's success,
Beneath two stars rejoice.

Thus to love's strange, and forceful powers
This wanderer is won !
He's now a citizen of ours,
And Europe's lost a son.

Oh oft way here such manhood drift,
The flower of distant clime.
Those of the rich, the varied gift,—
To build a Nation prime.

And oft may ripened genius roam—
From every foreign land,
To find 'mongst us a fitting home,—
The kindly—welcome—hand.

Now start thee not in high disdain—
At what I here propound,
Let not dull ignorance attain—
To give kind Nature bound.

Nor let blind prejudice aspire—
Our mental growth to limit,
But learn with patience to enquirs—
Ere that thou dost prohibit.

Bethink thee man's not yet explored,
Nor has he reached his prime,
There's gifts within him lavish stored,—
To be reveal'd by time.

Of this be sure his science yet—
Is but the tiny germ,
A tithe of that he will beget—
When comes his further term.

Learn that the little man has won—
But little can explain.
For all that he has found or done,—
There's mysteries yet remain.

Then start thou not in proud contempt—
At what we cannot sound;
Nor let the folly—fear—attempt—
To give Great Nature bound.

So now unto the stranger here—
Thy courtesy extend,
Until a fraud revealed clear,—
Treat thou him as our friend.

With generous care thy ban restrain—
Till for yourself you've tried,
When thou hast found his [*unclear:* method] rain,—
Then mayest thou [*unclear:* deride].

Heed not the mix'd, uncertain buzz,
Whether of praise, or blame
But judge of him by what he does,
By this—test thou his [*unclear:* clam].

Rule Zealandia.

When Zealand First to Heaven's command
Rose out the azure main

This was the charter of the land
And angels sang the strain,—
Rule Zealandia. Zealandia rule the deep,
And peace, and plenty, found thee keep

Then harving done they hasted down'
Each with some precious gift,
Each in a working smock or grown,
To give the place a lift.

First they scrap'd the mud away,
The barnacles and weeds,
And all the tangled drift which forms,
When sea from land ascedes.

With fertilising virtue then—
Endow'd the virgin soil,
And climate tempered so suit—
All well directed toil,

Next rarest and selected seed—
From Elen in its prime,
Long pocketed for futre use.
They fossick'd out betime;

And this they sowed the whole laud e'er
To many a sweet sweet son
And soon where once the ocean's roar—
Garlands all thickly hung.

Next of many a wondrous bird—
Preserved since the flood.
Ali careful sat upon and stirr'd,
Till out came and blood.

All this these kindly angels did,
For man as yet unborn,
For us whose destinies yet hid—
The children of the morn.

Then with keen eyes they mounted guard—
Zealandia's shornes about,
To drive all noxious things away,
To keep our foe without.

But angels o'en de sometimes slip,
One cannot always watch,—
Some left their post for cleansing dip,
The rest for a flying mateh;—

Oh mercy what a slip may do,
How gingerly all's hung.
Because they played an hour or two,
Their loving schemes want wrong,

For so alas it same about—
That from their homes exil'd,
Did come thick pack'd in rough dug out
A group men all wilds;

Quick landed they in warlike guise,
And seized all the land,
By most unfortunate surprise —
Get they the ruling hand.

And soon the hand did flow with blood,
Did stink with heaps of stain,
From every mountain, dale, and wood—
The bowl of rage, and pain,

Where beauteous eyes had look'd their love,
And made the place a heaven,
There man with man all madly strove—
For the warm blood did ravon.

Where oft the dainty feast was made—
Upon ambrosial sweet,
There man on man led murd'rous raid—
To stay hit young tor meat.

Where high, and holy angels ones—
Their erisons did make,
God's images tattoed, and stuff'd
Were cut in junks to bake.

Woe worth the day these angels Stripp'd—
For the hot-water-bath,
Woe worth the day they thoughtless slipp'd
Away from day's path.

Fled they in horror, and in grief—
Unto that burning cone,
Which just taboed by savage chief
Gave them shelter lone.

Clustering round as thick as bees—
They sat the fire-toss'd reek,
Or pereh'd upon the stunted trees
All dazed by the sheek

Then after consultation brief,
Decided they to go,
Decided they in bitter grief—
To give up all below,

So hovering round in widening sweep—
To catch their follows stray'd,
Like swans in column thin but deep.
Back for the heavens they made.

Thus did these angels home-ward go
Tears moist'ning every cheek,
All filled with a silent wee—
Only their looks did speak.

Many a glance was stolen back;
Many a sigh was given,
All stretch'd upon tormenting raek,
Though making straight for heaven.

But are they well had got inside,
A great, voice silence broke,
A voice as of a mighty tide—
Their every ear bespoke.

A voice which seem'd to have no aim,
Nor yet a skarting place,
But sounded every-where the same,
Through all the realms of space.

A voice of such tremendors power—
Though Seemingly Repress'd
United shout of God and man—
Could not one note arrear.

Yet did itself so modulate
For Each receptive ear,
Twas high, or low, or small, or great,
To every list'ner—clear

And so melodious withall,
So mildly—fondly sweet,
The song birds look it as a call--

Their loved ones to meet
Stay said the great voice—angels stay
Come back for lasting stay
And every star did echo—stay,
All things echoed stay.

Tis I the great voice said tis I
Whom men fo Nature call,
Tis I the God who's always high,
Creator of you all.

I've watch'd you watch'd you at your work,
Watch'd how it seeming failed,
And helped you though nevar ask'd,
The while all thickly veil'd.

Bright angels of heavens heights I grieve—
To see your plans at fault,
But more I grieve to see you leave—
Just at the first assault.

It is not thus great things are done,
Not thus earths advance,
Such goodly thing so well begun,
Misfortune should enhance.

Ah me how history repeats,
There's nothing reaily new,
All seems but echoes of the past,
The beaten path pursue.

To an Eden nigh as fair as this—
Crept in a slimy snake,
Work' havoc with seductive hiss
Then just the same mistake;

Your God as vex'd did furse about,
Did throw the whole thing up,
Turn'd all the population out—
With neither bite or sup.

And lest all this was not enough,
Curs'd He them roundly too,
And curs'd the land with weedy stuff,
Then His stern face withdraw.

I took vaeated lot in hand
As I'll now take up yours,
I changed its tinsel with my wand—
To what for aye endures.

I took the exiles is hit charge,
For then I tempered all,
I did their every power enlarge
And sertened their fall.

Ah ! tis my province thus to right—
The blunders others make,
This muddling with me to requite,—
By using needful brake.

But all this meddling will not do,
I would be left alone,
I knew my work, and do it too.
And want assistance none.

I may be slow but Ah ! I'm sure,
My work I ne'er repent.
All ills at last I lasting cure,
For this my strength is spent,

My ways are not as God's I m,
Yet they to virtue lead,
My schemes not trump'd from blazon'd throne
Yet do they all succeed.

And I will new in mercy great,
Take this your our scheme in hand,
Those sufferings keen alleviate,
Which curse yon beauteous land.

Turn back with me then angels turn,
Let not your absence damn,
Of me a winning patience learn.
Of me the great I am

Weep with those lovely eyes no more,
Wipe all those tears away,
And I will help you quick restore—
Yon land to gentle away.

These interlopers leave alone,
They'll eat each other out;
Like dogs they'll all fight e'er the boss,
To lose it do not doubt

That race shall come O do not fear,
For whom you've struggled so,
That race for whom such grand career,
At the bare thought I glow.

For the earths are mine to take, or give,
I ask of no one leave—
Nor ask I ought of those who have.
Have that they shall achieve.

My gifts, I rightfully dispose,
I have no favourite,
You beauteous Earth I give to those.
Who'll make the most of it.

To these who strong in virtue, a strength
Would close to wrestle me,
And conquering even here at length,
Stand from last fetter free.

Mr hand is ever there to guide—
Unte the rightful deed.
And ever is it opened wide,
To give to those who need.

There's not a feather floats the air,
Nor monad rolls its way,
Nor feeblest phosphorescent flare,
But owns my gentle sway.

Yet keep I not to tiny scale—
My every work throughout,
But sometimes I new life exhale,
By snuffing old sans out.

The slaughter of a people's nought,
Of worlds just in their prime,
So that the crash with good be fraught,
I'll do this any time.

Measure me not by man's short reach,
Nor even by your own,
You dwarf yourselves in dwarfing me,
In dwarfing to the known.

For all which yon may knew—conceive,
To the moat distant star,
Is but the tiniest trace believe—
Of all those things which are.

And aye my time is always fill'd—
With some great crowning work,
While to the steady pace long drill'd
I go without a jerk.

I want no sleep, no rest, no break,
On an endless course move I:
To agoal which I may never reach,
Or if I reach I die

For I am only but by change
Even as is life,
Live only but by movements starnge,
By one continual strife

In all created things I live,
Eternal, and Divine,
And 'tis my greatest, joy to give,
To those whose aims are mine,

So this your well selected plot,—
The apple of your eye
Here do I promise doubt me not
Shall with old Eden vie.

Then come along I say again,
Come back to Earth with me,
Come back to sing once mere that strain
For the Nation ye to be.

Boak unto hope and back [*unclear:* to] joy,
Yon glorious land redgem.
Your time, your skill, your love employ—
To carry out your scheme.

With Nature's kind assurance given,
Those angels thought awhile,
Then turned they their backs en heaven
And flew for cither Islo.

But hid they first in depths away,
From sight, and sound of man,
All waiting for t hat blessed day—
Thus promis'd them by Pan.

And soon the promise was redeem'd,
Which she so kindly gave,
Soon there the white man thickly stream'd
A civilizing wave.

And soon the missionary came—
With holy fables new,
With charms to save from vengeful flame
Then out these angels flew.

And help'd they all they ever could—
The land from sin redeem,
To free it from the stain of blood,
From violence extreme.

So these good angels never went,
But o'er the land dispers'd,
And every germ of love that's sent,
By them to life is nursed.

There's not a ray from heaven may fall—
Upon a Mortal here,
But strikes upon that living wall—
Built of these angels near.

And as it vibrates grateful through,—
Renews its pristine force
Yet all diffus'd and mellow'd too—
For the onward course,

Where e'er the heart doth pine, and droop—
For something earth above,
Tis there in mass one sees them troop—
By the keen eye of love.

And much they like to be among—
The birds of birds the prime,
For in the sweetly warbled song,—
Their own do fitly chime.

But most they like to hover near—
Where love sots up her throne.
For here they see reflected clear—
A joy which seems their own.

And oft in heavenly pastimes they—
Disport themselves in joy;
And reuse the zophers unto play,
Or with the storm-waves toy.

And dance, and sing they in their glee—
Where Nature toils the cost,
So oft it haps from sea to sea—
The sound of heavenly host.

And still they sing the self-same song—
They sang in days of yore,
The self-same song the whole day long—
From all their sweet throats pour.

Zealandla Our Own.

Standing bravely, standing firmly,
To the deep Pacific,—

As it bears on wild, and sternly—
With the ware terrific;
Zealandia midst wave alone,
Zelandia our own.

Or nestling fondly is its lap—
As gentlier it flows
Soft yielding to the quiet sap—
Where storms could not impose.

Thy plains press'd down with native wealth
Do swell expanses wide,
Huge nurseries of life, and health,
When we their growth divide.

Vast forests with the snows conspire—
Thy mountains to enshroud,
While from high peak volcanic fire—
Leaps to the thunder loud.

The murmer of the limpid stream,
The boom of cataract,
The hies of geyser's rushing steam,
Our love, our awe exact.

Epitome of every thing—
That studs the earths wide rim,
With Naptune for its only King,
And this its first-born hymn.

A gem at first too large too rare—
For fallen man to take,
So Nature clove it here, and there,
These smaller gems to make.

Let it be ours the whole to bind—
To nuity again;
By power of man's unfolding mind—
To conquer parting main.

Be ours the noble work to found—
One Nation of this land,
Be ours to rule the ocean round,
And Britain's foe withstand

The Dying Infidel's Address to Death.

Hail to thee O Death!
My most profound and reverential hail!
Omnipresent thou, with life coeval,
Its mighty rival, and superior foe.
Immortal—feeding on mortality;
Dread Potentate—unto thy blasting breath—
All Kings do turn to dust, all Gods to air,
And e'en the fiery Suns do cool to Earths,
And Earths in turn refrigerate to nought,
Yea every constellation of the heavens—
Doth wicken under throes of agony:
Nor strikest thou alone at might, and pride—
In single blows spread thinly ever time,
Bat goaded by a constant appetite—
Thou dost not step for solid—hearty meal,
So ever on the watch thy time is filled—
With a cesselass labour : so dost thou search—
Air, land, and sea for prey,—still not contest,
Pursuest thou the stones as they course—
To build the things we see, and feel, and are;
A prey to ravening hunger yet,
Thou strecthest forth thy mighty hand to strike—
Outside of tatter—in a larger realm:
So doth the fruitful mother of all things—
Our constant, kind, imponderable nuts
Who baths and ever feeds her heavy charge
Itself at last stop the swift coarse to die;
Requisite subtilty availeth not—
Against thy skill,—but falls it with the rest—
A lifeless,—cold,—aad stiffen'd [*unclear:* Corso]:
Thy hand is on the universe of things,
All—all—in turn falls easy prey to thee,
Nothing too small to catch thy searching eye.
Nothing so great it frightens thee away,
But with an equal force, an equal care—
Parukest thou of all life's offerings.
Such thou art—staggering under victory
And surfeited with cast-off pomp of Kings,
Thy ample belt hang thick with scalps of Gods,
Yet stoopest thou thus hungrily for me!
So great,—so dread,—almost do I fear thee;
I would have met thee in becoming garb,
Upstanding—the healthy bloom or manhood—
On my cheek—to do thee rightful honour,

And give thee corse all worthy of thy shrine,
But thou hast chosen thus oar interview,
So must take or leave as yea hero shall find.
The choice of time I have with duo respect.
And thought for all my friends, left unto thee:
Excuse me that I rite not to thy honour,
For here all motionless I'm chained down—
With bonds invisible, but Oh so tight,
That I am faster bound unto this rack—
Than skill of old inquisitor could work;
All that is free to mere in ay last strait—
Is thought,—and this to suit the solemn hour—
Broods o'er man's greatness and his littleness:
The essence of my life seems condene'd now,
And thick'ning as the moments fly to thee.

And new that we at last stand face to face,
I would scan thee closely as I may.
Portray'd by man in fear a very ghoul—
Whose fitting symbol that grim frame-work
Bearing indeed most beauteous drapery,
Out as divested of these ample folds,
In it's repulsive [*unclear:* repulsive narkdess] reveal'd;
Forms [*unclear:* too the] the cheerless emblems of the grave
To represnt the hidden [*unclear:* havoc] there;
But if this solid remnant of the man,—
This bleached wrack—thy true presentment?
Ah this I'd know;—so I would beg of shee—
Just half a turn unto the light,—aye so;
Ah—what see I? surely my senses fail!
After long years of honesty they cheat,
And with this pleasant phantasy:—but no,
There all palpable to surest right
In place of bony horror arm'd with steel,
Gruining every inch malign, and odieus.
Where jointed nooks spread for the foul embrace,
A charming figure stands,—majestic,—kind,
Full flesh'd, and rounded off in beauty,
With such winning air one can ne'er refuse,—
For so it is—as man's last friend you come—
To keep this too prolific earth in bounds
And mitigate the ugliness she rears;
To lull those pains, those sorrows which oft towor—
So high above the rest—they need thy hand,—
Thy master-hand;—with kindness human-like,
In mercy, and in love thou comest here,
So ever beautiful, and bright to me :
Then hail again O Death. Now sit thee down—
Here by my side, and I will pour into thine ear—
What moves me sweetly this last hour of life,
And then all peacefully I'll yield thy due.
Almost I fear'd thou hadst forgotten me,
So long—so long—thou hast delay'd,

And now arriv'd—contrary fear doth sieze,
Thus would I beg a little further life—
Not to prepare for thee, but to prolong—
This strange, this sweetly thrilling ecstasy—
Which now so gently spreads throughout my frame
To stimulate a dying love for Earth :
For now it seems all lull'd the pain i move—
On wings of happy lightsome thought away—
To live among my sweet remembrances;
Then leave me here—this little heaven awhile,
To close my days in fair won Paradise,
And scan from off this crowning point of life—
My past career—my feelings,—aad my thoughts.
But—Ah—in this last retrospect of life,
Joys to the fore do crush its sorrows out,
Thus seemeth all my past one breakless heaven;
So new—as on life's further edge I lay,—
And backward think, almost I do repine:
Oh ! seems it passing hard to feel, to know,—
For me life's cup is draiu'd,—for ever draiu'd;
No more the eye to fill with beauty's lime;
No more the ear entranc'd with melody;
No more the heart responsive unto love;
No more the mind to search for heavenly truth,
And grasp a something of the God around;
But every sense so numb,—so fast asleep,
That all the tears bereaved love may shed,
Cannot so much as stir Ah ! it is not—
Dread of thee O Death—but such thoughts as these
Which fill me with this clinging unto life,
This fear of downward plunge to hungry earth—
For hungrier worms—now in wailing there.
But turn—Oh turn my thoughts from this away—

Lost sorrow kill at last;——the pain is o'er,
And calmer now—anew I seek thy face,
So lest I back again upon old joys
I'd urge thee to thy loving task——but stay—
One little word with thee about thyself.
Though strong as life thou art;—nor yet to age
Hast lost a single jot of pristine force;
Dost know that even thy tremendous strength—
Falls shortt of that inputed thee?—for oft—
In my doughty battles fierce, and long—
With pious ignorance anent the creeds—
Which it has rear'd to keep the God outside,
As I did leave my foe defenceless,—bare,
He'd wander off to lug thou in the fight,
To urge that thou will settle it with me;
That at thy near approach—belief shall change
That by some magic of thy face,—thy voice,
In weakest hour of life such strength will come—
Miracle shall transcend itself so far,

That with some higher,—stronger eight I'd see,
And then undo what's took my life to build,
Abjectly cower before their chosen God,
Forswear, and bring mine own to foul contempt;
But Death,—I find thy strength goes not this way,
Thou dost not trick my brain with phantasies,
Tis rather thine to wear down all belief,
Than turn us right-about in fashion thus;
All powerless thou to move,—for long ago—
Borne by resistless flood.of early strength—
From out the stagnant pool of stagnant faith,
I land'd high, and dry, upon this mount,
So nought but greater strength can hurl me baek,
And this at life's fag end—may never come.
And now our last our truest friend,—my thanks,
That here thou hast denied thyself so long;
Now for thy kindly hand or pain renews;
Ay so,—gently so; . . . darkness falls—
Each sense grows numb—I feel thee—feel thee—
At thy secret work—still quite painless I—
As in some kind some gently soothing dream,
I seem to float—to float—away—away—
All willess to a sweet perplexity;
As waves high-borne to culminating point—
In haste fall prone to sob their life away—
Athwart soft bosom of entombing sea,
And leave their substance for succeeding waves,
Their room, and shape, e'en as their elders did;
So fall I now—. O mighty Universe—
Recieve this batter'd wreck of erstwhile life—
With that duo reverence it needs of thee
And use as thy great wisdom doth approve;
While if thou be the Power I fain believe,
The Very God,—God of Gods,—the All in All;
Grand total of this whirling motion here,
And if for me a future is in store,
I being dead—yet marvellously live,
Oh I do trust thee for this future strange;
Then cheerful leave O Earth I take of thee;
Whether for fixed rest,—inanimate,
Or some eternal round of life, and death,
It matters nought,—life whether high, or low,
Through all the shining heavens, or darken'd orbs,
Must have its pains, and joys, exactly [*unclear:* Pois'd],
As find we here:—so come along kind Death,
I neither hope, or fear,—thy duty do,
I or other duty—close this interview.

The Wonderful Brass-Horn

There was a young man by the name of Duk&,

Who played the brass-horn in the Old City b&,
He blew such a blast,
That as he went past,
He rous'd all the folks, who lived in the Str&.

And there was a girl, who could not withst&
The blast of this core, who played in the b&
So she slipp'd on her hat,
And put her hair pat—
To see this young man—who played in the b&.

And when she did see him so proud, and so gr&
Marching as if he were born to comm&;
Her face it did glow,
And her heart it did go—
Right for this young man—who played in the b&.

And he nothing loath, this Mr Duk&,
At once like a brick, he goes for her h&,
He said she'd his heart,
And they never would part.
If but she would take him, as there he did st&.

To this she replied, so low, and so bl£.
That if he'd but give her—the family br&,
She would be his dear wife—
For the rest of his life,
With a joy she would yield,—being his to comm&.

So they went to the priest—as I underst&,
For they cared for nought at all contrab&.
And the altar upon,—
They were made into one,
And they called them both by the name of Duk&.

Now all you young men who would like to exp&
To old married men, and settle the l&,
Go get a brass-horn,
And sure as you're born,—
Its blast it will bring you a lady all bl&,
And you'll both get married clean out of h&.

Dedicated by permission to my very distinguished friend John Buchanan Esquire F. L. S to whom I am indebted for the idea of the brass-horn, also for the first four lines of the song.

The Education Statement

THE lucid and comprehensive statement delivered by the Minister for Education on Tuesday evening will be read, we feel sure, with great interest throughout the Colony. The description of the educational machinery is complete, and it is shown exactly what the State has done and is doing for higher, secondary, and primary education. This portion of the Statement forms a compendium of information which has never previously been attainable in a concrete form, and will prove exceedingly useful for reference, the work having been admirably done, possibly with a view to that object. The paper as a whole is most able, and constitutes a valuable addition to educational literature altogether apart from the more immediate application. In the discussion of State education Mr STOUT displays sound principle, breadth of view, and a keen realisation of fact and circumstance. He admits that in a possible ideal society there would be no State schools; that in some possible future time parents and guardians will so recognise their duty that State interference will not be necessary. But the practical politician, he rightly avers, has to do with the present, and the pressing question is: Are our children to be brought up in ignorance, or are they to be educated? If this is answered, as it needs must be in the affirmative, "in order to obtain universal education" there must be "a system of public sclsools." Mr STOUT gives an apt quotation to the point from a well-known writer on social economics. "The true function of the State is to make "the most of the citizen. This is its only inexhaustible function. And, if anything is to be made of the citizen, he must be educated. These are the grounds of the interference of the State with education; and, as the State must recognise the rights of children as well as the rights of parents, looking oh the individual as the social unit, it must see that the children are protected from the cruelty, the selfishness, and the ignorance of parents."

It is impossible within the limits of an article to attempt to traverse the range of subjects which are included in the Statement; but there are two or three points to which we would desire to direct particular attention. In speaking of the defects in the existing system of education, Mr STOUT remarks that there has not been a proper gradation between the primary and secondary schools, and he expresses the hope that in the chief towns of this Colony some effort will at once be made to prevent the attendance of too young children at the high schools and grammar schools, before admission to which, he thinks, the fourth standard in the primary schools should in all cases have been passed. As Minister for Education he can, under present arrangements, do no more than suggest that the secondary schools should fix a Standard entrance which would exclude children imperfectly instructed in the rudiments. The Government have practically no control over these institutions; they cannot prescribe their course of study, nor interfere with their internal management, nor provide that their course of tuition shall stand in a proper relation to that of the primary schools on the one hand or the university on the other Mr STOUT asserts that when the Education Act was being passed he doubted the wisdom of divorcing the secondary from the primary schools; and m this view he has been confirmed by experience. There is undoubtedly a great waste of power in the teaching of the mere elements to young children in the secondary schools, and prejudice has on this score been excited against them. We ourselves have consistently advocated that the educational institutions of the Colony should all be built up into one System, of which the first standard classes of the primary schools should be the foundation and the university the apex. The instruction from the very first should graduate upwards, so that every child should have precisely the same opportunities, if qualified, and able and willing to take advantage of them. Mr STOUT seems to despair of being able to do anything material in this direction until population has become more dense; and we fear that in constituting so many independent governing bodies of secondary schools a mistake has been made which it will be exceedingly difficult to remedy. Something might, however, be done by the governing bodied themselves if they would properly realise their responsibilities and not look to numbers only as the test of the success of the schools under their management. If the standard of admission were raised a great deal of hard work would be saved to the teaching staff, who would thus have more energy and time to devote to their proper function of instruction. A question somewhat analogous suggests itself in this consideration, which is whether it would not be conducive to the efficiency as well as the economy of public education that the maximum school age should be raised from five to six years. Much time is purely wasted in many of the primary schools in looking after mere infants, who, if under instruction at all, should be in a kindergarten, but are sent to the State schools to be out of the way at home and out of mischief. There would be a direct saving of some thousands a year, whilst in regard to school accommodation the room of these little ones would be far better than their company.

We are very glad that Mr STOUT expressed himself so decisively in regard to secondary and university education. Many persons, in a sort of perversity of ignorance, affirm that with primary education the duty of the State ceases, which is equivalent to maintaining that no children of poor parents have the right to educate beyond the elements, and are to be debarred the opportunities which higher education affords. We agree with the Minister for Education in scouting such an idea, and in the conviction that no Parliament in New Zealand

will ever be found to sanction it. The endowments of the secondary schools have enabled "not dozens or scores, but hundreds of youths" to obtain a high-class education, who would otherwise have been deprived of that advantage.

It is impossible, as Mr STOUT says, to accurately gauge the results of an education system in seven years, or even in fourteen or twenty-one years; but lie declares, and, we believe, with full justification for doing so, that the present system, whilst capable of improvement in many ways, is doing excellent work—work that is already manifest in widely extended culture, and in a marked effect in the statistics of crime. In the course of time, especially if men of like mind to Mr STOUT in this matter succeed him in his office as Minister for Education, there will assuredly be a raising of the standard of education, as he himself puts it, "all along the line, involving "a development of our manufactures, a development of our trade, commensurate with the high-class education that has been bestowed upon our youth."

The Oamaru Mail

Monday, March 2, 1885.

OUGHT a man to be blamed for having red hair or a squint, or other peculiarity? Here is an interesting subject, when all others have been exhausted, for some debating society? Can a man be blamed for his mental idiosyncracies any more than for his physical characteristics? We do not think he can. There are some people whose life is a microcosm of their mental habits. About some men we can predict exactly what they will do or say on any occasion. Even in their eccentricities there is a rule. These thoughts occur to us when reading the speech of Mr Robert Gillies, the member for Bruce. We never read a speech of his that did not begin well—generally in praise of some one—and end with a "*but."* Indeed if one were to speak of Mr Gillies himself he would have to follow his own method, He would say of him, "He is a capable business man, anxious to do well for his day and generation, fairly benevolent, well meaning; *but* "—. There comes in that "but," that so long kept Mr Gillies out of political life, that mars his political career, and seems to us to be likely to mar it. Now, just as Mr Gillies is so are his speeches. They have always the "but." Indeed, so well is this known amongst his friends and acquaintances that the very fact of Mr Gillies' beginning to land any per on or thing causes them to prepare for a depreciatory criticism. We remember being struck with this in reading one of his speeches at a church soiree. For ten minutes he lauded everything, and then came the "*but*." When, then, we read in his Milton speech a reference to the Premier laudatory in its terms, we were certain that the "but" was coming, and it came. Mr Gillies could not find in any political act or utterance any fault with the Premier, "*but*" he did not agree with his religious opinions. We did not know Mr Gillies was SO particular in the matter of creeds. He made no reference to Sir Julius Vogel's creed. Why did he not? We believe that, if at a Jewish meeting Sir Julius Vogel took the chair, he would be introduced as the Colonial Treasurer of New Zealand, and no doubt his co-religionist who introduced him, or proposed a vote of thanks to him, would express his gratification at his position. Would Mr Gillies quarrel with that? Would he think such a statement antagonistic to Mr Gillies' Christian creed? Now, we read the Dunedin papers very closely, and we have not seen in any of them a record of anything done by Mr Stout since he took office as Premier about which Mr Gillies can quarrel on religious grounds, save that he delivered a Christian address on Christmas night—an address which the most orthodox Christian could find but little fault with—and that Mr Gerald Massey stated he was glad to see Mr Stout Premier, and in the chair at his lecture. If a Premier is not to speak on theological subjects because he represents a people of divers creeds, we presume a member of Parliament ought not to speak at church meetings. Has Mr Gillies taken up this position? Does he not enunciate his views? Nay, was he not doing what he condemned in introducing religions subjects at a political meeting? What right had he, as representing persons of divers creeds, including Freethinkers, to use his position as a member of Parliament to insult some of those persons? But it was Mr Gillies with his "*but."* We believe that Christianity is harmed by such a speech as that of Mr Gillies. He assumes that if Mr Stout attacks Christianity it will be injured Mr Gillies is a man of weak faith. Christianity is not defended or strengthened by such a Gilliesian defence. It is by living the life that men are led to become followers of Jesus Christ. And if Mr Gillies would only show by his life that the Christian religon has made him better than free thinking Mr Stout, we feel sure he would do more to promote true Christianity than will such weak references as he made to religion in his Milton speech. And here let us say that the only two or three other parts of his speech worth noticing are, first, his utterly un-Christian remarks about the Dunedin "rabble;" second, the record of his votes in the Assembly; and third, his attention to local wants. The first showed that the smell of the rags saturated with kerosene that were burned in Dunedin are still smelling in Mr Gillies' nostrils. We are afraid that calling his fellow citizens "rabble" may tend to give a further pungency to future displays of insincere political opinion. We shall see. Then the thing that made Mr Gillies oppose the South Island Ministry, as we may well term it, was that they pledged themselves to do something to

make the East and West Coast railway. Seeing that the Ministry Mr Gillies supported promised and did exactly what the first Ministry promised, we must say that Mr Gillies' explanation is neither sensible nor satisfactory. The fact is, Mr Gillies looked upon the making of the Westport harbor as *the* most important thing for the Parliament to do; and he did not like the railway made lest the Westport colliery interests might suffer. And then, like most other politicians, Mr Gillies has to appeal to local requirements for support. He dealt with no political principles, with no reform. His political watchword was Kaitangata Lake—and that took. It is this reference to local needs that tends to degrade politics. The constituents are taught to look to the member who will get the most cash out of the Colonial Treasury, and this is why there are no properly-defined parties in the House, and why votes for local purposes are more thought of than political principles. "*But*" Mr Gillies is Mr Gillies, and our criticism must; end. To have expected any other speech from Mr Gillies than that which he gave his constituents would have been to expect that he would have belied his past history. The "*but*" was inevitable.

Ormond, Stout, and Smith.

As we promised a few issues back, we will publish the speeches, of Messrs Stout and Smith in reply to Mr Ormond's effort on the no-confidence debace, but pending the arrival of Hansard, from which we will extract them, the following descriptions of the speeches given in the "Lyttelton Times," will be interesting. Under the heading of the "No-confidence Debate." the journal mentioned says:—

After dinner, when Mr To Ao was finishing, we looked for the end, but the Opposition were not going to submit so easily. Mr Ormond rose, and the debate suddenly blazed into fury. The member for Napier had abandoned his habitual calm, and intensified the bitterness for which he is famed, without the command of language, though, lie was angry with an anger which bordered on weakness, and not seldom passed over the limits, though it was limited to the command of adjectives such as "miserable" and "contemptible," these forming apparently the whole stock. Nevertheless Mr Ormond contrived to make the most stinging speech the debate had yet seen. His friends smiled 'throughout, and cheered him effusively at the end.

But Mr Ormond's triumph was shortlived. Nemesis had come. The man who had delayed so long had ventured at last into the fight, only to be more fearfully wounded than any champion has ever been wounded in that place. The Premier, thoroughly roused, blazed with a flame which absolutely devoured his unfortunate assailant. Mr Ormond's speech had been carefully prepared. The Premier, on the spur of the moment, delivered the best speech that has ever fallen from his lips. It astonished by its marvels of memory, and its readiness of resource. The charm of its fluent language, polished yet plain, well balanced and well constructed, held all attentive; and the sustained energy of its vehemen power earned away all arguments. He threw his blazing shield before the policy and conduct of his Government: he sent blighting, scorching flames into every nook and cranny of his assailant's career. When he had done, there was nothing left of Mr Ormond. Protestations, representations, reputation, everything on which his speech had been based and his fame as a politician founded, all were gone. The fire had swept over him and destroyed him utterly.

Mr Smith, of Waipawa, whom Mr Ormond had attacked, followed the Premier, devoting himself chiefly to the part which his neighbor, whom he did not love, had played and is playing in the local politics of their common country side. Mr Smith has a homely style, very, but he has the faculty of telling a story crisply, and making points in a telling way, and driving them home with great force and earnestness. The homely language forced even the unwilling laughter of enemies. Mr Smith made a surprising number of points, and amused the House at Mr Ormond's expense for a considerable time, The impression created in the mind of any unprejudiced stranger would be very unfavorable to Mr Ormond. In his blunt way Mr Smith did for Mr Ormond, as a local politician, what the Premier had done with such tremendous effect in the field of statesmanship.

It seems that in the leading Canterbury paper the hon. member for Waipawa receives a tribute to his praise. Mr Smith is developing into a very effective speaker. He delivers his thrusts with perfect good humor, smiling at his opponent the while; and any who have observed the tact he displays in debate will not hesitate to predict that he will make his mark as a public man. He is a loyal supporter of his party—in or out of power. He never violates the first principle of representative government, which is based in the system of party politics. He never weakens his own party for selfish ends, nor does he traitorously turn round and oppose them if he cannot obtain absolutely his own way. It is rather hard on him that three papers in Hawke's Bay should persistently refuse to see any merit in him, but so much sweeter must be the satisfaction of his success, and in his advancement we see with pride a man of the people proving worthy of the people.

The Hon. R. Stout. Premier.

Sonnet : Wait,

When envious tongues are busy with thy name,
And base born Falsehood utters coward lies;
When malice her unholy calling plies
Or calumny would tarnish thy fair fame,
And secret foes their poisoned arrows aim;
When in thy path undreamed misfortunes rise,
And hollow friends thy altered lot despise,
Or seek to cover thee with unjust blame :
Then, brother, be a man, and patient wait;
Bitter the draught, but sure the antidote;
Men will approve—thine enemies take note
That thou hast risen superior to their hate!
Wait, 'tis a little word, but in its sense
There lies a world of silent eloquence.

Sigma.

July 9.

Zealandia or Paradise Regained.

When first upon the formless void—
[*unclear:* Omipotence] began to play;
Sweet Nature fairly overjoy'd—
Could scarcely keep her eyes away,
[*unclear:* Scarcely] at her own work could she stay;
When all without a single pause,
To dictum of the great—First Cause—
Appear'd from Heaven the glorious light—
To give the mixed say and night,
When [*unclear:* continents] from a depths were pluck'd
And oceans to their beds were chuck'd,
When thick upon the spell-bound Earth—
Came miracles with sudden birth,
Sprang grass, and herbs, and shrubs, and trees
That blossom'd to a sunless lght,
And ripen'd in a frigid breeze;
And when in all due order came—
The Sun's life-giving—mellow flame,
And Mum's reflected, cooler light—
To part the day from circling night,
And stars an after-thought were sent—
To gem the solid firmament,
And all but work of four short days—
That would have taken her till now,
She fairly stagger'd in amaze,

And let her head in reverence bow.
Still though wonder-stricken—dazed
As on her all successive blazed,
Misgivings came that such great things—
Should come about by rapid springs,
Thick crowding to such fearful haste,
When time so long had ran to waste,
But when she saw the great pace kept—
As to His higher work He stepp'd,
Saw for the life more delicate—
The work proceed without abate;
Saw Thursday used in stocking seas,
And feathering the airy breeze;
Saw all faster and yet faster—
Run early life's tremendous flood,
Reproachful sue at distance stood—
To prophesy disaster;
But when she saw the Master shirk—
His labour at the crowning work,
Saw the primal man unmated—
Outstart from pinch of driving dust,
A lonely naked menial;
While the vilest thing created,
From out the primal nothing thrust,
All free with mates congenial,
In venture suitably array'd—
For beauty, comfort, warmth, or shade
When there she saw this man deribb'd,
From his little meanly cribbed—
So from himself the fitting mate—
To reconcile him to his state;
Did see old Eden form'd to East,
Open onto every beast,
Infested with the fatal fruit,
That deep-laid scheme to wicked suit;
Saw this poor man without a tool,
Ordain'd the garden now to rule,
Then roused to an indignant fit,
She wash'd her lovely hands of it,
With passive coldness then did wait,
For that she did prognosticate;
But when the man with new-made bride,
Together with the unborn child,
Wild cruel curse were turn'd outside—
To famish in the desert wild;
When thus her prophesy was proved,
Then to a sweet compassion moved,
She open'd wide her bounteous hand—
The cruel curse to countermand;
Then did she of seeming ice—
Dissolve in gracious tears abont,
Which falling thick on Paradise—
Did wash the crude abortion out.
But grief unwilling to protract.
So anxious for our good to act,

Determin'd she to try her skill.
To mend for us the frightful ill,
To profit by this cruel blunder.
And cap for man that sis days wonder
With something for a later day,
And not so easy washed away;
An Eden at a distance rear—
In which all virtue should cohere.
Away so far no curse may reach.
Or snake, or devil find to teach;
On some far distant fertile plain—
Superior Paradise regain.
So long in hope she cast about—
The great wide world of land throughout,
To find a spot untouch'd by curse,
But ever found she worse and worse;
Then to the East and West she flew,
To make a piece of land anew,
But nowhere did her labour find—
A place exactly to her mind,
For curse so potent that it spread—
Far out to sea, and onward sped—
To fiercely lead the win I, and tide,
Then struck does down in Ocean's bed—
To waste its fertile ooze beside.
At last to Southward she did steer—
To see before her bright, and clear—
A liquid expanse gently roll—
Right from Equator—to the Pole;
In this vast deep she plunged her [*unclear:* arm],
When lo ! from depths of central calm
To vastly underrated strength,
A continent stretch'd out at length;
But this too large for modest [*unclear:* plan],
A gentle pressure slowly ran.
Then just as in dissolving view,
A moment trembling in suspance.
And there upon delighted sens.—
Out burst erasing picture new;
An Island all resplendent,
Pick of the sunken continent.
Again the busy fingers plied.
Again did kindly purple guide,
And Island gently clove m two—
To form an easy [*unclear:* passage through]

Again the strong benignant touch,
And all without a hitch, or flaw,
Rare flora with a beauty such—
That eider Eden never saw;
The herb, and shrub, and tree renew'd,
Yet not a single thing taboed:
The Fauna coming in its turn,—

Showed that Nature well could learn,
By roading off her lesson once;
No savage beast created she—
To rend, and slay her progeny,
What strength was manifest in flesh—
Took course delightful, as twas fresh,
For this she laid in giant birds,—
Which roaming o'er the land in herds,
All intermingled love did bring,
With such unselfish nature found,
They left to birds of feebler wing—
The atmosphere's superior bound,
Themselves content to keep aground,
Nor would they hurt a living thing,
But gently for their food did taste—
The tops of trees or grassy shoot,
Which else might fall away to waste,
And no good purpose ever suit.
Then made she beauteous birds of song,
Which grateful sang the whole day long,
And yet do sing the note of praise—.
In memory of those halcyon days.
And now still mourning for the fate—
Of that to mispent strength create,
Of that which in the sea she threw,
One bird of these in olive hue,—
She did with sweetest note endue,
Such dulcet sounds were never heard,
As rose and, fell from this sweet bird;
This one the king-note of its song,—
Scarce did it seem to bird belong,
Or e'en to earth,—a bell-like note,
Which as a sadden'd memory smte,
Still carried blessed antidote,
Such as sweet sounds give to those—
A prey to grief's convulsive throes;
It seemed all melody was pent—
For note to grief most eloquent.
Still soothing to such kind extent,—
The heart fain yields to sad content.
This note with such a potent spell—
Doth Nature use to wound her knell—
From off the tombstone's flowery wreath
For continent engulph'd beneath;
But sometimes this same note she'd use—
That older sorrow to lament,
The Paradise which Eve did lose—
To wiles, and schemes omnipotent,
Such rare skill did Nature ply—
In fear these memories should die,
And aye she likes the most to cling—
To the groves wherein the bell-birds sing;
And now when tenderest cbords she'd try,
When she would stir our depths of soul,
These songsters do in numbers toll,

Her sorrow to revive—condole,
Her, and other listeners all—
With mournful happiness enthrall.
[*unclear:* Yet other life created she,]
[*unclear:* Or carried there, by wind or sea]
[*unclear:* The sportive dolphin, and the seal—]
[*unclear:* Now turn'd off from her easy wheel,]
[*unclear:* While from the polar she brought—]
With all commendable [*unclear:* forethough]!
Great whales to give the water-[*unclear:* spout];
To imitate the geyser's flow.
In case her own should cease to go,
For Nature is of such a would,
She cannot lose a pretty sight,
But straightway she will try enfold—
For solace other beauty tight.
Reptilian forms she then did make.
But taught by Edon's prime mistake,
Omitted she the cunning snake;
No animals of any sort,
Whether for love, for food, or sport,—
Except the twilight-loving bat,
And the lucious, black-brown rat;
This lest when hitherward we flock'd,
We'd find it grievously o'er-stocked,
The balance of creative strength—
Reserv'd for less injurious things,
Those delicate, those vocal wings.
Which played by smallest life between
In stillest hour of night—unseen,
Do loving seek our close retreat,
Then all the air to music beat.
None with a soul for mellow wound—
Can sleep while songsters such are round :
Whilst for the time when sounds are few
When even cats can scarcely mew.
When Phoebus stops as he should turn,
To give the earth an extra burn,
When upon the heaven's high steep
He pauses for his mid-day sleep,
And all the birds do follow suit—
To leave creation well-high muit,
For every such oppressive time,
Life all kindly formed to chime—
By a rasping,—strident,—joyous squeeze,—
Insectiferous melodies.
Not finisiah'd yet kind Nature's task,
She leaves us nothing we would ask,
So fittings of a modern time.
Improvements suited for the clims
Water hot, and cold laid on.
The rocky basin form'd
To utilize the overflow.
For baths, for sport, or sylven [*unclear:* atom]
Some did she charge with virtue such,

There needed but believing touch
To make one whole however had,
[*unclear:* Outrivalling Betheseda's proof]
[*unclear:* As angel there can't disappear.]
But ever troubling from [*unclear:* belong]
As upward, healing bubbles go.
But now in [*unclear:* kindness never too much]
[*unclear:* Fassyed she more finish'd touch]
[*unclear:* Adam speang from driving dust,]
[*unclear:* So preyed upon her that she must.]
A similar kind of thing attempt,
Hence from a drifting log did start—
With beard [*unclear:* unshav'd] and hair unkempt,
Old Adam's very counterpart.
But of a somewhat darker shade,
Like him in Nature's garb array'd,
Save where the flaxen leaf all frayed,
A flimsy shelter lightly made.
But not to one, the work confin'd,
Nor to a pair with sex defin'd,
Her power not limited to this,
Not she to duty thus remiss;
So from that sea-born log did rise—
Man of every age and size;
Yea to this superior feat—
A family,—a trine complete;
Thus graciously forestall'd was time,—
Lost fruitfulness demand a crime.
A people thus at once, and strong
All thickly o'er the Islands throng;
Big-footed, bronz'd, loud-voiced, and huge,
In peaceful blue, or warlike rouge,
Kind of modern Canaanites,
Design'd to put the land to rights,
To tread it smoothly down for us—
By the waddle slow, and ponderous.
More kindly things did Nature do,
And all so slow, so gradual too,
One might for centuries careful watch,
Still not the forward movement catch.

Thus rose Zealandia from the wave,—
Thus lavishly kind Nature gave,
A Nation's sea-girt home to make,
And rectify Divine mistake;
Islands dowered with every grace,—
For us her prime, her chosen race;
Then on her face a smile was drawn,
The first that unto it was born,—
Since life's deceitful, dreary dawn.
Thus did great Nature form, and plan—
A second Paradise for man:
Not the dull insipid thing—

Miltonian poets foolish sing—
In pompous strain—bewildering;
So small that scarcely was there room—
For poison-tree with fruit of doom,
With dainty beds, whence colours march—
In sinuous, long, and flaming line,
To mock the rainbow's airy arch,
And join with it in gracious sign—
That Earth shall not go back to brine;
All neatly set in box, or brick,
As wayward fashion minds to trick,
The fountain with its figure-head—
Of some devouring monster dread;
All bathed in rich, and rare perfume,
From root, or, leaf, or herb, or bloom;
With garden chairs, 'neath fruity shade,
To tempt us Nature's work evade;
Hers not this sweetly scented toy,
Whose leading function is to cloy,
To whited sepulchre akin,
Fair outside, but poison germ within;
A flimsy thing as if contriv'd—
For Eastern despot thickly wived,
Demented of all natural grace—
Every virtue of his race.—
To give effaminancy peace:
This not Nature's Paradise,
A thing too dear any price;
Seductive—dangerously nice;
But hers of such a startling make,
So varied that its landscapes take—
Of all the earth Ins got;
A glorious land, an ocean keen,—
Which from the mighty—restless deep,—
Ascendeth by the Alpine height—
To dwarf the sombre sprawling night—
In search of endless day.
Thus many sided, many zoned,
Diversly, and all richly toned,
In every attitude it twines
All grace invitingly combines.
So at the base where seeming losth—
There rises by an easy grownth—
From level of the seething main,—
The horizon distending plain—
All clothed in the grassy plume;
Or lofty forest's waving bloom;
With rivers of such placid flow,
Tis hard to tell which way they go
Of such a generous easy soil,
'Twould tempt e'en laziness to toil.
There midway on towards the top—
Where rocky strata just out-crop,
Where swelling grounds would seem to show
Congealment whilst the earthquakes throe,

The winding vista,—flowery glade—
Such wondrous play of light, and shade,
All various shaded, tinted green.
Doth make up such enticing scene,
So sweetly, and so passing fair,
That angels from their homes of light
Would play the naughty truant there—
Could they but see the wondrous sight,
Or guess the half—While on the height,
Crags, and peaks all weirdly [*unclear:* mass'd],
Water to the glacier pass'd.
High rock-bound lakes of stormy blue,
Huge mountains rifted fair in two—
By foaming river's hurried flow.
Or deep volcano's rending blow:
All give one huge granduer such —
That not e'en Raphael's daring touch —
Could limn,—nor every glorious hue —
Which painters mix—give half its due;
For here, where lasting snows do blanch;
The deafening roar of avalanch;
The volum'd hiss of stealing [*unclear:* foant];
The thunder of the burning mount;
The crash of hurricane's impact,
And trembling boom of cataract;
Here where all dreadful things are seen,
There's heralded with fitting sound,
And midst the high befitting seene—
Great Nature when she'd pose as Queen
From here doth she inspire the sage —
Prophetic of the distant age;
Inspire with such a fullness rare —
That never olden prophet bare.
For here, her high, her holy place,
Where pilgrims once a year repair—
To win her favouring grass;
Here doth she put such glory on,—
Man trembles while he looks upon,—
Hides his face, and stills his breath,
In year lest more should being him death
For here is half reveal'd that power —
Which dwarfs man's puny works to nought,
Which learnt him more in one short hour,
Than could elsewhere by years be taught.
Such sounds are heard, such sights are seen,
Such high [*unclear:* communion] during made,
When we with senses raised, and keen—
These solemn, fearful, heights invade.
Such then toe varied pluses shown—
Of that which bounteous Nature's grown,
And this the later, nobler, land—
That by the strong, the gracious hand,
She's reared from out the central seas,—
For us her happy protegees;
Fashion'd on progression's lines,—

For those to whom her heart inclines:
No Paradise to dress to keep,
Or softly lull to lazy sleep,
But rather is it one to make,
And in the glorious making fit—
Each happy maker unto it;
A gem though yet all in the rough,—
For those who've strength and skill enough
To shape encrusted brilliant tough;
A huge adventurous, rugged mass,
Bold grappling with the heavens in glee,
Or downward battling with the sea—
In never-ending victory.
A Paradise, but all rough-hewn,
Its wealth the rather careless strewn,
Than orderly—with care arranged,
In coin so large it must be changed,
Ere that its greatest good we find,
All that which Nature has design'd;
A Paradise placed in our care —
With all the world to freely shard:
Ample for a Nation's growth,
Without a fault, without a snare
In thoughtful love avoided both,
Inviting labour, and design,
Rather than the soft include;
Not for the puling babe a toy.
To mouth,—to pick,—invert,—destroy;
For naked Adams, bootless Ryes,
But those who armed with Nature's power
Right manfully tuck up their sleaves—
To spend on it the sweaty shower,
To conquer with confiding toil,
Then loving grasp the willing spoil.
Oh ! Nature thou art ever kind.
Slow but sure, thy works endure—
While others fail, and pass from mind;
Umwearied thou,—by time ne'er press'd,
All nerved by love, thou needst no rest,
Thy way though leisurely the best;
No base passion stirs thy breast,
No human weakness there we trace;
No angry frown distorts thy face

Nor petty jealousies disagree,
Unmov'd by these, considerate, kind,
With solemn, slow, majestic, tread,
Thou marchest on thy works to bind —
For us their glorious head;
Thy plans so good, so well conceived,
Thou never by thyself deceived,
At thy own work, [*unclear:* represent],—grieved;
Our worship not a forced gain.—

By threat,—by fear of endless pain,
But urged alone by gracious deed,
By worth,—by love,—by human need;
Thou hast no cruel curse to fling —
At those who will not homage bring,
Or to thy praise for ever sing:
No Hell hist thou wherein to keep —
The erring, straying, foolish sheep.
For vengance—cruel,—godless,—deep,—
Therein to curse with endless bream,
Where mercy pleads for endless death.
Thou sittest not from us afar—
A murky, pale, malignant star,
To blast all those who see it not,
Or out of mind the sight would blot;
But ever present thou to those—
Who with thy loving hand would close,
And in such varied phase, and power,
As suits occasion, place, and hour
While they who slight thee on thy throne,
Thou leavest to themselves alone,
In hope they may thy favours take—
The higher wisdom joyful make

Oh thou our never failing friend,
To thee our praises shall ascend—
Full voiced, and clear from every mouth,
For this the glory of the South;
And grant that here thy priceless boon —
May all our hearts with thee attune
That ne'er by evil deed, or word,
Shall we bring down thy flaming sword,
But midst our every joy, and pain,—
This Eden with our life retain;
And dying pass it surely on —
To those our hearts are fixed upon,
All beautified by loving hand,
To take 'mong Nations lofty stand,—
The glory of our native land.
And now to thee our grateful thanks—
For brightest Gem of [*unclear:* Southera] sea:
Where thick the prizes. — few the blanks—
For those who rightly deal by then,
And if beyond thee, none may reach,
All that a fable priests do teach;
That thing, an idol, they do preach,
No guiding God be at the pron,
Kind Nature—we will worship—Thou.

The Dempsey Trust Fund.

Few amongst us are aware of an institution in our midst which, in the quiet and unobtrusive way in which it

is carried on, is largely alleviating the affliction of the suffering classes for whose especial benefit it has been instituted. We allude to the Dempsey Trust Fund, of the origin of which and its operation we propose in the present notice to give a short account, in the hope and expectation that it may stimulate some amongst us who possess the means to go and do likewise. Mr W. J. Dempsey, a member of the firm of Smith and Dempsey, was an early arrival from Victoria, shortly after the gold discoveries in Otago. Associating himself with Mr James Smith, he shortly afterwards joined that gentleman in business, and remained a member of the firm until his death in June, 1868. By his will, after disposing of the principal portion in various legacies, he left to the Industrial School, Dunedin, L100, and all the rest and residue of his estate upwards of £800 to the Dunedin Hospital. Subject to the condition that the trustees should annually expend L7 per annum in keeping in repair the tomb of his wife in East Melbourne Cemetery, and also his own tomb in Dunedin Cemetery. At the time of the deceased gentleman's death Sir Julius (then Mr) Vogel claimed these sums on behalf of the Provincial Government, of which he was Treasurer. This was refused by the trustee, Mr H. Houghton, on the ground that the bequest was not for the Provincial Government, but for the benefit of the trustees of those institutions. Happily, all these matters were satisfactorily arranged by the late Mr George Duncan (who in the meantime had succeeded Mr Vogel in the office of Treasurer) and the Superintendent, Mr James Macandrew. At the latter's suggestion the bequest was invested in the then unsaleable sections of reclaimed land on which now stand the massive stores built by the late firm of Driver, Stewart, and. Co., and now held by the Loan and Mercantile Agency Co. Considerable doubt having arisen as to the powers of the trustees, in 1873 an Ordinance was passed by the Provincial Council for the management of the Dempsey Trust, which, after stating that the trusts shall apply the sum of L7 annually in keeping in repair the tombs of the deceased and his wife, stipulated that they should apply the residue of the income of the trust "to the relief of the destitute and friendless patients in the Dunedin Hospital, by providing them with such extra comforts as may be deemed advisable, and by assisting them when discharged from the said Hospital; and to the benefit of the inmates of the said Industrial School, by awarding prizes, or assisting any of them when leaving the said Industrial School; or in such other manner as the said trustees may deem fit."

How far the trustees have fulfilled their trust will be seen from the following extracts from the annual reports furnished to the trustees by Messrs Macfie and Torrance, who for several years have most zealously assisted the trustees by their patient examination of the cases brought before them, and who still act as almoners of the trust.

The present income of the trust is about L220 per annum, and it is expected it will ultimately reach to L700 per annum when the revision of the existing lease takes place.

The present trustees are the Rev. D. M. Stuart, Messrs A. C. Strode, James Macandrew, and H. Houghton, the latter gentleman acting as treasurer.

The following extracts from the treasurer's reports show that L214 8s 10d was disbursed during the past year. By Messrs Torrance and Macfie—in small weekly sums to patients within tbe Hospital, L148; in assistance to patients leaving the Hospital, L37 Is; and in other small sums, L5 4s.

During the year the following sums were given to the Industrial School :—L3 18s 10d to make up deficiency in annual school treat in 1878; L10 towards the purchase of an American organ, the old one being worn out; and L6 5s for instruments for the Drum and; Fife Band.

We now proceed to give some extracts from the annual reports of Messrs Torrance and Macfie:—

Dunedin,

May 19th, 1876.

To the Trustees of the Dempsey Fund.

Gentlemen,—In compliance with your request we beg to submit to you our second annual report as to the disbursement of the funds entrusted to us for distribution on account of the Dempsey Fund.

In the relief of friendless and destitute patients in Dunedin Hospital we have since May 1st, 1875, to May 1st, 1876, expended about £160, the greater portion of this amount being disbursed in sums of 1s per week to a large number of persons for the purchase of butter or other delicacies not included in the Hospital dietary. While we have made this our primary object, we have in special eases furnished poor patients, male and female, with underclothing, &c., and given assistance to many others upon their discharge by supplying them with sums varying from 2s to 10s, providing them with boots, &c., paying or helping to pay their coach fare up-country to their homes, or to other colonics, and aiding a number who remained in Dunedin until they found work, or were sufficiently strong for it. Altogether we have rendered assistance to about 130 men and 70 women, and we have invariably given aid when required without reference to creed or country, as long as the recipients came within the terms of the trust-friendless and destitute patients.

We can assure the trustees that we have exercised every care in the distribution of the funds. In all cases the assistance has been gratefully acknowledged, and we are not aware of any recipient having really abused the help afforded. When wo have had reason to suspect that the weekly allowance was being misapplied, or was likely to be retained to be spent in drink, we have either given warning that the allowance would be stopped, or supplied butter or tobacco, &c., instead of giving money.

We have the satisfaction of stating that we have repeatedly met with displays of noble and unselfish spirit. A number of the recipients having received a few shillings from friends who visited them, they promptly informed us of the fact, and with thanks requested their weekly allowance to be discontinued till they again required it. One gratifying instance we have pleasure in recording. A patient whom we assisted to the extent of £2 10s to provide him with boots and pay his coach fare, has since not only returned the amount, but has sent the sum of 10s to assist the patients in the ward of which he was an occupant. One di charged patient, William Gray, who was assisted to Melbourne, and on whose behalf £3 was forwarded to the Rev. D. Cameron, has written gratefully acknowledging receipt of the money and of the help rendered him.

By means of the fund many very painful cases of distress have been relieved, the utter destitution of some of the patients being scarcely credited.

During the past year there has been in all side wards, male and female, and in the lying-in wards, a large increase in the number of patients requiring assistance. Making all allowance for those who have become reduced in circumstances by protracted illness, we are satisfied that a great deal of the poverty and suffering we have met with is the direct result of intemperance, personal or relative. At the same time we believe that the large increase has been caused mainly by the great influx of immigrants from the Home Country, many of whom landed in the Colony and were brought direct from the ship to the Hospital almost penniless, in some instances absolutely so. We must also, in truth, say that a large proportion of the new arrivals have evinced a greater disposition to seek and receive pecuniary aid than we have found among those who have been for a time in the Colony; and we fear that many of the former lack the energy and independence necessary to fit them to make their way without assistance. We would also remark that it has been our constant aim only to render aid sufficient for the supply of immediate wants, believing that more than this would tend to pauperise the recipients. We beg, in conclusion, to tender our hearty thanks to the trustees for making us their almoners, and to state that it has afforded us unspeakable pleasure to be the instruments in relieving the necessities of the destitute and in providing comforts for the suffering; and we believe, also, that the fund is a valuable means whereby we have been enabled to reach and carry home to the hearts of men and women the truths and consolations of the Bible.—We have, &c.,

J. A. TORRANCE.
JAMES MACFIE.

Dunedin,

May 4th, 1877.

To the Trustees of the Dempsey Fund.

Gentlemen,—Since May 1870, when we gave our second report of our proceedings as your almoners, we have gone on much as before. We now beg to submit to you our third annual report.

From May 1876 to May 1877 we received and distributed about £145. While the largest proportion of that sum was expended in providing comforts for destitute patients in the Hospital, to many poor persons more substantial aid was given by supplying them with clothing, boots, &c., and (when discharged) with funds to enable them to return to their homes, to go up-country in quest of work, or to leave the Colony. We may mention that among the special cases (numbering over 50) were two indoors who were delivered of posthumous children, and two men now in England, one a hopeless paralytic, and the other maimed for life by an accident. From one recipient (William Bunton, nearly blind) a letter was recently received, in which he heartily expresses his thankfulness for the help afforded him. Having reason to suspect that a number of the recipients of the weekly allowance spent the money in drink and gambling, we, about four months ago, adopted the plan of giving to each an order upon a grocer near the Hospital for one shilling's worth of goods. We know the grocer well, and believe he will act honestly in the matter. He does not sell drink, nor is he allowed to give moneys in lieu of goods. Tins plan has been warmly approved of by the officers of the institution, and by many patients, and after a few months' trial we deem it a wise step, although it entails more labour upon us.

In dispensing the charity we continue to make no distinction on the ground of country or creed. We do our best to ascertain that the recipients are really needing it, but we require no other qualification. During the past year we endeavoured to limit the number of weekly recipients to 50, that limit being only occasionally

exceeded, and when more made application than could be supplied, their names were noted, and held over till vacancies occurred. It would be foolish to say we have never been imposed upon, bat as we make it a point as far as possible to consult each other with respect to applicants, and as we meet, weekly to compare notes and talk over matters, deception can with difficulty be carried out. We wish it, however, to be understood that such cases have been very rare indeed, and that an unselfish spirit has been displayed by the patients as a whole. Many whose poverty was evident have declined the proffered aid because they were possessed of a shilling or two, and in other instances persons who were helped by their friends while they were receiving from the fund requested that their names should be erased. We invariably tell all who thus act to be sure and let us know when their money is exhausted.

We are alive to the danger of encouraging a spirit of pauperism. We do our best to prevent that, and never admit the right of anyone to receive from the fund.

After carefully reconsidering our mode of procedure we are convinced that it is the most effective mode of extending the benefit of the fund to the many. We feel assured that the withdrawal of the small weekly allowance would be a serious loss to those who are otherwise unable to provide themselves with anything beyond the ordinary hospital dietary. We believe that a spirit of sincere thankfulness prevails, and not infrequently when distributing the cards we are greeted with some such remark as "This is a blessing to me; I don't know what I would do without it." It will afford us much pleasure to continue as your almoners.—We are, &c.,

J. A. TORRANCE.
JAMES MACFIE.

And from Mr Titchener, the master of the Industrial School:—

Industrial School, Caversham,

25th May, 1879.

To the Trustees of the Dempsey Trust.

Gentlemen,—It has been suggested to me by H. Houghton, Esq., that I should furnish you with a report upon the progress the boys in the Industrial School are making in music.

In accordance therewith, I have the honour of stating that a complete set of instruments for a drum-and-fife band have been procured at a cost of £41. Of this amount, a sum of £22 16s was obtained from friends who felt a warm interest in the success of the school, and £20 I received from the treasurer of the Dempsey Trust, making a total of £42 16s. The band numbers 33 flutes, 4 side drums, 1 bass drum, 1 pair cymbals, and a triangle; altogether, 40 boys. Half of this number have made good progress, and all are able to play several tunes; the remainder are second-class boys, but are making such progress as to fill up vacancies as the older boys leave the school.

Instruction has hitherto been given by Mr George Cresswell, a resident in Caversham, who devotes four evenings a week to their instruction. To him my best thanks are due for the zeal he has shown in bringing them on. All the boys evince a great interest in trying to master the use of the instruments, and I can very properly say that the band is exercising beneficial influence on the general conduct of the boys by the emulation it excites, as I give them to understand that it is by general good conduct they are made members of the band. I should be very pleased if the trustees would allow me to give to each boy on leaving the school, should good behaviour deserve it, a flute and book of music. This, I think, would encourage them to continue practice; and when entering on the duties of life, it would serve to remind them of what they have learnt in the Industrial School. To enable me to do this, I would have to seek further aid from you, or outside friends, as it is necessary to keep up the stock of instruments for use in school. As above stated, the receipts to the band fund have been £42 16s, and expenditure as follows:—

—I have, &c.,
E. TITCHBNER, Master.

[Confidential.]

SALUTATIONS :—

May the Queen and her family long live. May her Government and the people of England live !

May God protect you!

This is an address from the Maori chiefs to the people of England.

Strangers landed on a strange land:—

We, the Maori chiefs of New Zealand have come to this distant land into your presence, on account of the great disaster which has overtaken your Maori race, which is beloved by the Queen and the people of England. Accordingly we have now swum the ocean of Kiwa which lies between us, and have reached England in safety, the source and fountain of authority, to the place where the Queen lives, that she may redress the ills of the Maori race inflicted on them by the Government of New Zealand, who have not directed their attention to right those wrongs up to the present time, and those wrongs are still being committed; nor is it because the Maoris are adhering to evil practices and so causing trouble between the two races, and therefore owing to this continued inattention of the Government this is presented as an appeal to the highest authority.

And because there was a tender regard displayed by the Queen to her Maori race, as shown in the Treaty of Waitangi, therefore it is well that those contracts and these ills should be brought before you for your consideration.

Firstly : the words of the Queen were, that Victoria, Queen of England, in her kind regard to the chiefs and the tribes of New Zealand, secured that their rights of chieftainship and their lands should be established to them, and that peace should be made with them.

Secondly : that the Queen of England shall order and consent that the chiefs and tribes of New Zealand preserve their chieftainships, their lands, their villages, their forests, and their fisheries.

Thirdly : that the Government of the Queen shall consent and order that the Queen shall protect the Maoris of New Zealand, and shall give them her laws in like manner as they are given to the people of England.

But these contracts have been trampled upon by the Government without exception. The first case of the Government purchasing land was in the year 1855. They paid a deposit for lands to some tribes, without knowing whether the lands belonged to them, and much land in the Waikato, Hawke's Bay, and other places was bought in this manner; and in consequence the Maoris drew a boundary at the Mangatawhiri River, to separate, the ground still held by the Maoris, and set up a head, viz., Potatau, of the Maori people, who should prevent disputes between the natives who sold and those who retained their lands, always acknowledging the supremacy of the Queen; and this provision was made over all lands throughout Taranaki, Taupo, and other parts.

In the year 1858 the Government purchased Waitara from Te Teira, Wiremu Kingi, the paramount chief of that tribe, prohibiting the sale; but the Government sanctioned the purchase from Te Teira. Wiremu Kingi drove off the surveyors, and the Government waged war throughout Taranaki and confiscated the land.

In the year 1863, a proclamation was issued by the Government that all the natives adhering to the resolve not to part with their lands should retire across the boundary-line at Mangatawhiri; they went and the Government followed them across the boundary and fought them; another proclamation from the Government declared that the Waikato chiefs adhering to the Queen should aid General Cameron, and that the Government would protect their persons, their lands, and their property. Te Wheoro and his tribe aided General Cameron up to the very last, but their lands, amounting to about 200,000 acres, and property were confiscated and a very little portion of the land was returned; the bulk was sold by the Government to the English, and up to the present day no compensation has been made; for the property destroyed, the Court ordered compensation to be made, but the Government refused to comply.

The question of the lands thus seized was laid before the Committee of Maori affairs of the House of Parliament in the year 1879, and again in the years 1880 and 1881, and the unanimous reply was made that the Government should specially appoint a Commission to investigate that seizure, but the Government refused to accede to this proposal.

On the seizure of the lands at Taranaki in the year 1863, a law was made, that seven years were to be allowed for the Government to place settlers on the land, but failing to do so within that time that the land should revert to the Maoris. The year 1870 arrived, and the Government had failed to settle the land and the land was returned by the native minister, Donald Maclean, who said that the Government should purchase the land at five or seven shillings per acre, but the Government did not purchase in.

In the year 1879 the Government began to seize the land without any pretext, arrested Te Whiti and party in their homes, destroyed their houses, rooted up their crops, and removed their goods, surveyed the land, put it into the market, and it was bought by the English, and very small portions were returned to the natives. For twelve months Te Whiti and party were imprisoned and were never tried; they were then released, but are still under some restraining law of the Government.

When the lands in the South Islands were bought by a Commission from the Queen the Commission stipulated that on the Maoris consenting to the conditions, that the villages, the fisheries and one acre in every ten should be reserved to the Maoris, and to this the Maoris agreed, but on the completion of the sale the conditions were and have been disallowed down to the present A Commission was instituted in the year 1879,

but the Government was not pleased to give effect to its awards.

Respecting the land at Kawhia; before the establishment of the Government some Europeans resided at Kawhia, the Maoris allowed their residence for the purpose of trade and rent was paid to the natives by these Europeans; the Maoris in ignorance signed their names and, as they paid for the goods received, were unaware that their names were obtained for a purpose. On the arrival of fresh Europeans the lands were sold to the new arrivals, and these demanded a Crown grant from the Government which was granted, though the Maoris were kept in ignorance of the transaction, and thus the Government dealt with the ground and ultimately bought it for themselves; and not until it was being surveyed were the Maoris aware that their land was alienated. Nor did the Government inquire of the Maoris whether the claims of the Europeans were just, and the Maoris condemned the transaction.

The Government submitted a Bill to Parliament to authorize them to put the land into the market, and the Bill was passed by the Parliament, the Maori members dissenting, and submitting a letter to the governor, asking him to withhold his consent to the Bill, and the letter was forwarded to the Queen. In the year 1883 the land was thrown into the market by the Government, and the Kawhia River was buoyed; the Maoris then gathered together to prevent this, and Tawhiao said to the Government, through the native minister, Mr. Bryce, "Let the staking of the river be done by him." But Mr. Bryce refused, and all the land was surveyed by the Government, and soldiers were placed on the land of the king, and works were pushed forward on the king's land, and the Government said that they, acting with Rewi and party, should decide the boundary of the king's land, to which Rewi and party agreed; when that was settled the Government commenced operations, not confining themselves to what was agreed upon, at which Rewi severed himself from any further connection with the operations of the Government, when he saw that the king party suffered loss, and this is an example of the conduct of the Government in all their transactions in Maori matters.

The Native Lands Court, instituted in the year 1866, by the Government, and that measure for dealing with Maori lands was adopted, in order to destroy the rights of the Maoris over their own, land, rights secured to them by the Queen in the Treaty of Waitangi.

A fresh rule was thus established, by which the Court had full powers, its authority was entirely in European hands, and the Maoris were denied all authority. It was established that ten persons were to be allowed claims over any section of ground, the majority were to rest satisfied with no land to live on, and the lands were ultimately alienated by purchase; another rule was set up by the Court, that if the claimants failed to present themselves to the Court, the land should be handed over to others, and thus the lands were sold, including the lands, the homesteads, and the plantations, and the real owners of the land were left destitute. When the Maori race asked that they might be allowed to deal with their own lands by means of their own committees, the Government declined. In cases where Europeans purchased land from Maoris who received money for lands not theirs, the purchase thus made was established to the purchasers.

Assessors were, indeed, appointed for the Courts, but they had no power to say anything with regard to the lands dealt with by the Court. Te Wheoro was the first assessor thus summoned in the year 1866, but when he saw these faults he left it in the year 1872.

The rights of the chiefs over their own lands were disallowed by the Government, and the position of the chiefs, in accordance with their Maori customs, was swept away, for the chiefs had the power to secure the lands for themselves and their tribes, lest the land and the persons should be lost (by other tribes seizing it), and their rights were reduced to an equality with ordinary persons, and their words were allowed no weight in retaining their land, or in directing the affairs of their own tribes, but the Government gave the rights of ruling to all kinds of persons, and the ruling of these persons, possessing no tribal rights in the eyes of the race itself, was authorized; the Government merely regarding their own appointments in respect to these lands; and thus the Government were able to set aside and ignore the chiefs.

Maori assessors were appointed by the Government to rule their own Maori race, only they had no powers, all powers of establishing and directing were retained by the Government, and even this is now being set aside.

Maori representatives were established by the Government, but a prohibitive rule was made, by which the number of members was limited to four, and though the Maoris demanded a representation proportionate to their numbers, this has been refused by the Government up to the present time, and these members have only nominal power, and are unable to redress the Maori wrongs, and yet the Europeans have only an equal status with the Maoris. The commission charged by the Government on the moneys paid for Maori lands, whether sold or leased, exceeds 25 per cent.

The payments arising from gold-bearing lands, i.e. 10s. per miner's right, and duties on goods, are taken by the Government, and none are returned to the Maori race, nor are the Maoris allowed any voice in directing these taxes, all are taken by the Government for the benefit of the Europeans, and the Maori are left out of all consideration; and the result of all this is that the Government have taken the lands, the persons, and the rights of the Maori: the Maori still lay claim to their rights, and this has been a cause of trouble, and troubles have

also come on other Europeans, as happened at Marunui and other places throughout the whole island, all from these acts of the Government. A commission sat to investigate these wrongs at Napier. Te Wheoro, another Maori, and two Europeans sat, but the Europeans and the Maoris failed to agree, no decision was arrived at, and the lands were lost, and the Maoris, frightened at such dealings, retired to a remnant of the land of their ancestors in the King Country, and yet they are being even now pursued.

Te Wheoro rose in the Parliament of 1880, and, addressing the Government, asked them to give to the Maoris the office of Minister of Maori Affairs, then filled by Mr. Bryce, inasmuch as it was a post for the Maoris, and yet Europeans alone filled the office, though Maori names were mentioned for the office, and this is a wrong done to the Maoris, inasmuch as the Queen had given them rights. Mr. Bryce replied that the office should never belong to the Maoris.

Therefore we and our race have determined, and to us the representatives of the tribe of New Zealand has been assigned the work of crossing the ocean and of bringing our wrongs to the Queen and people of England, in whose hands lay the words of life and death, that they should send and give to the Maori race laws whereby they may live, like as our friends the Europeans who sent and asked to have a Parliament of their own, and which was agreed to by the Queen; the Maoris remaining in ignorance that their friends, the Europeans, had asked for a Parliament subsequent to the Treaty of Waitangi.

Therefore we pray for our Maori race that our Queen may cherish us, that she may accede to this our prayer, and grant to us, her Maori race, these humble requests. And firstly, that you will resolutely consent to grant a government to your Maori subjects, to those who are living on their own lands, on those of their ancestors, an within the limits of Maori territory, that they may have power to make laws regarding their own lands, and race, lest they perish by the ills which have come upon them; that they may be empowered so to direct themselves and their own lands lest they be altogether destroyed by the practices of the Government, unknown and not evident to the Maoris; and that also the Maoris possessing lands contiguous to the Europeans should have those lands brought under the direction of the said Maori government, for there are many tribes who thus own land, and which they will not long hold unless thus brought under Maori government, and these Maoris are those who are suffering most at the present time, and they will be unable to save themselves unless some such means are taken for their preservation.

Secondly. That the Queen and her Government consent to the appointment of a Maori Commissioner, appointed by the Queen, one of the Maori race, one adhering to the Queen, an upright man, who shall act as mediator between the Maori and European races, in matters touching the leasing and selling of the lands of your Maori subjects, who shall investigate the laws, made by the Maori government, make them feasible, and to write his opinion to your Governor, and to you also for your confirmation, lest the Maori legislation be at variance with that of the Government, and lest the Maori should fail to carry out the laws of the Government respecting them.

Thirdly. That the greater portion of the taxes levied on your Maori subjects be returned to them. To enable them to carry on their government, granted by you to your Maori subjects, in those parts which are Maori territory.

Fourthly. That the European Judges in the Native Land Court be superseded, and that your Maori race be then permitted to direct their own affairs in that court; that they may be empowered to appoint their own Judges over their own lands, lest they be all lost by the present doings of the court; that they may be able to deal with these lands in accordance with their own customs, apportioning to each tribe their share, and having made all ready for leasing or selling, to submit all rulings to the Commissioner appointed by you, that he may look into the whole affair, and see that no injurious effects come upon the Maori, and then he is to submit all to your Governor for confirmation.

Fifthly. That the lands wrongly obtained by the Government be returned to us. That all may be in accordance with the concessions made in the Waitargi treaty and all other contracts made with your Maori subjects. That the Queen and her Government also appoint some person from England, a person independent of the Government of New Zealand, who shall carefully investigate those wrongs, and if he finds them in accordance with what we have now presented before you, and that then he should decide whether the lands of your wronged subjects be returned, or a compensation be made for part of it.

We your Maori race confidently rely on the treaty of Waitangi, on its provisions and force, and we will be led by those provisions in these matters for which we have now swim the ocean of Kiwa, and we pray in the presence of the Queen that she will confirm her words given in that treaty, that it may not be trampled upon by the Government of New Zealand in anything they may do to annul that treaty.

Let the Queen live !

Here we conclude. May God preserve you !

I hereby certify that the above is a true translation of the Petition made by me this 15th day of July, 1884.

TAWHIAO.
WIREMU TE WHEORO.
PATARA TE TUH.
TOPIA TUROA.
HORI ROPIHANA.
FRED. H. SPENCER,
Clerk in Holy Orders

Premier's Office, Melbourne,

20TH MAY, 1885.

Sir,

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt on the 12th instant of your letter of the 30th April conveying a copy of a Memorandum adopted by your Government respecting the proposed Imperial Act for constituting an Australasian Federal Council. The Memorandum enclosed appeals to the Australasian Governments to have inserted in the Bill, a provision that no legislation of the Federal Council shall have effect within any Colony, until the Legislature of that Colony shall have approved of such legislation; and the ground of this request is, that your Government supposes that the proposed powers of the Federal Council are inconsistent with the autonomous powers of the several local Legislatures.

2. I thank you for thus communicating your views in so clear and able a document as that now submitted. Bearing in mind, however, that you had not the advantage of hearing and participating in the discussions of the Convention which framed the Bill, I could have wished that the step which you have now courteously taken of placing your views before the other Australasian Governments had been resorted to at an earlier stage, when you might yet have been open to weigh and consider such answers to your objections as might be submitted, and I shall be extremely glad if you are even now able to reconsider the matter and possibly to modify the attitude taken by your representative in London towards the Bill. It is in the hope that this may be the case that I now offer the following remarks.

3. The objection taken, namely, that the Bill would interfere with local autonomy in the several Colonies is one which in the abstract, and if it could be shown to apply in any injurious way, I should be disposed to agree with. From the first I felt it important not to give to the Federal Council any powers with which the local Legislatures could not freely and safely entrust it; but I submit that the objection, though it appear formidable as a theoretical principle, is one which vanishes when the practical bearings of the matter are looked into.

For the range of subjects on which the proposed Council will have power to legislate is not unlimited; it is confined to—

- 1. The matters specifically defined in sub-clauses *a* to *g* of clause 15 of the Bill, and
- 2. The other subjects mentioned or referred to in sub-clause *h*.

4. With regard to the former class, it is difficult to see how any local Legislature could feel that its functions were at all interfered with through any one of these subjects being dealt with by the Federal Council. Take, for instance—

- (a) The relations of Australasia with the Islands of the Pacific;

this is a subject *not subtracted* from the domain of local Legislatures, for it has never yet belonged to it; it is a new matter for the Colonies, one which could not be satisfactorily legislated upon by individual Colonies, and which therefore of itself seems to require a central body to deal with it.

5. The other matters enumerated, viz. :—

- (*b*) Prevention of the influx of criminals;
- (*c*) Fisheries in Australasian waters beyond territorial limits;
- (*d*) The service of civil process of the Courts of any Colony within Her Majesty's possessions in Australasia out of the jurisdiction of the Colony in which it is issued;
- (*e*) The enforcement of judgments of Courts of law of any Colony beyond the limits of the Colony;
- (*f*) The enforcement of criminal process beyond the limits of the Colony in which it is issued, and the extradition of offenders (including deserters of wives and children, and deserters from the Imperial or Colonial naval or military forces);
- (*g*) The custody of offenders on board of ships belonging to Her Majesty's Colonial Governments, beyond territorial limits;

are all of them affairs of the *external relations* of the Colonies, such as no Legislature of any one Colony *could* deal with.

6. As regards the other class of subjects, none of them could come before the Council except on the request

of the Legislatures of at least two Colonies.

I need only point out the immense safeguard thus afforded; there is the deliberate process of any such request through *two Legislative Chambers* of at least *two* Colonies; there is scrutiny at various stages in each Chamber; there is the force of public opinion which may be brought to bear at any one of these stages; and I think it must be apparent that ample security is thus afforded that no subject could be remitted to the Federal Council on which there would be any danger of legislation unacceptable to individual Colonies. I apprehend, indeed, that those subjects only would be dealt with by the Federal Council on which there was a matured public opinion, and a felt need of Federal action.

7. But, further; while your proposal is that no Act of the Federal Council shall have effect until adopted by the local Legislatures, there actually *is a provision in the Bill* which, if not identical with the one you propose, appears to me amply conservative in character, namely, that in the case of the subjects which under sub-clause *h* are referable to the Council by the Legislatures of two Colonies, the Acts of the Council passed thereupon shall extend only to the Colonies by whose Legislatures the matter shall have been so referred to it, and to such other Colonies as may afterwards adopt the same.

8. Thus, then, in the case of subjects referred to the Council by two Colonies, the sequential legislation would only be binding upon those two; and, as regards the others, *their* position would be just exactly that which is proposed by your Memorandum.

It seems to me that in this respect the Bill (so to say) exercises a wise discrimination; that is, that legislation which has only been asked for by two Colonies should only bind those two, but that it should be optional with the other Colonies to adopt it or not.

9. The proposal of your Memorandum, however, is more sweeping; it is that there should be no finality in any of the Acts of the Council. This would deprive the Council at once of all legislative power and character; it would reduce it to a mere Intercolonial Conference, or a drafting Committee. I cannot regard this otherwise than as a retrograde step.

10. Our past experience of Intercolonial Conferences suffices to show their inconclusiveness. It was the very fact of their impotence and ineffectiveness that gave rise to the desire for some central or federal body with power to act and legislate; but, with a Council shorn of all legislative power, we should be just where we were before. Suppose, for instance, that the Council have met and deliberated; if every item of their decisions has to be submitted to the various Legislatures for re-discussion and consideration, when can any general law be reasonably expected to be passed? How many of the local Legislatures may not be in recess? or how many Colonies may not be undergoing a general election, or a Ministerial crisis? And, with all the local Legislatures exercising their right of amendment, can it be expected that a law of general application would ever emerge from such a process? So remote, indeed, appears to me the prospect of any practical result from a body so crippled and restricted, that I quite fail to see wherein its utility would lie.

11. But, moreover, when it is recollected that the Council is itself to consist of REPRESENTATIVES of the several Australasian Colonies, I conceive that the Colonies would be almost stultifying themselves if they adopted such a restriction on the powers of the Council as that proposed.

12. The idea of the Council is that it would consist necessarily of the most experienced and distinguished representative men in the Colonies. Is it to be supposed that such men would seek, would indeed accept a seat at it, if, instead of the body proposed by the Convention, it were degraded into a mere drafting Council to prepare measures for enactment by the several Colonial Legislatures?

13. It is because (as before mentioned) you were not present at the detailed and elaborate discussions of the Convention that I venture to lay before you these remarks, and to ask your kind reconsideration of the position.

It will be a matter of profound satisfaction in Victoria, and I think in all those Colonies which have accepted the Federal Council, if the important Colony of New Zealand takes its place amongst those consenting to this measure and this form of Federation.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,

Your most obedient Servant,
James Service

The Leader.

Melbourne, Saturday, August 29
Public Education in New Zealand,

A remarkably able and exhaustive statement, recently addressed to the New Zealand House of Representatives by the Hon. Robert Stout as Minister of Public Instruction, on the position of primary, secondary and higher education in that colony, has been published under Government authority. The document is interesting, not only as conveying a lucid idea of the machinery of the Education Act in the sister colony and of the actual results of the State system, but as suggesting marked differences between legislation as affecting public instruction in Victoria as compared with New Zealand. We are bound to say that with all its drawbacks,—and no one could be more candid in avowing them than Mr. Stout—it would be difficult to find an educational system anywhere more closely approaching the ideal graphically described by Professor Huxley. The national scheme of instruction advocated by that eminent authority has always been represented by him as a ladder with the lowest rung in the gutter and the highest reaching up to the University; so that the poorest boy or girl of talent should be able, without obstruction, to ascend from the abode of poverty to the highest seat of' learning. Nothing could be more simple or economical than the mechanism of the Central Education department in New Zealand. The staff consists only of the secretary to the Education department, the Inspector-General of Schools, three clerks and three cadets. By these officials is furnished all the aid available to the Minister in the distribution of the large sums of money at the disposal of the department, and in dealing with University, secondary and primary education, together with native and industrial schools. The inference of course is that a large share of responsibility, as regards details of administration, falls upon local management, and it is right that it should be so. As in Victoria, so in New Zealand, the State has hardly any voice in the management of the University. The two bodies on which devolve the chief burden of control in respect to that institution are the Senate and the Convocation. The great safeguard against abuse of power on the part of these two courts, however, is the right of veto by the Governor-in-Council; every election to the Senate being subject to his approval. The statutes and regulations must receive his official sanction, and should they prove, in any case, unacceptable to him, the Government grant may be suspended. So that while there is a complete absence of in-terference by the Education department with the internal arrangements of the University, a very substantial guarantee exists for the good behavior of the University authorities.

In contrast with the corresponding institution in Victoria, the University of New Zealand performs exclusively the function of examination for matriculation and degrees. In this respect it is a *fae simile* of the London University, which up to the present has been restricted by its constitution to the work of examination of candidates for membership and graduation, although we learn that quite recently a movement has been started to make the latter institution also a teaching centre. Hitherto, in London and New Zealand alike, the youth of both sexes have been able to qualify for matriculation or degrees either by private tuition or at affiliated schools and colleges. In England most of these establishments are voluntary and self-supporting; in New Zealand many of them are subsidised directly or indirectly by the State. In Victoria the University as a teaching body comes into competition with private colleges, and to sustain the competing institution, about the utility of which as a teaching centre many competent to judge have grave doubts, students going up for degrees are subject to the oppression and injustice of paying heavy fees for lectures which they have never attended—the consequence being that not a few young men and women who have undergone the requisite literary preparation are debarred from taking degrees. Is the University of Victoria worth maintaining on its present footing, at so serious a cost to many promising young colonists of limited means, verging on adult life? After recent disclosures we take leave to doubt it. The meetings of the council too often present the appearance of a bear garden. The personal reputations of certain professors have more than once been the subject of scandal. In not a few instances the lectures delivered have been pronounced worthless, and the disgraceful manner is which the last public examinations were conducted, especially in the department of chemistry, cannot but tend for a long time to come to shake the confidence of the community in the value of Victorian degrees, and in the general standing of the University. When high class education was almost limited to the Universities, as was the case for hundreds of years in the leading countries of Europe, the combining of teaching and examination for degrees in a University became an absolute necessity. But no colonial institution, of that kind at least, can claim, as Oxford and Cambridge still can, the prerogative of being centres of culture in a sense superior to any other surrounding and well appointed seats of learning. Indeed, we do not hesitate to say that the double function assumed by the Melbourne University is much less in harmony with the genius of a nascent democratic State than the system which prevails at the University of New Zealand.

Another feature in which the sister colony differs from us concerns the relation of the Government to secondary education. Such institutions for advanced training, and which are affiliated with the University of New Zealand, as the Otago University, the Canterbury College, the Auckland University, Nelson College and kindred establishments are partly maintained by revenues from Government reserves and endowments. In Victoria and in the parent country the view commonly entertained is that when primary instruction has been imparted within a given age period, and up to a fixed standard, the State has discharged its duty to the population in placing intellectual tools for future use in their hands, and giving them an impulse towards

self-improvement. New Zealand advances a step further, and renders it possible for every young person whose faculties promise to yield a liberal return for higher training to be carried up by the aid of scholarships to the higher seminaries. That the system as a whole works well is demonstrated by the numerous instances adduced by Mr. Stout, not only of distinguished success attained by pupils in the colony, but also by men who have proceeded to degrees and honors at the English and Scotch Universities. For the Government of Victoria to undertake to provide by land grants for the erection and partial maintenance of secondary schools at the present advanced stage of colonial development, when so large a proportion of our limited territory has been alienated, is no easy matter. But it appears to us that until provision is made from some source by the State here, as in New Zealand, for the advantages of the high school and the University being freely brought within reach of the most impecunious family, the responsibility of Government to the people is not fully discharged. Upon thirteen boards devolves the supreme management of education in the several school districts of New Zealand. Subordinate duties within the same areas are entrusted to school committees. The latter are elected by householders and the parents of the children, and by the committees the boards are chosen. Although the boards have the appointment and dismissal of head masters and assistant teachers, they usually secure the co-operation of the committees by consulting them on these delicate questions. In addition to the pupil teacher system, it has been wisely arranged that normal schools should be expressly provided by the State for the systematic discipline of teachers in the minute technicalities of their work. But it is only fair to mention the three aspects in which the Minister of Public Instruction considers the New Zealand system defective:—"There has not been a proper gradation between the primary and secondary schools; there has been more attention paid to the literary part of education than to scientific, and technical instruction has been almost entirely ignored." Still, the result of the seven years' trial of the Education Act in the colony may be regarded as eminently satisfactory. I believe," says Mr. Stout, "that we show as many real University students for our population as any country in the world; and though our primary school system is not equal to that of some other countries, it is gradually improving, and with some alterations that I propose to make it will still further improve." The presence of children in the industrial schools he mainly attributes to the fault of drunken and criminal parents. Many statistics, had we space to quote them, would be found extremely suggestive of the general intellectual development of the rising generation in New Zealand. But enough has been said to indicate that we have as a neighbor not a hostile competitor, but a friendly rival in those undertakings which contribute at once to the material and moral welfare of the community.

The Macleay Chronicle, Thursday, August 27, 1885.

We have received a pamphlet containing a speech of the Premier of New Zealand on the education question. The Hon. R. Stout is one of the leading lawyers of that colony, and was at one time a teacher. He is evidently an educational thinker—moderate but broad in tone, and grasps his subject with a master mind. We will publish his speech as soon as possible, as it is one of remarkable ability and thoroughly original so far as such a subject can be. We have no hesitation in saying that we want such a mind in New South Wales, where, from all we can learn, the educational system is gradually descending to a system of petty official red-tape and tyranny.

Evening Herald.

The newspaper is the great educator of the nineteenth century. There is no force compared with it. It is book, pulpit, platform, forum, all in one. And there is not an interest—religious, literary, commercial, scientific, agricultural, or mechanical—that is not within its grasp.
TALMAGE.

Dunedin. September 1, 1885.

The Wellington correspondent of a Christchurch paper thus describes the Premier's castigation of Mr Ormond on Friday night :—"But Mr Ormond's triumph was short-lived. Nemesis had come. The man who had delayed so long had ventured at last into the fight only to be more fearfully wounded than any champion has ever been wounded in that place. The Premier, thoroughly rouged, blazed with a flame which absolutely devoured his unfortunate assailant. Mr Ormond's speech had been carefully prepared. The Premier, on the spur of the moment, delivered the best speech that has ever fallen from his lips. It astonished by its marvels of memory, and its readiness of resource. The charm of its fluent language, polished yet plain, well balanced and

well constructed, held all attention; and the sustained energy of its vehement power carried away all arguments. He threw his blazing shield before the policy and conduct of his Government; he sent blighting, scorching flames into every nook and cranny of his assailant's career. When he had done, there was nothing left of Mr Ormond. Protestations, representations, reputation, everything on which his speech had been based and his fame as a politician founded, all were gone. The fire had swept over him and destroyed him utterly."

Evening Herald.

The newspaper is the great educator of the nineteenth century. There is no force compared with it. It is book, pulpit, platform, forum all in one. And there is not an interest religious, literary, commercial, scientific, agricultural, or mechanical—that is not within its grasp.

TALMAE

Dunedin. September 2, 1885.

In concluding an article on the recent no-confidence debate the *Lyttelton Times* makes the following pattering allusion to the Premier : "Logical, honourable, high-minded, defending the Government position at all points and with all vigilance, ever ready to take up a lance to serve a colleague, invariably above the petty meanness with which he is assailed, perpetually a terror to the enemies of 'the Cabinet—such is Mr Stout. His enemies, who have smarted over and over again under his lash, can offer no better criticism than that he is a special pleader, and so dreadfully unfair as to attack when he ought to confine himself to defence. What Mr Stout has proved in many a well contested fight, and none more so than the last, is that in heart and brain he is made of the stuff of which leaders of men are made, and that his industry and knowledge have helped his heart and brain to make him as fit to be Premier of New Zealand as any man who has ever occupied the position."

Evening News and *Hawke's Bay Advertiser*.

"For Justice."

Napier, Saturday, September 12, 1885.

The Premier.

As there are not wanting the most uncalled for attacks on the Hon. the Premier in the local prints, the following leader from a recent issue of the *Lyttelton Times* will no doubt be effective as showing how an in dependant, unprejudiced journal views that gentleman :—" Not the least important point of the late struggle in the Houae of Representatives is the position the Premier has occupied in that struggle. It was the position of a leader *par excellence*. The performance of his part, in fact, by the Prime Minister must force people to look back on the manner in which he has borne himself in every contest that has taken place since he became Prime Minister of New Zealand. Those who do look back will be struck by a very remarkable circumstance. They will, of course, see that when the measure before the House is one of those which Mr Stout has in his charge, he shows the closest acquaintance both with its minutest provisions as well as with its remotest bearing. That is not to be wondered at. It is the business of every Minister to be rather more than fairly well acquainted with the measures under his charge. Ministers are, however, seldom expected to have more than a decent acquaintance with the departments that come under the charge of their colleagues. "Not in my department" has been a favourite answer with Ministers from time immemorial. The unexpected is exactly what occurs when the Premier gets up to speak. If it is a question of public works, he makes a speech showing as close an acquaintance with the subject as the Public Works Minister. When the Native Land Bill is before the House the Premier knows as much about the question as his colleague, the Native Minister, and if it is finance which is the question the Treasurer finds himself supported as vigorously by the Premier, when the occasion arises, as if the Premier had never studied anything but finance in his life. Justice of course finds him in a familiar country, while telegraphs, mail services, tariff, civil service rides, and every other thing that comes into the field of Ministerial vision, give him opportunities for using his knowledge for the information of the House. Any who look dispassionately at the Ministerial career of Mr Stout, are forced to the conclusion that he is a leader who leads by virtue of his many-sided knowledge of political affairs. Small souls abound in this world. Small souls make it their business to write flippantly of the Premier, as a man under the denomination of some superior intellect. Petifogging scribes write of the astute Treasurer, who gives his order to the simple Premier. Many of the opponents of the Government speak habitually of the commanding powers of the Treasurer but for which

they themselves would be very staunch Ministerialists. They are like the man in the play who, but for that "villainous saltpetre dug from the bowels of the earth," would himself have been a soldier. The Treasurer is the villainous saltpetre which prevents them from being the humble followers of the Premier, who is too simple to think for himself. The position is peculiar. Being the outcome of transparent insincerity, it need not be seriously discussed. The plan is obvious—the blackening of the Treasurer's character, the exalting of his mental ability, the depreciation of the Premier's will and knowledge. These three things form a combination which makes a policy. It is the policy of attempting to disintegrate the Government by playing off the Treasurer against the Premier. It is the policy of rousing the Premier to jealousy in order that Ministers, being set by the ears, may fall an easy prey to attack. Major Atkinson has denied in his place in the House, in the most public manner, that he is in any way responsible for the stories that float about, for the grossly unfair criticisms that are circulated, for the deliberate falsehoods that are sent from mouth to mouth, all derogatory to the Treasurer in the highest degree. It is immaterial—except to Major Atkinson, whose denial we accept—where these things come from. They come from somewhere, and they are combined with depreciation of the Premier. The object, unworthy and contemptible, is obvious. Unable to unseat the Government by fair means, the authors of these calumnies try to disintegrate the Ministry by foul play. It is painful to find a man of Mr Montgomery's political good sense and honesty of purpose ranged on the side responsible for such attacks. These tactics have failed ignominiously. They have failed because the Premier is too high minded to be influenced by appealing to feelings of that kind. The pettifoggers and the inventors, and the men too easily moved to suspicion, arid the people who prefer not to think well of any-body, and the imperfectly instructed—all appeal to a kind of character which the Premier does not possess. They are like marksmen who aim too low. The Premier laughs in their faces, and answers them with a magnificient defence of his colleagues, logical as it is powerful and just, and at the same time showing an acquaintance with every department of the public service so intimate as to preclude the idea that his judgment can be over-ridden by anyone. Logical, honorable, high-minded, defending the Government position at all points, and with all vigilance, ever ready to take up a lance to serve a colleague, invariably above the petty meanness with which he is assailed, perpetually a terror to the enemies of the Cabinet—such is Mr Stout. His enemies, who have smarted over and over again under his lash, can offer no better criticism than that he is a special pleader, and so dreadfully unfair as to attack when he ought to confine himself to defence. What Mr Stout has proved in many a well contested fight, and none more so than the last, is that in heart and brain he is made of the stuff of which leaders of men are made, and that his industry and knowledge have helped his heart and brain to make him as fit to be Premier of New Zealand as any man who has ever copied the position.

Evening Herald

Friday, August 28, 1885

Otago University.

"Capping" Ceremony.

The Lyceum Hall was filled to its utmost capacity last night, on the occasion of the "capping" of the successful University students. The assemblage was a brilliant one, being very largely composed of ladies. Professor Macgregor presided, and, assisted by professor Shand, presented the diplomas the [*unclear:* chall] (Rev. Dr Stuart), the Professors of the Otago University, several graduates, and other gentlemen were also on the platform. The students conducted themselves in a way which formed a marked contrast to their conduct on previous occasions. There was a minimum amount of interruption on their part, and such eccentricities as they did indulge in were of a very harmless kind.

Professor MACGREGOR said all the friends of the University must be exceedingly gratified to see that large and orderly gathering. That gathering or ceremony had a double character. It was in the first instance connected with and representative of the New Zealand University, and it was also connected with the local University—the older of the two institutions. This involved the fact that the person to whom it fell to represent the Chancellor of the New Zealand University had to take that opportunity of dealing with such questions of interest, or changes which had been effected by the Senate at its last meeting. That was the duty which fell te him; he had no option in the matter, and he was glad of it. That was also a most interesting occasion, as most of them know, in connection with their local college, for the first lady graduate from the Otago University came forward to receive her diploma. That of itself was an occasion and a cause which demanded a speech of its own and he had asked one of his friends to deal with it. Another gentleman had evolunteered to come forward to

address them, and between them they would perhaps exhaust the patience of the audience. He proposed devoting his remarks to explaining the reason why the Senate at its last meeting had resolved to institute the B.Sc. degree as an alternative to the ordinary B.A. degree, which opened another door of entrance to their University. To properly understand the bearings of such a change they must trace the influences which had given rise to it, and the altered circumstances, which had made it necessary. In order to do so, it was necessary to look abroad over the different educational ideals that prevailed among civilised nations, when it would be found that they were ranged between two extremes, each equally (dear and definite. On the one hand was the German system—the most complete and thoroughgoing in the world based on an ideal which, in the words of Stein (its groat founder), is "the harmonious and equable evolution of the human faculties." On the other hand, we had what he ventured to formulate as the ideal that commended itself to the British colonist expatriated to subdue the wilderness and lay the foundation of a new English-speaking nation beyond the sea. Their ideal, begotten of their history and their circumstances, was what they called practical. Education was with them only training for work, and nothing was taught that could not be turned to account. The conditions under which men came to these colonies increased the tendency towards utilitarianism, and we were getting impatient of the higher secondary education, as it existed, reproduced from the ancient standards of the old country. Parents would no longer, stand it. They wanted something practical to turn into money soon; and the Senate, seeing this great revolution pending, thought by reform to forestall it. They now said that no boy who wished hizher, or university, education, should henceforth be obliged to take up Latin unless he wanted to. Latin, and perhaps in a lessor degree mathematics, had been the great stumbling-block in our primary schools. A boy sometimes found that the latter two or three years of his education had been thrown away, because when he wanted to go up TO the university he had to go back to the earlier courses of the High School for it, although he was far advanced in other subjects. This discouraged the boy, drove the masters to despair, and tended to make High School education expensive. The B.Sc. degree removed this stumbling-block, and made it possible for every parent to get a rational education for his son, and obtain security that it should not be merely utilitarian principles. One difficulty they would have to deal with was that owing to the persistence with which the English nation as a whole hid invested all its power and educational discipline in classics and mathematics, it would almost be impossible to find men of first-class ability for teachers who had not directed their powers in this way. For his own part he would, if it had been possible, have stuck to the old way. It was the diet on which heroes were fed, whatever they might say. But our present system was a too ridiculous compromise. We must cure this evil—a knowledge of many things and no knowledge of any thing, A period of transition was inevitable, but we must get over this, and could not expect to do so until we had trained teachers to invest their powers in the now subjects as they had formerly dona in the old.—(Applause.)

The new graduates were then presented with their diplomas by Professor Macgregor, assisted by Professor Shand. The following is the list of graduates —

Caroline Freeman.—Bowen prize; first section B.A., 1881.

Robbert M'nab—Matriculated, 1880 first section B.A., 1883 (senior scholar in mathematics); final B.A., 1884; M.A., with second-class honours in mathematics.

James Ronaldson Thornton.—B.A., 1879, and M.A., and third-class honours in physics and chemistry at Canterbury College in 1880; first PART LL.B, 1880; second and third section LL. B., 1884.

James Fitzgera d.—Matriculated 1880; first section 13. A, 1883; final B.A., 1885.

Thomas K. Sidey—Matriculated 1881: first auction B.A..; 1833; final B.A.. 1855.

James Johaston Hay.—Matriculated 1881; first section B.A, 1881; final B.A., 1885; senior scholarship in mathematics.

Donald Monro—Matriculated 1881: first section B.A., 1884; final B.A., 1885.

In the absence of Mr R. L. Stanford, to receive his diploma, Professor Macgregor intimated that it would be forwarded to him.

Miss Freeman received a hearty reception, the students singing "She's a jolly good fellow," while several bouquets were thrown to her.

Dr BROWN then delivered a very interesting address He said:—We have witnessed a ceremony to-night which marks one of the great social advances of the century. Some of you will scarcely believe how strenuously, and in many cases how effectually, the admission of ladies to degrees has been resisted in the British Universities. A long period of agitation and persistent knocking at the doors of learning have at length cleared the way. It is worthy of note, as has been pointed out to me by a learned friend, that one of the earliest agitators in this movement was Mrs Priscilla Wakefield, grandmother of Edward Gibbon Wakefield, to whom we may say New Zealand owes its very existence as a colony of England. This lady in 1798 published a small book called "Reflections on the Female Sex," which anticipated, in some ways, the writings of Miss Cobbe, Mrs But or, Mrs J. S. Mill, and others. To these latter ladies and their associates great credit is due for a new and more generous public opinion. Within the last few years colleges for ladies have been established at

Cambridge and Oxford. At Cambridge the other day ladies took high places in the mathematical tripos. Our colony has nothing to be ashamed of in regard to provision for the higher education of women. We have High Schools for our girls, giving them the came advantages in the way of large classes, good teachers, and breadth of training as boys. When they leave school the lectures in college are open to them, and as you have seen to-night, the University of New Zealand admits women to degrees equally with men. Although this is a novel sight to most of us, it is another illustration of the truth of King solomon's saw, "There is no new thing under the sun." In past ages women have, time after time, been distinguished graduates and teachers in academies and universities. Charles Kingsley has made popular the history of one distinguished lady professor of 1500 years ago. Names of ladies occur among the professors and lecturers of various Italian and French colleges from the thirteenth right on to the present century. In conservative England there are, however, few, if any, female graduates of the national universities. How is this? Why should a nation which has prided itself on its chivalry find nothing but a theme for jest in the idea of ladies entering on an undergraduate's life? A probable answer is furnished by an author from whom I quote a sentence or two "The education of a woman and that of a man are very dissimilar. Thus, a man can study during his whole life; whether he is abroad or at home he can always look into the classics and history and become thoroughly acquainted with the whole range of authors. But a woman does not study more than ten years, when she takes upon herself the management of a family, where a multiplicity of cares distracts her attention, and having no leisure for undisturbed study, she cannot easily understand authors; not having obtained a thorough acquaintance with letters she does not fully comprehend their principles; and like water that has flowed from its fountain, she cannot regulate her conduct by their guidance." This is the usual position taken up by those who are opposed to or are lukewarm on the subject of higher education for women. There is a certain amount of grim satisfaction to be derived from the fact that the words now quoted are the utterances of a Chinaman.—(A VOICE: "Name!") His name is Luh Chow, and he is in this, as in many other respects, quite up to the intellectual level of the self-satisfied Briton who asked the question.—(Laughter.) Taking Mr Luh Chow seriously, he raises a very important point. Supposing the higher education of women to be arrested for a number of years by family life, is woman any the worse for being well educated before marriage? Is a woman legs likely to be a good wife and mother if she has spent her spare time after leaving school in study than if she has led the life of idleness and petty distractions which is demanded by fashionable society? It would be instructive to know how as a training for domestic life a soulless acquaintance with pianoforte-playing and ability to paint from copies surpass a thorough knowledge of Latin and mathematics or how a family will be better brought up by a mother who has a passion for dancing than by one who is familiar with English literature. The fact is that whenever we go beyond the region of what is useful, we find women in the matter of education, as in almost will other matters, victims of a despotism of their own creating. Fashion dictates what girls should learn, and fashion declares that young ladies finish their education by a veneering of showy accomplishments. Men have been too prone to look upon them as the Heaven decreed order of things. It is for men as much a duty as for women to strive for a better way. Men gain equally with women in every advance made in culture; men of this generation gain by companionship with cultured women; men of the next generation gain by the impress made on them in childhood and youth. Where it is possible, why should not girls have the best and most thorough grounding in those studies in which well-educated lads are drilled? Even if for a while in after life domestic duties withdraw a woman from studious pursuits a time will come in her life when the studies of her youth can be resumed, or the habits acquired in youth roused into activity and directed into new channels. Recent literature affords abundant illustration of the truth of this statement. Especially may we instance Mary Somerville as a striking example of the advantages derived in old age from thorough and exact training in early years. All women, however, have not the fortune, or misfortune, to enter on married lite. It is easy to turn this subject off with a jeer, to say woman's function is matrimony; but it is not so easy to ignore the fact that in most civilised communities the number of unmarried women is very great. What is to be done with them? One of England's sweetest poets answers the question thus:

For sure it is indeed,

Two streams through Life's ground flow, and both are good—
The one, whose goal is gracious motherhood;
The other, in the cloister pule and dim,

Finding sufficient meed

In pure observance, rite, and soaring hymn.

Thus poetry; but prose tells us of many who are not mated, and who do not or cannot adopt the poet's pleasing alternative of "getting them to a nunnery." What is to be the fate of these? There are many industrial occupations open to them, but following the example of the learned, the artisan objects to a woman competing with him. Woman has to encounter the same difficulty in nearly every direction. Where she is admitted as a worker in schools, for instance, the is paid at a much lower rate than a man. The University of New Zealand deserves the praise of every woman who has the welfare of her sex at heart, because in it and in the affiliated colleges there is absolute equality. Lectures are attended by male and female students; the same examinations are undergone by both, and the same degrees are open to both. In recognising equality between the sexes our university is imbued with the spirit of Mrs J. S. Mill, who says:—We deny the right of any portion of the species to decide for another portion, or any individual for another individual, what is and what is not their 'proper spheres.' The proper sphere for all human beings is the largest and highest which they are able to attain to. What this is cannot be ascertained without complete liberty of choice." Well, granted the liberty, what is the use to women of higher education? One is often asked this question and expected to be too effectively crushed to reply. To answer properly one would need to touch on the whole subject of culture. Suffice it, to say that education, properly so called, will not unsex either man or woman. There is no fear that it will harm "distinctive womanhood."

For woman is not undevelopt man,
But diverse; could we make her as the man
Sweet Love were slain; his dearest bond it; this—
Not like to like, but like indifference.
The woman's cause is man's; they rise or sink
Together—dwarf'd or Godlike, bond or free

Education develops the best of what is in the student's nature; it does not alter it. It leaves the man a better, nobler man than it found him; the woman purer, brighter—yet a woman. To many education is only a means to an end—something by which material benefit may be procured. Even on this low standing ground women may claim a footing. Still there are in every community some who are able to save themselves from taking part in the world's great struggle, and some who are philosophers, strictly so called—lovers of knowledge. Are women devoid of this enthusiasm?

Oh, student! fer into the night,
From youth to age.
Bent low upon the blinding page,
Content to catch some gleam or light;,.
Art thou not happy though the world pass by?
Happy though honours seek thee not, nor fame,
And no man knows thy name?
Happy in that blest company of old,
Whose names are writ in characters of gold
Upon the rooks of Time—the glorious band
Who on the shining mountains stand—
Thinker and jurist, bard or seer—
Whatever name is brightest and most dear?

May not a woman answer to this. Such is my dream of happiness. Yet women may well be pardoned it they claim that the honours and awards that in times past have served to stimulate men in their studies shall be open to them also. We so recently heard from Professor Sale the common-sense view of the value of a degree that I do not touch on that subjects However, degrees are conferred, and if they have any value, let them be open to both sexes. The battle of higher education for women has however, been fought a little further on. Are women to share in that special training which to men is a means to an end? Are women to be trained to professions? Here, again, the catholicity of our colonial university is in marked contrast to the older schools. Degrees in law, science, music, and medicine are open to ladies. There are wrong prejudices standing in the way of women becoming professors, preachers, lawyers, and doctors; but there is neither justice nor grace in refusing the claim of any woman who desires to enter on a professional career. They have historical precedent in their favour; they have modern instances. Opposition comes to them from those who read their competition where competition is

already keen enough, but most of all from those who have an ideal of womanhood with which the professional woman clashes. People who hold this view exhibition their unreasoning prejudice a logical fallacy which some of the younger students here could blow to the winds in very short time. Because it so happens that some asserters of woman's rights have been coarse and vulgar, it does not follow that every woman who wishes to carve her own way in the world is so. One treads on dangerous ground when venturing to speak of a career for women in the pulpit or at the bar, but the public are not so unaccustomed to the idea of woman choosing medicine as a profession. Here, at any rate, there is room for some of the fair sex. I would not venture to advise or dissuade, but I know that, if not in this particular town or country, in some other towns and countries there is a demand for lady doctors. There is not much to be proud of in the stand made by the medical Press against the entrance of women into this profession. There was a strong flavour of the Middle Ages about the literature of the controversy and about the action taken by the medical corporations and universities in England and Scotland to prevent females from being taught or examined. There is no need either to approve or disapprove of the bent of mind impelling a woman to study medicine in order to judge of the unfairness of the way in which Miss Jex-Blak and others were treated by medical men and medical boys If any lady now present believes that there is a field for her in medicine she may rest assured that the university will treat her exactly as it treats others, and that the means of instruction are as open to her as to any student. I cannot conclude without a word of congratulation to Miss Freeman. No one knows so well as I do the difficulties she has had to contend with. She has shown such pluck and perseverance that, if she had been a fighting man instead of a studious woman, she would have merited decoration. I am pleased, therefore, to hail her as the first lady graduate from the Otago University.—(Applause.)

MR A. WILSON, M.A., said he might be allowed to express not so much his congratulations as his jubilations on what they must all regard as the central fact of interest in that night's proceedings—the investiture of the first Otago girl-graduate.—(Applause). He thought he might speak as the mouthpiece of ranks of girls who were growing up to contest the honours of the Otago University with the young men students, and he gave the young men fair warning that they look to it that their seats be firm, for as surely as the girls were beginning to invade the lecture, and bear thence their share of the trophies, so surely would they by-and-bye enter such professions as learning could qualify them for. Up to this time the only occupation open to well-educated gentlewomen bad been reaching, and into this profession they had all been driven whether it was congenial or not, but in a few years they would be wondering how the world possibly got on without its women-doctors. He should not be surprised to see women before long claiming their place in other fields besides medicine—law for instance. He would neither assert nor deny that women might; make as stable judges as men, but he was inclined to think that they would make better advocates. There were many other professions which women would contest with men, in the proper fulness of time; women were even coming to the front as inventors. All those who were interested in the education of women must be glad to see with their own eyes that women were entering the arena and carrying away prizes till lately reserved exclusively for men. The speaker then proceeded to deal at great length with the subject of graduation And degrees. During the course of a lengthy address of special interest to students, the speaker said he would like to say in a few words what he thought the degrees of B.A. end MA. in the New Zealand University ought to represent. The degree of Bachelor of Arts ought to certify to all whom it might concern that its possessor had laid a broad and firm basis of sound learning on which to build the superstructure of his subsequent intellectual life. He had gone through an apprenticeship, so to speak, and had learned how to use a large variety of tools. He said advisedly a large variety of tools, for the very name of university promised that no part of the intellectual nature was to be left uncared for. The course of study in all good universities was so arranged that this breadth was ensured to all who obtained its degree, for the degree of B was a guarantee rather of breadth than of depth, therefore it was that in no subject was more than a moderate degree of proficiency demanded, though such knowledge, so far as it went, must be honest and thorough When the student had achieved a respectable proficiency in the arts literature, philosophy, and science, the university authorities certified the same, presorting him with his parchment and investing him with the fur. As yet, be it observed, the student was an apprentice of all trades, but a matter of none. To qualify himself for being a master able to teach he must proceed to narrow the area of his studies; he must decide for what subjects he had the greatest aptitude and taste, and he must concentrate his attention upon those. After a certain period devoted to the mastery of a group of cognate subjects, he returned to the University authorities and demanded that they try him. If it had been found that he had made good use of his time, he was pronounced a Master of Arts—a little, however, which, to use the phraseology of logic, connotes more than it denotes,; hence the desire to institute other degrees such as B.Sc. which shall more accurately indicate the narrower range. Though some universities the theory of degrees might not square with the practice, yet he thought it did run parallel with the lives followed in our own university; so that they might well congratulate those students who had received the imprimatur of the university, as certifying that they have served a creditable apprenticeship to the arts, and had laid a broad and sound foundation for subsequent at ainments. Still more

might they congratulate those who had finished their "wanderjahre" and had been pronounced proficient in certain departments of the arts. As the number of graduates increased year by year, they might rest assured that the colony would be all the better for it.—(Applause.)

Rev. Dr STUART the graduates said he had much pleasure in congratulating them on making good another step forward in their educational course, and in joining in that public recognition of it. Though not a prophet, he did not hesitate to say that a crown of priceless value awaited those who showed in the prosecution of their chosen task not only a resolute will, but also the courage of a hero and the love of an apostle. Now and again the cry was raised, and it was sure to reach their ears, that in these times men of culture were becoming a drug; but he was sure they were effectually protected against its evil contagion by the inestimable gifts of faith, hope, and youth. Let them not heed the pessimistic cry—the fields of high endeavour are all fully occupied, and there is neither work nor wage for any more. What! Neither room nor work in our world for the good and the true? Why, God and His servants were now calling to boundless fields, white to the harvest, all whose inspiration was goodwill to men and faith in the promises. For one, he had confidence that their *alumni* will continue to be fairly represented in the front ranks of the industrial art?, in scholarship, science, citizenship, and beneficence, and thus nobly vindicate from age to age the patriotism and fore seeing wisdom of their founders. He wished them success in their studies and is practical life. —(Cheers.)

Professor MACGREGOR complimented the students upon their changed manners, and the proceedings terminated.

(PER PRESS ASSOCIATION)

CHRISTCHURCH, This Day,

The presentation of diplomas to students of Canterbury College was made yesterday by Dr Von Haast. Two M.A.'s and nine B A's, one of the latter being a lady, received their diplomas.

AUCKLAND, This Day.

The University College degrees were presented at this Choral Hall in the presence of a large meeting, Professor Brown presiding. B.A. degrees were conferred on Messrs arthur Gifford M.A., and W. C. W. M'Dowell. The M.A.. degree won by Miss E. M. C. Harrison will be presented at Nelson, where she is now engaged in teaching

Otago Daily Times, Friday. AUGUST 28, 1885.

Otago University.

Presentation of Diplomas.

The ceremony commonly known as the "capping" of students took place at the Lyceum Hull yesterday evening, and resulted in that capacious building being as densely crowded as the University library has been on former occasions.

Professor Macgregor, who presided and presented the diplomas, was supported upon the platform by the chancellor (Rev. Dr Stuart), the University professors, and a number of graduates and other gentlemen interested in university education. The behaviour of the students in the body of the hall was a distinct modification of former experiences, but there were nevertheless slight interruptions from time to time.

Professor MACGREGOR said that he was sure every friend of the University of Otago must be intensely gratified to see such a large and orderly gathering.—(Applause). He would tell the gathering that the ceremony that evening had a double interest from the fact that the occasion was the first one that a lady graduate from the University of Otago had come forward to take her degree. He referred to Miss Caroline Freeman—(cheers)—who was there that evening to receive her diploma as a Bachelor of Arts.—(Renewed cheers). He had been asked by the chancellor to preside at the presentation of diplomas, and address the graduates, under-graduates, and those present to witness the ceremony. He would not detain them long, as there

were a number of others to follow who would probably exhaust the patience of the audience sufficiently without his keeping them too long. —(Applause and laughter). The ceremony they were about to witness was interesting to everyone, but particularly the citizens of a free country for many reasons and in many ways. There was one aspect in the ceremony which mainly concerned the person who represented the University on the occasion, and that was, that it afforded the only opportunity for explaining to the public the reasons and the bearings of any important changes which the Senate had seen cause for introducing into the regulations for degrees. It was this consideration which compelled him to devote his remarks to explaining the reason why the senate at its lust meeting had resolved to institute; the B.Sc. degree as an alternative to the ordinary B.A. degree, which opened another door of entrance to their University. To properly understand the bearings of such a change, they must trace the influences which had given rise to it, and the altered circumstances which had made it necessary. In order to do so, it was necessary to look abroad over the different educational ideals that prevailed among civilised nations, when it would be found that they were ranged between two extremes, each equally clear and definite. On the one hand was the German system—the most complete and thoroughgoing in the world-based on an ideal which, in the words of Stein (its great founder), is "the harmonious and equable evolution of the human faculties." There we had the systematic instinct of the Teutonic nice faithfully reflected. They, above all things, must have symmetry and harmonious completeness. Their devotion to the ideal was supreme. On the other hand, we had what he ventured to formulate as the ideal that commended itself to the British colonist expatriated to subdue the wilderness and lay the foundation of a new English-speaking nation beyond the sea. Their ideal, begotten of their history and their circumstances, was what they called practical. Education was with them only training for work, and nothing was taught that could not be turned to account. Each subject received as near as possible that share of attention that was proportional to its future usefulness to the farmer, the manufacturer, and the merchant. This was practical common sense. If they now looked at the English educational ideal, it would be found that it was as usual an awkward and clumsy compromise between two divergent tendencies. It was above all conservative of the ancient learning of letters and culture that met the wants of its aristocratic and privileged classes, while it had been driven by the industrial organisation of the middle classes to concede a grudging toleration to those sciences and arts that helped the producers in their arduous struggle with nature. In education, as in everything else, the Englishman was constitutionally careless and impatient of theory and system. Our art, philosophy, and politics equally reflected that peculiarity of the national genius, and yet for that reason perhaps they were more than any other product suitable to the actual exigencies of this human life of ours. At the commencement he accepted Shakespeare because he was for no race or country, but let them take Milton. With all his solemnity and grandeur, they would find that his ideal of Heaven was a sort of St. James' Court, with a lot of flunkeys about it. His angels sang like Anglican choristers, and the Almighty himself was put forward as though he were guided by the last manual of divinity literally interpreted.—(Interruptions.) He was speaking of Milton's interpretation, and yet Milton more than any other poet was the characteristic English genius—the wisest and noblest in his sublimity and grandeur. For our national pegasus was simply hobbled and briddled with matter of fact. It was the same with the philosophers of England, John Locke, for example, who took eight ideals out of the front door, and smuggled them in at the kitchen window. What he meant to say by all this was that our English educational ideals were in the same predicament. What the ideal of English general or university education was, it was impossible to say; and yet for centuries it had educated the most effective men that the world had even seen. Its strength for practical purposes was its weakness on the theoretical side. We in these Colonies had carried away English traditions to reproduce them here; but how much had we left behind? The characteristic tenet of an Englishman was "knowledge is power," and we wanted knowledge for what knowledge would bring. Take the contrast between a country like this and England, with its thirty millions of people, and consider what had to be done by the men who only a few years ago came to settle here. What education did these men want—Latin, Greek, and polite letters." Well, the wisest of them thought so, and we were all thankful that they did. But we had left behind us all the accumulated treasures of art and learning. We had also left all those suggestive traditions and romances with which every mountain and river and town in the old country abounded, and which inclined a man to love that which custom had sanctioned, and treat reverently, however absurd, the foibles of his grandmother.—(Laughter). Under all these conditions the tendency was towards utilitarianism, and we were getting j mpatient of the higher secondary education, as it existed, reproduced from the ancient standards of the old country. Parents would no longer stand it. They wanted something practical to turn into money soon; and the Senate seeing this great revolution pending, thought by reform to forestall it. They now said that no boy who wished higher, or university, education should henceforth be obliged to take up Latin unless he wanted to. Latin, and perhaps in a lesser degree mathematics, had been the great stumbling-block in our primary schools. A boy some-times found that the latter two or three years of his education had been thrown away, because when he wanted to go up to the university he had to go back to the earlier courses of the High School for it, although he was far advanced in other subjects. This discouraged the boy, drove the masters to despair, and tended to

make High School education expensive. The B.Sc. degree removed this stumbling-block, and made it possible for every parent to get a rational education for his son, and obtain security that it should not be merely utilitarian principles. One difficulty they would have to deal with was that, owing to the persistence with which the English nation as a whole had invested all its power and educational discipline in classics and mathematics, it would almost be impossible to find men of first-class ability for teachers who had not directed their powers in this way. For his own part, he would, if it had been possible, have stuck to the old way. It was the diet on which heroes were fed, whatever they might say. But our present system was a too ridiculous compromise. We must cure this evil—a knowledge of many things and no knowledge of anything. A period of transition was inevitable, but we must get over this, and could not expect to do so until we had trained teachers to invest their powers in the new subjects, as they had formerly done in the old.—(Applause.)

Professor SHAND then called upon the new graduated, who were presented with their diplomas by Professor Macgregor in the usual form. The following is the list of graduates :—

Robert M'Nab.—Matriculated 1880; first section B.A., 1883 (senior scholar in mathematics); final B.A.. 1881; M.A., with second-class honours in mathematics.

Caroline Freeman.—Bowen prize; first section B.A., 1881; final B.A., 1885.

James Fitzgerald.—Matriculated 1880; first section B.A., 1883; final B.A.,1885.

James gJohnston Hay.—Matriculated 1881; first section B.A., 1881; final B.A., 1885; senior scholarship in mathematics.

Donald Munro.—Matriculated 1881; first section B.A., 1884; final. B.A., 1885.

Thomas K. Sidey—Matriculated 1881; first section B.A., 1883; final, B.A., 1885.

James Konaldson Thornton.—B.A. 1879, and M.A., and third-class honours in physics and chemistry at Canterbury College in 1880; first part LL.B., 1880; second and third section LL.B., 1881.

Mr R. L. Stanford was not present to receive his diploma, and Professor MACGREGOR intimated that it would be forwarded to him.

Miss Freeman, on coming forward for her diploma, was loudly cheered, and was accorded musical honours by a large section of the students. A number of very handsome bouquets were also thrown to her upon the platform.

Dr BROWN, who was the next speaker called upon, said we have witnessed a ceremony to-night which marks one of the great social advances of the century. Some of you will scarcely believe how strenuously, and in many cases how effectually, the admission of ladies to degrees has been resisted in the British Universities. A long period of agitation and persistent knocking at the doors of learning have at length cleared the way. It is worthy of note, as has been pointed out to me by a learned friend, that one of the earliest agitators in this movement was Mrs Priscilla Wakefield, grandmother of Edward (ribbon Wakefield, to whom we may say New Zealand owes its very existence as a Colony of England. This lady in 1798 published a small book called "Reflections on the Female Sex," which anticipated, in some ways, the writings of Miss Cobbe, Mrs Butler, Mrs J. S. Mill, and others. To these latter ladies and their associates great credit is due for a new and more generous public opinion. Within the last few years colleges for ladies have been established at Cambridge and Oxford. At Cambridge the other day ladies took high places in the mathematical tripos. Our Colony has nothing to be ashamed of in regard to provision for the higher education of women. We have High Schools for our girls, giving them the same advantages in the way of large classes, good teachers, and breadth of training as boys. When they leave school the lectures in college are open to them, and as you have seen tonight, the University of New Zealand admits women to degrees equally with men. Although this is a novel sight to most of us, it is another illustration of the truth of King Solomon's saw, "There is no new thing under the sun." In past ages women have, time after time, been distinguished graduates and teachers in academies and universities. Charles Kingsley has made popular the history of one distinguished lady professor of 1500 years ago. Names of ladies occur among the professors and lecturers of various Italian and French colleges from the thirteenth right on to the present century. In conservative England there are, however, few, if any, female graduates of the national universities. How is this? Why should a nation which has prided itself on its chivalry find nothing but a theme for jest in the idea of ladies entering on an undergraduate's life? A probable answer is furnished by an author from whom I quote a sentence or two : "The education of a woman and that of a man are very dissimilar. Thus, a man can study during his whole life; whether he is abroad or at home he can always look into the classics and history and become thoroughly acquainted with the whole range of authors. But a woman docs not study more than 10 years, when she takes upon herself the management of a family, where a multiplicity of cares distracts her attention, and having no leisure for undisturbed study, she cannot easily understand authors; not having obtained a thorough acquaintance with letters she does not fully comprehend their principles; and like water that has flowed from its fountain, she cannot regulate her conduct by their guidance." This is the usual position taken up by those who are opposed to or are lukewarm on the subject of higher education for women. There is a certain amount of grim satisfaction to be derived from the fact that the words now quoted are the utterances of a

Chinaman.—(A VOICE: "Name!") His name is Luh Chow, and he is in this, as in many other respects, quite up to the intellectual level of the selfsatisfied Briton who asked the question.—(Laughter.) Taking Mr Luh Chow seriously, he raises a very important point. Supposing the higher education of women to be arrested for a number of years by family life, is woman any the worse for being well educated before marriage? Is a woman less likely to be a good wife and mother if she has spent her spare time after leaving school in study than if she has led the life of idleness and petty distractions which is demanded by fashion-able society? It would be instructive to know how as a training for domestic life a soulless acquaintance with pianoforte playing and ability to paint from copies surpass a thorough knowledge of Latin and mathematics, or how a family will be better brought up by a mother who has a passion for dancing than by one who is familiar with English literature. The fact is that whenever we go beyond the region of what is useful, we find women in the matter of education, as in almost all other matters, victims of a despotism of their own creating. Fashion dictates what girls should learn, and fashion declares that young ladies finish their education by a veneering of showy accomplishments. Men have been to prone to look upon them as the Heaven-decreed order of things. It is for men as much a duty as for women to strive for a better way. Men gain equally with women in every advance made in culture; men of this generation gain by companionship with cultured women; men of the next generation gain by the impress made on them in childhood and youth. Where it is possible why should not girls have the best and most thorough grounding in those studies in which well-educated lads are drilled? Even if for a while in after life domestic duties withdraw a woman from studious pursuits a time will come in her life when the studies of her youth can be resumed, or the habits acquired in youth roused into activity and directed into new channels. Recent literature affords abundant illustration of the truth of this statement. Especially may we instance Mary Somerville as a striking example of the advantages derived in old age from thorough and exact training in early years. All women, however, have not the fortune, or misfortune, to enter on married life. It is easy to turn this subject off with a jeer, to say woman's function is matrimony; but is not so easy to ignore the fact that in most civilised communities the number of unmarried women is very great. What is to be done with them? One of England's sweetest poets answers the question thus:

For sure it is, indeed.

Two streams through Life's ground flow, and both are good—
The one, whose goal is gracious motherhood;
The other, in the cloister pale and dim,
Finding sufficient meed
In pure observance, rite, and soaring hymn.

Thus poetry; but prose tells us of many who are not mated, and who do not or cannot adopt the poet's pleasing alternative of "getting them to a nunnery." What is to be the fate of these? There are many industrial occupations open to them, but following the example of the learned, the artisan objects to a woman competing with him. Woman has to encounter the same difficulty in nearly every direction. Where she is admitted as a worker in schools, for instance, she is paid at a much lower rate than a man. The University of New Zealand deserves the praise of every woman who has the welfare of her sex at heart, because in it and in the affiliated colleges there is absolute equality. Lectures are attended by male and female students; the same examinations are undergone by both, and the same degrees are open to both. In recognising equality between the sexes our university is imbued with the spirit of Mrs J. S. Mill, who says : "We deny the right of any portion of the species to decide for another portion, or any individual for another individual, what is and what is not their 'proper spheres.' The proper sphere for all human beings is the largest and highest which they are able to attain to. What this is cannot be ascertained without complete liberty of choice." Well, granted the liberty, what is the use to women of higher education? One is often asked this question and expected to be too effectively crushed to reply. To answer properly one would need to touch on the whole subject of culture. Suffice it to say that education, properly so called, will not unsex either man or woman. There is no fear that it will harm "distinctive womanhood." We so recently heard from Professor Sale the common-sense view of the value of a degree that I do not touch on that subject. However, degrees are conferred, and if they have any value, let them be open to both sexes.

The battle of higher education for women has, however, been fought a little further on. Are women to share in that special training which to men is a means to an end? Are women to be trained to professions? Here, again, the catholicity of our Colonial university is in marked contrast to the older schools. Degrees in law, science, music, and medicine are open to ladies. There are strong prejudices standing in the way of women becoming professors, preachers, lawyers, and doctors; but there is neither justice nor grace in refusing the claim of any woman who desires to enter on a professional career. They have historical precedent in their favour; they

have modern instances. Opposition comes to them from those who dread their competition where competition is already keen enough, but most of all from those who have an ideal of womanhood with which the professional woman clashes. People who hold this view exhibit in their unreasoning prejudice a logical fallacy which some of the younger students here could blow to the winds in very short time. Because it so happens that some asserters of woman's rights have been coarse and vulgar, it does not follow that every woman who wishes to carve her own way in the world is so. One treads on dangerous ground when venturing to speak of a career for woman in the pulpit or at the bar, but the public are not so unaccustomed to the idea of woman choosing medicine as a profession. Here, at any rate, there is room for some of the fair sex. I would not venture to advise or dissuade, but I know that, if not in this particular town or country, in some other towns and countries there is a demand for lady doctors. There is not much to be proud of in the stand made by the medical Press against the entrance of women into this profession. There was a strong flavour of the Middle Ages about the literature of the controversy and about the action taken by the medical corporations and universities in England and Scotland to prevent females from being taught or examined. There is no need either to approve or disapprove of the bent of mind impelling a woman to study medicine in order to judge of the unfairness of the way in which Miss Jex-Blak and others were treated by medical men and medical boys. If any lady now present believes that there is a field for her in medicine she may rest assured that the university will treat her exactly as it treats others, and that the means of instruction are as open to her as to any student. I cannot conclude without a word of congratulation to Miss Freeman. No one knows so well as I do the difficulties she has had to contend with. She has shown such pluck and perseverance that, if she had been a fighting man instead of a studious woman, she would have merited decoration. I am pleased, therefore, to hail her as the first lady graduate from the Otago University.—(Applause.)

A few students at the back of the hall here favoured the audience with the refrain "Glory Hallelujah," after which

MR A. WILSON, M.A., rose to speak, and commenced by referring to the central fact of interest in that night's proceedings—the investiture of the first Otago girl graduate. From such comparisons as he had been able to make he should not be surprised to see women before long claiming their place in other fields besides medicine—law, for instance. He would neither assert nor deny that women might make as stable judges as men, but he was inclined to think they would make better advocates.—(Laughter.) The speaker then proceeded to discuss the value of a degree—its equation, so to speak, and said: In order to know the actual value of any degree, certain data are necessary, and these only a few possess—a knowledge of the examiners, and—still more essential—a knowledge of the teachers. All students will agree with me when I say that it is difficult to find two teachers whose standards are alike. But whilst I hold that most of us are very much in the dark as to the value of various degrees, we can each say what we think ought to be their value, and I would like to say in a few words what I think the degrees of B.A. and M.A. in the New Zealand University ought to represent. The degree of Bachelor of Arts ought to certify to all whom it may concern that its possessor has laid a broad and firm basis of sound learning on which to build the superstructure of his subsequent intellectual life. He has gone through an aprenticeship, so to speak, and has learned how to use a large variety of tools. I say advisedly a large variety of tools for the very name of university premises that no part of the intellectual nature is to be left uncared for. Whilst he is an apprentice he must exercise himself in the full round of intellectual operations. It will not do for him to say, "I have no leaning to mathematics; my bias is towards classics. Therefore I shall go in for the one and neglect the other. At this stage of his career, if he has little aptitude for mathematics, there is all the more reason that what little aptitude he has should be cultivated to the utmost. Everyman can learn enough of mathematics, or of anything else, with sufficient thoroughness to enable him to have some adequate estimate of the field, though he may have neither the ability nor the desire to explore it to its extent. Again, a student may say—"My tastes he in the direction of objective nature. What lies round about me, open to my sight and touch, interests me, but I have no taste for looking into my own inside. Introspection is not in my way. Give me substances organic or inorganic to work upon, but do not ask me to acquaint myself with the subtle problems of psychology." But as surely as there is a danger in being too introspective, so surely is it an imperfection to be wholly extraspective, if I may coin a word to fit my meaning. "Cultivate the faculties one and all," should be the maxim of the undergraduate. By-and-bye the time will come when he must concentrate his energies on one subject. Now the course of study in all good universities is so arranged that this breadth is ensured to all who obtain its degree, for the degree of B A. is a guarantee rather of breadth than of depth, therefore it is that in no subject is more than a moderate degree of proficiency demanded though such knowledge, so far as it goes, must be honest and thorough—a thing that can be only when the student is brought into living contact with the mature minds of teachers who are masters and specialists in subjects where he is but an apprentice. When the student has achieved a respectable proficiency in the arts, I literature, philosophy, and science, the university authorities certify the same presenting him with his parchment and investing him with the fur.

As yet, be it observed, the student is an apprentice of all trades, but a master of none, Theoretically he is not yet entitled to teach the matter he has learned, being not yet a master of it. To qualify himself for this he must proceed to narrow the area of his studies; he must decide for what subjects he has the greatest aptitude and taste, and he must concentrate his attention upon those. During his undergraduate or apprentice days he has been trained in the proper methods of study, and no longer requires the direction of a teacher. Is it to be supposed that he chooses that department of knowledge for which lie has the greatest aptitude. If he determines to follow one of the learned professions—which are more numerous to-day than they used to be—this is the time (and not before) when he can, without injury to himself, give his whole attention to the acquisition of that special knowledge which every profession demands. If he begins the study of a profession at an earlier stage—that is, when he should be equipping himself with a good liberal education by the study of literature and science, he is in danger not only of suffering from becoming that imperfect being—the professional man whose horizon is shut in by the mere technical knowledge of his profession—but in his very profession he is likely to be less efficient than his rival who has taken the arts course. This for two reasons: First, because he has begun his professional training at too young an age—before the mind is able properly to assimilate what is supplied to it in the lecture-room—a serious matter where learning a profession is is concerned; and in the second place because, even if he were not too young to make a good use of his opportunities, he must necessarilly be at a disadvantge as compared with one whose mind is already thoroughly schooled and who comes armed *cap-a-pied* with powers disciplined to observe, classify, and reason. But it may not be the intention of the B.A. to fit himself for one of the learned professions, but he may wish to make himself a master of some of those arts of which as yet he is only a bachelor or apprentice. Accordingly, after a certain period devoted to the mastery of a group of cognate subjects, he re-turns to the University authorities, and demands that they try him. If it is found that he has made good use of his time, he is pronounced a Master of Arts—a title, however, which, to use the phraseology of logic, connotes more than it denotes; hence the desire to institute other degrees such as B.Sc., which shall more accurately indicate the narrower range. I have outlived what I conceive to be the theory of degrees; and though in some universities the theory may not square with the practice, yet I think it does run parallel with the lines followed in our own university; so that we may well congratulate those students who have received the imprimatur of the university as certifying that they have served a creditable apprentice-ship to the arts, and have laid a broad and sound foundation for subsequent attainments. Still more may we congratulate those who have finished their "wanderjahre" and have been pronounced proficients in certain departments of the arts. As the number of graduates increases year by year, we may rest assured that the Colony will be all the better for it.—(Applause.)

Rev. Dr STUART, addressing the graduates, said: I have much pleasure in congratulating you on making good another step forward in your educational course, and in joining in this public recognition of it. The simple but becoming ceremonial of the evening has told us not only of a memorable attainment on your part in classics, mathematics, and philosophy, but also of what is still more valuable—viz., mental discipline, decision of character, singleness of purpose, and sustained endeavour—an attainment which must prove a vantage ground of immense importance in your life work. When you matriculated you gave a pledge that you would manifest a sacred regard for your *alma mater* by diligence to your studies and loyalty to her laws. And, now that you have honourably redeemed it, your friends and teachers gladly join in what I may call the celebration of your educational majority. But the filial relationship continues, and the University which taught you and the University which tested you expect you will bring them credit by doing your life-work like true men, and in the way of true men, with a purpose fixed and holy. Though not a prophet, I do not hesitate to say that a crown of priceless value awaits those who show in the prosecution of their chosen task not only a resolute will, but also the courage of a hero and the love of an apostle, and along the line of duty the sympathy and prayers of kindred souls. Would you be successful in uplifting yourselves and helping others, lest out of your heart, the fear of man which bringeth a snare and everything that defileth, and labour while it is day, with both your hands, with open heart, and with faith unswerving as it becometh those who are bent on being valiant for the truth on earth. Now and again the cry is raised, and it is sure to reach your ears, that in our times men of culture are becoming a drug; but I am sure you are effectually protected against its evil contagion by the inestimable gifts of faith, hope, and youth. Friends, don't heed the craven cry. The new crusade has already began, and all but the blind must see that in every sphere of human activity there is not only room but urgent need of all who can interpret great Nature and her parables, instruct the ignorant, cheer the timid, and reclaim the erring. Don't heed the pessimistic cry—the fields of high endeavour are all fully occupied, and there is neither work nor wage for any more. What! Neither room nor work in our world for the good and the true? Why, God and His servants are now calling to boundless fields, white to the harvest, all whose inspiration is goodwill to men and faith in the promises. Believe me, there are work and wage, and there are distinction and honour for those who, like the prophet, are ready at the call of duty to go wherever faith can see, hope can breathe, and love can work. For one, I have confidence that our *alumni* will continue to be fairly represented in the front ranks in the industrial

arts, in scholarship, science, citizenship, and beneficence, and thus nobly vindicate from age to age the patriotism and foreseeing wisdom of our founders. Graduates, I wish you success in your studies and in practical life.—(Cheers.)

Professor MACGREGOR then complimented the students upon their changed manners, and the proceedings terminated.

The Times, Saturday, July 18, 1885.

National Education.

Mr. J. Talbot asked the Chancellor of the Exchequer whether, considering the great importance of securing an efficient system of national education, and at the same time of preventing, as far as possible, an undue pressure upon the ratepayers, Her Majesty's Government would recommend the appointment of a Royal Commission to inquire into the working of the Elementary Education Acts with a view to consider whether any and what improvements could be suggested.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer.—I agree with my hon. friend that it is of great importance to secure an efficient system of national education and as far as possible to prevent pressure on the ratepayers. I hope we shall be able to do something to effect both those objects without a Royal Commission. (Hear, hear.)

The Times, Saturday, July 18, 1885.

Parliamentary Intelligence,

House of Lords, FRIDAY, JULY 17.

The LORD CHANCELLOR took his seat on the woolsack at a quarter-past 4 o'clock.

Petitions.

Lord Carrington presented a petition from women of Spelding in favour of extending the franchise to women who are ratepayer.

Lord Tweeddale presented a petition from the East Lothian Agricultural Club against Section 111 of the Police and Burgh (Scotland) Bill.

Lord Robartes presented a petition from St. Austell, Cornwall favour of the extension of the franchise to women.

The Earl of petitions from inhabitants of Edinburgh and drawing-room meeting at 25, Great King street, Edinburgh, in favour of the extension of the Parliamentary franchise women.

Private Business.

The following Bills were read a third time :—Earl De la Warr's Estate Bill; Shanklin and Chale Railway Bill; Limehouse Subway (Extension of Time) Bill and North Wales Narrow Gauge Railways Extensions, &c.,

Secondary Education in Board Schools.

Lord Norton rose to move for a return of secondary instruction in day schools for boys now being given in London. He said that the return moved for would shows from the sample of boys' schools in London, how the secondary education of England, the deficiency of which was reported by the Commissioners of 1868, was being wrongly undertaken by the public elementary schools, wastefully and injuriously competing, by an extravagant use of public money, with independent schools. They were superseding and overlapping much of the work which was better done from private resources or self-supported in schools for instruction following after elementary preparation. That the public elementary schools, under the Act of 1870, were not intended for secondary instruction was clear from all debates on the subject. The author of the Act, Mr. Forster, lately re-asserted the first intention, and considered that departure from it involved a disregard of the parents' claims to their children's industry, and an unwarranted assumption of general taxation for education of all kinds in this

country. The first explanatory circular from the department strictly limited the public undertaking to elementary teaching. The code now showed a wide departure, offering instruction in three schedules of subjects, the first only being called elementary; a second called class subjects, which the revised instructions just issued declared ample to form those habits of observation and reasoning which wore needed for the intelligent conduct of life; but a list besides called specific subjects, which were described as beyond the scheme of ordinary elementary instruction. But the London School Board were eager to go further, and had expressed regret at their delay in embracing secondary education altogether, and at provincial towns having preceded them. They said they looked to the coming election to force on this general undertaking. Might it not, on the other hand, give better promise, in foreshadowed schemes of county government, or a possible revision of our national education, relegating each portion of it to its proper province? Public departments were naturally ambitious, and School Boards had drifted into excess from their large command of money and a magnificent idea that to do anything by halves was beneath their dignity. The Government seemed equally liberal in their view, offering to open the Treasury bounties to Wales for three colleges, besides intermediate schools between them and the elementary schools, on the score of Welsh poverty, and a duplicate establishment to Scotland on the score of Scotch superiority. Thus opposite reasons were assigned for the common object of Government undertaking. If the State was to undertake the secondary education of this country it should not be done covertly, and very waste-fully and imperfectly, in elementary schools, but openly and completely by public secondary schools throughout the kingdom. If this was not to be the present attempt should be stopped in time from encroaching on independent undertakings. There were many reasons against a public provision for our secondary education in England. It would be repugnant to general feeling not yet seduced by the public purse. Parents of the middle classes preferred independent education for their children. The Commissioners of 1868 condemned a rate-paid system as injuriously weakening the sense of parental obligation. At a late inauguration of a Day School Company there were high authorities taking this view. Lord Aberdare joined this independent enterprise because he felt sure this country would never submit to a system of middle-clans schools supported by taxes and controlled by the State. Mr. Forster added that we did not look to a rate-paid or tax-helped education for children whose schooling went on beyond the age of 14. Lord Carlingford, then President of the Council, said that what they were dealing with was not what the Education Department had to do with; and others of great practical experience agreed that the ground they were on could not be effectively occupied otherwise in England, and that schemes such as this might be made wide enough for all the needs of the country. The Commissioners of 1868 gave another reason against Government undertaking :—"That it was most undesirable, even if possible, to have such schools moulded in one type. Any attempt at securing the same subjects to be taught, the same method of organization to be followed, the same discipline to be adopted for all our middle-class schools would fail of the highest objects of education." The want of freedom and elasticity and of adaptation to various situations and circumstances; the loss of all advantage from special aptitudes of teachers; the same standards and textbooks imperatively used to meet the code all belonged to an educational system foreign to our national requirements. The cost of such a Government undertaking, even in its present incipient application, whether to a few children in each elementary school or to groups in super-elementary schools, was producing a ratepayers' outcry hazarding the whole cause of national education. If allowed to proceed the present estimate of seven millions a year would have to be doubled : and, if offered freely, trebled. Nor would this be all. When Mr. Mundella took credit to his department for the decrease of crime in the country be forgot all the reformatory and industrial schools outside his department to which it was more attributable. The multiplicity of institutions necessary to a complete State system was another objection of which they were amply warned by the example of the Continent. But the greatest objection to the Government undertaking our secondary education was its adopted mode of payment on results. The London School Board had condemned this method as fatal to education. They took the Treasury payments to general account, and by fixed salaries saved their teachers from the temptation of earning a livelihood by prizes got out of their pupils. (Bear, hear.) The overpressure so absurdly tested by medical cases was an inseparable feature of such a method of payment by an ascending scale of prizes earned through crammed up scholars. The Board had inspectors of their own to report on the whole school work. It was payment on results that excluded religious teaching, to which public grants could not be attached. To bring secondary education on such a system would be a national disaster. But could it be otherwise better supplied? Will sufficient independent supply be forthcoming? The Technical Instruction Commissioners, who had just reported, and the Commissioners of 1868 agreed in showing how much was already provided by independent foundations and private establishments. Both also agreed in looking to much unused endowment being made further available. There was, then, only a residue of deficiency to be supplied. To meet this, both suggested more power to towns to rate themselves voluntarily. But the Commissioners of 1868 proposed this only as a last resort, failing all further independent supply; the Technical Commissioners, as a part of an entire public educational undertaking, to which independent supply was only contributory. They assumed such a State system to be the object in view; and their main idea of national

education altogether seemed to be making our trade and manufactures meet foreign competition. They were commissioned to report on the instruction of industrial classes in foreign countries for comparison with and suggestions on our own. Their opening text was the formidable display of manufacturing improvements in the Paris Exhibition of 1873; and they took the foreign State system of education as their model. Yet it was remarkable that they traced the Continental technical schools to a dread of British superiority, and concluded that great as had been the progress and keen as was their rivalry, our people still maintained their position at the head of the industrial world. Secondary education they almost exclusively discussed as preparatory to technical instruction. It really was a general education of children from the age of 14 to 18 preparing for industrial employment higher than the manual work for which others left school at 14, which inferior labour they seemed to think a degradation from which all should be delivered. The mental training for special skilled em-ployment was what the spirit of this country would not fail to supply. For this we should rather look to the State standing out of the way than interfering. It had already gone far in impeding much fitter institutions for the purpose. At Liverpool a finely endowed college was being deserted for the cheaper offer of similar instruction at public expense. The Manchester Grammar School dwindled under the competition of a rate-paid rival. That any independent higher schools could compete with the unlimited resources of School Boards for buildings, appliances, and salaries proved the superior attraction of independent teaching. At Leeds the Grammar School adherents had baffled the ambition of the Board. In Birmingham large endowments had completely undertaken middle class education. The Day School Companies, handicapped as they were at starting, had proved successful, popular, and even profitable. But the effort and skill required in the struggle was great. The Government deny that the voluntary schools competed with the State schools. As their scholars could not earn grants after passing once their standards they were let go at the utmost age of 14. Some specific subjects also had been put down on the lower paid list and consequently dropped. Elementary examination had been continued in company with secondary, and much artificial display so abandoned. But all this was only to confess the sham of their invasion on the province of higher instruction; yet it none the less hindered better provision. Let the State provide free exhibitions for poor clever children from its elementary to the secondary schools, which were and would be much more independently provided. If this return gave the evidence he anticipated he would move a resolution on it next session. (Hear, hear.) The noble lord concluded by moving for the return of which he had given notice.

Viscount Cranbrook said that every body was aware of the groat interest which the noble lord had for so long taken in education, both elementary and secondary, and therefore his remarks were listened to with the respect they deserved. He agreed with his noble friend that the elementary system was not meant to give secondary education, and that at present all authorities on educational matters, and also all economical authorities, were equally opposed to giving secondary education at the expense of the country. He however, failed to see how that fact advanced the object which the noble lord had in view, which was, as he understood it, not to go now into the question of secondary education as a State system, but merely to show hew the present system of elementary education was extended beyond the sphere allotted to it until it became secondary education on a large scale. The security that they had in the matter, however, was that when a child had once passed its seventh standard its further education was entirely at its own expense. There were 28,000 departments in the country, and of these only 2,300 took specific subjects, and out of 4,300,000 children on the books of the schools only 33,236 passed in one of the subjects and 12,804 who passed in both. There was no intention on the part of the department to extend secondary education, but rather to check any tendency to do so. He could not conceive that these class subjects and specific subjects, of which English must always be one, could in any degree interfere with elementary education.

Earl Fortescue thought there was some inconsistency in the account given by the noble viscount, for if Latin, French, and algebra were taught, surely there was some tendency to travel towards the education of middle schools. One remarkable feature about this State and rate-aided education was that it was extremely difficult to find out what it costs. He objected to the present amount secondary education given with rate and State add as unjust to th rate payers and tax payers, and as demoralizing to those who took advantage of it.

The motion was then agreed to.

The Times, Saturday, July 18, 1885.

Into the alleged cases of over-pressure in the Board's schools seem, to judge from their report of which we printed an abstract yesterday, to have done their work carefully and thoroughly. They have held twenty-one meetings and have taken written and oral evidence from numerous independent quarters. An important part of their inquiry was the effect of over-pressure on the health of the school-children and the existence or non-existence among them of the many and formidable diseases referred to in DR. CRICHTON BROWNE'S report.

In dealing with this question it was necessary, they say, to have the advice of medical experts whose competence and impartiality would be accepted on all hands. This help they accordingly endeavoured to obtain; but, having somehow failed to do so, they gave up the attempt and succeeded, to their own satisfaction, in finding answers for themselves to the questions which the medical experts were to have been asked to answer for them. The summary of their opinions is very much what the general public are prepared to accept and credit. They have not found the systematic and universal over-pressure described in DR. CRICHTON BROWNE'S report, but have satisfied themselves, on the contrary, that the children in their schools are receiving benefit all round, in health as well as in learning. The existence of over-pressure in some cases they admit, but only among a comparatively small number of children, and this not as a necessary consequence of the school system, but through a variety of causes, some of which the School Board has no power adequately to control. Some of children are unduly pressed on by the wish of their parents, in order that they may reach a standard high enough to release them from further school attendance; others are sickly and underfed, or come from wretched homes, where the benefit they have received at school is largely undone out of school hours; other children attend school so irregularly that it is only by extra effort that they can be made to keep up with their class. In some instances, too, the school teaching has been unintelligent and unsympathetic, and the children have suffered in consequence. The School Board for London and the Education department—*ego et rex meus*—have, the report says, made many changes with a view of avoiding over-pressure, and the committee add a series of further recommendations framed for the same object.

Most of these it will be for the Board to consider and to give effect to as it may deem fit. With regard to others the help of the Education Department is asked. It is the opinion of the Committee that greater uniformity of method and a more equable standard in judging of school work are desirable among school inspectors. These, however, are not very easily to be secured. Nor are we at all sure that absolute uniformity of method is a thing to be desired in itself. We can understand that boys and masters may wish to know beforehand the line of examination which their inspector will follow, and that they find themselves baffled when he quits the beaten track and attacks them from an unlooked for quarter. But it is in this way that a good inspector can best detect the difference between intelligent training and cram. It is easier, of course, to cram boys than to train them intelligently in their work, but it is hardly the office of an inspector to suit his methods of examination to the interests either of the crammers or of the crammed. Another suggestion is that children who have not attended school with fair regularity should be relieved from examination and from the over-pressure almost necessarily involved in preparing them for it. This, and the suggestion which follows—that in estimating the merit grant more attention should be paid to the due promotion of children of more than average capacity—raise afresh the old vexed disputo between the interests of the many and of the few. The present system of payment by results has been complained of as favouring a dead level of attainments. It keeps back the best children and compels the teacher to bestow extra pains upon the worst and most un-promising. To allow a master to make a better average show by withdrawing from examination such children as would do him no credit would have an obvious tendency to lead him to neglect those children altogether. To compel him to present them is to compel him to fit them to be presented, but this, unfortunately, he can do only at the cost of time and attention which might be more fruitfully bestowed, and at some risk to the health of the child who must be taken through a year's work in very much less than a year. Again, to offer special rewards for the rapid promotion of clever children has a precisely contrary effect on the master and very much the same effect on the child. The master is tempted to give an undue share of attention to his best pupils at the expense, necessarily, of the others, while the boys who receive it are liable to be forced on for promotion without much regard to their physical health. The permission sought for teachers to classify their children in different subjects according to their abilities is open to no objection, if only the Department can see its way to granting it. It would involve a very considerable recasting of the present plan of arranging and examining and of apportioning school grants. But it is so reasonable a request that the trouble it would occasion would be well Worth its cost. Children have by no means an equal facility in each of the three subjects of reading, writing, and arithmetic, or of what the Code so terms. To write a good hand and to spoil correctly have little or no connexion with the curious art of solving arithmetical puzzles. The Code thinks otherwise, and insists on an arrangement of classes so contrived as to give effect to its views. It may be a question, however, how far school teachers are to be trusted to make another arrangement. The Committee ask that the necessary authority be granted to the teachers "under supervision," and this, we presume, the school managers are to provide. Authority, thus guarded, should be in no danger of being abused. The request that infant schools shall not be fined in case of the boys not taking needlework we may indorse without reserve. To sew on a button is about the only species of needlework which a boy will find of use, and to sew on a button is the very thing he is not taught to do.

The report is very full and precise. The re-commendations based upon it are discursive. The subject of over-pressure seems, like the subject of trade depression, to have no assignable limits. The inquiry gathers as it goes, and ends with a long list of things to be done and to be avoided not very closely connected with the matter

first proposed. We are glad to find in the report a confirmation of our own view that the outcry about over-pressure has been very much in excess of what the facts have warranted. The thing complained of has existed of course—it exists in all schools of all grades, and in the higher grades more than in elementary schools. But whatever fault there may have been in London elementary schools, the School Board has made strenuous efforts to get rid of it, and, in the opinion of its Committee, with very complete success. We are oven inclined to think that the precautions have been carried a little too far, and that over-pressure has been guarded against by methods which may endanger school efficiency. The struggle of teachers to obtain high percentages has been pointed out as a main cause of over-pressure. The struggle has been intensified by the old method, under which the teachers were paid by a fixed proportion of the grant, which varied in accordance with the percentage. This method the Board has now abolished and has substituted a system of payment by fixed salaries. That the change will be effective wo have no doubt. It will remove one great stimulus to exertion on the teacher's part, and will enable him to look with more equanimity on faults and imperfections which he has no longer the old inducement to cure. But that this is a change for the better is less certain. The value the Board attaches to it is proved by the fact that it has made it at a cost of £125,000 of public money. This we are to regard as spent by way of a bribe to masters and mistresses to moderate their educational zeal. A more useful result of the outcry against over-pressure will be the adoption by the Education Department of some of the suggestions appended to the Committee' report. But these, as the Committee point out, have their attendant dangers. Even the power sought of moving clever children up through the standards more rapidly than the rest will require to be exercised with care, since it will enable the children to arrive too soon at the standard which will allow of their being removed from school and sent out to work. The alternative is to keep them back at a standard admittedly too low for them, and this, therefore, is what a careful exercise of the power of promotion must propose as its proper aim. The result will be that the child's school life will be prolonged.

The Daily Telegraph,

Thursday, August 13, 1885.

The Chief Justice on Freethought.

To the Editor Of the Daily Telegraph.

Sir,—In a paragraph briefly commenting on Sir James Martin's address in defence of Christianity, delivered the previous evening, you say it is "pretty sure to provoke a salutary controversy." I presume, therefore, you will not object to concede me space in your columns to reply to some of the assertions and arguments of the Chief Justice, especially as I shall carefully avoid imitating the learned Judge's example and resorting to abuse when argument fails. To speak of the "amazing and presumptuous intolerance" of those who only demand to exercise the right of free speech which Sir James Martin claims and exercises furnishes a new illustration of the profound truth embodied in Æsop's Fable of the "Wolf and the Lamb." To denounce as "insolent vanity" the contention of men who simply seek to be allowed to shape their public words and actions in accordance with their convictions, and to term those who, like John Bright and Sir George Grey, strive to abolish compulsory oath-taking, "men of weak intellect," is to invite a form of rejoinder which I, for one, decline to indulge in.

The main argument on which Sir James relies to enforce upon unwilling minds an acceptance of Christian dogmas, "opposed to reason," is that the universe contains many mysteries "equally beyond the scope of intelligence." In other words, because we are ignorant in certain directions where we truthfully confess our ignorance; therefore in other directions where we are equally ignorant we are dogmatically to assert knowledge. We know nothing of the mystery impelling the visible universe, and we say so. We know nothing of the profounder mystery of God, but we are, at the bidding of ancient Jewish and Christian writers, to shroud our ignorance in an affectation of knowledge. The argument is futile. Protestants generally admit as much when combatting the assumptions of Rome. To the assertion of the Roman priest who affirms the sudden and miraculous transformation of the bread and wine in the sacrament, the Protestant answer is based on reason; and the priest who adduces the mysteries of the visible universe in support of his assumption is laughed at. But human reason declines to bow down before Protestant dogmas more than before Roman Catholic ones. Some seven years ago I was called upon to visit in friendly fraternal fashion the bedside of a dying freethinker, in the Dunedin hospital. He was looking forward to death as a happy release from pain and suffering, and the only

thing of which he complained was the pertinacious pesterings of certain fanatical visitors to the hospital, who strove to make him think as they thought. He was a German, and told me that his freethinking originated in the advice tendered him years before by an eminent and deservedly respected minister, the head of the Presbyterian community, Dr. Stewart. There was no Lutheran Church in Dunedin, and Dr. Stewart had pressed him to attend Knox Church, arguing that there was no important distinction between Lutheranism and Calvinism. The German urged that he had been taught to believe in the doctrine of the Real Presence at the Sacrament. "Oh, man," was the good doctor's answer; "why don't you use your reason?" The question set him thinking. He used his reason, and before long the doctrine of the Incarnation appeared no more reasonable than that of transubstantiation.

Sir James Martin, while strongly and even offensively upholding his own views in the realm of theology, insinuates a complaint against other judges who have advanced views differing from his. Some of the most notable opponents of Christian orthodoxy of late years have belonged to the judicial bench. Judge Strange, of the High Court of Madras; Chief Justice Hansom, of South Australia; and Judges Higinbotham and Williams, of Victoria, are familiar names. Chief Justice Martin talks of "the Supreme Court of a Christian community," and evidently disapproves of judges touching theology with other than orthodox pens and tongues. But to what "Christian community" does his Honor refer? A Christian community involves a Christian religion supported from a general Christian fund. The colonies are not Christian communities, but communities where Christians constitute the majority; and all officials in such communities are justified in giving free expression to their honest sentiments whenever they may deem it useful to do so. Christianity has been propped up long enough by State persecution. If it be true, it has no occasion to silence any opponent by force or penalty. It may, in very deed, concede that freedom of opinion which Sir James erroneously alleges it has already granted, but which those who have recently emerged from English prisons on account of their opinions—those who are still subjected to persecution and disability for their heresy, can too emphatically deny.

Sir James condemns "some men of science" who, he alleges, have led the assaults upon Christianity. Science has always been charged with occupying an antichristian position. Bacon, Newton and Locke, who are now amusingly put forward as shining lights of Christianity, were in their lifetime denounced in terms far more abusive than any which have been hurled at Darwin-Huxley, Tyndall, Spencer or Hæckel. What is the reason of this? Simply that science is perpetually bringing to light new facts relative to the universe, and these disagree with and hence cause lack of faith in old assumptions. The religious sentiment—the sentiment of reverence for the highest and noblest we can know or imagine—remains; but the dogmas of theology find themselves endangered. Truth cannot be endangered; but dogmas which have postured as truth may be and are. The present president of the Royal Society in one of his lay sermons says :—"The myths of Paganism are as dead as Osiris or Zeus, and the man who should revive them, in opposition to the knowledge of our time, would be justly laughed to scorn; but the coeval imaginations current among the rude inhabitants of Palestine, recorded by writers whose very name and age are admitted by every scholar to be unknown, have unfortunately not yet shared their fate, but, even at this day, are regarded by nine-tenths of the civilised world as the authoritative standard of fact. The cosmogony of the semi-barbarous Hebrew is the incubus of the philosopher and the opprobrium of the orthodox. Who shall number the patient and earnest seekers after truth, from the days of Galileo until now, whose lives have been embittered and their good name blasted by the mistaken zeal of bibliolaters? Who shall count the host of weaker men whose sense of truth has been destroyed in the effort to harmonise impossibilities—whose life has been wasted in the attempt to force the generous new wine of science into the old bottles of Judaism."

Professor Tyndall, another veritable spokes-man on behalf of science, intimates very clearly wherein the contest between it and religion consists. In one of his articles on "Evolution," originally published in the *Nineteenth Century*, he states the case thus :—" Feeling appeared in the world before knowledge; and thoughts, conceptions and creeds, founded on emotion, had, before the dawn of science, taken root in man . . . It is against this objective rendering of the emotions—this thrusting into the region of fact and positive knowledge of conceptions essentially ideal and poetic—that science, consciously or unconsciously, wages war. Religious feeling is as much a verity as any other part of human consciousness; and against it, on its subjective side, the waves of science beat in vain. But when, manipulated by the constructive imagination, mixed with imperfect or inaccurate historical data, and moulded by misapplied logic, this feeling traverses our knowledge of nature, science, as in duty bound, stands as a hostile power in its path. It is against the mythologic scenery, if I may use the term, rather than against the life and substance of religion, that science enters her protest. Sooner or later among thinking people that scenery will be taken for what it is worth, as an effort on the part of man-to bring the mystery of life and nature within the range of his capacities; as a temporary and essentially fluxional rendering in terras of knowledge of that which transcends all knowledge and admits only of ideal approach." It is against those ancient guesses of our race being longer regarded as divine revelation that the much-abused Freethought movement of the day is directed. All the good secular work of the world, by whatever sectarian

name it may term itself—Hindoo, Buddhist, Mahomedan, Hebrew or Christian—is most acceptable to it. Freethinkers look to see that work increased a hundred-fold when labor on behalf of humanity shall become the first, and not a secondary, thought of religious philosophy—when humanity and not Christianity shall be proclaimed as the shibboleth of brotherhood. Sir James Martin terms these innovators "apostles of disorder." He is linking them to an honorable ancestry. Does he remember, in a past age of transition, when the world was emerging from outworn superstitions, who was denounced as an " apostle or disorder "? "For we have found this man a pestilent fellow, and a mover of sedition among all the Jews throughout the world, and a ringleader of the sect of the Nazarenes, who also hath gone about to profane the Temple." The judges and priests of the day got the upper hand of that "apostle of disorder," and crushed him. But m so far as he strove for freedom from the incubus of Jewish ritualism he was mightier than they, and, the centuries reaped the gain of his conflict. Commingling like all human teachings, truth and error, his truth remains ours, while his error is gradually fading away. May the work of the "apostles of disorder" of the present day share a similar fate.—Yours, &c..

Charles Bright.

Redmyre,

August 12.

Sir James Martin on Christianity.

The Christian Evidence Society may be congratulated upon having tempted the Chief Justice to come before the public in the capacity of a defender of the national faith. For Christianity is the national faith in New South Wales. Apart from the numerous and powerful voluntary associations of Christians, the very laws under which we live, according to our highest judicial authority, "at many points recognise Christian truth, and throughout are saturated with Christian precepts." From this point of view, it is true that Christianity is part of the law of the land. Sir JAMES MARTIN asserted so much not long ago upon the bench of the Supreme Court, and it was natural that he should not only reassert this fact upon the platform of the Christian Evidence Society, but also claim that he "could be in no way better employed, as the chief administrator in this colony of laws based upon Christianity, than in thus publicly joining with those who wish again to call to mind the proofs of its truth." And there can be no question as to the value of his Honor's attitude and advocacy. We remarked the other day that the church of the future in Australia must build itself upon the intellectual and spiritual assent of a free people; and hence there is an imperative necessity for eloquence, scholarship, logic and earnestness on the part of those who undertake to expound and defend the creed of Christendom.

That the occupant of the highest position in our society, and who must be a man of exceptional capacity, can influence the popular acceptance or rejection of Christian dogma, is beyond doubt. Sir JAMES MARTIN is more than the chief administrator of our laws. A long, honorable and distinguished career at the Bar and in the Legislature invested him with an Australian reputation as one of the ablest men who have ever entered public life, or honored the profession of the law in this colony. Human nature would have to undergo a miraculous change before the example of a gifted and cultured and experienced man like Sir JAMES MARTIN accepting religious doctrine which is confessedly beyond the analysis and perfect comprehension of reason could be ineffective. In all ages and in all societies the example in such matters of the largest natured men tells upon the belief and conduct of their neighbors. Into the theological questions raised by Sir JAMES MARTIN on Tuesday night it is not our province to enter; but it does come fairly within the broad scope of journalism to notice the Chief Justice's clear endorsement of the national faith, and to approve his outspoken condemnation of the selfish secularism which would be such a miserable substitute for the old belief. "Notwithstanding," said Sir JAMES, "that the Christian dogmas are, humanly speaking, so incomprehensible, they have been accepted as true by the greatest intellects, and they have moulded for good the daily life, and been the means of hope and consolation under all trials, of countless millions of people during more than sixty generations."

It is easy to cheer the Chief Justice's eloquent laudation of the national religion, but it is not so easy to support his specific attack upon "Judges in the Supreme Court in a Christian community" who "publicly throw discredit upon Christianity itself." His Honor was careful to protect the intellectual independence of the occupants of the bench. "That those learned gentlemen should, after such inquiry as their well-trained minds had enabled them to make, have come to the conclusions which they have laid before the world, is a thing of which no one ought to complain." It is to the laying of their views before the world that Sir JAMES objects.

"Respecting, as I do, their sincerity, I with all humility crave leave (I hope, without offence) to say that in my opinion they have in so acting fallen into error." It may be reasonably conjectured that this criticism is particularly intended for Mr. Justice HIGINBOTHAM, whose heterodox lecture in the Scots' Church, Melbourne, led to the Rev. CHARLES STRONG'S virtual severance from the Victorian Presbyterian Church, and for Mr. Justice WILLIAMS, the author of that rather boyish book, *Religion without Superstition*. A section of the Victorian Press will delight to find an ally in the Chief Justice of New South Wales; but the majority of critics in the sister-colony, while holding that many of the views put forth by the lecturer and author were unsound, admitted that Judges in the Supreme Court were under no re-striction of silence. A restriction of silence upon theological questions is a dangerous one to impose upon any man in a free community. It may be quite true that the laws under which we live are saturated with Christian precepts; but it is just as true that the Supreme Court administrators of those laws are not called upon to deliver theological rulings from the bench, and, therefore, it is difficult to understand why they may not freely print their theological opinions. It ought, we think, to be the privilege of every Australian to make whatever contribution it pleases him to the religious controversies of the day. For a Judge to have to resign his place on the bench before delivering a heterodox lecture, or printing a heterodox book, would be a greater evil than the inconsistency, more theoretical than practical, of a sceptic interpreting and administering laws admittedly saturated with Christian precepts.

Nor can we agree with Sir JAMES MARTIN'S denunciation of the people who desire to see the abolition of oaths in Courts of Justice. We do not think the Legislature has conceded anything to "the insolent vanity of atheists." Concessions have been made either to the growing toleration of Christians towards men who are troubled with conscientious scruples, or to the growing conviction of Christians themselves that oaths are unchristian. The elevation of the simple "Yea, yea," and "Nay, nay," which the Founder of Christianity commended should be a very possible consequence of the abolition of oaths; and a condition of society in which truth is spoken without the aid of an oath is surely preferable to one in which the oath is necessary in the interests of truth.

We said yesterday that his Honor made a thinly-veiled reference to the Sydney School of Arts. Speaking of the more or less voluble and self-sufficient secularist orators of the platform and the stump, he said :—"In some instances they have gained a footing in so-called educational institutions, partly supported by public funds, and presided over by high public functionaries, and their efforts are directed, not to discussion with the intelligent for the purpose of resolving honest doubts, but with the deliberate design to unsettle the belief of the ignorant, and encourage in the masses a spirit of resistance to all authority." A great deal of this criticism fits the Sydney School of Arts most accurately. For some time past the "free-thought" party have strenuously sought practically governing ascendancy in this institution. The debating society in connection with it might as well set itself to prove the falsity of the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England as to spend its time upon subjects which are usually discussed by the orators of the Sunday night gatherings in the theatres. The free thought party are as much a sect, and are as bitterly and intolerantly sectarian, as the narrowest of religious denominations, and they have no right to attempt to run a State-aided and professedly unsectarian institution like the School of Arts in their own sectarian interests. Sir JAMES MABTIN'S words may be taken as words of warning by the members of the Sydney School of Arts who recently showed so eager a desire to retain the *Liberator* in the reading-room. There is a limit to even Christian toleration.

The Daily Telegraph,

Saturday, August 22, 1885.

Review.

Public Education in New Zealand.*

New Zealand has the advantage at the present time of having as its Minister of Education a gentleman practically acquainted with the teacher's work; and the address delivered by him in the local Parliament a month ago, is possessed of more than ordinary interest and deserves extended publicity. Mr. Stout opens his address, which in its printed shape occupies some 40 pages octavo, with these words :—"It has not been the custom hitherto for the Minister of Education to make any formal statement about the working of his department. Seeing, however, the natural and gradual increase of the vote for education in proportion to the increase of

population, and the need there is in every country of taking care that the lines on which the State aid to education is granted are such as commend themselves to the community, I have thought it proper to make a short statement about the educational position of this colony. I do not think there is any need of apology for my doing so. It is considered the duty of other Ministers, with respect to their several departments, to report to the House, outside of the official departmental reports, what has been accomplished during the recess, and also, if necessary, to indicate what reforms may be made in the departments under their control. There is no department so important as that of education." Mr. Stout then proceeds to show I what the State has done in regard to higher, secondary and primary education; what reforms are being attempted and what, in his opinion, are further needed in these branches; what has been accomplished with native schools schools for deaf mutes and State industrial schools and the way in which the State is developing scientific instruction and the establishment of public libraries, museums. &c. He also enters upon a defence of the position modern States assume in interfering with, and to a considerable extent controlling education, and urges the hearty acquiescence of Parliament in passing the votes required for the effective support of the secular system adopted in New Zaland.

The staff which the central Government possesses for the control of the whole of this department cannot be regarded as an extravagant one, consisting, as it does, of the Secretary, the Inspector-General of schools, three clerks and three cadets.

The New Zealand University is an examining and not a teaching organisation. It confers degrees, but the teaching part of university work is done by affiliated institutions comprising, at the present date, the Otago University, Dunedin; the Canterbury College, Christchurch; University College and St. John's College, Auckland; and Nelson. High schools for both boys and girls are numerous, and fairly distributed over the colony.

The primary schools are under the charge of 13 Boards, and consist of 976 ordinary primary schools and 11 district high schools, combining some secondary school work with primary teaching. The teaching corps comprises 1657 teachers, 790 pupil teachers, and 161 sewing mistresses; and the current cost is £313, 816, being at the rate of £4 3s, 2¼d. each for 76,891 pupils in average attendance, or £8 4s. 9½d. each for 96,840 pupils on the rolls, The expenditure on school buildings last year was £49,679, or at the rate of 13s. 2¼d. for each scholar in average attendance, and 10s. 3d. per pupil on the rolls.

As a test of the value of the colonial system, Mr. Stout points to the number of their teachers, exclusive of pupil-teachers, trained in New Zealand. He had obtained the statistics of all the schools of the colony, except about 90, and found that in these schools there were altogether 1650 teachers. Of these, 1034 were trained in New Zealand.

The weaknesses of the system he indicates as being a lack of proper gradation between the primary and secondary schools; that too much attention is paid to literary education as compared with scientific; and the almost complete want of technical instruction. Steps are being taken, however, to remedy these deficiencies. On the subject of scientific education, Mr. Stout says:—

"We have brought with us to our colony the idea that our fathers had about high-class education, and their idea was that a high-class education must be a literary education, an acquaintance with languages, an acquaintance with the literature of ancient peoples, an acquaintance juice with philosophy. In these days scientific education has taken great strides, and every-where throughout the world efforts are being made to teach science in such a way that, independently of the information it contains, it may afford a mental gymnastic equal in value with that which is supplied by the study of any classical language, The University of New Zealand has wisely recognised this, and so have the affiliated colleges; though the recognition can only take practical shape to the extent allowed by their revenues. Considerable stress has for some time been placed upon scientific attainments, and now persons may obtain degrees in science without having passed in more than two languages, and one of the languages may be English and the other French or German or Italian. The pass for a bachelor of science is as follows :—Mathematics, physics, chemistry, biology, and any two out of the five following subjects :—Latin, Greek, English, modern languages, mental science. A candidate can both matriculate and afterwards proceed to to the B.Sc. degree without any knowledge of the classics."

In the secondary schools considerable advance has been made in science classes, while in the primary schools, Mr. Stout is making alterations in the standards, with the view of giving science a fairer position.

Touching technical instruction, the following remarks are so interesting, that we quote them *in extenso*:—

"Our schools cannot be utilised—neither our primary nor secondary schools—for direct training for special trades. The workshop, after all, must be the school for the mechanic. All that we can hope to do in primary or secondary schools is to so teach a boy the theory applicable to any trade that the practice may become easy to him, and also to so train him that he may have a bias towards industry. The training may, perhaps, include, where circumstances will permit, some practical exercises in the handling of tools. Believing in the great advantages of technical education to this colony as likely to promote the development of our manufacturing, our mining, and our agricultural pursuits, I addressed, through the Department, a letter to the

various secondary schools in this colony, a copy of which will be found annexed to the report of the Education Department laid on the table of the House. I am glad to state that this letter has met with hearty response from almost all the schools, and efforts have been made to establish technical and science classes.

* * * * *

In order, however, to provide for the teaching of technical science, something must be done in primary schools. What, then, can be done? Following the recommendation of the Royal Commissioners on Technical Instruction, who reported last year to the British Government, I have included drawing as one of the compulsory subjects, Drawing is of very great importance to most of our trades; the carpenter, the builder, the engineer, the cabinet maker the pattern-maker, the manufacturer, the dressmaker—almost all—require to know drawing. It is, in fact, the first step in technical education, and I propose that it shall be compulsory in all the standards. I shall not expect that the pass will be high, and I shall not seek to enforce this compulsory subject in the higher standards at once. I know that there are many good teachers throughout the colony who do not Know how to teach drawing because they have never been trained, and that is one of the difficulties under which the education system must labor for many years to come. I intend, however, by the adoption of drawing copy-books, and by only requiring at first what may be turned an elementary pass, to lay the lines for the development of drawing, it being, as I have said, the basis of all technical-science education, Then I propose that attention shall be paid to elementary science, and I believe that elementary science can be taught, not from text-books but orally by the teachers, and that it should be taught to our children from their earliest years, and without any technical names: geology could be called earth-knowledge; botany, plant-knowledge, and so on. And the principles of mechanics could be taught without text-books, by means of object-lessons. In schools in the country, I think the teachers should be able to give a special bias towards agriculture, and in schools in the various town districts, a special bias may be given towards those manufactures that have been, or are likely to be, established in those towns. This is the system that is practised in many parts of the Continent of Europe with very happy results. With the aid of drawing, we may hope to see our manufacturers become more artistic. Defect in this respect, as has been pointed out by the Commissioners on Technical Education, has been the great drawback to the manufactures of the English, workman : for sound workmanship he is not to be excelled by any foreign workman, but he has lacked the artistic finish and touch of many continental manufacturers."

The aborigines of the colony are provided for in 65 native village schools, in charge of 116 teachers and work mistresses, the cost, includ-ing buildings, being £16,000. There are 2226 attending these schools, in which, it appears, the prominent Maoris take a keen interest. "Looking over the reports of the inspector," says Mr. Stout, "and comparing the work with that done in European schools, one sees that with proper educational opportunities the Maori race will not be far behind us. I have seen letters of their own composition written by Maori children; I have seen work done by them, of all kinds, equal in many respects to that done by Europeans; and, seeing that we have a great responsibility in dealing with the Maoris, in providing for their future, I only regret that many years ago similar efforts were not made for the training of Maori children."

There is much more in this exhaustive address worthy of attention, but we conclude our notice of it by reference to the portion where Mr. Stout deals with a subject in which all the colonies are keenly interested, viz., the probable effect of the State education on the morals of the community. We have frequently had occasion to point out in these columns that in the Australian colonies the statistics of criminality show that those trained in State schools have the advantage of other sections of the population. The experience of *New* Zealand tends in, a similar direction, as the following extract from this address indicates :—

"If it be said that our State system is doing any moral injury to the children, I say that this Question may be tested by statistics. Our State system has now been seven years in operation. This period has been sufficient to afford some test of the system and its results, and the questions we have to ask ourselves are, Has juvenile crime increased and how do children at our schools turn out in after years? So far as juvenile crime is concerned, New Zealand is far more free from it than other countries. I you take, for example, the number of prisoners from 10 to 20 years of age received into our principal gaols, I find that, of the population per thousand at that age, there are only 2.49 between 10 and 20, being 4.90 per cent. Of the total prisoners. If I go to England and Wales I find that between the ages of 12 and 21 the corresponding proportions are 7.75 and 19.78; in 1878 it was 8.16 and 19.30. If I go to New South Wales, where there has been religious teaching in schools, the clergyman having the right to enter there, I find that from 10 to 20 the proportions are 6.38 and 7.60 respectively. In Victoria, where the system is more secular than in the neighbouring colony, the proportions are only 3.94 and 7.58; in Queensland, where there is the secular system, 4.92 and 12.86. The numbers I have formerly given are those of prisoners who have been received in the principal prisons. I have omitted those received in what are termed police-gaols; if these be added, the totals for New Zealand will be 2.96 per thousand. I know it may be said that there are other causes that have led to the differing results in the other colonies. This does not affect my contention, for I adduce the statistics only to show that our own system has not been productive of any ill consequences in the direction of crime, and that we are remarkably free as a

colony from any criminal tendency."

Mr. Stout then quotes further statistics to prove that since the establishment of the State secular education, crime in New Zealand has largely decreased. "I do not mean to say," he adds, "that the Education Act has caused this; I only say this: that those who say that the Education Act tends to larrikinism or to crime or to vice should look at the statistics, and they will see that, with a more efficient police force than we ever had, we have had less crime, fewer apprehensions and summons cases, fewer commitments for trial, and fewer convictions. I hope, after the figures I have given, that we shall hear no more remarks about our State system tending to crime. On the contrary, the statistics show that crime is yearly lessening, and I have no doubt that, as the education of the people progresses, crime will still decrease." In the face of facts like these, it is not surprising that the New Zealand Parliament lately, in such emphatic fashion, rejected a proposition to interfere with the existing system of secular education.

Otago Daily Times, Friday, September 4, 1885.

Chamber of Commerce

The annual meeting of the Dunedin Chamber of Commerce was held yesterday afternoon, when, in the absence of the president (Mr E. B. Cargill), Mr J. T. Mackerras (vice-president) occupied the chair. There were also present-Rear-Admiral Scott, Captains Fox and Boyd, Messrs A. Maxwell, A. Scoullar (mayor), J. Roberts, J. L. Gillies, A. C. Begg, H. Driver, J. M. Jones, A. Bartleman, R. L. Stanford, R. Glendining, G. Bell, G. L. Denniston, D. Reid, T. Brown, R. Wilson, J. W. Brindley, J. Hack-worth, J. Sinclair, J. M. Ritchie, J. Davie, T. W. Kempthorne, K. Ramsay, C. S. Reeves, J. Wilson, W. C. Smith, W. Henderson, E. Melland, D. Baxter, Jas. Smith, T. M. Wilkinson, A. S. Paterson.

ANNUAL REPORT.

The report (already published) having been taken as read,

The CHAIRMAN said: Gentlemen, in moving the adoption of the report, I have to express my regret that Mr E. B. Cargill, our chairman, has been unexpectedly called to Melbourne, thereby throwing on me at the last moment the duty of presiding at this annual meeting. Consequently I have not had time to prepare such an address as is usually delivered from the chair on these occasions, and I must therefore throw myself on the indulgence of the chamber as regards the few remarks I intend to make. At this time last year the chief matter of concern to us all was the depression which prevailed all over the Colony; and now we have to deplore that that depression is in no degree lessened. Everyone is trying to trace the cause with a view to finding a remedy. It seems strange that, with all the advantages we possess in the shape of productive soil, splendid climate, and other great natural resources, we in New Zealand should find the whole of our varied interests in their present state of suffering. On looking around we find that our two main interests—the agricultural and pastoral industries—show no signs of amelioration; on the contrary, both are more depressed now than last year. And to what is this due? Not merely to the unprecedentedly low prices which prevail for grain and wool, but also, in my opinion, to the action of our financial companies, with large sums of money at their disposal, who have induced farmers and wool-growers to invest in land at exorbitant prices, the high interest and charges on which are far beyond what even judicious husbandry and grazing of the lands can possibly return. Until this state of things is altered, and the lands of the Colony are in the hands of the settler at prices which will enable him, not only to pay fair interest on what he is obliged to borrow, but in addition return a reasonable profit on his labour, we cannot hope for permanent improvement. Another factor in the present depression is extravagance. There is no concealing the fact that an important characteristic of our colonial life in the past has been extravagance. We have been all living too fast; and the consequence is that we are now brought face to face with the necessity for the strictest economy, not only commercially and socially, but also, and especially, on the part of the Government, who, since the public works scheme was inaugurated in 1871, have set us the example of unbounded extravagance. The Colony has had to pay enormous sums yearly by way of interest on heavy expenditure on public works which have been begun and not prosecuted to a reproductive point. From the returns attached to the Public Works Statement, and which has just been submitted by the Minister of Public Works, I find that on railways alone a sum of about one million sterling has been expended on lines not yet open for traffic; and on some of these lines the expenditure has been going on for eight or ten years, while had the works been prosecuted with vigour they might have long since been opened and yielding some return on the

capital expended. While a certain large outlay is unavoidable in the construction of our railways before they can become reproductive, I believe I am within the mark in estimating that the country is burdened unnecessarily from the cause I have stated to the extent of £50,000 a year; and this extravagant course will continue so long as we are liable to the formation of what are known as political railways and other purely political public works. The only remedy for this state of things is for Parliament to lay it down as a rule, in so far as railways are concerned, that for the future, in the case of every new railway to the construction of which they give their assent, and which can be shown is worked at a loss, that loss shall be made good by a rate levied on the district through which the railway passes. I now pass from the less pleasing features of our commercial position, and deal in a few sentences with one or two subjects of a more local character, which I think ought to present to us a more hopeful prospect, if not at present, certainly in the future. From the statistics of New Zealand for 1884-5, we find the value of the exports for the Colony amount to £7,009,667, of which Otago exported £2,214,800, or nearly one-third of the whole. The total imports for the same period amount to £7,663,888, and to Otago £2,373,796. Our industries and manufactures, notwithstanding the dull times, have steadily gone forward, and are now attaining a magnitude and position of excellence of which we may be justly proud. If Dunedin is to hold her own in onward progress, our manufactures must continue to bear an important part in that progress. In the prosecution of this department of commercial enterprise nature has supplied us with all the elements necessary to success. We have coal in abundance at our very door, and supplied at a minimum of cost; we have water power, which is not sufficiently appreciated, but is sure to be more utilised as our manufactures develop. While on the subject of motive power, I may say that the output of coal from our local coal mines for the year amounts to 110.000 tons, the value of which at the pit mouth is £62,000. This industry employs 265 men. As regards two of our local industries, I have had forcibly brought under my notice the enormous loss to the Colony that arises from the present defective manufacture of butter and cheese—especially the former. Owing to this cause I am within the mark when I say that half our production goes bad, and in my opinion the only remedy for this is the encouragement of butter and cheese factories where a uniform standard of quality can be secured. Our export of butter for the year under review amounted to £66,593, and cheese to £25,095. Before leaving the subject of local industries, I would venture the remark that the Colony must sooner or later face the question how far new and struggling industries are to rely on receiving some fostering aid from the State, or whether their development is to be left to the intelligence and enterprise of the promoters themselves. In other words, we have to fight the battle of Freetrade v. Protection, and, without venturing an opinion on either side, I trust to the question being speedily settled one way or the other. Our harbour operations are progressing satisfacfactorily, both at the Heads and in the Upper Harbour. Already the mode which is being constructed at the Heads is producing the effect on the beach current which was looked for, and it is confidently expected that the works, when completed, will realise the expectations of the engineer. The minimum depth on the bar is now 19ft at low water. In the Victoria Channel a minimum depth of 14ft low water, equal to 20ft 6in at high tide, has been attained. This depth will be increased to 16ft at low water within the next three months, and a small additional amount of work at three or four points would give us a navigating depth of 18ft low water. The arrivals at Dunedin wharves for the six months ending—

- June 30, 1884—333 vessels, equal to 57,6.33 tons
- June 30, 1885—330 vessels, equal to 86,625 tons

While the number of vessels coming up to Dunedin in 1885 was less than in 1884, the tonnage was about 50 per cent. more. In 1875 the revenue of the Harbour Board was £13,000; this year it will exceed £40,000. The present revenue from endowments is about £7000 a year; and as the whole revenue now more than meets the interest on loans, it may be reasonably expected that the rents to be derived from the large additional area of land available for leasing will shortly enable a material reduction to be made in the port charges. Of the many subjects dealt with by the chamber during the past year, I may mention the difficulties attending the discharge of Home ships at Dunedin Wharf. The committee of the chamber have given their assistance to the Harbour Board in removing some of them. The action of the chamber, in conjunction with the other chambers in the Colony, in memorialising the Government to reduce the price charged for the telephone has been amply justified by results. I observe from the recently-issued report of the Telegraph Department that the income from the telephonic services has been the large sum of £9584 for the year, while the capital expended up to December 31 last was only £26,178. Now, as the annual cost of the services (including maintenance, repairs, and working expenses) is set down at £5590, the department is actually netting a profit at the rate of 16 per cent, per annum. I am inclined to think that the chamber will be disposed to agree with me that no department of the State should be carried on with the object of extracting a large profit out of the already heavily-burdened taxpayer. The public, on the one hand, have a right to expect that a service should be efficiently and economically performed; the Government, on the other hand, should be content with a reasonable margin of profit after meeting all proper charges for maintenance, salaries, &c. I do not think that I need ask business men whether a profit of 16 per cent, is reasonable in the circumstances? That the exchanges are popular is evidenced

by the fact that on June 30 last there were over 1100 subscribers in the Colony. Of this number Dunedin has 343, Auckland 320, Wellington 204, and Christchurch 184. The report from which I quote states the Dunedin number as 343, but it is really 384, as there are a number of telephones in Dunedin for which no charge is made. Though the department complacently points to the fact that in some of our cities the telephone is more largely used than in the United States, I think that this chamber will act wisely in continuing to bring pressure to bear on the department to further reduce the charge till this useful invention is brought within the reach of every class of the community. I feel persuaded that a uniform charge of £5 per subscriber would not only greatly popularise the exchanges, but would result in an appreciable increase of revenue. The committee had an interview with Dr Von Haast, the commissioner appointed by the Government to furnish information on the subject of the proposed Indian and Colonial Exhibition, to be held in London in 1866. The committee sympathised most cordially with the movement, and resolved to afford all the assistance in their power to forward the objects of the Exhibition. They also appointed a sub-committee to give their special attention to this subject, During the past year death has remove a three of our members—one of whom, Mr G. Lewis, took a great interest in the business of the Chamber, and made a most efficient member of committee. Appended to the report will be found a valuable mass of statistics, compiled by the secretary, which I commend to the careful study of the members.

Mr BROWN seconded the adoption of the report. They were going to elect a committee that day, and probably the remarks made by the chairman about the necessity for economy, particularly on the part of the Government, might well be taken into consideration. It was understood as a rule that politics should not be introduced into discussions in that chamber, but there were subjects in this connection which he thought might fairly come within the province of the committee to discuss. One of these was the question of Government expenditure—fairly called extravagant by the chairman. For instance, we had in our railway tariff some hundreds of lines requiring a considerable amount of clerical labour, and among the customs duties there were hundreds of items which yielded very little revenue and involved a great amount of labour. All this meant a waste of power. He found, on looking over the Government reports, that over £90,000 was spent in the Post Office and Telegraph Department by the Government, or, rather, that much value was monopolised by the Government. It was perfectly true that we wanted some reform. The present depression might be due in some measure to the causes the chairman had stated, but one complication of the disease from which we were suffering was over-government—(hear)—and he did not know a more useful or practical subject that could engage the attention of the committee. So long as private extravagance only went on it might not affect the whole community, because private extravagance must soon find its end, but over-government was one of the causes of the most severe troubles we were labouring under at present.—(Applause).

The report was then unanimously adopted.

ELECTION OF OFFICE-BEARERS.

The CHAIRMAN said that on former occasions it had been customary for the incoming committee to be nominated by the outgoing one, but some objection had been raised to this from time to time, and he had to intimate that now the election would be left entirely in the hands of the chamber. Members had been requested to send in nominations, but none had been received, still the election would be left to the chamber to nominate members now.

Mr BROWN believed it was customary for one of the retiring committee to propose the new president, and he had therefore much pleasure in proposing that Mr Mackerras be president for the ensuing year. The manner in which he had fulfilled the duties of vice-president was the best guarantee that good work might be hoped for under his presidency.

Mr G. L. DENNISTON seconded the motion, which was carried unanimously.

On the motion of Mr Glendining, Mr G. L. Denniston was then elected vice-president.

After some discussion the following gentle-men were elected the committee for the ensuing year:—Messrs R. Glendining, R. H. Leary, E. B. Cargill, Andrew Maxwell, W. B. Boyd, George Bell, W. Dymock, Grant P. Farquhar, Robert Wilson, and J. M. Jones.

PUBLIC WORKS EXPENDITURE.

Mr J. M. RITCHIE moved the following resolution :—"That in order to strengthen the hands of Otago members of Parliament in resisting the beginning of new public works, especially the East and West Coast railway, and generally those involving an increase of borrowing on the part of the Colony, this chamber are of opinion that it is desirable to forego the proposed expenditure for this year on the Otago Central railway, if by so doing the objects indicated above are gained." He had not time, and did not know that it would be desirable

to occupy the chamber with any lengthy remarks. It was a matter of notoriety, and had been frequently commented upon, that the increasing inclination, on the part of the Government and members of Parliament to claim the full share of what they deemed necessary expenditure for public works, and to increase borrowing for that purpose was becoming a serious matter for all who had the interest of the Colony at heart. He did not know that he need say much to emphasise this fact. It was patent before our eyes, and the present Government—about whom he was not going to say anything good or bad, because after all they were representatives of the people, and were merely pressing what was in the main the mind of the people—were assisting by all means in their power to have these strong inclinations given effect to. He need only refer to one or two points in proof. The first was the extraordinary action in reference to the Port Chalmers dock, which had after all simply put facilities in the way of increased borrowing. Then there was the large expenditure authorised for the North Island railway, and, worst of all, the expenditure which the Government were determined to commence, if they could, on the East and West Coast railway. He might take it as proved that there was no appearance on the part of the Government of any inclination to curb the borrowing inclinations of the people. It was true the House seemed to have a strong leaning towards economy, and had attempted by various means to give effect to this; but there was no evidence yet that they had brought themselves to the point of allowing their efforts to have any direct effect upon the districts which each section of the House represented. That was to to say, members were very willing to talk about the necessity for decreasing the expenditure, but it must be in every case somewhere else than in the particular district represented by each member. In short, every member seemed perfectly willing to sacrifice the last drop of his brother's blood, but none of his own. It seemed to the speaker that if this went on the present evils were likely to be indefinitely perpetuated. The £150,000 proposed to be spent on the East and West Coast railway, small as it seemed, was merely the thin end of the wedge, and was the beginning of an expenditure of something like three millions. The only means by which a cure for this state of things might be looked for was by someone having the courage and self-denial to make a beginning in the direction of the principle which they all believed to be so important. For this reason he had brought forward his motion, and would only say that we in Otago seemed to be in a position to make the sacrifice with a better grace, or at any rate with less actual harm to the works in our own district than any other section of the Colony. We had got the Otago Central railway begun, and a good deal of money had been spent upon it, and it was so far advanced that it must be finished. Of course a large sum was lying idle in connection with the line, but on the other hand the year's expenditure at the outside would have but an imperceptible effect in bringing the line into a revenue-producing state, and we could fairly allow such a period to elapse without suffering much thereby. He had been told by one or two to whom he had spoken that this motion was too specific, meaning that they should pass some resolution more general in tone, and should not be so specific in reference to any particular work. He did not, however, agree with this, and he was intentionally thus specific in the wording of the resolution. The fact was that anything short of a specific act of self-denial would simply be relegating the motion into the region of generalities, and would have very small effect indeed with those they were seeking to influence. Beside*, they felt that specific works in the North should be postponed, and of course the arguments of the supporters of these works would be that the Otago people should be the last to complain, having already got what they wanted—that Otago had its line and had no right to say a word about other places. There was, of course, a broader view from which the matter might be looked at; but they all knew what human nature was; it was impossible to give their arguments any weight by merely advocating general principles. He had purposely abstained from any reference to the specific question affecting the Otago Central railway. It would be very likely pointed out in answer that hundreds of thousands of pounds were lying idle, and that a large section of the line only wanted a certain further sum spent to make it in a measure productive. To tell the honest truth, he had no idea of the position of the Otago Central railway as regarded these sections, but he felt that unless there was some extraordinary objection upon specific grounds there would be no serious disadvantage to the country or district in carrying such a motion. He was sure the effect of it on the Government and the House would be very strong indeed. It would be the first exhibition of a desire on the part of the country to bring matters within proper bounds, regardless of how hard the consequences might press on special districts. He might say that he had been an opponent of the Otago Central from the first, and never had been able to see that the expenditure had done much good to Dunedin or to the district. The hopes of gain from such expenditure had been very much over-estimated, and he thought this hope of benefit to towns by expenditure was one of the main reasons for Parliament pressing its various schemes. He could repeat the argument used by Mr Donald Reid in speaking of the Port Chalmers dock, and say that he firmly believed if the East and West Coast railway could be laid down to-morrow—in one day,—there would not be a man in Christchurch grateful for it. There was merely an idea that expenditure would be good in these depressed times. If that were so, it was a very dangerous principle to go on, and was merely putting off the day when we should have to act very differently in setting our house in order. They all knew the extent to which the prices of our products had fallen, and that very morning there came a message telling of a fall in the value of our wool which would, he believed, make hundreds of thousands of

pounds difference. The whole tendency was downwards, and this was the time, by whatever means, to bring matters to a point and speak out with a voice no Government could refuse to listen to, saying that we have had enough borrowing, and that it must be suspended until we see how far we can get along with the burdens we already have.

Mr A. C. BEGG said he had much pleasure in seconding the motion. If this East and West Coast railway were commenced the Colony would be committed to an expenditure of between two and three millions. Then the reports about the line showed that it would be no use until the whole of it was made, for the whole of the estimates were based on through traffic. Everything that could be done should be done in the way of discouraging a liability of this kind. With regard to the Otago Central he never had great hopes of it, and if it were carried through to Wanaka now he had no hesitation in saying that there would not be enough traffic on it to run a train three times a week. Even when the line did pay working expenses it would pay very little more for a long time. If the West Coast line were gone on with the Colony would have to pay £150,000 a year for interest without the line paying anything towards it. Even those who were most favourable to the line would have to admit, after reading the reports, that it would be many years before it could be expected to pay more than working expenses. He did not believe that even the Canterbury members who were agitating for it thought it would pay. The pressure was only brought to bear at the instance of those who wished now to make a profit out of what would eventually be an immense loss to the Colony at large.

The CHAIRMAN said Mr Ritchie was evidently not aware of the amount already expended on the Otago Central. He might just mention that according to the Public Works Statement the amount, including liabilities, was £203,000. This sum would nearly complete the line to Strath-Taieri, and it would then be of some value in opening up the country.

Mr D. REID thought the motion placed the chamber in a dilemma, and that the Otago Central line should not be singled out so that they might make martyrs of themselves to obviate what they considered another wrong. He thought the latter part of the motion was a mistake. It would be much better to alter the motion to read that any vote proposed for the initiation of the East and West Coast railway should be opposed irrespective of the effect of such opposition on other works in the Public I Works Estimates. His opinion about the Otago Central railway was that it was a very desirable work commenced about 10 years too soon. It had now been six years in progress, so that the 10 years were nearly up.

Mr RITCHIE said he had no objection to the proposed alteration. With reference to what had been said about singling out one work, that had been forced upon him because the Otago Central was the only large work in Otago. If there had been a number of large votes on the Estimates for Otago he should not have singled out that particular railway. Again, he singled out that railway because the people of Dunedin had been all along the most consistent supporters of that line. They had done three times as much as any up-country community towards pushing on this railway.

The CHAIRMAN asked Mr Begg if he agreed to the amendment.

Mr BEGG : Certainly. It makes it quite definite—just as definite as if the Otago Central had been mentioned.

The motion, as amended, was then put and carried unanimously.

OUR DEFENCES.

Admiral SCOTT said, as those present were aware, he had recently been Home, and since his return he had been asked to give an address or read a paper on defence to Volunteers and others. He would do so on Wednesday night, when the Mayor would preside. Preparations for defence in this Colony were far beyond the necessities of the case, and he hoped to be able to bring that out clearly before them. The works already carried out were merely a commencement, and they might go on with any number of forts. The expenditure for their maintenance would be very great indeed, apart from the great curse of a standing army, which was eating most of the nations away.

New Zealand University.

Presentation of Diplomas.

THE interesting ceremony of presenting two B A. diplomas, one to Mr. Arthur Gifford (second teacher in the Auckland Training College), and the other to Mr. William C. W. McDowell (of the HERALD staff) took

place yesterday at the Choral Hall, and although the weather was most unauspicious there was a large gathering, consisting of leading citizens and indies, and including a large number of teachers, pupil teachers, pupils of the Training College, and the more advanced pupils of the Auckland College and Grammar School. Professor F. D. Brown, who was deputed by the Chancellor of the New Zealand University, presided, and with him on the platform were Professors Tucker, Thomas, and Aldis, the Rev. A. Reid, Mr. E. Hesketh, Dr. Murray Moore, Mr. J. M. Clark, Mr. H. G Seth Smith (District Judge), Mr. Bourne (Headmaster of the College and Grammar School), Mr. Sloman (Mathematical master), Mr. McArthur (Head-master of the Training College), Messrs. Kirby, Tomlinson, Cor. Heighton, Coates, Francis, and Tibbs. Dr. Kidd, LL.D., Registrar of the Auckland University, was also present, but did not take his seat on the platform. Many of the gentlemen present on the platform wore their academical robes.

Professor BROWN, addressing the audience, said :—The ceremony which you have met together to witness to-day being of necessity extremely brief, it has been customary for the Chancellor of the University or his delegate to add weight and interest to the proceedings by securing the aid of two or three of our most prominent citizens, and requesting them to give short addresses on subjects relating to education. Following this excellent custom I have asked Mr Upton to assist, but I regret to have to tell you that I have just heard that he is very unwell and unable to leave his house. You will all regret this, not only for his sake, but also because it deprives us of the opportunity of hearing the views of a gentleman who holds the important office of Chairman of the Board of Education. I have also asked the Rev. Alexander Reid to give a short address; and I have done so 'because his great attainments, his membership of the Council of the University College, and his leading position in the Wesleyan community, all point to him as a man whose opinion upon education must be of the greatest value. I have further obtained the services of my colleague, Professor Tucker, who, as a member of the Board of Education, as a Governor of the Grammar School, and as one of the staff of the University College, has acquired a large experience of colonial education. You will listen to his remarks with more than usual interest, because it is probably the last opportunity which he will have of speaking on general matters to the Auckland public. I had hoped also that Dr. Cowie, the Anglican Bishop of Auckland, and a member of the University Senate, would have made a few remarks, but this is a busy week with the clergy, and I am sorry to say that he has informed me that it is quite impossible for him to be here to day. I will now call on Professor Tucker to address a few words to you. (Cheers).

Professor TUCKER said he was afraid they had too often heard his views upon educational matters to expect anything new from him regarding them, and it was not long since he had spoken at greater length than was usually given to a professor. It was not quite as full as he would have liked, but it gave his views on every point connected with University education, and he then pointed out the proper position which it should occupy. Now he did not propose to go over that ground again, but he thought it right on the occasion of this ceremony to explain the true nature of diplomas, their origin, and how far fragments of the original meaning still remained. About the word "university," also, no word was more common or so much misunderstood. One idea was that it was a collection of colleges, at which all kinds of knowledge were imparted, or as the Modern Greeks had it, a universal knowledge shop. He was afraid if that was the meaning, neither their University nor any other that he knew of met it. Another meaning was that it was a title of distinction, distinguishing the whole from part. According to that sense, this College, and the Canterbury and Dunedin colleges, would be colleges, not universities, whereas the bond which held them together represented totality, not division. But the real origin of diplomas was this. In the Middle Ages all guilds were universities—the whole body of people carrying on any particular trade or profession, as for instance, the guild of tailors, of grocers, lawyers, or doctors. It was only natural after a time that one of these guilds or universities should monopolise the title of university *par excellence*, and the one which was most likely to got that title was the university which taught and patronised the liberal arts. The apprenticeship to a trade in any one of those guilds was seven years, and this corresponded with the term of undergraduates, and after serving seven years apprenticeship they became master workmen. Now, in the University *par excellence* those that were under grade were called undergraduates, and after serving seven years they became masters of the art. But the education given in these guilds or universities was liberal only in name. There was a division made when the apprentice had served four years, and then be reached the first stage—that of Bachelor—when he was permitted to teach what he knew, but only in the university to which he belonged. That was the time at which in the university *par excellence* the degree of B A. was taken, and after three more years he was made a Master of Arts, and was per-mitted to teach anywhere, and received a diploma entitling him to do so. That was the origin of diplomas. There was one feature in which it had been altered, but to which it would be well that they should go back again. At that time the universities were not only the givers of diplomas bat they were the test of knowledge and competence to teach, and he believed they must go back to that again. He was only about to make a few desultory remarks as annotations to what he had said some time ago. He had heard it said in regard to the University of New Zealand that it would be sufficient to have one "somewhere in Cook's Straits," and he was prepared to grant the sense of that, as it would be much

cheaper for the country and for the locality, but it seemed to him that the benefit to places at a distance like Auckland, Dunedin, and Christchurch would be very problematical. Those who went there would be those who would be able to go to older universities, and those for whose benefit the University was established would suffer. (Cheers.) As this was the last time he would have an opportunity of speaking to an Auckland audience, he would say something in regard to the students of the institution. Three were about to take diplomas, but only two were present, and he was very sorry that the lady who was to take the degree of M.A. was absent. He was particularly sorry, as she was the first material on which the College had to act, and she was an honour to it. She was the first lady student with whom he (Professor Tucker) had ever been brought into contact, and he felt nervous, but he had never met with a more thorough, earnest, and cheerful student than Miss E. M. C. Harrison. (Cheers.) The two gentlemen who were that day to receive the degree of B.A. deserved quite as much praise, and that praise extended to all the students. In coming such a distance to found a young University, it made a great deal of difference what sort of students they were to have, and he confessed he was not prepared to find so much energy, industry, and zeal as he found in the students of this University. Considering how many of them were employed at other duties, and how their time was occupied, it was very laudable that they should give one, two, or three hour to attend lectures, not only because it would help themselves, but for the love of knowledge. (Cheers.) Having now said that in regard to the students—and in general in regard to the institution he had nothing but gratitude to record—he would detain them no longer, but take his farewell of the University platform in Auckland, trusting in future to find that the Auckland University had grown with the growth of the city, and deserved in its work and appearance to be worthy of the city. (Cheers.)

Professor BROWN said : I have now to present the diploma of Bachelor of Arts to two Auckland gentlemen who have succeeded in passing the series of examinations appointed by the University. In estimating the importance of this ceremony we must remember that it is only a portion, and, unfortunately, a small portion, of the general presentation of diplomas which takes place to-day in Dunedin, Christchurch Wellington, and Nelson as well as here. It will perhaps be of interest to you if I tell you of the total number of diplomas to be presented to-day, and compare them with preceding years. Today there will be presented three M.A, 18 B.A., and one B.C.L. diplomas—total, 22 In 1844 the numbers were eight M.A., 13 B.A., and one B.C.L.—total. 22 In 1883 there were three M.A., 11 B.A., and two B C.L.—total, 16; and in 1882 there were 11 M.A., nine B.A., and one B.C.L.—total, 21. So that you will see that during the last four years there has been an average of 20 diplomas presented in New Zealand. Having thus prefaced, I will now call on Mr. Arthur Gifford and Mr. William C. W. McDowell to receive their diplomas as Bachelors of Art. [Professor Brown then handed the diplomas to these gentlemen, each of whom on stepping on the platform was greeted with warm applause.] Professor Brown added : Miss Clementine Emily Harrison, who was a student of the University College, obtained first-class honours in Latin and English at the University examinations last November. It would have been a great pleasure to me to have presented her to-day with the diploma of M. A.; but she has removed to Nelson, and will receive her diploma there.

The Rev. ALEXANDER REID was then called on to address the meeting. He said no one regretted more than he did the absence of Mr. Upton, the Chairman of the Board of Education. He should commence by disclaiming some of the honours Professor Brown had attached to his name, and intimated that he had no theory of education to submit to such a body of potent, grave, and reverend seigniors. He expected if he had to say anything, it would be of the pioneers and missionaries who had paved the way for such honours as they were now met to celebrate. It was true, in those days they has a considerable amount of raw material; out they also had men of culture, men of science, and men of statesmanlike abilities, five and thirty or forty years ago. Many of those had gone to their reward, but a few remained still, and, as one instance, he would refer to the Ven. Archdeacon Maunsell. (Cheers.) No section of the community presented more marked congratulations to those young gentlemen who were receiving their diplomas than the old colonists, and none of the inhabitants took a deeper interest in the progress of education than those old colonists whom he represented. They presented their warm congratulations. They claimed these young men as their sons and successors, members to lead the young New Zealand party, pledged to remove everything that was baneful and fostering everything that was for the interests of humanity. They claimed them as their prophets. It was coming of the steps of time; yes it was coming; and these young men would have responsibilities, but they would meet with the true enthusiasm of youth those problems which would arise and would deal with them. He trusted they would not find themselves crushed under an intolerable burden of national debt. In the name of young New Zealand he protested against more borrowing, and held with the old proverb that they should rather go to bed supperless than rise in debt. Men were now looking at New Zealand hopefully. The neighbouring colonies were talking of federation, and New Zealand must be prepared to take a worthy part in that Empire. They were all proud of Britan's foremost position in benefiting the nations. (Cheers.) Some of their prosperity was grounded on this—that they tried to be just to the aboriginals, and had translated the Word of God into the Maori language. He could still picture to himself the genial countenance and warm grasp of the grand father of one of the graduates, the late Mr. W. C.

Wilson—(cheers)—when thirty-seven years ago he took him by the hand and welcomed him to one of the best Sunday schools in New Zealand. In order to secure the proud position which they sought to attain they must turn to home, to the Church, to the schools, and to the Universities, and to the professorial staff, who were so greatly responsible, and must say to them that it was for them to prepare men possessed of deep principles and broad culture to acquire the high position which Providence had in reserve for them. Old jealousies must be cast aside—religion and science, Church and college, Press and pulpit, all co-operating to put down wrong and aid all that was right and honourable. (Cheers.) He might be asked where they were to get their students, He was extremely glad to see so many young ladies and gentlemen present to-day taking an active interest in these proceedings. When they had finished their course in the secondary schools it was generally supposed that their education was completed. No, it had only then begun, and what he wished to put before them was how they might continue their studies after they had entered on their apprenticeship or into business. He asked why it should be impossible for them to realise the division of time laid down by the good King Alfred—eight hours' labour, eight hours' rest, and eight hours for building up the mind and system; and if they had evening classes, what an advantage it would be to young men and women—what evils it would save them from. Let the leaders of thought give themselves up to such a system as this, and mark their respect for it by being associated with such classes, and they would make them a benefit. He knew lads who had to work tea hours a-day, and then had to walk four miles each way in order to attend such classes to enable them to make progress in their studies and knowledge. Was there not here, he asked, that love of learning for its own sake to appeal to them, and ask for some such institutions? He was sure they would thrive if the sympathy of the community was with them. He had now kept them longer than he meant, but the sight of so many young people warmed him. But they wanted to see their sons and daughters in positions of power to deal with their noble heritage, to stand forward as exemplars. Let them look look at Fiji now appealing to them to be associated with New Zealand. They already had a reputation, and it was for them to maintain it honourably. (Cheers).

University of New Zealand.

The ceremony of distributing the diplomas gained by students of Canterbury College at the annual examination of the University of New Zealand took place in the College Hall yesterday afternoon. The front seats were reserved for graduates and undergraduates, but the latter—those of the male sex at all events—preferred to take up a position at the back of the hall, either from excessive modesty, or, what is more likely, from a desire to signify their approval of the proceedings after the manner of their kind without being immediately under the eyes of the Professors and other magnates on the platform. The body of the hall, which was open to the general public, was well filled, the great majority of those present being ladies. Punctually at 3 p.m., the hour appointed for the commencement of the proceedings, a sort of informal procession, consisting of the Professors of the College and the other gentlemen who were to take paît in the ceremony, entered the room and ascended the platform, saluted by the undergraduates with three cheers, and the tootling of a tin trumpet and other instruments of discord. Among those on the platform were the Most Rev the Primate, the Very Rev the Dean, His Honor Justice Johnston, the head masters of Christ's College and the Boys' High School, the principal of the Normal School, the Rev C. Turrell, Messrs F. Fitchett and Izard, and Lieutenant-Colonel Lean and Major Slater.

Professor von Haast presided, and before distributing the diplomas, read the following address :—

Fellow Graduates, Ladies and Gentlemen,—Owing to the unavoidable absence of the Chancellor of the University, I have been entrusted with the pleasing task of presenting the diplomas gained during the last examination to the successful students of Canterbury College, whom I wish here to congratulate most heartily upon their well deserved success. I may be permitted to observe to them that they have thus gained one of the first steps on the ladder of knowledge, and if they wish really to become masters in any one subject, they must also in the future continue to toil and work, with an honest endeavour to advance truth in all its aspects. This is the more necessary, as in the age in which we live the advancement of knowledge is most remarkable and striking. Gradually, one by one, some of the secrets of nature are unveiled to the astonished eye and the enchanted mind, and though we shall never be able to fathom the *vera causa* of our being and of the great laws by which the cosmos is governed, our understanding will become more extended, and our sense of the beautiful more expanded, than they ever were before. The time of mediæval teaching is past,—science in all its phases every day becomes more necessary to the intellectual and material welfare of the community. Nature blindness,—to use the expression of an eminent North American writer,—has gradually to give way in the human mind to an earnest endeavour of the student to become acquainted, as far as possible, with the world to which we belong, and the physical laws by which it is governed. At the present time there is no power like knowledge—scientific knowledge—both in peace and war. If New Zealand wants to become a great country, if

it wishes to march abreast with other civilised nations, it must assist, with no niggardly hand, the highest aim of education, the search after truth. Thus, only, will it be able to raise the general standard of knowledge, and sharpen the power and ability of its inhabitants to battle with the great questions of life, and to grasp the difficulties, even in international questions, which surround us everywhere. And this brings me to a theme of considerable importance to our *Alma mater*; a question that will at once point to the great difference between literary and scientific disciplines. Those of our Professors teaching scientific subjects labour, as a rule, under great disadvantages in comparison to their colleagues who devote themselves to humanistic studies, for they must prepare apparatus and specimens for the illustration of their lectures. In many instances, however, they do not possess the necessary material to do so adequately, and thus are often deprived of the means of bringing the results of the latest researches—often wonderfully interesting and instructive—before their students. I would like to ask, what has the University of New Zealand, what have the affiliated Colleges done for physical research since they began their work? Has an Astronomical Observatory been established? In what state are our laboratories for physical, chemical, or physiological research? What provision has been made for obtaining new instruments and apparatus, so necessary for the elucidation of the results of the latest discoveries? I have to answer that, owing to its peculiar constitution, nothing could be done by our University, and that in most of the affiliated Colleges, owing to their limited income, scarcely any new apparatus has been obtained, and when this was done it was only owing to the constant and unflagging endeavours of the teachers, who, however, for that very reason, did not rise in favour with the holders of the purse strings. I am well aware that in most instances the strictest economy is necessary in our University Colleges to make both ends meet; but, nevertheless, owing to the great and incalculable value of the results of scientific research, some small annual grant ought to be set aside for obtaining the necessary appliances to keep pace with modern research in the Northern Hemisphere. If the matter were properly represented to the Government of the Colony, I have no doubt that some funds would be set aside for the purpose. As the want has been felt for some time past of a proper and well equipped astronomical observatory in New Zealand, under the direction of an astronomer who could devote part of his time to teaching the students of our University that sublime science, the necessary grant for the erection of such a valuable institution ought also to be obtained. Of the great English Universities Cambridge stands foremost in showing us that the spirit of modern enquiry has taken hold of its rulers. Large sums of money are spent annually on the erection of museums, chemical, physical, and physiological laboratories, and new Professorships are created, so that all those subjects of modern date, but of eminent value to the rising generation, can be properly taught. The Cambridge University Calendar furnishes us with an instructive insight into the great changes that have taken place since the beginning of the century in the teaching power of that venerable institution. I find that besides four Professorships for purely theological subjects, which may be said to be only of use to students belonging to the Church of England, eighteen new chairs have been endowed. Of these, eleven belong to purely scientific subjects, and seven to humanistic studies. Of the latter, three belong to extinct languages, Latin, Sanscrit and Anglo-Saxon, and the others to Political Economy, Law, and the Fine Arts. The greater part of all these Professorships have been established since 1863. In order to keep pace with the requirements of the science teachers, museums and laboratories had also to be provided. By a series of extensive new edifices, and the alteration of older buildings, all the Professors of the Natural Sciences have—the Cambridge University Calendar of 1881 states—been furnished with a connected series of museums and lecture-rooms, further increased by a range of workrooms in three floors commenced in 1877. During the month of May last, the Senate has also approved of the erection of a new chemical laboratory on an extensive scale, fitted up with all the newest improvements. Guided by such illustrious men as Professor Michael Poster and the late Professor Clerk Maxwell, a scientific school has sprung up at Cambridge that will bring new lustre and additional renown to that ancient University, and atone in some degree for the neglect scientific teaching has hitherto sustained from those who set teaching in the old beaten track above all other human knowledge. And that this comparatively young scientific school produces eminent men is clearly proved, by the choice of five Cambridge men as Fellows of the Royal Society of London at the yearly election of fifteen new Fellows in May last, whilst ten others have been elected in the last five or six years. I may also draw attention to the fact that, at that old established University, constant endeavours are made to do away with those compulsory subjects that are not of paramount value to scientific students, or even to those who do not wish to devote their life to philological researches, and I have no doubt that this desirable change will soon be accomplished so that all subjects will be treated as of equal value. Whatever may be the fate of the Universities of the future, one thing is certain, that they will only deserve their name—*Universitas*—if they devote themselves to the whole range of human knowledge, without favouring some subjects more than others—in fact, if they cease to have compulsory subjects at all, and allow the students to select for themselves those branches of knowledge for which they have the greatest aptitude in order that they may thus do most benefit to the community of which they are members. Naturally, the Universities of the future must take care that students who graduate in them represent fairly the knowledge of the times in which they live, and do not merely possess some knowledge in

one or two subjects while they are totally ignorant even in the rudiments of all others. It is scarcely necessary to add that, as I have pointed out elsewhere, our secondary schools have greatly to be remodelled, and the method of teaching extinct and living languages altogether altered. Lately, on Oct. 27 last year, the new buildings of a University were opened, which in many respects comes up to the standard the highest education in a great State requires at the present time. The University of Strasbourg took the place of the so-called Académie de Strasbourg, which came to an end during the great France-German war in 1870-71. The new University was endowed in a way worthy of the great Empire to which Strasbourg now belongs. A number of the best teachers from Germany were attracted by liberal remuneration, but still more by the erection and endowment of laboratories, museums, and workrooms on a grander scale than anywhere in the world, even in the largest capitals of Europe. This great work of peace will probably do more to unite again to the great German Empire that portion so long in the hands of another nation, than any other means that could be devised. Though the ancient buildings of the former Académie do Strasbourg were not unimportant, a sum of about £6720.000 has been expended by the German Empire on new buildings, and a sum of £50,000 is annually devoted from its exchequer to supplement the comparatively large income of the former institution. There are 92 Professors to teach 858 students, of whom, in the summer semester of 1881, 252 were natives of Alsace-Lorraine, but the number is gradually increasing, and I have no doubt that owing to its perfect organisation and liberal endowment for scientific research, Strasbourg will shortly be one of the most frequented Universities on the Continent. You will agree with me that such a magnificent and complete creation for the advancement of the human mind is worthy of the great Empire from which it has emanated, and that we cannot do better than to follow in an humble way this example, as well as that of Cambridge. Whatever may be the opinion of educated men as to the subjects that ought to be selected for a University course, they ought all to agree that, principally, the inductive method ought to be used in the future for the elucidation of all questions in which the human reasoning power has to be brought into action. I can easily understand why the immortal father of modern science (Francis Bacon) stood alone and unheard amongst his contemporaries. He preached in the wilderness. All those who could have understood and followed him were entangled in the meshes of scholastic traditions, from which they could not free themselves. But now the times have fortunately changed, and though many of our great thinkers who have merely received the old intellectual training cannot active take part in modern research, they at least recognise the value of the new methods of inductive science. Again, lately we had a striking proof of this recognition in the solemn ceremony of unveiling the Darwin statue on June 9, in the great Hall of the Natural History Museum in London, upon which memorable occasion the Prince of Wales and the Archbishop of Canterbury stood side by side with Professor Huxley and many other leading men of science, representing modern thought and research, One great step has thus been gained; but before the desired result can really be obtained of placing the subjects to be taught by inductive reasoning on the same footing with those to which syllogistic reasoning is applied, we have to begin a thorough reform of our secondary schools. When the head masters of the latter place the same importance upon scientific subjects and modern languages as upon the old disciplines; when it is once admitted that the proper study of mankind is not man, but Nature, of which he is only a minute and unimportant atom, and that our intellectual and moral faculties can be trained just as well, if not better, by an insight into the great laws by which this wonderful world of ours is governed, than by merely studying the sayings of ancient writers, then a new era of happiness and comfort will begin for the general benefit of present and future generations.

The address was warmly applauded at the conclusion.

The Registrar, Mr F. G. Stedman, then read an extract from the annual statement of the Chairman of the Board of Governors, showing that four students from the College have this year obtained the degree of M.A. Miss E. Searle gained at the same time first-class honours in languages and third class in political science; W. P. Evans, first-class honours in mathematics; R. M. Laing, second-class honours in biology; and A. J. Mayne, third-class honours in languages. Ten students of the College have passed the final sections of their B.A. examination, and had the degree conferred on them (two of them under the teachers' regulations)—Miss C. Alexander and H. Cross, H. Inglis, G. Hutton, H. von Haast, P. Kime, R. Lamb, T. Rowe, J. G. L. Scott and H. Wilson—while ten have passed the first section of their B.A. examination (three of them under the teachers' regulations)—Misses A. Gresham, A. Harband, B. Jack, E. Pitcaithly, E. Milsom and L. M. Mill, W. Craddock, J. H. Simmonds, W. Haworth and W. Cuthbert. Of the two who this year obtained the degree of LL.B., J. R. Thorn-ton belonged to this College. The Bowen prize, offered for an essay on some subject connected with English history, was this year gained by Miss M. Lorimer, of this College, A. R. Meek, also of this College, being mentioned as *proxime accessit*. The Gilchrist scholarship was gained this year by H. M. Inglis, of this College. This year a new regulation, made by the Senate at its meeting in 1884, confining the competition for senior scholarships to the second section and final year of the B.A. degree, and their resolution applying this regulation to the examination seven months thereafter, excluded a large number of students of the College from competing for senior scholarships, but of the which were awarded, a Canterbury College student, H. M. Inglis,

obtained one—that for experimental science. The College exhibitions, given for excellence in honours work at the College annual examination, were awarded as follows:—For Latin, T. W. Rowe; English, Misses B. Gibson and E. Pitcaithly, equal; mathematics, W. Haworth; natural science, Miss C. Alexander; experimental science, H. M. Inglis; history, political economy, and French, W. H. A. Craddock. The graduates of the New Zealand University who have been educated at the College now number 45, 21 of whom have obtained the degree of M.A., and 24 that of B.A. Three of these have also obtained the degree of LL.B; Of the M.A.'s, one gained double first-class honours, one a double first-class and a second, eleven first-class honours, one a second, and seven third-class. Out of 101 who have taken degrees at the University of New Zealand, 45 belong to Canterbury College. Out of the 36 who have taken the M.A. degree, 22 belong to it; and of who have taken first-class honours, 13 belong to it. Of the 46 senior and third year scholarships awarded by the University of New Zealand during the last six years, the period during which, present scholarship regulations have been in force, 30 have been awarded to students of Canterbury College. Of the ten Bowen prizes, eight have been gained by students trained in this College, whilst the only two mentioned as *proxime accessit* have been also of the Collage. Of the three Gilchrist scholarships that have been offered in New Zealand, two have been gained by students of Canterbury College.

The following graduates were then presented by Professor Bickerton to Professor von Haast, who handed them their diplomas, and declared them duly admitted to their degrees :—

Masters of Arts.

- Robert Malcolm Laing
- Arthur Jonathan Mayne.

Bachelors of Arts.

- Miss Catherine Alexander
- Henry Cross
- G. M. Hutton
- H. Percy Kime
- I. Robert Lamb
- J. T. W. Rowe
- K. J. G. L. Scott
- L. von Haast Henry Wilson,

Each graduate was warmly cheered on receiving the diploma, while the under-graduates sang "For he is a jolly good fellow," accompanying themselves on the unmusical instruments before mentioned.

Professor von Haast called on Mr F. Fitchett to address the assembly.

Mr Fitchett commenced by mildly "chaffing" the undergraduates on their performances on the tin whistle and their other pranks, which he assured them, were not to be compared with those indulged in by Otago undergraduates on similar occasions. He asked that they would not interrupt him oftener than once every five or ten minutes, a request which was certainly complied with, for beyond an occasional clatter of applause, and a few blasts of the tin trumpet, he met with no interruptions. Mr Fitchett then asked his hearers to look back for a few moments at the early difficulties of the College. On looking over a University calendar of 1875 he found that Canterbury College had in that year three students, Messrs Cotterill, Thornton and Wilkinson. In those days there was no building like the one they were at present assembled in. The Professors had to conduct their classes under the greatest difficulties. They had very few students, and had to hold their classes at all sorts of hours to suit their convenience, and had to teach them almost the elementary portions of the subjects. In spite of all some excellent work was done in those times. Things were very different now. There were institutions like the High Schools and Christ's College, which might well be styled the Harrow of New Zealand, affiliated to Canterbury College, and doing the general scholarship work, and all the early difficulties were gone. He would quote a few figures to show how the College stood among the Educational institutions of the Colony. Out of 61 B.A degrees conferred by the University of New Zealand, this College had taken 26, and Otago College 23; of 32 M.A.'s, 21 came from Canterbury College, and seven from Otago; of 7 LL.B.'s, three were from Canterbury College, and two from Otago; of 18 winners of first-class honours Canterbury College furnished 13, and Otago two; of six winners of second-class honours, three were from Canterbury College, and three from Otago; of ten who gained third-class honours, eight came from Canterbury College and two from Otago; so that out of a total of 34 honours takers 24 were from Canterbury College and seven from Otago. There had been altogether 49

senior and three-year scholarships, out of which this College had taken 33 and Otago 11. The Gilchrist Scholarship had been twice gained by Canterbury College, and the Bowen Prize had been taken eight, out of ten times by its students. He had not mentioned these facts to puff them up with an idea of their own superiority over the students of Otago and elsewhere. He believed that the results he had quoted were owing to the hardwork and the enthusiasm of the Professors—(applause)—who had inspired their students with their own energy. Mr Fitchett concluded by reminding his hearers that the higher the position occupied by the College, the greater was the responsibility devolving upon its students, who should work all the harder to uphold the [*unclear:* fame] and honour of the institution—an institution of which he himself, as an old manber, felt very proud, and of whose fair fame he was very jealous. (Loud applause.)

This concluded the proceedings.

The Mataura Ensign, Tueday, June 16, 1885.

Another Black List.

We have had an opportunity of inspecting the ratebook of the Waimea Railway District now lying at the office in Gore of Messrs Green and Souness, and below are given the names of those parties who pay rates on properties valued at or over L500. Space does not permit of the names of the smaller holders being inserted; they comprise a large number of owners of property residing in various parts of Southland and Otago. We simply show the total amount owing by these. As our readers will infer, the ratebook is not so clean on this occasion as in former times, when the exact amount each man had to pay was clearly *se*t forth. Now the rateable value only is given, and those curious to ascertain the amounts owing by themselves or their neighbors with have to calculation to make. The proposed rate is one penny and twenty-three-thirty seconds of a penny in the £, and on a total capital value of L754,248 should produce L5401 10s 3¾d. The rate for the year ending March, 1883, was L4744 17s 6d; that for L4867 14s 8d; so that the rate is gradually increasing instead of diminishing, notwithstanding the alleged improved financial position of the Railway Company. Following is the list referred to previously :—

Archbishop Moran in Reply.

The inauguration of a now school-church at Macdonaldtown on Sunday afternoon was taken advantage of by Archbishop Moran to reply to an article which appeared in this journal a month ago. The article in question was the outcome of the previous public utterances of the distinguished prelate. It will be generally admitted that since his advent in Sydney he has lost no opportunity of trying to persuade his hearers that schools such as those established by the State in this colony are hotbeds immorality, and that virtue and good citizenship are only to be secured by the training vouchsafed in schools under priestly control. Pocket-picking, thieving, sedition and even dynamite outrages were calmly laid by him at the door of the public school. In the article to which he has made reference we joined issue with him on this question, and appealed to statistics to prove that facts were against his contention and demonstrated exactly the opposite of that which he asserted. Incidentally glancing at the notorious circumstance that men of the O'DEnovan Rossa and James Carey type are not the product of State education, we had recourse to Mr. Hayter's recently issued Victorian Year book to show that in the neighbouring colony the Roman Catholics supplied the gaols with more than double the number of occupants which their proportion to the population warranted. Archbishop Moran in his reply attempts to traverse our incidental observation, but leaves our main attack altogether unnoticed.

The question between us is a very simple one, and is of the Archbishop's own raising. Does the training given by the schools of the State in these colonies produce more criminality than the training accorded under the auspices of the Roman Catholic Church? If it does, the results ought to show themselves, we maintain, in the gaol returns. References to the divorces in America, or illegitimate births in Scotland, or agrarian troubles in Ireland are beside the mark. If we were called upon to uphold the opposite view to that presented by Dr. Moran in these instances, we might find much to say; but we are not. We are confining our attention for the present to the issue which his Grace has raised. In those colonies for many years past, Roman Catholics have been, through the influence of their pastors, kept to a large extent away from the State schools and have been trained in the schools of the church. The other denominations have been mainly trained in the schools of the S ate. If the latter are hotbeds of immorality and the former nurseries of virtue, how are we to account for the story told

by the Victorian statistician?

At the time we wrote the article to which exception has been taken, Mr. Hayter's volume lay before US, and so we bad recourse to it. Now, however, let us inquire if the returns issued in New South Wales are better calculated to support the Archbishop's assumption. The total number of prisoners in the gaols of this colony in the year 1883 was : males, 14,050; and females, 4516. Of the males there were 7104 Protestants, 0612 Catholics, and 334 Jews, Pagans, &c. Had these sections borne the same relation to each other in criminality that they did in population, they would have stood respectively, in round numbers, 9200 Protestants, 4100 Catholics, and 700 Jews, Pagans, &c. Of the female prisoners, 2019 were Protestants, 2471 Catholics, and 26 Jews, Pagans, &c. Here again, were there no undue predominance, the returns should have been according to population, about 3000 Protestar, 1000 Catholics, and 200 Jews, Pagans, &c. The Protestants, who have to look so largely to the State schools for their training, constitute nearly seven-tenths of the total population of this colony. They contribute about five-tenths of its crime. The Roman Catholics, who avoid the State schools, comprise about three-tenths of the population and contribute also nearly half of the crime. They are less than half the Protestant population, but in the gaols they appear in equal numbers. For Slate purposes the test of a good education is good citizenship, and, indeed, the only valid excuse for its taking part in the work of education is that it may evoke good citizenship. If Archbishop Moran could substantiate his accusation that the State schools fail in this respect when compared with the schools of his church, he might hope to convince the State of the wisdom of pacing money out of the State coffers to encourage and support the church schools. Bat so long as the inexorable logic of facts is against him, we fear that his many addresses—excepting in their undoubted influence on his own flock—will prove but "windy suspiration of forced breath."

Weekly Dispatch.

The House of Lords.

(Air: "The Vicar of Bray.")

When bluff King Hal grew tired of Kate,
And sued for his divorce, sir,
He cast about, and found in us
His willing tools, of course, sir.
What for her grief? We laughed at that,
And left her in the lurch, sir,
While every one of us grew fat
By plunder of the Church, sir.
To hold a candle to Old Nick
Has ever been our way, sir,
And still we'll play the self-same trick,
So long as it will pay, sir.

Two other queens that underwent
"The long divorce of steel," sir—
Do you suppose that e'er we wept,
Or for their fate did feel, sir?
We only sought to please the King,
And his worst wishes further;
And gaily did our order join
In each judicial murther.
For us no trick was e'er too base,
No crime too foul to shock, sir,
Nor innocence availed to save

E'en women from the block, sir.

When Mary came with fire and stake
Poor pious folks to kill, sir,
No single protest did we make,
But let her work her will, sir;
But when the Church reclaimed her lands,
And looked for smooth compliance,
We quickly raised our armed bands
And gave her bold defiance.
Thus did the Queen her error learn,
To think (how gross the blunder!)
That, though we let her rack and burn,
We'd e'er restore our plunder,

Elizabeth, the mighty Queen,
We quailed beneath her frown, sir,
With nought but fear and hate for one
So worthy of the crown, sir.
As abject traitors round her throne
We fulsome homage paid her,
Though more than half of us were known
To plot with the invader.
To her for ducal coronets
We never were beholden;
To us the days of "Good Queen Bess"
Were anything but "golden."

When slobbering James of coin was short
He baronets invented,
And to creating lords for gold
Right gladly he consented;
A handsome "tip" was all he asked
To make you duke or lord, sir—
No question ever of your *worthy*
'Twas what you could *afford*, sir.
To be a peer, "your grace," "my lord,"
O, Lord! how fine it sounded!
And thus, by shelling out of cash,
Were noblest houses founded.

When Charles the First, the public right
To crush but now applies him,
And willing help he gets from us;
As friends we stand beside him.
His acts of tyranny and fraud
Scarce one of us opposes—

The fine, the prison, or the whip,
Or slitting people's noses.
To curb the tyrant of his will
Was no way in our line, sir,
All human rights were forfeited,
And merged in "Right Divine," sir,

The Second Charles just suited us,
We joined his lewd carouses,
And concubines became the source
Of many ducal houses.
And, as reward of services
That history rarely mentions,
You still enjoy the privilege
Of paying us the pensions!
And this wo swear, by all that's blue,
Despite that prudes cry "Hush, sir !
That whatsoever we may do
You'll never find us blush, sir,

In James's Court we flourished still;
Like sycophants we vied, sir;
To be a royal mistress formed
Our daughters' highest pride, sir;
For Whigs though tortures were devisee?,
Their legs with wedges broke, sir,
We ate and drank, and laughed and played,
But ne'er a word we spoke, sir.
For mingled cruelty and wrong
We never did upbraid him;
But whan a *paying* chance came round
Right quickly we betrayed him.

When William came, with righteous rule,
We proved but glum consenters;
The King we deemed was but a fool
To tolerate Dissenters;
Whilst on his part his Majesty
Distrusted us with reason,
For 'gainst our chosen lord and king
We still kept plotting treason.
And so against all righteous things
We've struggled from the first, sir,
To vex and thwart the better kings,
And sided with the worst, sir.

In reign of Anne, 'twas one of us

Gave notice to the foe, sir,
Against his port and arsenal
We aimed a warlike blow, sir;
And thus were lost, in dire defeat,
Eight hundred sailors bold, sir—
But what of that, when France's bribe
Our "noble duke" consoled, sir?
Betrayal of the State's designs
By this colossal traitor—
What wonder now the lordlings praise
His humble imitator!,

With George the Third it was essayed
To purge our code from blood, sir,
But we the arm of mercy stayed,
Its efforts all withstood, sir;
To hang for e'en a paltry theft—
Though tempted sore by hunger—
Was God's own justice, so it seemed
To every boroughmonger.
And so poor wretches, one or more,
At every fair and wake, sir,
Performed " the dance without a floor,"
Our thirst for blood to slake, sir.

Yet had the self-same laws been tried
On us without distinction,
Their action surely had implied
The peerage's extinction.
But while the gallows we upheld,
"Offence's gilded hand," sir,
Had all our lordly acres swelled
With thefts of common land, sir.
While wicked prizes thus we claw,
And justice shove aside, sir,
"Not 'gainst the law, but by the law,"
Has ever been our guide, sir.

When Pitt the Irish Parliament
Resolved to bring to London,
He had to buy their peers' consent,
Or else his scheme was undone.
So English coronets galore
Were scattered through their tribe, sir,
Besides a million pounds or more—
Their stipulated bribe, sir.
And by this opportunity
They drove their dirty trade, sir—
To show to all posterity

How lords and dukes are made, sir,

When Wesleyans and Baptists, too,
For right of education
At public universities
Did press their application,
'Twas we their just demand refused—
Denied their common right, sir,
And all our special powers abused
To gratify our spite, sir.
When Jews to sit in Parliament
Had duly been elected,
'Twas we kept shut the Commons' door,
Their right to vote rejected.

On Railway Bills our conduct calls
For no detailed narration;
No line could pass our lands without
Outrageous compensation.
Like gorging vultures at the feast,
Our greed surpassed all bounds, sir,
Our blackmail figured, at the least,
One hundred million pounds, sir.
Of *pay*-triotism we'll ne'er tire,
For it we'll live and die, sir,
And, if the reason you inquire,
We spell it with a *y*, sir.

In reason's name or righteousness'
You vainly may reprove us,
For scorn, contempt, and threats possess
The only power to move us.
To mutilate, reject, delay,
Obstruct whene'er we dare it,
We'll persevere in our old way
So long as you will bear it.
Of this be sure, until that day
Such things shall ne'er be mended
Till million voices join to say,
"The House of Lords is ended !"

C. [*unclear:* F.]

Though the statement may sound strange, it is nevertheless true, that the capital of Spain is the scene of the most interesting educational experiment now being tried in Europe. A political crisis, which occurred in Madrid nine years ago, displaced the then dominant party of progress and liberal reform. A period of bitter reactionary rigour followed, during which test acts of great severity were forced upon the Spanish Universities and high schools. The consequence was, that many of the professors were ejected from their chairs, and that some of the most eminent of them were compelled to submit even to the indignity of imprisonment. In this latter class was Senor GINER DE LOS RIOS, professor of the Philosophy of Law in the University of Madrid. He was a man who had abstained from taking any active part in politics, but the weight and dignity of whose character had given

him a commanding influence in the councils of the republican reformers. Released from prison in 1876, after a detention of nine months, he lost no time in gathering round him a small band of kindred spirits, and in founding the Institucion Libre de Ensenanza. This is a free institute, established as a protest against state and clerical control of education. According to its statutes, it is "a private association held entirely aloof from the spirit and interests of any special religions communion, philosophic school, or political party." It receives no sub-sidy from the state, or from any public body; and its funds, which hitherto have been quite inadequate to supply a suitable school building, have been derived from shares subscribed at a very low rate of interest. In its original shape, it was simply a private university college. Soon, however, it was found necessary to add preparatory classes; and as the scope of the venture extended, its moving spirits became convinced that they must apply all their available forces to the improvement of elementary education. Thus the original Institution has been transformed into a complete day school, which at present numbers rather over 200 boys. Moreover, " the reforms of which it is the practical embodiment are so fundamental and so logically carried out, as not only to make it a new departure in Spanish educational history, but also to give the experiment" a world-wide significance.

These fundamental reforms are both in the curriculum of the Institution and in the methods of instruction. As to the former, it is simply a progressive course of general education. Senor GINER entirely sets aside the rigid distinction which is usually drawn between the three grades of the infant school, the elementary and the secondary. With the exception of Latin and modern languages, which boys do not begin till their ninth or tenth year, the programme is identical for thè whole period of their school life. Hence the boys in the lowest class study the very same subjects as the boys in the highest. The difference is that the range widens as they grow older. At first everything is dealt with in its barest outlines, and the younger boys grasp a few definite ideas. Then, in each successive grade, they study each subject more and more fully. It is claimed for this "concentric" system of teaching that it is the right way to destroy "cramming," and to insure thorough- ness of knowledge; and, further, that it is really more expeditious than any other method of mental training. The pupil is being continuously grounded without the need of set and formal revisions of his studies. His education is not only systematic, consistent, and harmonious, but is also always complete up to the point at which he has arrived. Thus he is in no danger of forgetting anything which he has once grasped. Moreover, several studies are included in the programme which rarely form parts even of a secondary education. Among these may be named the elements of sociology and of law, music, and the history of the fine arts, drawing, modelling, carpentry, lathe turning, and other manual work. The Institution is the first school in Europe in which such a programme as this has been made compulsory throughout the pupils' school lives. Thus, in brief, the aim which Senor GINER has set before himself is to grapple with the wide-extended range of subjects demanded by the scientific advances of the nineteenth century.

It is a truism to say that all the world accepts FROEBEL'S principles as guides in arranging the work of infant schools. But Senor GINER recognises FROEBEL'S "intuitive" methods as universally true, and seeks to apply them to all teaching. Whole courses of study, such as the history of painting or of sculpture, are followed exclusively in the Madrid galleries. The class meets at the museum instead of in the school, and is taught by the master in the presence of the pictures and the statues. For text-books, which are used sparingly, if at all, the substitute is the pupils' notes. These, how-ever, are required to be conscientiously and thoroughly well done, and they are examined by the masters with the most scrupulous care. They are the only form of home work recognised by the authorities of the Institution. Formal examinations, again, are entirely abolished, Senor GINER and his colleagues, having the most utter contempt for them as tests of real education. Reforms in the same independent spirit are exhibited in the most minute details. Thus, for example, in teaching history the ordinary process is reversed. The pupils begin by acquiring some knowledge of contemporaneous events, and then work backwards, thus travelling up instead of down the stream of time.

It is, however, in the idea of utilising school holidays that Senor GINER has made his most important innovation. School expeditions are carried out on a greater scale than in any other educational institution in Europe. For the longer holidays, a series of excursions is arranged beforehand, some of which are planned to extend over several days, and some to occupy but a single afternoon. Special facilities afforded by the various railway companies, and thrifty management on the part of the school authorities, enable these expeditions to be very cheaply made, and bring them within the reach of even the poorer of the pupils. In the summer time some of the walking tours even cross the Pyrenees. The idea may be to visit a series of mining centres, and then special classes are held beforehand, so as to prepare the boys for comprehending what they are going to see. Or the object of the trip may be to inspect and to study the most celebrated of the Spanish buildings, and it is stated that "in this "way boys of 12 at the Institution" have acquired a knowledge of architectural styles which many an architect might envy. It may be added that the studies of the Institution are not allowed to be interrupted by saints' days. For these' a weekly half-holiday has been substituted, and this is frequently utilised in visiting manufactories or in making short excursions to places of interest in the vicinity of Madrid.

But the Institution aims at something higher than reform of methods of educational procedure. Senor GINER believes that for the Spanish schoolboy "the most perfect education must combine the completeness of the German programme with the broad and humanising spirit of the English." In the case of the German student, the intellectual side is developed at the cost of everything else—at the cost, in short, of sacrificing the man to the head. On the other hand, the aim of English education, in theory at all events, is to develope cultivated yet manly gentlemen, who are at once healthy in body and robust in mind. Senor GINER'S institution is perhaps the only school on the Continent of Europe which makes open-air games the complement of mental labour, and which strives to accustom the boy to self-government throughout his school days. Hence in the maintenance of discipline, there is an absolute revolt against the French system of spies and *surveillants*.

Mr. Bright's Farewell Lecture.

At the Theatre Royal last evening, Mr Charles Bright delivered his farewell lecture, on which occasion there was a large audience, there being present a number of his old friends, and the lecturer's remarks were most liberally applauded throughout. The chair was occupied by Mr F. J. Thomas, president of the Liberal Association, who made a few introductory observations concerning the consistent and able manner in which Mr Bright had advocated the cause of freethoauht in this city and his successful efforts in opposing the attempts which bad been made to suppress Sunday lectures. He felt that he was expressing the feelings of the audience in saying this,—(applause)—and he had consented to be present as chairman on this occasion in order to testify how fully he appreciated the noble work which Mr Bright, often at great personal sacrifice, bad thus carried on.

Mr BRIGHT then stepped forward, and was greeted most enthusiastically by all sections of the audience. He expressed his thanks to Mr Thomas for the kindly manner in which he had spoken of him, and to the audience also for so cordially responding thereto. After referring to the first and second of the three lectures he had determined to deliver on retiring from that platform, he said the present discourse would deal with "Freethought lecturers and their mission," by way of showing what should be the aim of the freethought lecturer, and what he might reasonably desire to achieve. He regarded the labours of this class of men as the highest and most honourable labour which the world at the present day offered to any ore outside the ranks of those men of genius who furnished the material of which the freethought lecturers took advantage and thus enabled the masses to benefit by those new truths which they had not the time to study for themselves. Were the works of our great social and moral reformers, our scientists and philosophers thoroughly known—if the majority of men had the time to study them the progress of thought generally would be much greater than it at present was; but these lecturers acted as purveyors for those great minds, and in their humble capacity as reporters performed an honourable task which was of great benefit to society. It was a mission to be proud of, and one whose fruits were already beginning to be appreciated, There was still urgent need for their services. It was, however, at mistake to suppose that we enjoyed all the freedom we could desire in purely innocent affairs. In most despotic days, when the greatest oppression reigned, the cry was the same as it was now. To the cry for more liberty in those times the despots said : "What would you have, is not this enough for you? That which we are content with is surely good enough tor you." It was precisely the same in this age—the boundaries of liberty required to be widened, because a large number of mankind could not be satisfied wich the amount of freedom vouchsafed to them. Evolution ran through the history of the world; the same struggle for freedom of thought, the same opposition to old ideas in favour of reconstruction had gone on through the ages. He, in studying the Bible, not as an inspired work, but as he would study any other book, could perceive therein the sums effects; the prophet-mind was continually at war with the priestly mind, the former being attracted to nature and struggling against old forms of idolatry. The idol of Christianity was the Bible, and toe same demands were now made for contributions on behalf of institutions based upon that idolary as were made for Moloch and Baal; but a great modern light had been thrown upon the world, and large numbers of people came under its beneficent influence and cried out for freedom to enjoy it to perfection. The free thought lecturers were the prophets of the day, as were Elijah, Jeremiah, and John the Baptist of old. They were the interpreters of nature in their position as humble reporters of the great minds who were devoting their lives and their genius to the enlightenment of mankind, and the loosening of the shackles that had held them in the miserable bondage of superstition and priestly tyranny, Mr Bright went ON to point out that freethought lectured had important mission to perform as popular educators on these points. It was quite unnecessary from their stand point that they should deny the existence of a divine government over this universe. The greatest scientists and philosophers of the day, and those who were most opposed to institutions based upon past superstitions did not deny the possibility of a higher intelligence beyond our individual conception. But they looked to the nature surrounding them as a guide to the path of truth, and sought for knowledge where alone they could find it. They refused to be dependent for inspiration upon an invisible something that no one could comprehend, and preferred to be

guided by natural law, Religion itself was not based upon truth. It was really surrounded by hypocrisy. The clergymen in their pulpits even did not speak the truth SO far as it was in them, for it was a well-known fact that many of this class admitted holding views in private which were inconsistent with their pulpit orations, but excused themselves for the hypocrisy on the ground that it would not be well to disturb the beliefs of their congregation. After referring to the various social and political questions that freethought lecturers would have to study in the carrying out of their mission, Mr Bright said a few words in conclusion as to the reasons which had induced him to forsake the freethought platform. He said he had been for nearly 10 years most actively engaged in this work, to which he was most earnestly devoted, (Applause.) And he now thought that he had earned the right to retire, at least for a time, into private life, inasmuch as he would be able to earn a living at easier work with his pen. And he might say here that he was really not fond of talking—(laughter)—and there came a time when men engaged is be had been could claim a right to be silent. It had been said by some that he was about to join the Salvation Army. (Laughter.) That was scarcely true, nor was another assertion that he had heard, to the effect that be was going to join the Baptist Church as the Rev. Charles Bright. (Laughter.) He was not likely at this time of day to change his views. Moreover he should always be heartily glad to do anything to assist the cause that he had so lone: advocated and the work of social reform generally. He bad always endeavoured to elevate the character of the platform he had occupied for so long, and looking back he did not know that be could wish to recall one single word that he had uttered during that time. He bad received much kindness, and occasional assistance, in the course of his work, for which he now returned his most grateful acknowledgments, He believed also that he bad been the means of benefitting many whom he had helped to rescue from darkness by means of his lectures. He proposed a vote of thanks to the chairman, which was cordially earned, and the proceedings then terminated.

In the course of his remarks last night, Mr Bright, who has forsaken the lecturing business for his old calling, said be was not really fond of talking, and "preferred living by the pen to the tongue."

Mr Chas. Bright delivered his farewell lecture at the Theatie Royal last night. He says his views are unchanged, and he will always do all in his power in the direction of social reform.

A Story with a Moral.

In the course of a lengthy address to the students and pupils of the Central Higher School, Sheffield, Mr Mundella, who has charge of the Education Department in England, showed, by an interesting personal experience, the value of free education. The following is the right hon. gentleman's glowing picture:—The story I was going to tell you was this—I was in Switzerland, in the Engandine. At the door of the hotel was a shop, where all kinds of *souvenirs* were sold, whether they were Swiss carving, or some French, German, or English articles. There was a blight, clever young woman selling all kinds of little *souvenirs* for people to carry away with them when they went home. A gentleman very well known to English people was staying in the same hotel with me, and he said, "That's a very bright girl that keeps that shop; I recommend you to go in and buy something." So I made a pretext to buy some trifle, and she addressed me in perfect idiomatic English. I asked her where she learned English, and she replied "At Lucerne." "You speak excellently," I said, "and of course you speak French and German, for they are your native languages? ' "Of course I do," she answered. "Anything else?" I asked, Oh yes, Italian and Dutch," and afterwards she confessed she also knew a little Spanish and was studying it. I found on making further inquiries that this girl was taught at Lucerne, and that *it cost a franc a year*—that is only 10d, which was spent in paper and pencils. I continued my investigations, and resolved that on my way back through Switzerland I would stop at Lucerne, and look more closely into their system than I had already done. And what did I find? I found rather a novel state of things. I think it would suit the teachers, I fancy it would suit the parents, and I am sure it would suit the Treasury; but I do not think we are quite ripe for it, and I do not see that we are likely to come to it yet. What I found was this—all the children of Lucerne, rich and poor, were, of course, subject to the same laws and attended the same schools—that the minimum age at which a child can leave school is fourteen, but that any child who desired to continue longer might go to the secondary school, where he or she might acquire those languages up to seventeen or eighteen. The director of schools in that Canton told me : "All our schools are *free,* all our children attend school, every child, however poor, masters two languages—French and German—and those who go to the secondary school must master at least one other." I said, "Who pays for these things?" "The commune city." "But don't they grumble?" "No; they know it is the safety of the rich and the best inheritance of the poor." "But," said I, "do you tell me that the rich people who live at the villas at the west end of the city, by the side of the lake, send their children to school with the poor children—the children of the boatmen and the laborers of the city?" "Certainly they do," was the reply, and this was confirmed by the treasurer of the city, an eminent physician I had occasion to call in. "Are there not some children who do not come to school clean?" I asked. "Do not the rich object to poor, dirty

children?"

The answer was : "We allow no dirty children to come into our schools." I then said : "But you have diseases—you may have infantile diseases coming from the poor homes." "Yes," they answered, we take care of that; we have a system of notification of diseases, and we segregate any family where there is infectious disease." I put some other searching questions. I said, "You have plenty of governesses and tutors in private houses." But the answer was, "There is not a private teacher in the Canton of Lucerne." Thus, practically, the rich and poor go together through the whole curriculum. I further asked : "How, if you have a poor widow, with a large family, who wants to go out to work, and keeps her eldest girl at home to take care of the little ones—you don't refuse her?" "Yes, we do," they said, "we help the mother, but we do not allow the child to be neglected.' Then I went a little further. I thought of some of the poor starving children that we have in our great cities and towns at home, and so I said What do you do with the poor children who do not get enough to eat, and who have not clothes to come to school in?" The reply was : "We have a voluntary society in every town in Switzerland which provides for them. In Lucerne we have 4000 children on the school books, and 700 of these receive some assistance without any shame to themselves." I called the attention of a female teacher to some children that looked very poor, and I said "These look very poor." Yes, sir," was the reply, "they are the children of a very poor woman." Then she pointed out five children in her class, and said : "I happened to mention that these children were not properly fed, and the other children told it to their parents; and now they have three houses where they can go to dinner every day with their school companions. I had two or three classes last year, the richer children taking the poor home with them. And every year," she added, "at Christmas time in, every town the richer families send to the school visitors any clothes they have to spare for the use of the poor children." The physician to whom I have alluded said to me: "We Swiss people cannot live in our limited territory; we multiply very fast. We have to shave the scalps of the mountains for our grass to feed our flocks and herds; and we want to give our people enterprise and intelligence. We send thorn forth into the world, and we want that they should had themselves useful citizens wherever they go." There is a moral to be drawn from that. You may apply it to England from beginning to end, and you may, I am sure, usefully imitate the Lucerners in this town.

The Evening Star

TUESDAY. MARCH 10, 1885.

THE attendance at the Harbor Board meeting last night, the possible resignation of the chairman, and the naming of "a member" who had forfeited his seat, had a wonderful effect upon several of the nominees. All bluster was absent, and a general uneasiness noticeable. Indeed the storm may be said to have cleared the atmosphere a little. It will have this effect at least. It will prevent individual members rolling logs in such bare-faced manner as heretofore. It will prevent individual members from going to those they have placed in position and getting them to put on their cronies. This has been done in the past. If the, members of the Board question the statement, we are prepared to name the member of the Board and the official who acted as we have stated. It will perhaps compel the members of the Board to act as much in harmony as is possible for such an ill-assorted body. The applause that greeted Mr Kennedy's determination to remain on the Board showed tolerably well that he had the confidence of the public, and indicated that his would-be censors were not sympathised with in the smallest degree. We need not refer further to this matter. It is just as well to bury it, and give the Board another chance of doing their duty. It is certain that fear of losing his seat will keep one member within reasonable bounds, and although the balls may be manufactured all the same, I greater difficulty will now be experienced in getting them fired, unless indeed the manufacturer performs the part of gunner himself in future. In short the attempt made to reduce the status of the Board to the log-rolling basis of the County Council sometime ago—now happily also freed—has been nipped in time, and there is reason to believe that in the appointments to be made from this out the question of efficient men rather than ardent supporters will have more weight with the majority of the Board, who having had their eyes now thoroughly opened will view with keen scrutiny the capabilities of any one brought forward.

A meeting of the Harbor Board will be held this evening. It is not true, as rumored on Saturday last, that an admission fee of half-a-crown will be charged, although we admit that we have often paid two-and-sixpence for far less amusement.

Local Government.

TO THE EDITOR.

SIR,—It is expected that during the coming session of Parliament an effort will be made to improve the system of local Government and, as I have had some experience in various public bodies, 4 desire to point out what appear to be defects in the existing system of County Councils and Road Boards. The success *or* the failure to give satisfaction of these bodies depends greatly upon the proper arrangement of the boundaries of ridings, or subdivisions, so that the ratepayers in various localities may have an opportunity of being fairly represented. As at present arranged, in some ridings of the Southland County, numbers of ratepayers are virtually disfranchised. For instance, the Hokonui Riding extends from Woodlands to Waimea Plains; and it is evident the ratepayers in the extremities have no interest in common. Awarua Riding contains all the main roads leading into Invercargill, which is manifestly wrong. If Ridings are properly divided, electors will generally vote for the most suitable candidate; if improperly, then for the candidate who lives nearest. The evil of unsuitable boundaries cannot be fully rectified till the law is so amended as to permit a County Council to contain a greater number of members than nine. It is absurd that twelve members should manage the small area in the Borough of Invercargill and nine attend to the wants of the Southland County.

The Amending Counties Act, 1882, provides that all rates must be paid before a ratepayer can vote. As elections take place in November, and the year expires in March, this provision appears unjust, and should be abolished, or elections should take place subsequent to March.

The Otago Road Boards Ordinance provided that one-third of the members should retire annually, thus renewing the whole Board in three years, and one member retiring from each subdivision annually. The Road Boards Act provides that half the number, where even, and the nearest number less, where odd, shall retire annually. I think the provision in the Ordinance better than that in the Act. By the Roads and Bridges Construction Act, all applications to the Government must be accompanied by detailed plans, thus I causing a large amount of costly work, a great part of which was useless when applications were refused or curtailed. I think local bodies might be trusted without so much reference to Wellington. The usefulness of public bodies depends greatly on their finances. The assistance promised to County Councils at their creation has been withdrawn, and they have now to depend on rates, licenses, and dog tax. Road Boards have been treated even worse, as since the withdrawal of subsidies, they have only rates to depend on. In some parts of the colony the rates from Crown lands may be an equivalent for the loss of subsidies, but this does not apply to Southland. Granting a subsidy proportionate to the amount of rates raised seems as simple, just, and inexpensive a system as can be devised, as ratepayers are not likely to rate themselves unless roads require to be made or maintained. Some allowance should be made in favour of new works; but in a district like that surrounding Invercargill the cost of proper maintenance is great. In many portions of Awarua Riding there is no material suitable for road-making, whilst, in addition to farm produce, firewood, bricks, etc., for the supply of Invercargill and suburbs are carted over the roads. Most farmers in Awarua use their own vehicles, and derive no benefit from railways, though taxed for their construction and maintenance. It would, therefore, be fair if a concession were made in the haulage of material for their roads.

The Corrupt Practices Prevention Act is sound in spirit, its provisions have been fairly observed, and should be extended to all elec-tions.—Yours, etc.,

ANDREW. KINROSS.

Myross Bush,

5th May, 1885.

Evening Herald.

The newspaper is the great educator of the nineteenth century. There is no force compared with it. It is book, pulpit, platform, Jorum, all in one. And there is not an interest religious, literary, commercial, scientific, agricultural, or mechanical—that is not within its grasp.
TALMAGE

Dunedin. July 29, 1885.

THE bitter opposition to the removal from the Harbour Board of the Dock Trust raised by the two or three speakers on the subject at the recent meeting of the Chamber of Commerce points to an under-current of feeling which is neither creditable to the authors nor conducive to the welfare of the colony. Although no open admission was made as to the exact nature thereof, it is freely asserted outside the mystic circle of the Harbour Board that, by a lengthened delay of the work of constructing the dock, some erratic movement of Fortune's

wheel may enable it to be built at Dunedin—altogether ignoring the fact that Dunedin has no more moral right to a dock provided by the present endowments than would Port Chalmers have a right to the revenue from the endowments set apart for the benefit of Dunedin. Mr RITCHIE'S speech was a tirade of abuse against the Government, and for what? For insisting that justice shall be done, for discountenancing the "dog in the manger" policy of the Otago Harbour Board, and for endeavouring to maintain the prestige of the Port, and promote the interest of its shipping. We think the Government have assumed a most commendable attitude in demanding that the intentions of the Legislature should be strictly carried out with regard to providing dock accommodation for the large steamers. The question was deemed one of vital importance at the time Parliament consented to the alienation from the Crown of the valuable endowments whereon to raise the necessary funds for its accomplishment, and at a time when only one direct steam service was talked about. Now there are two services actively engaged, and the time may not be far distant when the whole of the intercolonial trade will be conveyed in vessels of large tonnage. At the time that Parliment consented to the alienation, the same Chamber of Commerce that now defends the action of the Harbour Board in not providing a "second dock," and denounces the Government in angry terms for its "impudence" in telling the Board that unless it took steps towards doing its duty it would be relieved from that duty, sent two of its members to Wellington as a deputation to urge the necessity of the undertaking upon the Government. It would be difficult to conceive a grosser piece of inconsistency. Whatever the ulterior intentions of the Harbour Board may be with regard to the new dock, its ostensible ones are the want of revenue to pay interest. Were these the true reasons, would it not be politic to give every facility to another body who would relieve them of so disagreeable a responsibility instead of offering strenuous opposition. Self-sacrifice is a virtue for which we have profound veneration, so long as it does not interfere with the rights and privileges of others, but in the case of that of the Board we say that a great check to the prosperity of Otago is the result. Mr RITCHIE seemed to be badly informed as to the nature of the Trust to which Government intend to hand over dock matters. He asserted it was the Corporation of Port Chalmers, which is not correct. The intention is core-constitute the original Trust in which will be comprised the Mayors of Dunedin and Port Chalmers, the Chairmen of the Chamber of Commerce and Harbour Board, and a number nominated by the Government. Whoever the Trust may be composed of, we hope they will be men earnest in the work and loyal to their country, men who will not trifle with the prosperity of our port, who will not follow the example of the "faithless servant," and "hide their talent in a napkin," like the Harbour Board has done, but will discharge their duties honestly and vigorously.

The Essayist.

Altruism.

"The man whose eye is ever on himself Doth look on one the least of Nature's world"
WORDSWORTH

I read lately a conjecture of the me of this word by an enterprising but unsuccessful gentleman, to the effect that it implies "all truth," or "truism," or a platitude. To expect from every one who cannot resist displaying his ardour to rush into print the discipline of a classical education were to exact over much, yet a very slender knowledge of modern French might have poured sufficient light to save the writer from an egregious blunder. It means "care for others," sympathy with their needs, and intuitive discernment of their mental workings, &c., in combination. It is the life of the artist, the dramatist, the orator; and a tinge of it gives brilliancy to the research of the historian, when controlled and guarded by a sound judgment. St. Paul had it to an eminent degree, whether by temperament, by circumstances, or by varied experiences. He could sympathise with an opponent, mentally change places with him, and follow him in imagination through his perverted logic and gradations of error. The imaginary duel at length overweighs the apostle's sensitive nervous system, until, starting, he upbraids the phantom of his own raising with the uncourteous expression, "Thou fool !"

Such is the *intellectual* phase of altruism. Morally, it is the antithesis of selfishness, egotism, exclusiveness, and class legislation, &c. Combined, it forms the crowning grace of a gentleman, and no statesman if a stranger to it is worthy of the name. "The true lawgiver," says Edmund Burke, "ought to possess a heart full of sensibility."

The growth of this word has elevated and spiritualised the older word "humanity." Formerly "humanity" meant "a condescending pity, awakened by the sight of wants or sufferings from which we ourselves are exempt. But a modern can, without offence, say to a stricken friend, "I too have felt sorrow, and am drawn to you by our common humanity." The Roman slave has secured a deathless name by one line.

"Human! nihil a me alienum puto."

—"Heautontimoroumenos."

But I find a second son of genius apparently ignorant not merely of the word but of the *thing*. "We have," writes a critic, "heard about enough of Sir Moses Montefiore. To reach the age of 100 is not of such merit or virtue as to [*unclear:* elicit] these fervid eulogies." I answer, a long life certainly supposes wise and virtuous habits, accompanied by a well-balanced mind. But we [*unclear:* venerate] the old man for being much more than a [*unclear:* centenarian]; for than the practice of grand virtues, far greater a wise and prudent husbanding of vital powers. The bounty of Sir Moses has been steady and impartial, diffused and distributed among the brethren of his own loved ancestral faith, and likewise among Christians. The line of Terence might be inscribed on the tomb of the venerated altruist.

I knew two legal practitioners of opposite temperaments. (1). The one was wont to say to his clerks and pupils while getting up an important case, "Bring me such and such cases, and every one you can find that makes for our side."

"Here, sir, is a very strong, well-argued case; it claims attention."

"Take it away. It is dead against us. I want strengthening cases, not disheartening ones. Of that one I shall no doubt hear enough tomorrow."

(2). The other would say, "Bring me 4 *Maule and Selwyn*, Wayford and Smithers. It is very strong. Fellows will be sure to quote it There are two other cases, one in *meeson and Welsby*. Look them up. But no cases *for* me. I pretty well know them. Let me study *Wayford v. Smithers*, and find out how F. will work it Get all that are for the *other* side, the stronger the better. Let me not be surprised."

"Never underrate an opponent" Lamented Annesley Billing—a lamp too early quenched ! He should have husbanded his strength. A classical scholar and linguist, a skilful teacher, a conscientious examiner, a careful, industrious, and masterful advocate, laborious for *every* client, whether straitened or oputent, an invaluable judge, and in private fife an accomplished musician, let me begin the year by throwing on thy bust this wreath, not of perishing flowers, but of enduring laurel. Thou wilt long be missed; grief hath given place to *desiderium* Hail! and Farewell!

Property has been rightly termed the seal of civilisation, and irresistible are its claims to being duly represented. But it seems to the eye of philosophy that wealth can take care of itself, whether *in* or *out* of the House of Assembly. The despotism of the Sabbatarians falls impotent from South Yarra and Toorak, as the javelin of old Priam from the brazen shield of Pyrrhus. Dives laughs at the fourth commandment. His horses and their charioteer broil in the sun while their owner is inside church praying that his heart may be "inclined to keep the law that prohibits any manner of work of horse or servant," &c. It is only on the homeless and straitened that the restraint falls. The poor man cannot have a glass of beer or an apple. Dives, in home or club, commands the costly vintage and surveys his works of art, but by all means let the library and gallery be shut against the less opulent Legislate for the poor, for the unthrifty, for the outcast They that are whole need not a physician, but they that are sick. Would that I could see some salutary provision for rational Sunday recreation for *all* classes, and even refreshments under reasonable supervision, besides throwing open the library and museum. Poverty means helplessness, sometimes despair. Surely wants, no less than possessions, claim the attention of legislators. The poor *must* be taught, both directly and indirectly, must be raised, must be incited to pursue their happiness by rational and enduring recreative enjoyments. Every Sunday brings with it a mournful consciousness that so many of our fellow-men have none save ignoble means of relieving and beguiling the weariness of life. Yet still to Dives will Mawworm cringe, while to Lazarus he exhibits nought save gloom and monotony, and bids him to "thank heaven he has a hell to go to." In Germany, I am told, Sunday-worship ends before 2; then the gardens are thronged with happy faces, cheerful strains of instrumental music, and light, wholesome refreshments. Man has need of "these things." Goethe says somewhere, "Art and religion are cognate. They humanise all that come within their swarth: they interchange their own translucency. I would gladly help to give to the poor a cheerful Sunday, but not a day of licence. All broils, assaults, ribaldry, or drunkenness committed on Sunday should be punished more severely than on a weekday. I feel persuaded that the spirit of true religion would never be tarnished or vexed; still less would be compelled to accept the demoralising aid of buffoonery and pitiable cant, made conspicuous by idiotic nonsense.

Altruism demands the enforcement of sanitary laws. For no man can disregard them without injuring his neighbours. The stinks of Melbourne render tobacco a necessary of life. The Yarra, instead of being a source of health and pleasure, is simply a reservoir of malaria. The strong, the healthy, and the opulent, no doubt, can deride these suggested precautions, but the disciples of altruism cannot rest till they are generally practised.

Altruism is sometimes the hand-maiden of justice. The late Mr. Justice Talfourd, when first advanced to the bench, surprised the public and even the junior bar by the soundness and accuracy of his legal decisions. He was never wrong. His brilliant eloquence as an advocate caused many a shrewd observer to predict (mindful of former examples) that he would be unsuccessful as a judge. But they were disappointed. He, however, could

never shake off (perhaps never tried) the habit of expressing every thought in the glowing hues of a vivid imagination, and his genial temperament fostered that spirit of altruism to which I have referred as conspicuous in the writings of St Paul.

In summing up to the jury, he commenced with a lucid statement of the plaintiffs case. Gradually warming, he commented on the evidence, placing every fact as advantageously as could the most zealous advocate. Having exhausted the plaintiff's case, he would say, "Gentlemen, on the other hand, the case for the defendant is as follows." Then he would commence with similar clearness of narra-tive, and, rising into eloquence, place in a light unexpectedly favourable the views and arguments of the defendant. No one could guess the bias (if any) of the judge. The jury retired to "consider of their verdict," and to balance at their leisure the two brilliant divisions of the eloquent and exhaustive speech of the judge.

In an omnibus, sitting opposite to the foreman of a jury, I led him to talk of court and to impart his opinions, and, among others, his estimate of Mr. Justice Talfourd. "Why, sir," was his reply, "an eloquent man, sir. But he never gives us no assistance; we never knows which way he really and in his heart inclines; he states one side of a case as strongly as t'other." "Is that a fault or a virtue?" asked I. "Well, sir, I don't know. Only it gives *us* some trouble."

The habit of self-forgetting, and of thinking of others, caused this impartial distribution of lucid eloquence.

Talfourd was a *happy* man, hospitable, unselfish, and free from envy, hatred, and malice. He proved in his own person, in his life and his death, that the truly generous are the truly wise, for he who loves not others lives unblest and dies unmourned.

The Hokitika High School.

(To the Editor.)

SIR—I feel that it is imperative something should be said by way of elucidation of the long deferred project to establish a High School here, and as I see no one undertaking the duty, I have made up my mind to do it myself. I therefore ask you to allow me, perhaps an undue portion of your space, to enter as fully into the subject as is necessary to meet the circumstances of the case.

First of all, I would try to deal with a popular delusion, or fallacy, concerning High Schools in this country generally. It is said—it is believed by persona whom you would expect to know better—that a High School is an institution for the education of the children of the upper classes. There are scores of persons in Westland who believe this to be the case. I will not say the very reverse is the actual fact, but the strict truth is, that a High School is an establishment of some benefit to the rich, but of infinite and immeasurable benefit to the poor and struggling parent. For a sum of 16s 8d per month a parent in humble circumstances can get his boy or girl educated in the higher branches of education at the local High School, and the want of such a school in a district may consign some "poor scholar" to oblivion and obscurity, who otherwise might have attained a high pinnacle of eminence, not only in his district, but in the world. There was no High School in that country village pictured in Gray's "Elegy ":—

But Knowledge to their eyes her ample page Rich with the spoils of time, did ne'er unroll;

Chill penury repressed their noble rage And froze the genial current of the soul.

I remember a lad here who, through some mismanagement or something worse was prevented from competing for a scholarship What happened at that time altered the whole course of that lad's life, and his brilliant abilities are lost forever. Opportunity is what youth requires—opportunity to acquire knowledge when the mind is young and impressive; and in the most ample sense this opportunity will be given to the youth of Westland by the establishment of a High School in Hokitika. It will be given to all classes, but especially to the classes of moderate means; and almost the poorest parent amongst us will be able to advance his boy or girl to a profession, or to a high standard in technical Science, through its agency. I introduce the word "girls" into the previous sentence advisedly. In countless ages the abilities of girls have been misunderstood by the world, and have not had free scope or fair play. But in these later times we find the barriers erected to keep women out of the sphere of professional, scientific, and technical knowledge, are being rapidly broken down. I consider that a High School education would be of infinite benefit to every woman, even in domestic life, who in youth can avail herself of it, and supposing it to be her fortune to be simply the wife of an ordinary working man. One of the chief causes of domestic disagreements and unhappiness is the fact that woman is a mortal who generally does not try to reason, and who cannot very well reason when she does try. As a rule, too, she learns and reads much about very little and small things, and very little about the vast things of the universe. In a High School the reasoning faculty of girls would be cultivated, and the mind would become expanded and refined and (I may add) subdued by knowledge of infinite variety. For one thing, I do not think it possible for a reasoning and educated woman to be a "nagging" wife, or a virago, or an unmethodical and slovenly person in house hold

matters; or altogether unimpressed with the more serious considerations of life. Had Mrs Caudle known that the volume of the sun was 1,250 000 times greater than that of the earth, and bad she been able even to approximately realise the stupendousness of such appalling figures, she would never have tormented poor Caudle with her interminable twang and twaddle about trifles!

This is not taking high ground, but the high ground is there, to be taken, nevertheless! Education of a high class is a benefit to the most humble wife; but what an incalculable benefit it is to the boy or girl to whom Providence has given uncommon gifts of intellect! Now we have here on this West Coast many such. Our standard of education in the primary schools is higher here than elsewhere in New Zealand, and the general percentages of result of a higher examination than other schools undergo, is higher also. We want a High School to complete the education of many of these well grounded scholars A very little effort will give us what we require. Indeed we have now an opportunity of establishing a High School, at a lower cost than such a school has ever been established, anywhere, before. Why not take advantage of this golden opportunity? At smaller places than Hokitika, High Schools have been long since established. At Akaroa they have one with only 25 scholars; At the Thames the number of scholars is 26, Rangiora 20, Timaru 45 and Whangarei 16. These schools cost some thousands of pounds each to establish; here we can get as good a school for a few hundred pound?. The annual cost of maintaining High Schools at the places named, as well as at Napier and other places not, greatly larger than Hokitika, ranges from £300 to £500. We propose to get 30 scholars here, to commence with, at £10 10s per annum. But I think we might go farther than that. How many residents of Westland are there who are prepared to guarantee a certain sum per annum for the support of such an institution, even although they may not be in a position at present to send children to it? And how many, who have children to sent, are able to guarantee more than £10 10s per annum for a year or two, until the school is thoroughly established? I think there are sufficient of both classes of persons to ensure the success of the school, and I feel confident that if an appeal has to be made to them, they will respond to it. In the meantime let all who have scholars to send, send in their names; for a High School shall be one of the institutions of Hokitika within six months.

I am, &c.,
RICHARDSON RAE.

Hokitika.

March 4.

An Address to Boys.

THE following capital address by Archdeacon Farrar was given recently at the lower school of John Lyon's Foundation, Harrow:—

There never had been an age in which boys could not, in a free country, rise from the lowest to the very highest positions. In that very town of Harrow there lived, a hundred years ago, a boy who was the son of a small apothecary of very small circumstances. The lad said he intended to live until he rode in a coach-and four of his own, and he became one of the most remarkable men of his age—he was referring to Dr Samuel Parr. Long before he died he drove about in a coach-and-four of his own, so that he fulfilled the ambition of his younger days. Instances like this were by no means uncommon. They might be quite sure that that particular form of success which consisted in getting on in the world and acquiring wealth was open to every English boy. That was not, however, the highest form of ambition. He hoped that, if any of them were making up their minds to be millionaires, they would put that ambition entirely behind one of a loftier kind. Even if they aimed at a very much higher form of success, it was perfectly open to them. That morning he was struck in coming through Westminster Abbey, by passing under two statues—one of Sir Robert Peel, the other recently erected to the Earl of Beaconsfield. On the latter was this inscription : " Erected I by the Parliament of England to the Earl of Beaconsfield, Knight of the Garter, twice Prime Minister of England." A nobleman who was also looking at it said the inscription might have read, "Twice Prime Minister of England, and once an attorney's clerk." Lord Beaconsfield, in addressing some youths at Birmingham, once said, "I bid you aspire." The secret of successful ambition was not ability, genius, intellect—it was simply resolution, purpose, perseverence, energy, and industry. They must not only have the power to say "I can," but also the power to say "I will." There were two rules he would give them, the first of which was that they must use every opportunity. There was a particular estate in England, better timbered, he believed, than any other in the country. It belonged to

Admiral Collingwood, who, when he was retired, used always to go about with his pocket full of acorns, and a dibble in his hand. Whenever he came to a spot where he thought an oak would thrive, down went the dibble, and in went an acorn. They must do exactly the same in life. They must fill up the field of their life with these acorns, and never miss a single opportunity of putting in some seed of future usefulness and greatness. The other rule he had to give them was that they should not be afraid of difficulties. He did not know whether they knew the story of what a Spartan father said to his son. The son complained that his sword was too short, and his lather told him that if it was so he must add a step to it. If they found that their present opportunities were not so favorable to future success, they must add a step to them, and depend upon it, the advantages which they made for themselves were infinitely more important than those they received from others. In point of fact the advantages a man received from others were often disadvantages, because they tended rather to weaken the exertions which he otherwise might have made.

Having set before them the secrets of success, he wanted to say that any dream of selfish and personal success was always in its essence ignoble if it stopped there. He wished them to aim at something which was not so uncertain as this. They must remember that a great many persons who aimed at success failed to arrive at it; and they must also remember that many of the greatest and best men had not been in the least degree successful in a worldly sense, but had I died in poverty and exile, and "Borne the pelting scorn of half an age." Then he wanted them also to bear in mind that success did not always bring happiness. No doubt all boys thought if they grew up to be rich they would be extremely happy, but the whole experience of the world was against them. He was always very much struck by what the unhappy Queen of their own Royal family (the daughter of George III.) wrote on the window of the Castle in Denmark, "Oh, keep me innocent, make others great.' He did hope that if any great anger came to them with greatness in one hand and innocence in the other, they would not hesitate a moment in choosing innocence. Seek use and not fame. Set before them the desire before they died, to make the world a little wiser, and better, and happier than it was. First of all, seek innocence rather than greatness; and secondly, use rather than fame. He happened to be present when a memorial was proposed to the late Archbishon of Canterbury. The most striking speech made was that of the late lamented Prince Leopold, who said that he (Dr Tait) was a man who, under every circumstance, was never contented unless he did his very utmost—unless he was at his very best. All of them ought to aim at this, and if they attained to it they would certainly be happy.

"If I were a cobbler, I'd make it my pride,
The best of all cobblers to be;
If I were a tinker, no tinker besides,
Should tinker a kettle like me."

There was a story of a Greek sculptor who was visited one day by some friends just as he was engaged on the tresses of a statue. One of the company asked him what was the good of his taking so much trouble over the tresses of the statue when it was to be placed at a great height, with its back to the wall of the temple, where no one would see the work. The sculptor's admirable answer was "The gods will see it." Now, knowledge was a step which few might climb, but duty was a path which all might tread. Let those two great angels of God, duty and conscience, take them by the hand and lead them along the path of life. Then, indeed, they would be living a noble and happy life. Each, like Dante, in his immortal poem, could be "Crowned and mitred over himself." Dante had wandered into a gloomy valley from whence he saw a hill crowned with sunshine; which he was prevented from climbing by three beasts—a lion, a leopard, and a great gaunt hungry wolf. The gloomy valley was simply the valley of vice and sin, the lion represented passion, the leopard pleasure, and the wolf avarice, or the love of money. In conclusion, Canon Farrar said he hoped every boy there would live a life that would correspond to the words of the poet—

"That man is free from servile bands,
Or hope to rise or fear to fall;
Lord of himself, if not of lands,
And having nothing, yet hath all."

The Grey River Argus,

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THE applause which last night greeted Mr Kennedy's announcement that he would withdraw his notice of resignation may be accepted as the strongest possible evidence that the board would be very loth to lose his services on she board, and that the public are of opinion that he is the right man in the right place. For it must be remembered that the applause was not confined to the members of the board, but also burst spontaneously from the townspeople present, and there was a goodly number of them. Although Mr Kennedy made a brief statement as to the reasons which actuated him to reverse the decision he arrived at on the Tuesday previous, he made no reference to the attitude he will assume towards the board in future. If he intends to claim the powers that on Tuesday last he considered necessary to be reposed in the chairman, then the omission of all reference as to the future relations between the board and their chairman may lead to further jarring, and that in all probability very speedily. If, however, Mr Kennedy means to fall back on the line of conduct in his capacity as chairman that he laid down for himself in his inauguratory speech, then it was wholly unnecessary that he should make any reference to what transpired at the meeting he tendered his resignation. There may be a tacit understanding between the chairman and the board on this point, but if anything of the kind has taken place the public do not know it, and have had no opportunity of knowing it. It will be seen, however that the point is a most important one, and on it to a great extent must necessarily depend the success or failure on the board's administration. When Mr Kennedy assumed the chairmanship he stated his view of what should be the duties and position of Chairman. The substance of it was that he considered he was the servant and mouthpiece of the board, to regulate the conduct of business at their meetings, and see that their wishes were given effect to; but not to exercise an independent executive authority except in such small matters that no objection would be taken. These are not the words that he used on the occasion, but they fairly represent the spirit of his remarks. It was a proper and constitutional view to take of the position, and if it had been strictly adhered to there would have been no hitch between the Chairman and the board, and no earthly necessity for resignation on his part or a unanimous wish-from them that he should reconsider his decision, which, when translated according to the ethics of every-day life means petulant wilfullness on the one side and dependence and want of moral fibre on the other. Unfortunately the position taken up by Mr Kennedy when inducted into the office of chairman was reversed after a short experience with his coadjutors in the practical work of administration. They appeared not to be up to his business mark, as he expressed dissatisfaction at the way it was proposed to carry on the business of the board. It seemed to him that there should be more flexibility in the administrative machine. It wanted an intermediate power between the board and its head officer, the engineer—a sort of universal joint, as it were, to use a mechanical term—and the chairman he considered was the proper and only person to act in that capacity. On this point the board were not unanimous. The action of the Chairman on his return from Wellington was not calculated to put the board in an easy frame of mind. For while they were prepared to place more power in his hands than probably any Chairman of any other local body is usually entrusted with, they were not prepared altogether to become cyphers by voluntarily yielding up to their own appointee the functions with which they had been entrusted by the power that appointed them. They were prepared to go a great way, further perhaps than is usual in such cases, on account of their confidence in the Chairman; but there is always a limit that even the most subservient member dare not pass if he has any respect for the dignity of the position he holds. It goes without saying that all things considered Mr Kennedy is the fittest man on the board to occupy the chair. The large interest he possesses in the port and its trade, his wide business experience and remarkable energy, all point to him as the the most suitable man for the position; but the other members of the board are not without a deep interest in the place, nor entirely without

knowledge and experience, and they, too, have a desire to do their best to promote the welfare of the place, so that those they leave after them may not be driven elsewhere to seek a living; consequently their endeavors will not be less earnest than those of the Chairman. It is unnecessary to dwell at any length on this little epsiode in the initiatory stage of the board's existence. Nobody is any the worse for it. Like a thunderstorm, it has cleared the air, and business will probably progress more smoothly in future. The Chairman may rest assured that he is not likely to feel any irritating restraint while he recognises the superior power of the board, and the members of the board, on the other hand, will be inspired with greater confidence in the chairman.

The Rev. Mr Dodds, who preached at All Saints' Church last evening, took for his text the following passage from the Book of Kings:—"And this thing became sin into the house of Jeroboam, even to cut it off, and to destroy it from off the face of the earth " In the course of his sermon the preacher made the following remarks:—"I do not like to refer to politics from the pulpit, but I cannot help recording my conviction that the state of government that we have come to is a very bad omen for the future of this country. Look where you

will, where will you find another instance of a Christian nation daring to place at the head of affairs one who professes to ignore the Christian God altogether? Bad men of all sorts the world has seen without number, no doubt, entrusted with the reins of government; but to prefer to such a position of trust one whose boast is his infidelity to his God and his denial of his Saviour is a step at any rate not towards national honor and prosperity."

Assessment Court.

(Before H. S. Wardell, Esq., R.M.)

The inquiry relative to the assessment for rating purposes of the Drill Shed was adjourned until Saturday next, to allow of evidence being brought forward as to rent being charged for the use of the same.

In the case of the Harbor Board assessment, Mr Gully appeared on behalf of the Board to sustain an objection to the proposed assessment on the ground of excessive valuation, contending that the Corporation were assessing on land which was purposed to be reclaimed, but which in all probability would not be reclaimed for years to come.

Mr Martin, for the Corporation said that the value was estimated on the price a purchaser would give for the said and with a right to reclaim.

Mr Ferguson, engineer and secretary to the Harbor Board, said there was no immediate intention of reclaiming the land in question. The land was of no annual value, producing no assets.

Mr T. K. Macdonald, auctioneer, estimated the land at present, with a right to reclaim, at about £2000.

Mr Samuel Carroll considered the present value as nil, the future value as very speculativa.

For the Corporation, Mr Ames, city valuer, said he estimated the value of the land at about £10,000, and the cost of reclamation would be about L2000. He considered that the land when reclaimed would be worth at least £100,000. He arrived at that estimate by comparing the prices which land had recently brought in the city, and considered it low. There would be a frontage of 600 feet to the property when reclaimed; an existing frontage of 105 feet to Custom-house Quay.

Mr J. H. Wallace considered the resent value, with right to reclaim, at about £10,000. He would be willing to give that himself for it, and willingly spend £5000 in reclaiming it. When reclaimed he considered it would be worth at least £30,000, and probably far more. The right of the Government to resumption at any time without compensation would, of course, lower the value considerably.

After hearing counsel on both sides, his Worship decided that the assessed value ought to be reduced, He therefore ordered that the property should be assessed at L200.

Playful Persecution.

Are the religions denominations in general and our Roman Catholic fellow colonists in particular undergoing persecution? There seems something droll in the inquiry. When a certain church held sway throughout Christendom, people who were subjected to persecution were not left in any doubt upon the subject. The confiscation of their worldly goods and effects, the gloomy dungeon, the torture chamber, and finally the *Auto-da-fe*, settled the question in the affirmative. If it be true that there is persecution at this day and in this colony, the question does not appear to be capable of similarly easy settlement. Archbishop Moran assures as that it is a fact—that we are indeed in such a parlous state that when a verbal note of our condition was tendered in England to one of the leading statesmen of the kingdom, that potent official exclaimed—"Can such a thing be possible in this, the 19th century?"

What was it that caused this "leading statesman" to lift his astonished palms and put a question so nearly akin to Macbeth's "Can such things be, and overcome us like a summer's cloud, without our special wonder?" What have we been doing? Let the Arch-bishop explain:—"Before quitting England, a few months ago, I happened to mention to one of the leading statesmen of the kingdom that children going to the public schools in New South Wales were allowed a free pass on the trams and railways, whilst this boon was denied to the children attending the religious schools; he at once exclaimed—'Can such a hing be possible in this, the 19th century?" It would, indeed, be a shameful fact, if it were one, that religion was being treated in this oppressive fashion—that a school had only to be known as a religions one for the children going to it to be deprived of free passes on trams and railways. Fancy the train and railway conductors, like so many grim inquisitors, putting poor little scholars to the question : "Now, answer truly; are you going to a religious school, or are you going to an irreligious one?"—and, according to the reply, letting them pass free or demanding their cash. But what are the facts? In order to enable the whole of the rising generation to acquire the elements of education, and act as

intelligent citizens and electors, the State provides schools, teaching within them a certain amount of religion, and offering access to the various denominations to teach more. It makes attendance compulsory, and in order that there shall be no opposition through the poverty or parsimony of parents, it offers free transit over its trams and trains. To those parents who, from various causes, prefer to pay for the tuition of their children in other schools than the public ones, it offers railway tickets at a quarter the ordinary fare. The subject of religion has nothing whatever to do with the arrangment. All private schools are treated alike. Nay, even the State schools of a superior description come under the same regulation. A pupil attending the High Schools of the State has to pay the quarter-fare. What, therefore, could be more misleading to the "leading statesman" than to put the matter before him as if it were an issue in this colony as between religion and secularism?

But his Grace prefers another charge of persecution against this commonwealth, especially applicable to his co-religionists. He says: "The State baa its rights, which we all respect, but it has also its duties, and we reckon it to be one of those duties to respect the religious convictions of its citizens, and not to force a system of education upon them which is repugnant to their feelings and their principles." No one will gainsay this statement; but when Dr. Moran attempts to show that his people are being persecuted, not by having a system of education repugnant to their feelings forced upon them, but by being refused State assistance in the establishment of their sectarian schools, it is difficult to treat his complaint seriously. The Pope at the Vatican complains of persecution by the Italian Government because he is not allowed to crush Protestant schools established and upheld by Protestant funds. Dr. Moran, here, complains of persecution because the Government will not help him to maintain the schools of his sect. In both cases the alleged "persecution" is of a peculiar and playful description. In this colony no sect is recognised in the general revenue; no rates are levied from, or on behalf of, any church. The money is contributed by the community and expended for communal needs. Some awkward and unexpected complications would arise if the Government commenced to count it out according to religions. As we pointed out yesterday, the Registrar General's returns show that there are twice as many prisoners belonging to the Roman Catholic denomination in the gaols of the colony as there ought to be. Is the denomination to be called upon to defray a like proportion of the State's expenditure on prisons, police, and courts of justice? Will it be insisted that they are being persecuted if they not allowed to do so? Assuredly the only way to avoid persecution is for the State to have nothing whatever to do with religions divisions either in collecting or expending its revenues.

Auckland Benevolent Society.

Annual Meeting.

THE annual meeting of subscribers to the Auckland Benevolent Society was held at the Lome-street Hall last evening. His Worship the Mayor (Mr. W. R. Waddel) occupied the chair. The following were present on the platform :—Bishop Cowie, Rev. S. Goldstein, Colonel Haultain, Mr. C. C. McMillan, and Dr. Murray Moore.

The MAYOR said his position in connection with the society was ex officio; but his sympathies were with its objects, otherwise he would have sent an apology, for the part he had been able to take in the movement after the preliminary business was arranged did not warrant him in presiding that evening, but he felt; it not only a duty, but a pleasure at all times to preside at any meeting where the welfare of the citizens of Auckland was concerned. His Worship said an attempt had been made to get up a charity Sunday, and he believed a reply had been received from two denominations at least, stating that they could not preach for the purpose of procuring funds for distribution outside of their own denomination. A society of this kind had to be worked on a very broad basis. When a person came seeking food or shelter, that was not a time for asking what his creed or country was. He had had large experience during the last twelve months of giving assistance to people, and he recognised a want of means to meet urgent cases. The Prison Brigade report would show that there was another society or institution at least doing a great deal in that particular way. They would have to place the Benevolent Society before the public in such a manner that they would receive a ready response, the givers believing that the money contributed would be fairly, carefully, and judiciously expended. The society, he thought he might say, was now fairly in working order, and he hoped the public would respond more liberally in the coming year than they had done in the past. The lady canvassers had exerted themselves very creditably indeed. The difficulty of collecting large sums by a door-to-door canvass was only known to those who had tried it. The class who needed the aid of the society did nob as a rule assist. He was sure the lady canvassers had found that out. The wants of the working classes were equal to their means. He had met some unemployed who

cried "starvation !" when only a few weeks out of employment. That was a pitiful state of affairs. In some cases the Auckland workmen were very improvident, and did not provide for a "rainy day;" in other cases, of course, they did very well.

The Hon. TREASURER (Mr. C. C. McMillan) read the statement of accounts as follows :—

RECEIPTS.—To amount of donations and subscriptions, as per lists, £437 7s 1d; Government subsidy to June 30, £193 1s 6d. Total, £630 8s 7d. Balance in hand, December 16, 1884, £406 1s 7d.

EXPENDITURE.—By cash for relief, as per Secretary's statement, £97 15s 4d; rent of office, £25; office furniture, £14 9s 3d; stationery, etc., £8 13s 8d; printing and advertising, £26 16s; sundries, £4 12s 9d—£177 7s; Secretary's salary, £47; balance at Bank of New South Wales, £406 1s 7d. Total, £630 8s 7d.

The SECRETARY (Mr. Duppuy) read the report as follows :—

First annual report of the Auckland Benevolent Society, December 16, 1884: During the year the society has done a great amount of practical work at a trifling expense; and it is gratifying to report that not one known de-serving case of real distress has gone unrelieved. Before help has been given every case has been carefully enquired into, and whenever it was found that the applicants were undeserving the society has not hesitated to refuse help. Help has been bestowed in the form of money, food, bedding, clothing, surgical appliances, lodgings, passages to other parts, and work has been obtained for several. Exclusive of men and women who were destitute but had no one depending upon them, sixty-four families have been relieved, and some of the families were for a considerable time dependent on the care of the society. The committee would thank the subscribers for the means placed at their disposal for the relief of the poor and needy, and assure them that no pains are spared to see that the objects of the society are faithfully carried out. The Treasurer having prepared a financial statement, and the Secretary a very detailed statistical report of all the cases relieved, and these documents being open to inspection by the public and the Press, it is not needful to do more than refer to those documents, which are to-night placed upon the table.

The MAYOR said he was astonished at such a large balance to the create of the society considering the large number of cases requiring relief. He begged to move the adoption of the report and statement of accounts.

Bishop COWIE had much pleasure in seconding the motion. It had been stated that all the details were on the table. He hoped a summary would be published in order that the public might see what had been done. He was convinced of the need of a society like that; but he was not at all sure that the citizens generally were equally convinced of its necessity. Since the establishment of the society fewer applications had been made to him for relief. He hoped he might attribute that fact to the successful manner in which the operations of the society were being carried out. He hoped the small attendance at the meeting was not any token at all of lack of interest in the working of the society as felt among the people of Auckland generally. It wsa well that such meetings should be well attended, although the result could be read in the newspaper. He had been requested to apologise for Bishop Selwyn, who had only received his invitation a few hours before the time of meeting. He thought the meeting should have been more fully advertised, and other means should have been taken to secure a larger attendance. Be hoped special care would be taken of widows and orphans; and he hoped they would not pauperise the people by letting them feel that they had only to apply, to receive 5s, 10s, or £1, or whatever they might want. He hoped it would be impressed on able bodied men who applied, that while the society was glad to give the assistance wanted, the society would look to them to refund to the society the money they received from it so soon as they were able to do so—not for the benefit of the society so much as for their own—to keep up their own sense of honour.

Mr. F. G. EWINGTON said the amount of money received showed that they had the sympathy of the public. Although it was not a very large amount it was sufficient for their purpose. The ladies and gentlemen forming the Executive Committee had been most painstaking, and if there were cases, as had been mentioned by the Mayor, they had not come under the notice of the Executive Committee. He thought full publicity had been given as to the holding of the meeting, it had been advertised and circulars had been sent to the clergy and to the leading men of the city.

Mr. P. A. PHILIPS congratulated the society on its financial position. He bore out the statement of the Chairman as to the large number who found their way to the Mayor's office seeking relief. He was sorry to hear of the nature of the replies from two denominations as to Hospital Sunday. A charity Sunday existed in almost every civilized city and be would like to see it in Auckland.

Dr. MURRAY-MOORE said the small amount of money expended in charity compared with actual receipts had arisen from the extreme discretion of the ladies who had had the distribution in giving the smallest sums to the applicants for relief. He pointed out that the society had not yet been in operation for a year.

The Rev. S. GOLDSTEIN agreed with a remark which had been made, that it was not the duty of those who formed the committee to seek out cases : the object of the society was simply to relieve cases of distress that were brought under its notice. He felt sure the ladies and gentlemen who formed the committee had been well cognizant of the difficulties of their task. The ladies had collected £437, which the Government had

supplemented by £193, and, as Dr. Murray Moore had stated, it was only those who had themselves engaged in the task of collecting knew what endless perseverance and temporary annoyance it entailed. By discussing and ventilating the question as much as possible he was sure it would materially benefit the society.

Mr. EWINGTON said in many cases the ladies bad paid sums out of their own pockets and had not charged the amounts to the society.

Mr. MCMILLAN said as far as the amount expended was concerned it simply meant that the ladies and gentlemen employed in the work had used discretionary power. He thought the great safeguard of the society was that they should use the greatest discretion with its funds. The ladies had discretionary powers up to a certain amount, but sums above that had to be referred to the Executive Committee. The committee met once or twice a week, and every case was gone into carefully, and only those cases requiring it were relieved. He bore testimony to the fact that the Executive Committee had given as immense amount of work to the society. It was, he believed, the intention of the committee to print the report, together with details of the work done.

The motion for the adoption of the report was carried unanimously.

Dr. MURRAY-MOORE moved the following resolution, which had been adopted by the General Committee, and was recommended by that committee to the present meeting :—"That the Mayor be invited to institute, early in 1885, a Charity Sunday, on which boxes should be placed at the doors of all places of worship, the contributions to which shall be given to the Auckland Benevolent Society. That His Worship also recommend to the employers of labour, that on a certain Saturday, boxes should be placed in their establishments for voluntary offerings to the society." This system had been found most beneficial at home, and in no single case had it to be given up after starting. He asked those present to give him their hearty support in that resolution. He had thought it over very carefully. He felt it would gather strength as it proceeded, and the various small rivulets of charity would gather into one mighty stream and relieve the destitution which existed. He spoke from actual experience when he said there were men and women in this city who did not know where they were to look for their next meal.

The Rev. T. MCKENZIE FRASER seconded the motion. He referred to the great success of the Hospital Sunday collections in Australia, and spoke strongly in support of the objects of the Auckland Benevolent Society,

The motion was carried unanimously.

Mr. TREMAIN thought it would be a good thing if the £ for £ subsidy was extended beyond the Benevolent Society.

On the motion of Mr. WILLIAM THORNE, seconded by Colonel HAULTAIN, a hearty vote of thanks was passed to the ladies who had collected funds.

Mr. EWINGTON proposed, and the Rey, Mr. GOLDSTEIN seconded, that the committee be re-elected.

Carried unanimously.

Dr. MURRAY-MOORE, in proposing a vote of thanks to the Mayor for his kindness in presiding, and the interest he had taken in the society from its commencement, said there was no more practical philanthropist in Auckland than that gentleman. Personally and (he was sure) on behalf of the society they tendered him their thanks.

The motion was carried by acclamation.

The MAYOR returned thanks, and the meeting terminated.

Auckland Benevolent Society.

To the Editor.

SIR,—The annual report of the above society states, "that not one known deserving case of real distress has gone unrelieved." This is "gratifying." It speaks well for the freedom of this, large city from real distress, and this is not all. Sir, this distress has for about twelve months been relieved with the modest sum of £97 15s 4d, proving how little distress there has been. This is again gratifying. The report also states that this charitable work has been done "at a trifling expense." Let us examine. The sum of £97 15s 4d has been expended in relieving distress, and, according to the society's accounts, it has cost £126 11s 6d to expend the £97 odd. Is this "a trifling expense?" It has cost the society over 25s to administer every 20s of relief. This needs no comment. The society is now in funds, has a cash balance to credit of £406 1s 7d, which sum, if administered free of expense, would at the same rats as this year relieve the distress in the city for the next four years, or even saddled with the "trifling expense" of 125 per cent., for about the next two years. The society has, therefore,

ample funds, and there is no need for a charity Sunday or charity boxes. I hope the society will reconsider this matter and deter appeals until there is occasion. Great credit was given to the ladies for their exertions in the labour of this society, and they deserve more praise than they received. I am sure they have not charged a penny of commission for collecting subscriptions, nor a penny for administering relief, and in these two departments lie the heavy work of the society; the rest, which costs 125 per cent, upon the mount expended, is a mere bagatelle, which a am sure the ladies could do quite as efficiently as it is done, and at 100 per cent, off. I think the sooner the masculine clement is eliminated, and the whole management given to the ladies the better. Men are great in making speeches, and drawing up reports, but, in the practical work of charity, they are nowhere with women, and I have no doubt if the whole affair is left in their hands they will make a fair show in speech and report-making also, when these are needed.—I am, &c.,

December 17, 1884.

A. CAMPBELL.

the "Hawke's Bay Herald," *Saturday, August* 22, 1885.)

The adjourned meeting; of the committee of the Chamber of Commerce was held yesterday, in the rooms, Browning-street. Present—Messrs J. W. Neal (in the chair), E. Lyndon, P. S. M'Lean, K. R. Miller, J. M'Vay, T. Tanner, E. W. Knowles, and C. B. Winter.

CORRESPONDENCE.

The following correspondence was read and dealt with :—

From the Native Lands Office, acknowledging receipt of copy of a resolution passed by the Chamber on the 20th of July in favor of opening up native lands in Hawke's Bay, and stating that the desire of the Chamber was fully provided for in Mr Ballance's Native Lands Disposition Bill.—Received.

From the Wellington Chamber of Commerce, in reference to the San Francisco mail service.—It was decided that as the Chamber had already dealt with the subject the letter called for no further action.

From Mr R. Brooking, resigning his position as member of the Chamber.—Received.

COLONIAL AND INDIAN EXHIBITION.

Mr Miller brought before the notice of the Chamber a letter received by him from Dr. Julius von Haast on the subject of the Colonial and Indian Exhibition to be held in London in 1886. The writer of the letter asked that Mr Miller would take the best means of giving publicity to the fact that although the latest advertised date for receiving applications for space was the 1st of October next, yet it was highly desirable that as many applications as possible should be sent in before that. Dr von Haast would therefore be obliged if an endeavor were made to forward as many applications as could be collected.

Mr Miller urged that this was a question which might well occupy the attention of the Chambers, as the exhibition would give such a great lift to New Zealand, and would be such an excellent opportunity for putting this colony's productions before the world. From every other colony applications for space continued to pour in, and also from other parts of New Zealand. He was sorry to say that the only district in which there was not much of a move was

Hawke's Bay. He had no doubt that woolgrowers would be well represented, but it was highly desirable that other products should be represented. This district, for instance, could grow grain that could not be beaten anywhere. Wheat from Wairoa had taken first prize at Sydney, and Wairoa and Hastings wheat had taken second prize at Melbourne.

Mr Knowles : What is the good of growing grain if it won't pay?

Mr M'Lean: The exhibits would show what the land was capable of.

Mr Miller thought the members of the Chamber might individually do all in their power to influence the sending of exhibits to London. At present it seemed as if preparing exhibits for the Wellington Exhibition had exhausted the energies of the district.

Mr Irvine : Will not all the exhibits now at Wellington be sent to London?

Mr Miller : Yes; if the owners will agree to that course.

The matter then dropped.

NATIVE LANDS.

The Secretary read a long letter from the Gisborne Chamber of Commerce on the subject of the Native Lands Disposition Bill brought before the House by Mr Ballance. The letter contained copies of two resolutions passed at a meeting of the Gisborne Chamber, disapproving of the bill on the grounds that it would prevent all dealings with native lands except by lease, and that only in a cumbrous and unworkable manner. There were over one million acres of land in the hands of the natives in Cook County, and any legislation on the subject of these and other native lands should be in the direction of free trade.

Mr Tanner hardly knew what could be said in reply to the letter. What was stated was absolutely true, but what could the Chamber do, or what were they expected to do? The Gisborne Chamber might be told that the Napier Chamber sympathised with the tone of the resolutions and with the views expressed, but what then? The Government had started with the proposition that the bill was intended to promote settlement, and seemed unable to see that the hill would have an exactly opposite effect. The evil complained of was that at present there were no opportunities for men of small means to acquire land direct from the natives, and the Government thought that the bill would remedy this. But he would like to point out that whether native lands were leased or sold, under the bill men of small means would have less opportunity of buying direct than ever before, and for this reason—the native committees under the bill would be "for sale." The natives had been well taught by Pakeha-Maoris and others engaged in negotiating sales of land between natives and Europeans, that there was such a thing as a system of "tip." As a matter of fact, if these native committees were established they would very soon learn the value of their position, and if a person bad to go to these committees to buy land he would very soon learn the value of "tip." A bonus would have to be given, so that the man of small means not able to give a bonus or a "tip" would not be dealt with. The result would be that moneyed people and companies representing large amounts of money would have the monopoly of dealing with native lands. These moneyed people would give the committees a handsome present, and be enabled to deal with them on a large scale, and such a system would do more to retard settlement than to advance it. There were only two alternatives in this question. The Government should either resume the sole right to purchase native lands, or should give the greatest facilities for the individualisation of native titles. The difficulties in the way of the first course would be the outcry that would be raised, and the objections that would be made, similar to those when the Government were sole purchasers of native lands. It used to be then declared, and the fact was undisputed, that the agents of the Government used to purchase large tracts of worthless land. By giving the natives facilities to individualise their titles they would be placed in the position of Europeans. They could give the native a Crown grant, and then say, "You must pay rates for your land as Europeans do. If you don't want to do that, and the area of land you have is too large for you to use, sell or lease part of it so that the land may become valuable to the country." At present rates could not be levied upon native lands till the individual titles were given, and the country would never be properly settled under such a system. He did not know whether it would be of the slightest value for the Chamber to pass a resolution to the effect that they considered the Native Lands Disposition Bill would tend to retard settlement, because he did not think such a resolution would be taken much notice of. The House appeared to have thoroughly grasped the subject, and saw clearly that the bill would never have the effect which the Native Minister intended it should have.

Mr M'Lean was of a different opinion as to the value of a resolution, which could at all events do no harm, and ' would show the feeling of the Chamber. Mr Tanner: Well, I will move a resolution then. I move that this Chamber is of opinion that the Native Lands Disposition Bill as brought down by the Native Minister is not calculated to promote the settlement of the country.

Mr M'Vay was of opinion that such a resolution would have no practical effect. The Chamber, and other Chambers, had passed resolutions coming more within their scope than this one did, and it seemed that no attention was paid to any of them. In Canterbury, in connection with the East and West Coasts railway scheme, resolutions had been carried with perfect unanimity, but nothing came of them. If the resolution had been passed a month ago, when the subject first came before the House, it would have been more to the purpose. The bill stood a good chance of being shelved, and he could see no use in forwarding the resolution.

Mr M'Lean, in seconding the motion, would like to point out to the Chamber what was the position of the colony, and especially of the North Island, with regard to this native question. The proposition brought down by Mr Balance in his bill had two faces. In the first place, on the face of the bill the natives were led to believe that in all dealings with their lands they would be at liberty to elect a native committee, and that that committee should have the power to say whether the land should be sold or leased; that the committee would then make a recommendation to what was called a board of management for the district, and that the board would then have no option but to carry out the recommendation. That was not quite the fact, as the board could only consider

what were the best means for giving effect to the resolution. The natives would thus be led to believe that they had absolute power to deal with their lands, but that was only so on the face of it. Under sections 62 and following ones, it would be found that the Governor in Council might make rules regulating the conditions upon which the land might be conveyed or leased. When Mr Ballance brought the bill before the House, he explained that the intention of the Government was that all native lands should be brought under the regulations affecting the disposal of Crown lands. But the immediate effect would be that the natives would have no say whatever in the disposition of their lands, and would not be able to say whether the land should be sold or leased in large or small blocks, but would simply have the power to say "it is our desire" that this land should be leased or sold. The Government would then say, "We propose to deal with this land as with the waste lands of the Crown." Members who had spoken in the House were of the opinion that the bill would not promote settlement. The worst feature of the bill was that it professed to give the natives the control of their land, but did not do so, and in that sense the bill was an absolutely dishonest one. That appeared to be done for a purpose. Mr Ballance, in bringing down the bill, said that he had received telegrams from various influential natives approving the bill. [Mr M'Lean here read extracts from *Hansard* which referred to the communications received by Mr Ballance from natives.] The natives approved the bill because it was concealed from them that the Government intended to take into their own hands every power except the power of saying whether land should be leased or sold, which was left with the natives. The natives had been induced by false pretences to give recommendations of the bill, and these recommdations were therefore worse than valueless. Mr Ballance said that one of his objects was to protect the natives, but he apparently forgot that when a native wished to sell or lease land now he was protected. In such a case the deed could not be passed and become a title of any value unless the native was prepared to prove to the satisfaction of the Trust Commissioner that he had ample lands left for his maintenance. That was a good protection against the pauperisation of the natives. The bill had been referred to a native committee, and the whole matter had been carefully considered, the result being that the four Maori members of the House were unanimous in recommending certain amendments. He (Mr M'Lean) had been furnished with a copy of those amendments, and they amounted to this—that all the Government clauses were struck out of the bill. The Government might come to the conclusion that it was important to them to keep the native vote, and Mr Ballance might in consequence be willing to take the backbone out of the bill in order to secure that result, and in the light of that possibility Mr Tanner's resolution would be a most important one to forward. If that were done the bill would be very much in the position of the Native Lands Act of 1867. Under that Act a very strong and very fair attempt was made to take away the difficulty of Europeans having to deal with a large number of natives, and the Court were empowered to issue titles showing the names of the ten principal owners of the block. [Mr M'Lean here gave a resume of the several Land Acts which have been law in the colony, and a statement of their effects when put into practice.] Two phases of the results of the passing of Mr Ballance's bill had not been much referred to, but they were very important. Just about this time a number of leases of native lands were within a few years of expiring, as the majority of them were entered into shortly after the passing of the 1867 Act, and were for 21 years. In about three years from date, in Hawke's Bay, Poverty Bay, and the Wairarapa—all round the district, in fact—a large number of these Leases would expire. The effect of passing Mr Ballance's bill would be two-fold. Leasholders would not improve, as they would say "Oh! I have no chance of a renewal of my lease, because the bill will stop that." Another effect would be that leaseholders would say, "We don't care whether the rabbits get on these lands or not, seeing that the whole thing will be taken from us at the end of three years." The Government ought to be told that they had brought down their bill in a hurry; that the Government had concealed the principal part of the bill until the Native Minister made his speech in the House; and that therefore they ought to take the measure back and think over it for another year. The subject wag of the utmost importance, as there were 13,000,000 acres of native lands in the North Island that would be affected by the bill, and he hoped Mr Tanner's resolution would be passed unanimously.

The motion was then put and carried.

The Edinburgh Courant, Friday, May 8, 1885.

Edinburgh Chamber of Commerce.

The quarterly meeting of the directors of the Edinburgh Chamber of Commerce was held yesterday afternoon at 11 Melbourne Place—Mr James Currie, chairman, presiding.

The Proposed International Exhibition.

Bailie TURNBULL moved that the Chamber give a guarantee to the extent of £50 towards the International

Exhibition to be held in Edinburgh next year. It seemed to him, he said, most appropriate that the Chamber of Commerce should assist in such a work as this. The motion was seconded by Mr James Tod, and unanimously agreed to.

Public Salmon Hatcheries.

The CHAIRMAN said this subject was brought forward through a letter from Mr John Anderson respecting the advisability of having public hatcheries for the purpose of increasing the supply of salmon and other fish. The directors were requested to look into the subject, and having done so, they now reported :—

"That while they consider the increase of the national food supplies of the utmost importance, and that the establishment of salmon hatcheries would tend greatly to increase the supply of salmon, they are of opinion that Government are not likely to consent to any expenditure in this matter, which is already to some extent the subject of private enterprise."

The report was unanimously adopted.

Imperial Federation.

Mr F. FAITHFULL BEGG moved:—

"That the directors be authorised to petition the Government to grant official recognition of the desire which now exists for federal union between Great Britain her colonies."

Mr Begg said the idea of bringing forward a motion on this subject was suggested to him by the fact that the London Chamber of Commerce had petitioned the Secretary of State for the Colonies on the subject. This petition, after stating that a widespread feeling exists in favour of strengthening the bonds between the mother country and the colonies, he said, pointed out that the population of the Anglo-Saxon race and its wealth in our colonies are rapidly increasing; that the growth of trade with and of investments of British capital In these colonies is very great; that the colonists share our feelings and aspirations; that a unity of commercial interest between us is important in view of the growing hostility of foreign tariffs, and in order to direct to our colonies the stream of emigration which is constantly leaving our shores; and that, in view of these facts and for these reasons, it is desirable that official cognisance should be taken of the situation and facilities afforded for arriving at the best means of accomplishing the object in view. He presumed that it was hardly necessary to advance any arguments in a meeting such as that either in favour of the views stated or the importance of the question. At the same time it was certain that the magnitude of our colonial interests night to be kept constantly impressed upon the attention of the people of this country, for it was amazing how utterly ignorant numbers of people were upon this, subject. There was no doubt that a vast change had come over public opinion of late years, and that the ideas of the school of which Gold win Smith might bp regarded as the head had become to a large extent obsolete. Separation, as thè natural result of the effluxion of time and the evolution of circumstances, was no longer regarded as inevitable, or even probable. What was known as the "ripe pear" idea—namely, that a colony, so soon as it was thoroughly established, would by the gravitation of circumstances fall away from us of its own accord—was entirely exploded. Science in its wonderful modern development had by means of electricity and steam practically annihilated time and space, and it was now not so difficult to communicate, either personally or by correspondence, with the uttermost ends of the earth as it was in the days of our grandfathers to ascertain the views of the outlying portions of the British islands. We had not yet, however, arrived at the time when it was possible to formulate a complete scheme. That was not the question. But we were certainly in a position to endeavour to formulate our ideas, and the condition of public opinion pointed to the wisdom, if not the necessity, of so doing. The distant portions of our vast empire were beginning to attract the covetous eyes of not over-scrupulous foreign nations. If we were united by some living bond that would do much towards the discouragement of such ideas, towards the prevention of war, and the promotion and preservation of peace. He thought we would shortly find that nothing would preserve to us our colonial empire so successfully as a league, offensive and defensive, between the mother country and her dependencies, so that we might present a united front against all outsiders. The loyalty of our colonies was undoubted. Colonists, almost to a man, were enthusiastically loyal, and we had just had a striking proof of their willingness to stand by us, and make our quarrels their own, in the military contingent which our brethren in New South Wales had sent, at their own expense, to fight our battles for us in the Soudan. A group of colonies in Canada had been federated with the happiest results. The Australian colonies were themselves now moving in the same direction. It only remained that all classes of the community should be permeated with the grand idea of a federation of the empire, and a way would soon be found for its realisation. (Applause.)

A short conversion ensued, in which several gentlemen expressed sympathy with the motion. On the suggestion of Mr Robert Lockhart who seconded, Mr Begg altered his motion, which was then adopted in the

following form:—

"That a closer connection between the mother country and the colonies is desirable, and that the directors be authorised to take such steps as they may see fit to promote this obiect."

Gambling on the Stock Exchange.

Mr ROBERT MILLAR moved as follows:—

"That in the opinion of the Chamber every contract or agreement for the sale or purchase of any stock or marketable security should be chargeable with the stamp duty at present exacted upon transfers, and that whether the sale is ever carried to completion by transfer or not."

He said the reason this subject came up before them was this, that in view of the budget it occurred to him that some alteration on the stamp duties might be advisable and arrived at which would at the same time check and deter gambling which was well known to exist on the Stock Exchange. The result of the present arrangement was that many people carried on enormous transactions on the Stock Exchange and paid very little stamp duty, while *bona fide* transactors who bought stock out and out and took transfers required to pay the full stamp duty. He thought this was an infringement of one of the cardinal points of taxation-namely, that taxes were as far as possible to be equal. That motion would hit at those speculators and make them pay stamp duty, even where a transaction was not completed by transfer. If this Chamber was clear that a serious evil existed in the shape of Stock Exchange gambling, they should not allow the interests of any particular class, or any particular individual, to stand in the way of haying it removed when it was for the public good By his motion he wished to impose no new tax, but simply to extend the present tax to all sales, whether carried to a completion by transfer or not.

Mr RUSSEL, wine merchant, seconded the motion.

The CHAIRMAN mentioned that he had been told the other day by a Glasgow banker that there was reason for such a resolution as that proposed. In Glasgow, he understood, they had experience of the inconvenience arising from the facilities when the present arrangement placed in the power of clerks and others, who certainty ought not to have them.

Mr F. FAITHFULL BEGG said that as He was the only stockbroker present, perhaps he should not remain silent. (Hear, hear.) He supposed from the very fact that he was a stockbroker he would be considered as utterly prejudiced, and beyond all hope in this question (A laugh.) He tried, however, to take a fair view of the subject. The point that Mr Millar was aiming at—namely, to check and deter unwarrantable speculation—was certainly a most desirable and highly advisable thing to do. There could be no question about that, and he hoped Mr Millar would always act upon that principle. But to do it in the way which he proposed seemed to him to be singling out a particular industry—or business at all events—to be penalised for the benefit of the general community, because the same species of transaction existed in every other branch of trade or commerce throughout the country. They had it in cotton, in wheat, in pig iron, in hops, and so on—in fact, they could speculate in anything if they desired to do so. He could not see why any special branch should be struck at more than another. The point, however, about speculation which he wished to bring out was this, that speculation was entirely a relative term, which might be perfectly justifiable for him or for another, but for a third or fourth person might be perfectly unwarrantable. He believed that the whole of the enterprise of this country was based upon the idea of speculation, and if they had not in this country a very large number of men willing to speculate in every direction here and abroad the country would never be what it was, and their trade would be crippled. The idea, he added, that a speculator on the Stock Exchange was a different kind of animal from the speculator on every other market was erroneous. (Laughter and applause.)

Mr HARRIS (of Messrs Fleming & Co.) said that the imposition of any tax was altogether insufficient from the experience they had all over the world to put a stop to any form of gambling.

Mr CHARLES W. ANDERSON said he looked at the subject in the light that those who had real transactions were too heavily taxed, and that those who had transactions out of which they expected to make a profit ought to be taxed.

Councillor POLLARD remarked that the question was a much wider one than was dealt with by the motion, because the same species of transaction occurred with heritable property, which might be transferred to several different parties without the title-deeds being actually transferred in each case and the duties paid. He suggested that they should remit the subject to the directors for further consideration, and get a report from them at a future meeting.—This was agreed to unanimously.

The meeting then terminated.

The Evening Star, Saturday, February 7, 1885.

Victor Hugo on Clerical Education.

[SPECIALLY TRANSLATED FOR THE 'STAR.']

The following is a speech delivered by Victor Hugo in the French Assembly in 1850 against M. Fallon's proposed education law:—

Gentlemen,—When a discussion is begun that touches a subject the most serious for the future of our country, it is proper to follow it without hesitation, even to the root of the question. I begin by saying what I would wish. I will presently point out that which I do not desire.

Gentlemen, to my mind, the end difficult to obtain, and remote, no doubt, but which it is needful to lead to in this weighty question of education, is this—(Speak up ! speak up !) Gentlemen, every question has its ideal. For me the ideal of this question of education is this—free and compulsory instruction. Compulsory in the lower branches, gratuitous in all. Compulsory primary instruction is the right of the child, which do not deceive yourselves, is yet more sacred than the right of the father, and which mingles itself with the right of the State. I repeat, then, this, according to my view, is the ideal of the question. Free education and compulsory to the extent I am going to point out—a great public education, given and regulated by the State, starting from the village school, and going step by step to the College of France; nay, even higher still, to the Institute of France.

The doors of knowledge all widely open to all minds. Everywhere where there is opportunity—everywhere where there is a soul, there shall be a book. Not a village without a school, not a town without a college, not a city without a university. A vast harmony—or, to use a better phrase, a vast network—of intellectual workshops, *lycées*, gymnasiums, colleges, professorships, libraries, spreading their radiance over the country, awakening everywhere taste and exciting everywhere talent; in a word, the ladder of human knowledge held firmly by the hand of the State, placed amidst the most profound and obscure darkness, and leading to the light—another solution of continuity—the heart of the people put into communication with the brain of France.

This is what I understand by national public education. Gentlemen, were this magnificent gratuitous instruction, inciting minds of every kind, offered by the State, giving to all, for nothing, the best masters, the most approved methods, model of knowledge and of discipline—normal, French, Christian, liberal — raising without any doubt the national genius to the highest point of intensity, I would place without hesitation the liberty of instruction, the liberty of instruction for private institutions, the liberty of instruction for religious bodies, the liberty of instruction—full, complete, absolute—subject to the general laws, as all other liberties, and I would not require to give the anxious power to the State to supervise, because I would give gratuitous instruction as a counterbalance. This, gentlemen, I repeat, is the ideal of the subject. Do not put yourselves about; we are not near attaining this. In the solution of the problem there is a considerable financial question, as all social problems of the present time have.

Gentlemen, this ideal—it is necessary to indicate it, for it is always needful to say where it tends—offers innumerable points of view, but the time has not come to develop it. I save the time of the Assembly, and I come at once to the question in its actual positive reality. I take it where it is today, at a point relative to the ripeness, where events on one hand and public reason on the other has led it. In this restricted but practical point of view of the natural situation I wish, I declare it, liberty of instruction; but I wish the supervision of the State, and as I wish this effective sup ervision of the State I wish the State *laic* (secular) exclusively secular. The Hon, M. Guizot has said this before me, in matter of education, the State is not and cannot be anything but secular *(laique)*. I wish, I say, the liberty of eduction under the supervision of the State, and I do not allow to represent the State in this supervision, so delicate and so difficult, which demands the co-operation of all the vital forces of the country, men belonging without doubt to the most serious careers, but not having any interest, whether of conscience or politics, distinct from the national unity—that is to say, I do not introduce either into the first council of supervision or into the secondary councils, bishops, nor delegates of bishops. I intend to uphold, as to myself—and the need is more profound than ever—this old and salutary separation of the Church and the State, which was the opinion of our fathers, and that in the interest of the Church as well as in the interest of the State. I cease from telling you what I would wish. Now here is what I do not wish. I do not wish the law you have proposed. Why? Gentlemen, this law is a weapon. A weapon is nothing by itself. It only hurts by the hand that seizes it. Now what is the hand that will seize this law? That is the whole question. Gentlemen, it is the hand of the clerical party. Gentlemen, I dread that hand. I wish to break the weapon—I thrust back the proposal. That said, I enter on the debate.

I come at once and at first to an objection that has been made by the opponents to my point of view, the only objection which has an appearance of weight. They tell us: "You exclude the clergy from the supervising Council of State; you wish, then, to proscribe religious instruction." Gentlemen, I explain myself. One could never have made such a mistake through any fault of mine, neither certainly from what; I said nor from what I

thought. Far from wishing to proscribe religious instruction—Do you hear well? It is, according to me, more necessary than ever. The more man develops, the more he ought to believe. The nearer he approaches God, the better he should see God. There is an evil in our times, I would say almost there is no other evil, it is a certain tendency to put all on this life.—(Sensation.)

In giving to men for an object and aim a terrestrial, material life, we aggravate all miseries by the denial of that which is the end of life; we add to the depression of the unfortunate the insupportable weight of nothingness, and from that which is only an endurance, the law of God, one creates despair, the law of Hell. From that cause arise profound social convulsions. I am certainly one of those who wish—and no one in this circle doubts it—I am one of those who wish—I say it with sincerity, the word is too feeble—I wish it with inexpressible desire, and by all possible means, to ameliorate in this life the material condition of those who suffer; but the first of the ameliorations is to give them hope. How much our limited miseries grow less when an infinite hope is mingled with them.

Our duty to all, whether we may be legislators or bishops, or priests or journalists, is to diffuse, to lavish under all shapes all social energy, to fight and destroy misery, and at the same time to make and raise their heads towards reason, to direct all souls, to turn all their attention towards a future life, where justice will be done. Let us say very loudly no one will have suffered unjustly nor uselessly. Death is a restitution. The law of the material world is equilibrium; the law of the moral world is equity, which God discovers in the end to all. Do not forget that, and teach it to all. There would not be any worth in living, and one would scarcely wish it, if we we eternally That which lightens labor and which sanctifies work; that which makes a man strong, good, wise, patient, kind, just, at the same time humble and great, worthy of knowledge, worthy of liberty, is having before him the perpetual vision of a better world, shedding radiance around the darknesses of this life. As for myself, since the opportunity is afforded me who now speaks at this time, and puts so weighty words in a mouth of so little authority, I may be permitted to say hère, to declare—I proclaim it from the height of this tribune, I believe profoundly in the better world. It is for me more real than this miserable chimera that we worship and call this life. It is continually before my eyes. I believe it with all the powers of my conviction, and after many struggles, much study, and many proofs. It is the supreme certitude of my reason; it is the supreme consolation of my soul.

I wish then—I wish sincerely, firmly, ardently—religious instruction; but I wish the instruction of the Church, and not the religious instruction of a party. I wish it sincerely, and not hypocritically. I wish it having for its end Heaven and not Earth. I do not wish that any one professorship should invade the other. I do not wish to mix the priest with the professor. How, if I consent to this mixture, can I, a legislator, supervise it? Can I open upon the seminaries and upon the teaching bodies the eye of the State—and I insist upon this—of the secular State, uniquely jealous of its grandeur and of its unity. Up to the day when all my wishes will be fulfilled, when complete liberty of instruction will be proclaimed, and in the beginning I told you under what conditions up to that day I wish the instruction of the Church in the Church, not without it. Above all, I consider it as a joke to make an inspection in the name of the State by the clergy, of the instruction of the clergy. In a word, I wish, I repeat it, that which our fathers wished—the Church keeping to itself; the State to itself.

The Assembly sees now clearly why I opposed the proposed law, but I finish my explanations. Gentlemen, as I indicated to you a little ago, this proposal is neither more nor less than, if you let me say it, a political law—it is a strategetical law. I address myself not certainly to the venerable bishop of Langres, not to any person that may be in this circle, but to the party who has, if not drawn up, at all events, inspired the proposed Bill—to that party at one time extinguished at another burning—to the clerical party. I know not if it is in the Assembly, but I feel it a little everywhere.

It has sharp ears; it hears me. I address myself, then, to the clerical party, and I tell it, this law is your law. Take it openly. I challenge you. To instruct is to construct. I challenge that which you never can teach. I do not wish to entrust the education of the youth to you—the soul of the children, the development of the new intelligences which open themselves in life; the spirit of the new generation, that is to say the future of France. I do not wish to entrust the future of France to you, because to entrust you with it means giving it up to you. It is not sufficient that new generations succeed us; I mean them to continue us. This is why I wish neither your hand nor breath upon them. I do not wish that which has been made by our fathers shall be unmade by you. After the glory I do not wish this shame. Your law is a law which has a mask. It says one thing and it will mean another. It is a thought of slavery, which takes the appearance of liberty. It is a confiscation, entitled a gift, I do not desire it. It weirs your apparel. When you forge a chain you say there is liberty. When you issue a proscription yon cry "Behold an amnesty." Oh, I do not confound yon with the Church, any more than I confound the mistletoe with the oak. You are the parasites of the Church; you are the disease of the Church.—(Laughter.)

An Ignatian (*Ignaes*, a Jesuit) is the enemy of Jesus. You are not the believers but the sectaries of a religion that you do not understand. Yon are the pretenders of holiness. Do not mix the Church with your affairs, with

your plots, your stratagems, your doctrines, your ambitions. Do not call it your mother while you make it your servant. Do not annoy it under the pretext of teaching it politics; especially, never identify it with yourselves. Behold the evil you do, as the Bishop of Langres has told you. You see how it declines since it has had you. You make it so little believed that you finish by mailing it hated. In truth, I tell you, it will do very well without you. Let it rest. When you will be no more it will be found hero. Leave this venerable Church, this venerable mother in its solitude, in its self-denial, in its humility : all that makes up its grandeur. Its solitude will attract the multitude; its self-denial is its power, its humility its majesty.

You speak of religious instruction. Do you know what true religious instruction is? that before which we prostrate ourselves, that which cannot be injured. It is the Sister of Charity at the bedside of the dying, it is the Brother of Mercy ransoming the slave; it is Vincent de Paul gathering together the foundlings; it is the Bishop of Marseilles in the midst of those stricken with the plague; it is the Archbishop of Paris accosting with a smile the formidable Faubourg de St. Antoine, raising his crucifix in the midst of the civil war, and caring little whether he meets his death or not if he can only bring peace.

This is true religious instruction, real, deep, efficacious, popular, that which, happily for the religion of humanity, makes more Christians than you unmake. Ah, we know you; we know the clerical party. It is an old party that has some account of service. It is it that mounts the gate at the door of orthodoxy. It is it which has found for truth these marvellous mainstays, ignorance and terror. It is it which makes the I defender of knowledge and genius go below the missal, and that wishes to shut up thought in dogma. All that has made the intelligence of Europe it has made in spite of it. Its history is written in the history of human progress, but it is written on the back. It has opposed it all. It is that which made Prinelli be beaten by rods for having said that the stars do not fall. It is that which applied Campanella seven times to the torture for having affirmed that the number of worlds was infinite, and gave a glimpse of the secret of creation. It is that which persecuted Harvey for having proved that the blood circulated. In the name of Jesus it shut up Galileo; in the name of St. Paul it imprisoned Columbus. To discuss the law of the heavens was impiety; to find a world was heresy. It is that which anathematised Pascal in the name of religion; Montagne in the name of morality; Molière in the name of both religion and morality. Oh, yes, certainly, although you may be what you call the Catholic party, and who are the clerical party, we know you—too long already has the human conscience revolted against you and demanded of you what is that you wish of me? Thus long, already, have you tried to put a gag on the human mind. And you wish to be masters of education ! And there is not a poet, not a literary man, not a philosopher, not a thinker that accepts you ! And all that has been written, found, dreamt, discovered, illuminated, imagined, invented by geniuses—the treasure of civilisation, the secular heritage of the generations, the common patrimony of the intellect—you reject. If the brain of humanity was before your eyes, at your sweet will, open as the page of a book, you would blot it out. Do you acknowledge it?

In fine, there is a book—a book which appears from one end to the other a superior emanation—a book which is for the universe what the Koran is to Mohammedanism, that what the Vedas was to India—a book which contains all human wisdom, enlightened by all divine wisdom—a book which the veneration of the people calls "the book of books"—the Bible. Ah well ! your censure has even reached it. Unheard-of thing, some Popes have proscribed the Bible ! What astonishment in human minds, what dismay to simple souls, to see the Index of Rome placed upon the Book of God! And you implore liberty of instructing. Wait a little; let us be sincere. Let us consider the liberty that you demand : it is the liberty not to instruct! Ah! you wish that we give you the people to instruct ! Very good. Let us see your pupils. Let us see your products.—(Laughter) What have you done for Italy ! 'What have you done for Spain? For some; centuries you have held in your hands—at your discretion, under your rule—these two ! great nations, illustrious amongst the most illustrious. What have you done with them? I wish to tell you. Thank a to you, Italy, of which any man who thinks cannot pronounce the name save with an inexpressible filial., sorrow. Italy, the mother of geniuses and of nations, who has poured upon the whole universe the most transplendent marvels of poetry and of art. Italy, which has taught human kind to read, Italy today cannot read.

Yes, Italy is of all the States of Europe the one that has the fewest natives able to read! Spain magnificently endowed; Spain that had received from the Romans her first civilisation, from the Arabs her second civilisation, from Providence, and, in spite of you, a world—America. Spain has lost, thanks to you, thanks to your brutalising yoke, which is a yoke of degradation and weakening, Spain has lost this secret of power which she got from the Romans, the genius of the arts which she obtained from the Arabs, the world she got from God—in exchange for all that you have made her lose she has received from you the Inquisition. The Inquisition that certain men of the party try today to re-establish with a bashful timidity, for which I honor them.

The Inquisition, that has burned at the stake 5,000,000 men. Read history!

The Inquisition, that exhumed the dead to burn them as heretics, for example, Urgel and Arnault, Count of Forcalquier.

The Inquisition declared the children of heretics, even to the second generation, base and incapable of any public honors, with this exception—these were the proper terms of the decrees—save those who had denounced their father.

The Inquisition, which at the hour when I am speaking, holds yet in the Vatican Library the manuscripts of Galileo closed and sealed under the seal of the Index.

It is true that, to console Spain for that which you have taken from her, and for that which you have given her, you named her the Catholic.

Ah! do you know you have forced from one of her greatest men the sorrowful cry which accuses you : "I would rather that she be grand than Catholic." Look at your chief handiwork. This free hearth that is called Italy you have quenched; this Colossus which is called Spain you have undermined. The one is in cinders; the other in ruins. This is what you have done with two great peoples.

What do you wish to do with France? Hearken. You come from Rome. I pay you a compliment. You have had there a fine success. You came from gagging the Roman people; now you wish to gag the French people. I understand. This is still more entertaining; this tempts, only take care, it is difficult—there is a lion on the path. Why, then, do you wish it law? I will tell you. You wish to control human reason. Why? Because it conquers. Yes. Do you wish me to tell you that which forces you on? It is the enormous quantity of free enlightenment which France has spread abroad. In these centuries, enlightenment, coming from reason, enlightenment today more brilliant than ever, an enlightenment that makes the French nation the most brilliant—of such a kind that one perceives the light of France upon the face of all the universe. Ah, well! this light of France, this free enlightenment, this direct light, this light which comes not from Rome, which comes from God—this is what you wish to obliterate; this, what we wish to keep.

I oppose this law. I oppose it because it confiscates primary instruction, because it degrades secondary instruction, because it lowers the level of knowledge, because it dismembers my country. I oppose it be-cause I am one of those who have a burning heart and a red face every time that France yields for any cause whatever—a lessening whether a dimunition of territory, as of the I treaties of 1815, or a dimunition of intellectual grandeur, as by your law.—(Loud applause from the Left.)

Gentlemen, before I conclude, permit me to speak here from the height of this tribune to the clerical party, to the party which surrounds us as a serious council. It is not power which deserts it. When the circumstances aid it, it is strong, very strong, too strong. It knows the art of maintaining a nation in a state disunited and woful, which is not death, but it is not life. It calls that governing. It is a government by lethargy. But it takes care nothing equal to it comes to France. It is a great joke that one is left to have a peep at it, only a peep at this France, the ideal that is seen, the sacristy all-powerful liberty in the dust, intelligence conquered and lying low, books burned; the sermon taking the place of the Press; a night made in souls by the shadow of the cassocks, and geniuses harassed by beadles.

It is true that the clerical party is clever, but that does not prevent it being ingenuous. How? It dreads Socialism. What, then? It sees the tide rising to that which it points out, and it opposes to this rising tide I do not know what obstacle in open work. It sees the tide rising, and it thinks society will be saved because it has united to defend it. Social hypocrisies with material opportunities, and it will put a Jesuit everywhere where there is no policeman. What pity! I repeat it, that it does not see the nineteenth century is opposed to it; that it is not so self-willed as to give up domineering this grand period, full of deep and new interests, otherwise it will not succeed, save to provoke anger; it will develop imprudently the formidable side of our century, and it will create terrible eventualities. Yes, with this system, we will have, I lay stress on it, the education of the sacristy and the government of the confessional.—(Long interruption, cries of "order!" Several members of the Right rise to their feet. The President and M. Victor Hugo speak to each other, but their voices do not reach the reporters. A violent tumult.)

The speaker resumes, and turning himself towards the right, says : "Gentlemen, you wish, very much, you say, liberty of instruction. Strive and give a little liberty to the tribune.—(Laughter; the noise ceases). The speaker continues: With these doctrines, to which an inflexible and fatal logic has driven men in spite of themselves and prolific of evil, with these doctrines which arouse horror when one examines their history—(Renewed cries of "Order.") Gentlemen, the clerical party I have told you surrounds us. I fight it; and at the very time when this party presents itself with a law in its hand, it is my right as a legislator to examine this law and to criticise this party. You are not able to prevent me. I continue my remarks. Yes, with this very system, this same doctrine and this history, that the clerical party clothes itself everywhere where it is, it will engender revolutions, everywhere to shun Torquemada people will throw themselves on Robespierre. See, then, what makes the Catholic party a serious danger to the State, and those who, like myself, oppose equally for nations anarchical uprisings and sacerdotal coma, raise the cry of alarm. There is yet time that we may consider it properly. You interrupt me. Cries and murmurs drown my voice. Gentlemen, I speak to you not as an agitator, but as an honest man. Ah, can it be, gentlemen; is it that by chance you doubt me?—(Cries from the

Right: " Yea, yes.") What, you doubt me, you say?—(Cries from the Right: "Yes, yes." (Inexpressible tumult. One party on the Right start to their feet and interrupt the speaker, who remains immovable, in the Tribune.) Ah, well, upon this point it is necessary that I explain myself. (Silence again restored.) It is in some respects a personal matter. You will listen, I think, to an explanation which you yourselves have provoked. Ah, you doubt me, and why? You doubt me! But the last year I defended order in peril, just as to day defend liberty menaced, and as I will defend to-morrow if danger again return from that quarter. You doubt me! But did you doubt me when I accomplished my duty as representative of Paris in preventing the shedding of blood in the barricades of June? (Bravos from the Left. Renewed cries from the Right. Tumult begins again.) Ah well; you do not wish even to hear a voice that resolutely defends liberty. If you doubt me, I doubt you. Between us the country will judge. Gentlemen, a last word. I am perhaps one of those who has had the good fortune to render to the cause of order in different times—in a time just past—some obscure services. These services can be forgotten. I do not revive their memory. But at the time when I am speaking I have the right to rest myself on them. Ah well ! Resting on this event, I declare it to be my conviction that there is necessary for France a living order, which is Progress. It is an order such as flows from normal growth—peaceable, natural to the people. It is an order making itself felt at the same time in their deeds as in their ideas by the full reason of the national intelligence. It is entirely the opposite of your law. I am one of those who wish for this noble country liberty and not pity, growth continuing and not getting less, power and not slavery, greatness and not nothingness. Ha! Look at the law you bring us. What is it—your governing, your legislating? You wish to stop us—you wish to stop France. You wish to petrify human thought, to smother the divine flame, to materialise the soul. But you do not see oven the elements of the time in which you are placed. You are, moreover, in your century but as strangers. It is in this era, in this grand era of innovations, of occurrences, of discoveries, of conquests that you dream of immobility. It is in this era of hope that you proclaim despair. You throw yourselves on the ground as men much fatigued with glory, thought, intelligence, progress, and the future, and you say it is enough. Do not go further. Let stop. But you do not rice that all goes oh, comes, passes away, grows, transforms itself and renews itself among you, in front of you, in presence of you. Eh! you wish to stop yourselves. Ah me, I repeat it to you with a deep grief; I, who hate catastrophes and burstings up; I, sick at heart leave you. You do not wish progress; you will have revolutions. To men so insensate who say humanity will not move on, God replies by making the earth tremble.

Sir Julius Vogel at the Theatre Royal

The Present and Future of the Colony.

PURSUANT to previous announcement, Sir Julius Vogel addressed the people of Auckland in the Theatre Royal last evening. It was expected that the attendance would be large, but the expectations of the most sanguine in this respect were exceeded. The doors were opened at 7.30 p.m., and were rushed by the large crowd assembled outside. Scarcely five minutes elapsed until the building was crowded in every part, and hundreds applied unsuccessfully for admittance. The dress circle had been set apart for ladies, and gentlemen accompanied by ladies, and it, too, was filled to its utmost capacity, Lady Vogel and Miss Vogel occupied seats in the circle. Invitations to occupy seats on the stage had been issued to about 200 leading citizens, and were largely availed of. Sir Julius was on the platform at 7.30 p.m., but the curtain being down, he Was obscured from view. This arrangement was a good one, in so far that it prevented the crewd from diverting itself during the period of waiting by recognising, and applauding or Hissing their favourite or unpopular public man; as the case might be.

At 8 p.m. the curtain was raised, and Sir Julius Vogel wheeled himself forward to the front of the stage. He was received with loud cheers and a few Hisses,

His WORSHIP THE MAYOR occupied the chair, and having read the advertisement convening the meeting, briefly introduced the speaker of the evening. He said it was not necessary he should detain them with any remarks, seeing that Sir Julius Vogel was there at their request. He left the food conduct of the meeting in their own hands. He would, however, say that the people of Auckland were specially favoured in having heard some of the leading statesmen of the colony in that building. (Loud and prolonged cheers.) They had also had the opportunity of hearing Major Atkinson (lessened cheers.) They had heard the extreme, and now they would hear the middle course, for he did not think he Was Wrong in saying that the present Ministry was outside the parties represented by Sir George Grey and Major Atkinson. He would not detain them with further remarks, but would simply introduce Sir Julius.

Sir JULIUS VOGEL (who, of course, sat in his chair while addressing the meeting) said : Mr. Mayor, ladies

and gentlemen,—I was about to ask you to extend to me your indulgence for having to address you in this position. I need scarcely say that I am sensible of the honour you do me in listening to me, under such circumstances and that if I had my will, I should be now standing up to address you. I am deeply sensible of the compliment you pay me in attending in such large numbers to hear me, and I hope that I may at say rate be able to return your courtesy by giving you such information as may not be without interest to you. Gentlemen, I am now renewing my acquaintance with Auckland. While it is many years since I visited this city last. I cannot forget that in time past I was on very intimate relations with this city,—having for some years represented a portion of it In Parliament. (Interruption.) You will, I hope, allow me to refer you to the last public occasion on which I addressed an Auckland audience, because some misapprehension on the subject I find is abroad. (Disorder) It has been observed in some quarters that when I last addressed an Auckland meeting I met with a considerable amount of opposition. (Cries of "Speak up ")

At this stage the MAYOR appealed to the good sense it the meeting for a fair hearing for Sir Julius. He said : It is impossible for anyone to address you in such a voice as the reach everyone. I must ask you to refrain from making remarks, and to allow those to hear who cattle for the purpose of hearing.

Sir JULIUS VOGEL (continuing) : I will endeavont, gentlemen, as I proceed, to raise my voice. I knew that it is very disagreeable for people in a large and crowded meeting such as this not to be able to hear what is being said, but I shall endeavour to remedy this. It is somewhat difficult, however, to do so at once from a sitting position, but I shall try as I proceed to make my voice penentrate to the farthest extent of this crowded building. (Interruption.) I was referring to the last occasion on which I addressed an Auckland audience, and I wish to say something to remove the misapprehension that exists in the minds of many with regard to what took place on that occasion. (Disorder.) I am glad to have your attention, but it is a difficult task to make my voice reach you all. I was about he say that the policy of the Government during the session which had just passed, on the occasion to which I refer, proposed to abolish the provinces of the North Island, but not to abolish the provinces of the South Island. There is no doubt the Opposition made a great deal of this, but the opposition—I have refreshed my memory by a reference to the papers I hate here—the opposition was not to the abolition of the provinces, but to abolition in one Island without abolition in the other.

Auckland's Past and Future.

When I first took office In 1869—I would refer to the different position Auckland was in then to what it is at the present time. At that time there was no telegraph to connect Auckland with the rest of the colony; no cable to connect New Zealand with the rest of the world. You had no docks here, a very inefficient water supply, and, but for the discovery of the Thames, you were, I may say, in a position which was felt to be one of great hardship. And I think, gentlemen, that if you trace the course of events since that period yon will see that I have not been uninstrumental. In assisting the prosperity which has new overtaken this city, and overtaken this province. (Cheers.) I meet heartily congratulate you upon the splendid position Auckland has attained to, upon its enormous growth, and its great prospeots for the future; and if I were here *for* personal objects to-night I might recall to your recollection that it has only fulfilled the prophecy that I en several occasions indulged in when I pointed out the enormous future which lay before this district and before this city, on account of the numerous resources which it possesses. (Cheers) However proud, and justly proud, you may be who have been, so to speak, the pioneers of Auckland's present position, I will venture to indulge in a prophecy that its position to-day is as nothing be what its position will be in the future. (Cheers.) When I consider the prospects you have—the immense mineral resources and forests, and the soil to produce for you all that is to be obtained from temperate and sub-tropical productions; I when I think what will be the consequences when the railway is opened right through to Wellington on the one hand, and to the North on the other; when you are connected with Taranaki, by the opening of a branch line to the main line; when you are connected with Tauranga and Gisborne—I ask you to think then what will be the growth of the city when it taps the enormous districts which it will have to tap in the future. (Cheers.) And I must not omit to say to you that such are the natural and inherent charms of the place and its capabilities for enjoyment, that you have also already to some extent an instalment, and you will receive a very much larger in the future, in the shape of persona who, having secured a competency, come to this charming place to enjoy for the remainder of their lives the ease and peace the toilsome exertions have earned for them. Again you may expect that this will be the resort of visitors from all parts of the world, and notably from the other colonies, to visit what I may call the Nature's hospital in the Hot Springs, with which I hope it will not be long before you will be connected by railway. (Cheers.)

The Events of Last Session.

I shall not go into the history of last session, because I owe a more particular account of that to my

constituents, to whom I shall have the opportunity of addressing myself shortly. But I may be allowed to say half a dozen words in reference to statements which have been made concerning the history of last session by some members who have already addressed you. I shall not dwell upon this portion of my subject further than to say that the accounts which I have read in the papers as having been stated in the shape of a history of the last session, and of the measures which were introduced by the Government, do not agree with my idea of what is accurate in fact, and, therefore, if the statements are placed before you which deal with a condition of affairs which I do not admit to have existed, it is natural that the deductions which have been drawn from that condition will not be such as I can concur in. I should not indeed refer to this subject, only were I not to do so it might be supposed that statements made by two members who have already addressed you since the session, were statements to which I had no right to take exception. I merely mention that I do take exception to them; but I will not dwell on the points upon which I differ from them. Generally the members from the Auckland provincial district, as It is now called, were not favourable to the new Government formed during the last session J but they were by no means factious in their opposition; on the contrary,; they have me the idea of being loyal to the pledges which they had given. They were, not elected to oppose the Government which retired at early part of the session, and it seemed to me, and I venture to say so, that when the time comes, as I think it will that they feel themselves able to support the present Government, their support will be a thoroughly loyal one.

Tribute to Sir George Grey.

A meeting in Auckland would not be, I believe, *en regle* in which a reference was not made to one who had earned so large a share of popularity in this locality—Sir George Grey. (Cheers) Sir George Grey, as you all, I think, are pretty well aware, is not a supporter of mine, although he did afford a considerable amount of support to the Government upon some questions. I wish to say this, that notwithstanding that Sir George Grey attacked me very bitterly on several occasions during the session, I uniformly refrained from retaliating in any way, and I will till you the reasons which actuated me, At the time when I left New Zealand to assume the office of Agent-General, I was not on friendly terms with Sir George Grey. Some very bitter correspondence had pissed between us; but when Sir George Grey became Premier, and he might have reasonably resented the communications which had passed between us previously; I met from him a very Urge amount of consideration and generosity. In fact, I play say that while Sir George Grey was Premier he treated me with more consideration as Agent-General than many on whom I Had much larger claims. (Cheers.) And when on occasions I recollected this, it became impossible for me to resent the attacks Which on several occasions Sir George Grey thought it his duty to make, and for the rest I may say this, that, though I am not in accord with Sir George Grey generally. I agree with him upon many subjects. And, in any case, it is idle to deny this, that there is no member in the House who has so largo an amount of personal influence. (Cheers.)

A Plea for the Coalition.

You have been told that the present Government is a coalition Government. It is a coalition Government because it unites the elements of theoretical politics with those of a more practical nature. When I came into office first in 1869, with Sir Wm. Fox, the country was in a position which I think I may characterise as purely miserable. Parliament gave up nearly the Whole of its consideration to questions relating to native affairs. It was our theory when We went into office that the native difficulty was not the cause but the effect of the non development of I industrial pursuits In the colony — (hear, hear). We proved it to be the case, because as the industrial pursuits of the colony, and as colonisation progressed, the native difficulty shrank into insignificance; It is a noticeable fact that when there was in office a Government which gave *A* half-hearted countenance to the industrial development of the country, the native difficulty reasserted itself, and usurped almost exclusive attention from Parliament. Now, under the new *regime* which we have inaugurated, of devoting attention to the material wants of the colony, you will find the native difficulty will shrink back into insignificance. I don't think I can better picture the position of New Zealand than by having recourse to a metaphor. You know that when a person is supposed to be extremely ill, it is the usual thing to call in two persons—one to attend to his moral, the other to his physical wants. Now it happened that the Government which had been in office for a few years back took a gloomy view of the position of New Zealand. They considered it was *in extrtmis*, if I may use the expression, and they thought it was necessary to give it the very *minimum* of physical sustenance, and the maximum of moral dosing. Hence there grew the disposition to sift out the cinders and ashes of the knotty questions which agitate the old world, but which, in my opinion, have a small significance in a country like this in which there is a mere handful of people. Those questions largely relate to the overcrowded resorts of the old world, but are on quite a different footing in a new country like this. I do not wish to Underestimate their

importance, but I am bound to tell you that to my mind they have much unreality. Intelligence has reigned supreme since the world began, and there is no doubt the educated and intelligent man has hold in subjection—aye, in galling subjection—the masses of the people, uneducated and unconscious of their own rights. Of late years education and intelligence have permeated the masses, and they have begun to understand what their rights are, and to insist on asserting them. You do not want to fight out these questions for the old world. The old world is quite competent to do so itself, and as regards this colony the masses are sufficiently intelligent and educated to know what their rights are and to insist upon having them. You might just as well stand by the sea shore and forbid the tide rising as to attempt to prevent the masses in New Zealand gaining that power and control to which their numbers and intelligence entitle them. (Cheers.)

The Government of the Future.

Now, while on this point, I wish to say this that it does not follow that government by the masses is devoid of Conservatism. That the government of the future will be government by the masses no intelligent man can doubt. There will He a portion of them willing to go to great extremes, and another portion intelligent enough to know that capital is the best friend of labour, and that if the rights and privileges of capital and property are improperly attacked, they will be killing the goose that lays the golden eggs. Labour can do very little without capital, and Capital can do very little without labour. Together they are sworn friends, and most powerful; and whilst, as I have said, political power will be with the masses, I am confident that those masses will have sufficient Intelligence to recognise the twofold duty of the protection of life and property—of manhood and if what manhood acquires—and of repressing monopolies. That is to my mind the Conservative Radicalism of the future. But the colony is a small stage for fighting out those questions. They will solve themselves. Meanwhile, it is as well to bear in mind that we are out here for the purpose of colonisation, and for developing this new country and making it a land of happy homes, and of a happy and prosperous population. (Cheers.) But, to return to my metaphor. The present Government said New Zealand has had quite enough of this philosophical dosing, and not enough of physical sustenance. Put on one side, they urged, the philosophical disquisitions and attend to the material wants of the colony; and on that basis the present Government was formed. I will say this for my colleagues that amongst them are gentlemen well qualified to take the "track," to use an Americanism, in any assemblage in the old world, and argue out those questions with the very best of the doctrinaire philosophers. However, they are content for the present to act with so poor a utilitarian as myself, and to allow those questions to sleep for a time, and devote themselves to the development of the industrial resource? of the colony. That, I may say, is the *raison d'etre* of the present Government. (Cheers.) They apply themselves then, to the study of such questions as the completion of the main trunk links of railway, feeding them by district lines, and by roads and bridges, and developing the various industries of the country. They are not ashamed to say they attach importance to the development of those industries, and for myself, I am not ashamed to say I would much rather be the father of a new industry than the parent of a philosophical political measure.(Cheers.)

Encouragement of colonial industries.

We are sometimes met with the question—Are you free traders or protectionists? I will answer for myself. I leave my colleagues to answer for themselves. I am neither a protectionist nor a free trader, in the sense in which these words are understood in the mother country, contend that the doctrines of free trade depend upon conditions altogether unsuitable to a country like this. What is the true condition of happiness in such a country as this is? Is it not the condition which finds all the people happily and prosperously employed? That is the true condition of happiness, to my mind, in which there is a maximum of prosperous employment and a minimum of unemployed. Now, what do the doctrines of the free traders depend upon? They say buy in the cheapest market; it is wrong to employ men to produce anything which you can obtain cheaper abroad or in other countries. But, supposing the men employed in the production of these things within the country were not so engaged, they would remain idle. But the stern philosophers care nothing for that. That is their look-out, they reply. We must buy in the cheapest market, and if the cheapest market is abroad we must go abroad. That is the basis of the philosophy of free trade. It is not enough to say to those who hold this doctrine that the cheap foreign article may be produced by men who are fed on vegetables and water, and who labour six-teen hours a day. They reply to that, We buy in the cheapest, market, and the unemployed most look out for something to do themselves. These theorists have just as much consideration for black labour at the rate of 8s per mouth as for White labour at 8s per day. They put into competition the labour of all countries. That, I dontend, is not a condition suitable to such a country as ours. (Cheers.) Our first object is to sec that the population is employed, and that the Government is successful in blending a population industriously and prosperously employed. I will give you an instance which Illustrates my meaning. I would suppose that there are some ten thousand families

representing fifty thousand people who are engaged in making a living in the manufacture say of clothes, boots, soap, and candles, Now, suppose the average earnings of each family to be £3 per week, that would represent £30,000 a week, or a sum of £1,560,000 a year which these families would be earning. I hope I am not giving you too dry an illustrative. ("Go on.") It is quite possible that by buying in the cheapest markets, or allowing importers to operate without any difficulty in their way, you night save 15 per cent. of these wages, or £225,000 a year. That is to say the rest of the population might save that, or ten shillings a head upon the balance of the population: I put before you a crucial base, and I say, would you be willing to see that £225,000 saved and these people placed out of employment? I would not. These families, if they could not find other work, Would leave the country or be driven by the fear of starvation to accept such a rate of wages As Mould bring down the fate of wages in all employment?; (Cheers.) Besides the saving in importing goods is to settle extent illusory. There is always a tendency in local production, as you may know, to bring about a reduction in prices. Withdraw local competition and you withdraw a great check on the profits of importers. Probably you will effect no saving. The importers will make up the difference themselves, or it will go into the pockets of the middle man. On the other hand, I do not admit I am a protectionist, or that I Would put on a tax to benefit a few. The most comical thing when has come under my notice was when the Royal Commission was sitting in Victoria to consider the question of protection. Various industries came up, and appealed to be protected. At last a gentleman presented himself, who said he was a manufacturer of gold leaf, and insisted on protection. He was asked how many manufacturers of gold leaf there were in the colony, and he replied there were five—himself and his four sons. (Laughter.) He wanted the whole colony to be put to the I expense of protecting that trade to support I that tingle family. But that is a caricature I of protection. You cannot deal with this question as a doctrinaire question. You have to look into it and deal with all points on their merits. The test of the value of an industry is whether it is qualified to stand when its first difficulties are overcome. When you have that assurance it is a question for consideration whether the initial period should not be tided over. I cannot help saying that under the free trade system of Great Britain there has been a great deal of scamped work and adulteration going on, and that buying in the cheapest market and supplying as cheaply as possible, manufacturers have been in the habit of not conscientiously supplying the best articles. It is only quite recently that by a happy accident—an iron axle falling to the ground and breaking while being unshipped—we wore saved from sending forth death and destruction on our railways by using rotten axles sent out from Great Britain. I will give you another case, which will illustrate how little dependence you can place upon manufacturers under this system, and how much more conscientiously they work under protection when they feel that their whole reputation and success depend upon their supplying good articles. I will tell you what happened recently. We sent home an order for certain locomotives after a type which we had running in the colony, and which were obtained from America. It was thought by the late Government it was un-patriotic to go to America for goods, so the plans and specifications were sent home to England, and the weights and sizes given most exactly. When these locomotives were about finished, the engineers telegraphed out that they were about to ship them, but that we had better order plant to strengthen our bridges and culverts, as it would not be safe to send the locomotives over them. Their idea was that we should make our railways to suit their engines. We telegraphed that we would do nothing of the kind, that we had limited the weight of the engines. They replied they could not be made according to the specifications we had supplied. But the answer to that was that we had them running in the colony, and we refused to take them Well, this is what happened : We sent an order by telegraph to America for these engines, and such is the confidence we feel in the character of the material which will be supplied that we are prepared to take them without inspection there, whilst we cannot take the suspected ones from Great Britain. (Hisses.) The Agent General is in no way to blame in the matter. I have given you this history to show a reason why—even should we require to pay a little more—this work should be done in the colony We have now called for tenders for the purpose of having locomotives made in the colony; and I trust it will lead to our being ultimately able to obtain all our locomotive plant on the spot. (Cheers.)

Forest Conservation.

I must ask you to allow mo to refer to some other industries. There is one industry—I will not say of paramount, but of vast importance to the colony—I refer to the forest industry. It is a matter which has cost me the greatest possible regret, that since I left the colony in 1876, the Legislature thought fit to repeal the Bill, or rather Act, which I had succeeded in carrying into operation, and by which we had made reserves for a large extent of forest country, with the view of first of all planting a forest population upon them, and in the next place, of teaching the various arts of forestry. Besides this, we had in view the encouragement of various industries relating to forestry, and lastly, but not least important, the renewal of the forests, so that the advantages which we now possess in this respect should never cease to exist. And, gentlemen, I have no hesitation in saying that it Is of the utmost importance to renew a measure of this kind, for in this colony we

have timber of the most valuable description; but, alas ! it is not inexhaustible. It seems sad, indeed, that we should see the heritage of those coming after us destroyed and wasted without making adequate provision for renewing it. It is a question of vast importance, and it is felt to be so in all those countries where forestry is practised. In Europe, all the principal countries which contain forests devote the greatest attention to their renewal. In America all that was overlooked—and what is the consequence? It is such that I doubt whether America, with all the vast improvements which her people have made, is now intrinsically so valuable as when the first white man went there. It is important to know that in one State alone fity thousand pounds' worth of forest is destroyed annually to provide fuel for locomotives. We ought then to learn wisdom from other countries. We ought, in time, to make provision for supplying the forests of the future. Fifty years will probably make great devastation amongst the existing forests, but fifty years may be utiliged in renewing our forests in such a way that at the end of that time they may be more valuable than those we have at present, for it is a well known fact that planted forests are a great deal more valuable than ordinary natural ones. This question is of special interest to Auckland. Of the various industries which arise from the position you occupy, certainly not the least is the timber trade.

New Zealand Fisheries.

There is another industry which to my mind is—I would almost venture to say—the supreme industry of New Zealand. I allude to the fisheries. Gentlemen, I have ascertained from evidence which it is impossible to doubt, that there is no country in the world where fish are more abundant than on the coasts of New Zealand, and yet it is sad to say that a certain amount of the fish consumed in the principal towns is not a source of wealth to the colony. For instance, in 1883, notwithstanding the vast wealth that might be derived from our fisheries in New Zealand, not less than £50,000 worth was imported from abroad. Speaking to a gentleman the other day who has been amongst the Labrador fisheries, which are amongst the most famous in the world, he told me that the fish around the coasts of New Zealand were far more plentiful than the fish of Labrador, and that we had the advantage of being able to fish here two days for every one on which it is possible to fish on the stormy shores of Labrador. The white fish, the crayfish, and the oysters of New Zealand will become a source of immense wealth in my opinion. (Laughter.) What we require is the means of preserving them whether by salting or tinning, and I am of opinion that that is the industry for which the Government should give you a large amount of support in the shape of bonuses—for the production of a very considerable quantity. (Applause.) These industries in their initial condition need encouragement of this kind, for you require a very great deal of capital before you can be sure of a market. Whilst they are growing you may find your work comparatively simple, but you may find it difficult to dispose of the produce of your labour. Once a market has been established there is no question that the natural circumstances of the colony are such that the industry would not only become settled, but of enormous value. I wish to see around the coasts of the islands fishing villages established, and vessels connected with them for carrying on ocean fishing. You will have growing up in connection with these fishing villages a maritime population of the most essential service to the future of the colony. You will have large industries like shipbuilding, the making of cordage and rope with which I need hardly tell you you have already met with great success in this colony. (A voice: "What about oysters?") I observe, Sir, that this subject seems to be a source of amusement to some of my hearers. It may be that you know enough on the subject, and that there is therefore no necessity for considering what is desirable with the view of supplying means for the exercise of enterprise and employment of the population or it may be that I am not sufficiently capable of expressing myself clearly, yet I cannot help saying that, when we look at figures in connection with the export value of fish from the various ports of the world, we find that they represent a value of no less an annual sum than sixteen millions sterling. The fisheries of Great Britain alone are worth five millions sterling a year. You will further see the importance of this subject when I mention to you that this colony possesses the most prolific fisheries in the world, and you will admit that the subject to which we should devote our earnest consideration is how we can moat conveniently make this vast source of wealth available. We have so much wealth in the sea ready to be taken out if we only wish to do so. Surely, then, it is to our interest to find means to gather it.

Our Agricultural Products.

I regret that so far as wheat and cereals are concerned that that industry is in a depressed condition all over the world. When, however, I consider that the average of production per acre in New Zealand is so strikingly in excess of the production in other parts of the world, I cannot help feeling sure that whatever the ultimate prices may be, this industry in New Zealand roust survive that of other countries, where production is so much smaller per acre, and consequently where profits are so much less. As regards this city especially, and the large extent

of country around it, you have not to think of the production of cereals mainly. You have to remember that this portion of the colony has a climate which renders it suitable for the growth of products peculiar to temperate and sub-tropical countries. In travelling through Italy one is delighted to notice the large gardens of maize, and planted between them, in regular rows, the alive trees crowded with fruit, and between the trees, grape vines entwined. There you sec all those things together in the greatest profusion. You have in this portion of the colony all necessary facilities for producing richly these and similar products, ranging from temperate to sub-tropical climes—the "golden crops," as I saw them happily termed in a paper here, a few days since.

Industrial Exhibitions.

Now, gentlemen, I wish to refer to those exhibitions which we are beginning to inaugurate, and the first of which is to be held at the end of this year. The object is to afford a means for the development of the industries of the colony, and to assist also in the development of local talent. We feel that by means of these periodical exhibitions a knowledge would be gained of the progress of industries throughout the different parts of the country, which would be a vast gain to those concerned in these industries, and we also feel that the competition thus engendered must have a beneficial effect. These exhibitions are likewise the means of encouraging native talent. An instance was brought under my notice not long ago. In one of the counties of England, a small industrial exhibition was held, quite local to the county. One of the artisans who exhibited at it—an artisan in the receipt of very small amount of weekly salary, some 25s or 30s I think—produced work of such rare excellence that he was at once engaged at a salary of £6 per week, and he is now becoming a very rich man. Gentlemen, if the effect of one exhibition is to find out that so small a number as ten artisans receiving, say, £2 10s per week each, have talent undeveloped which is well worth paying £6 per week for, you have only to take the average of these lives as twenty years, and you will be astonished at the difference produced in the remuneration of the latent talent which that exhibition brought out. It would be no less than £36,000. That is, of course, supposing twenty years to be the average length of life these artisans lived subsequently. Believe me, it is a great work, and one of which the results will show themselves in discovering and putting to use the latent talent to be found in the various parts of the colony. (Applause) Gentlemen, in connection with this I should like to draw your attention to a circular which was lately issued by my colleague, Mr. Stout in reference to technical education. He has announced his determination to introduce into the schools of the colony a system of technical education. I cannot help thinking that if it is carried out it will be the means of developing a vast amount of wealth and prosperity. (Applause.) I cannot conceal from myself the feeling that I would rather be the author of a successful scheme of technical education than of all those so-called Radical measures with which my colleagues name is associated. (Dissent.) It has lately been said by a gentleman in the southern part of the colony—I mean Mr. McKenzie—that I care only for trade and commerce. Now, I admit that I am very utilitarian in my views, but do not make trade and commerce my standard. The standard I make is industry I say that when you have the maximum of well-employed labour, and the minimum of unemployed, there you have the best test of the prosperity of the people of the country.

The Australian Federal Proposals.

I will ask you now to allow me to say something on the subject of federation, and I cannot do so without expressing the great admiration I have for the energetic ability which the Premier of the neighbouring colony of Victoria (Mr. Service) has devoted to this question. It is an extraordinary thing how he has managed to force this question under the notice and on the affections of the people. I take it that Mr. Service feels that, as Victoria is the must heavily populated of the Australasian colonies, it ought to have assumed the leading position, and that by taking up the question of establishing a protectorate over New Guinea, in which it had only a remote interest, he would best show how unselfishly the people of Victoria were inclined to act in harmony with their brethren in the other colonies, which were more directly concerned. But the most remarkable thing, and the greatest evidence of this unselfishness is that, although Victoria has an interest more remoto than any other colony in this matter, yet it has been so fastened upon the minds of the people there that only recently meetings were held all over the colony to take the necessary steps for urging Great Britain to make a remonstrance against the action of Germany in annexing part of New Guinea. Therefore it is a matter of regret to me that I am not able to go the whole length that Mr. Service has gone with regard to the proposals of the Federal Council Bill. You may perhaps be aware that we proposed at the end of last session resolutions with regard to the provisions of the Bill, which was approved by the Convention which had previously been held at Sydney, and that these resolutions suggested some material alterations in it. Briefly, they were that whilst the Bill prepaid by the Convention would enable the Federal Council to pass laws which would have to be adopted by the various colonies whether or not they approved of the terms of these laws, we said that no law passed by the Federal

Council should be binding on any colony, unless accepted and passed by the Legislature of that colony. We further said that instead of the Federal Council being at liberty to make representations on behalf of the whole of the colonies to the Colonial Office of the mother country, that the representations made by the Federal Council should be made separately to the various colonies, allowing them the same freedom of action as they would with regard to their internal affairs. It seems to me that; these differences are very distinct, and that it would be not safe to leave the approval of these laws to an outside authority, but that each colony must see and endorse the law before accepting it, and that it must go through the Legislature of each colony in the ordinary way. This is the point of difference between us and the proposals made in this Sydney Convention, and not less emphasized in the special Bill now sent out by Lord Derby, with some amendments. I do not believe that we in New Zealand will go further than the resolutions passed last session, to which I have referred. I do not believe that the colony ought to go further. At the same time, if the other colonies would go into the question of affording machinery by which common measures might be passed for the benefit of all, I think that it would be of great service to the whole of the colonies. Gentlemen, there is, I think, very deep sympathy—and there is no good overlooking it, between the various colonics. I am quite sure that a deep throb of pride and pleasure must have rung through the whole of the colonies when we read of the splendid and patriotic offer of New South Wales to supply troops to the English Government—(loud applause)—for the purpose of avenging the awful death of General Gordon. I feel sure that we have our full share of pride in this action of New South Wales; just as much, indeed, as if the action had come from ourselves. I am glad, therefore, to say that our Government immediately telegraphed its congratulations to New South Wales upon its patriotic action. (Applause.)

The Hinemoa Mystery Explained.

Now there has been a great deal of misapprehension with regard to our views upon annexation, and particularly about our intentions in regard to the Hinemoa some weeks since. (laughter.) Gentlemen, I wish to explain this to you. There was no desire on the part of the Government to send the Hinemoa to Samca for the purpose of annexing the islands of that Group. It had been communicated to us that the leading chiefs and a great part of the white population of those islands desired to enter into more intimate relations with New Zealand, and all that we desired to do was to send the steamer there to ascertain the true position of affairs, and to find some moans of reconciling the various interests of the natives with those of the different Europeon populations, with the view, perhaps, of concentrating the trade in New Zealand—a work of great importance. It seems to me that, although bound to bow to the decision of the Home Government, it is a matter of regret that we should not have been allowed to send down the steamer for the purpose of assisting to remedy such a state of things as existed on those islands—that a peaceful community like that of New Zealand should not be allowed to keep open those islands to the trade of the whole world, I cannot help thinking that the people of Great Britain will not long submit to the present state of things when they learn that there is one portion of the globe which has been shut to English commerce and enterprise. It was a mistake on the part of the Home Government to issue its veto at all At any rate, our action in the matter was of some benefit after all, because it forced the hand of the British Government to the extent of sending down a man of war—the Miranda—and although before it arrived extreme action had been taken by the German population, yet I think when the news comes to hand we shall find that steps have been taken to abandon the arrangement which the Germans bad forced upon the native population, and by which in effect the people of all other countries on those islands would, be outlawed. The arrangement was such, and the provisions applying to the Courts of justice such, that the Germans would alone be able to obtain redress, whilst the Germans might with utter impunity pitch the English population into the sea. I do not think for a moment that that arrangement will be approved by the Imperial Government of Germany,—and I think that we have been to some extent serviceable in calling attention to it. I may say this, that I am not one of those who feel that there is much importance to be attached to the political annexation of the islands to New, Zealand. We do not want outside native difficulties, and we do not want outside difficulties to contend with.

The South Sea Trading Company.

It is trade and commerce that I look to, and it is to me matter of the greatest possible surprise why the people of Auckland have not responded to the attempts I have twice made for securing to this colony, and to this port in particular, the great trade of the South Sea Inlands. Twice I have proposed the establishment of a trading company for this purpose, and twice has the proposal been rejected by the Legislature. (Applause.) It is nearly ten years since I made the first proposal, and I am able to say that men in high authority and of great judgment were willing to admit—I am not speaking of any persons who are here, but; of men in Great Britain—that if the measure which I proposed in 1874 had been carried into effect, none of these native

difficulties which have been the source of much trouble during the last eighteen months, would have arisen at all. And yet when last session the Government came down with a proposal to renew this intention of establishing a trading company, it was to my great surprise that I found that I did not receive the support of the members of the Auckland province. The vast importance of the subject cannot be underrated. When we see that great nations like France and Germany are ready to go to war over the annexation of these islands, can we not see that they have perceived how vast is the trade which in the future will spring up in connection with these islands, tor a considerable amount of their productions there would be a convenient market in a country like New Zealand, and in its turn this colony would give of its own productions for the purpose of securing for manufacture raw products of the islands. You may depend upon it that if nations so distant as those I have mentioned are anxious to obtain a footing in the South Pacific, it is not wise in us to be indifferent on the subject. When I asked the reason of the opposition that was offered to my scheme, I was told that the Auckland members opposed it, first—because they thought it might interference with some of the existing interests; and next, that they were not sure that the whole of the business would be brought to Auckland. Well now, gentlemen, it seems to me that the last is a mere geographical question which may be satisfied by looking on the map at the relative positions of the Islands and New Zealand. And with regard to the other I contend that one of the first measures to be propose ! was to acquire the existing interests of this colony with the view of extending them on a much larger scale over the Islands of the Pacific. I am convinced of this that if we once attempted to acquire the trade of the Islands we should be and ought to be more successful in that respect than they have been in New South Wales, and yet it is a fact that the trade between New Zealand and the Islands for five years amounted to only £560,000. while between New South Wales and the Islands it amounted to over three millions. Gentlemen, I will not any further dwell on this subject, beyond saying that, as Germany is establishing immense trading stations in remote islands, such as New Britain, New Ireland and New Guinea, and that as France is equally active in those islands which owe allegiance to her. I am convinced that the trade is of such importance that I can appeal with confidence to the people of Auckland not to be indifferent to it, and I ask them to look dispassionately a the whole question. I am sure that the Government will not force the matter upon them. I told the Auckland members that if they did not see it to be their advantage to support the measure that the Government would not force it upon them, and that Parliament would not pass it. I say that when we notice the energy which is being displayed by the nations of Europe in the advancement of their colonial interests and in the promotion of trade, we should not be indifferent as to our relations with these islands. The Government was prepared to help the people. When Bismarck was asked by the Home authorities lately what course he proposed to adopt in South Africa in regard to Angra Pequena, he answered "The same course as you adopted with regard to North Borneo." And what was that but the establishment of commerce by means of a large chartered company. I could not in justice to myself make a smaller reference to this question, and I hope it is one that will be considered.

Intercolonial Ereh Trade,

Before leaving questions external to the colony, I should like to say a few words on colonial reciprocity. It has been to me a matter of great gratification to observe that within the last few weeks the colonies of Tasmania and Victoria have arranged some thing in the nature of a Customs treaty, by which they will admit free of duty the productions and manufactures of the two colonies. I was largely instrumental in passing the measure, or rather in getting passed the measure, which authorises these colonial reciprocity treaties, and naturally I take a great interest in the subject; and I am quite sure nothing would be better for New Zealand than treaties made with the various Australian colonies, by which we could exchange for their products our products—such as cereals, beer, fish, coal, and other things which we have great natural advantages in manufacturing and producing, and I am sure such an alliance and such an agreement would work wonderfully well with the colonics concerned.

Provincialism Versus Local Government.

Now, I have to refer to a question to which a great deal of attention has been directed — the local government question,—but I will not at this late period of the evening go into; it at very great length, but I wish to say this : It has been a matter of unceasing thought upon my part for many weeks past, and I have come to the conclusion that the local government question really resolves itself primarily and principally into a financial question. I believe that a large organic alteration is not required. I believe moreover, that what is most essential is to ascertain what are the real feelings and wishes of those who have now the charge of the local government of the colony — I allude to the Chairmen of the County Councils and to the Mayors of the various towns; and so impressed am I in regard to my port on of the subject—the financial portion of the subject—with the

necessity of obtaining their views, that I have made up my mind, unless my colleagues disapprove of it—that, at any rate, to satisfy myself upon such questions as come within the cognisance of the various departments which I hold, that it will be a deniable thing to summon a meeting of all the County Chairmen and all the Mayors of the towns in the colony with a view to eliciting from them generally their opinions upon what is really required to make more satisfactory the position of local government within the colony — especially in relation to its financial aspects. (Cheers.) I believe we may ascertain from those who are really concerned in the local government of the country such amendments as are *required* to improve the present system. For my part, I believe that what is principally and primarily required is more certain, larger, and more elastic local revenues, to that local bodies may know what means they have to depend upon, and may fashion their works accordingly, instead of depending, as they have been doing for years past, upon what seems to me has been practically authorised—that is, a system of benefactions distributed by the Government or the House, according to a more or less arbitrary pleasure or caprice. What they want is something certain and well-defined, and I believe we may ascertain that when we are able to obtain their opinion jointly. Moreover, what is very essentially required is to protect the means which already, to some extent, exist, by which for certain purposes, and not beyond those purposes unless desired, there may be a combination between two or more counties, or between counties and towns, for works of joint interest. As regards the question of renewing the provincial system, about which I know a great deal has been said, in my opinion it is utterly impossible to do so The provincial system merely depended upon two things—namely, the land revenue and the power within the provinces of borrowing large sums of money. I do not think that a renewal of the Provincial Government in any sense can possibly be carried out. At the same time I believe we may enlarge the objects find the scope of local government, and relieve the Central Government of some of its functions, and get rid of the objection which has very properly been felt, that the General Government has much too much to do and much too much power, and the local bodies too little. (Cheers.)

The Mail Arrangements.

I wish to say a few words upon the mail service. (Hear, hear.) I am of opinion that nothing that has occurred in New Zealand for years past has been of greater benefit to it than the fact that there are now direct steamers between Great Britain and New Zealand. (A Voice : "Well done, Macandrew.") When we consider that those steamers running are not monthly, but fortnightly, bringing people out from Great Britain, and taking us home with a rapidity which not many years ago would have been considered fabulous, I am sure that you will agree that they are a vast benefit. As to the San Francisco service, I may say I am endeavouring to negotiate in such a manner as will enable me to lay before Parliament, for its approval, a proposal that when the present contract runs out, as it will in a very few months, that there shall be a new service to San Francisco, and that that service should have its terminus at Auckland. (Cheers.) And I may say this, that instead of its requiring three boats, two fast boats would he sufficient to run the service between San Francisco and Auckland in about 16 days. I am not without hope that we will be able to lay before Parliament proposals in that direction which would be accepted by the Legislature, and give you the means of communicating with San Francisco in about 16 days, or with Great Britain in very little over 30 days. (Cheers.) We are also, I may say, about calling for tenders—the advertisements will appear in a day or two—for a service to the Inlands—to the groups of islands included in the Tonga, Samoa, and Tahitian groups. I have reason to believe, if that service is established, it will be the moans of bringing a large amount of trade and commerce to the colony. (Cheers.)

The Native Question.

I wish to say a few words on the native question, although I cannot pretend at all to deal with it comprehensively or exhaustively. Some objections have been made to the proposals lately made by Mr. Ballance in his interviews with the natives to pay them for the land taken for the railway. It has been paid that he ought to have asked that the land be given When I explain to you the reasons which actuated us, I think that you will agree with me that not only are we right, but that we could not adopt any other course. If we were to ask the natives to give us this land we should have to take the land from natives whom we might suppose to be the owners, but whose titles are not legalised. If we were to wait until the titles are legalised there would be a long delay. In other words, certain natives would purport to give us the land, but it might be found hereafter that the land did not belong to them; in fact, that we were building a railway and spending a million and a half of money upon land which did not belong to us, to which we had no title, and questions of compensation would be raised, which might agitato the country for years and years to come. I ask you whether it would he prudent for us supposing there might be a saving of a few thousand pounds, a very few, to trust to a precarious title? No, we said this. There is a power given by law to this effect, that where the native title has not been made good, and,

therefore, no one with whom to legally treat for permission to carry railways through land, the Land Court shall appraise that land, and that land may be taken and the value shall be paid when the title is made good to the persons who are found to be owners. (Cheers.) Therefore you Will see the true policy—the diplomacy of the thing; in other words, the land Court will say, You want so many thousand acres; this land is worth so many shillings an acre. Whenever the title is made good that i land is to be paid for. In the meantime you go on building the railway, and your title is a Parliamentary one. Is not that a prudent course to adopt? Why should we go on building a railway on land which we had no title to, and which we would have to quarrel over in the future, or pay an ex orbitant rate for at some distant period? In regard to the land along the side of the railway, we took last year by Act of Parliament the right to reserve four and a half million of acres of land from sale by the natives to anyone but the Government. In adopting that course we could not have done to if the natives had the impression that we meant to acquire and take possession of the whole of that four and a half millions of acres, and we could not place ourselves or the natives in the false position of supposing that wo should do so. We say to the natives we have taken this land because we desire to see it settled and disposed of in such a manner as will secure its settlement, but we are not taking it with a view to obtaining it from yon, and forcing you to give it up. We are open to purchase large blocks, and we are under negotiation for very large blocks upon the line of railway—under negotiations with the natives in a friendly and peaceful manner, and I wish to say on behalf of Mr. Ballance, there is no Minister who has established such a hold upon the natives. (Cheers.) It is all very well to say he has been too friendly with them; but I ask you to recollect this, there is nothing of more importance to the people of Auckland than that the railway should proceed which is to connect Wellington and Auckland, and it would have been next to impossible, at any rate exceedingly impolitic, if that line had been constructed or commenced in opposition to or in conflict with the natives. Within the next two or three mouths I believe we shall have works in progress upon that line in three portions of the route—at Marton, at the Waikato end, and at some portion intermediate between them. And I say it is a great work, and one of which our Government has every reason to be proud. They commence that railway with the good will of the natives from end to end, and shall have no difficulties from them in doing so. (Cheers.) With your knowledge of native affairs, which is so much larger than mine, because you have lived amongst them so long you cannot help agreeing with me in this : No matter how autocratic or despotic a Native Minister may be, no matter how little we may have to fear from any effects of war, yet if we roused the opposition of the natives from one end of the line to the other, it would be impossible for that line to be commenced. I do not hesitate to say that it is my opinion. This Government is commencing this line, and will no on with the line months earlier—perhaps I might name a longer period—than it would have been proceeded with under other circumstances. (Cheers.) I do not know a desire the Government has more at heart than to see that railway completed. The broad view of the Government in relation to the lands of the natives is this, that we should do everything we possibly can to convince the natives that the one object to be gained is to put that land to useful purposes of settlement, whether by Europeans or Maoris, and not allow these vast tracts of land to remain unused and unoccupied, but to subject them to purposes of settlement by an industrial population. (Cheers).

Public Works and Railways.

A few words on the Public Works question, and then I think I may apologise to you for having trespassed so long, and thank you for the patient hearing you have given me. I claim that in the present Minister for Public Works we have a gentleman who is thoroughly acquainted with the construction of railways and with their management, and already I believe he has done a great deal to improve the system of managing railways, but I am not blind to the fact that an immense deal more remains to be done, It is the opinion of the Government that to manage the railways with success they must be divorced from all political influence, and they should be managed by local boards. I (Cheers). I will give you an instance which i may be of interest if not to you to your I neighbours. Only a few days ago my attention was directed to the very unequal and unfair rates charged for the carriage of cheese between Waikato and Auckland—a change which really seriously affected the success of an industry which promises to be a very large one. I represented the matter to my colleague, and he has, I am glad to say, assured me that within a very few days there will be a sensible reduction made in the cost of freight of cheese between Waikato and Auckland. (Cheers.) That may seem a small matter, but it is a matter of great moment to a largo number of settlers, to whom it may make the difference between a profitable and an unprofitable industry, (Cheers.)

Main Trunk Link and Branch Links.

As regards the main trunk line you will know that we succeeded in obtaining Parliamentary consent to carry on that line. Although the loan WAS authorised previ- ously, Parliamentary consent had to be obtained

before the loan could be negotiated or the line could be commenced, and with the object of having the route settled, a committee was appointed of Middle Island gentlemen of unimp achable integrity, and who had no interest whatever in the route. They came to the conclusion that the central route was the best. Although it was not a matter on which I thought it right to obtrude my individual opinion, now that the matter is settled, I may say I am quite sure you have every reason to be glad at the decision come to. Had the line gone round by Stratford, you would never have had a fast service. I am sure the people of Auckland and Wellington would not be contented with a service by which they could not get through in 14 or 15 horns. Had the line gone round by Stratford such are the difficulties and in-equalities of the line between Marton and Stratford that a fast service would have been impossible, but now by the route we are going you will have a service which there is no reason should not average 40 or 45 miles an hour from one end to the other, lees stoppages and delays, and you will have, in fact, a first-rate service which you could not have had by the other way. As regards tapping Taranaki, I cannot help thinking that long before the line is finished proposals will be made and effect given to them sooner or later by which the Taranaki province will be placed in direct communication with the main line; and, similarly, in my opinion, there will be a connection between Tauranga and the main line; and similarly again—but this has already been decided—direct communication will be opened between Napier and the main line, and you will have the whole brought into one direct line. The present line will open out the country more effectually than the other, and give you a fast service. I an? not going to trouble you with questions relating to finance, but will merely pay this—that the Government pee no difficulties in the questions relating to the negotiations of the loan to prevent them from proceeding, as it is their earnest intention to do with the utmost rapidity in carrying through the line between Wellington and Auckland, and giving you the earliest possible completion of that line. (Cheers) There is another line which is of great importance to you, and it is the Rotorua Railway. I may say this to you, and really I think I have come to a period of my discourse which must be of great interest to all persons who are really interested in Auckland. However bitterly they may disapprove of me or my Government, they must be very unintelligent or careless people who do not wish to know what are the facts upon a question of this kind. (Cheers.) I am in hopes that under the resolutian passed last session, by which we were empowered to negotiate, subject to the approval of Parliament, for the various district lines, we may be able to make such arrangements with the local company as will be acceptable to Parliament and lead to the Government acquiring the Rotorua line, under conditions leading to it a rapid completion. We recognise that the Government are very much concerned in the a matter for reasons upon which it is not necessary I should dwell. Not only is it a matter of importance to the colony that the access to this sanatorium should be obtained, but it is also of great importance to the Government that faith should be kept with those who under inducements offered by the I Government became lessees of the proposed; township of Rotorua. (Cheers.) I have not time now to go into the question of district railways, but I will ask you to allow me to say this, that in my opinion it should be the duty of Parliament next session to settle once and for all what are the main trunk lines of the colony in both islands, and that it should be determined we should proceed with these trunk lines from time to time, as the means of the colony enable it to do so. And then as regards other railways, they should pass into the category either of forest railways or district railways, and as district railways, should be charged half upon the district which is enjoying the benefit of them, and half upon the Colonial Government. If we once come to a decision upon that question, there would be less scrambling, for there would be more certainty on the part of those who claim the main lines of railway, and less scrambling on the part of those who want district railways, seeing that they would have to give an earnest of their belief in the construction of such railways, by making the locality responsible for half the interest upon their cost. (Cheers.)

East and West Coast Railway.

I wish to say, as I do not desire to come before you under any false character, that I am a very earnest advocate for the construtcion of the railway which is to unite the East and West Coast of the Middle Island, and join in connection there with Nelson. When it was put to me, when I was standing for my election, "Will you refuse your consent to the Main Trunk line of the North Island being carried on until you have secured a guarantee that the East and West Coastline will be carried out?" I said "No; I will not make that condition; I look upon it that the Main Trunk line of the North Island is of vast importance, and it is our duty to go on with it as rapidly as possible; at the same time I admit I attach great value to the East and West Coast line, that I am of opinion it should be carried out if possible by private enterprise, and if private enterprise cannot carry it out it that should be constructed at the cost of the colony." I could not consider it was possible to tolerate that such an immensely rich district as the West Coast of the Middle Island should be shut off and not properly opened, from the difficulty of access under which it labours. I feel certain the line, when constructed, will be amply sufficient reward to those who desire to see it carried out.

North and South.

I abhor the disposition shown in some quarters toset off the two islands against each other. You are members of the same firm, of the same family, and it is utterly impossible you should not share each in the prosperity of the other. (Cheers.) I say that united together you are strong to effect what you want. If you are to waste your strength in quarrelling, you have a balance left which is of a very small amount. I will illustrate it by a very familiar example, the well-known game, the tug of war. You place twelve strong men on each in opposition to the other. They may pull, and have great difficulty in polling the other over, but put a boy of twelve years on the one side and he will carry the day. Therefore, the result is in the strength of that boy. Unite the strength of these twenty-four men, and what do you get? Unite the strength of the island, and you have the joint power, not the difference between their respective strengths. You want to work together, and I am quite sure, knowing as I do both islands, you can never be thoroughly prosperous until yon realise that the prosperity of one island is the interest of the other. There should be no jealousy, and in any case a desire to assist each other. (Cheers.)

Conclusion.

There are some subjects, perhaps, I ought to have referred to which you will naturally excuse me for not doing, considering the length of time I have already detained you. I hope you will not consider me unmindful of the destiny of the colony, and of those who live in it, and I think I put that destiny upon a high pedestal when I say to you, you are not likely to gain your end by merely fighting out theoretical questions of the old country; you shall count for success on your own self-reliant industry and exertions—

I hold it truth with him who sings
To one sweet harp in divers tones,
That men may rise up stepping-stones
Of their dead solves to higher things,

(Cheers).—Ladies and gentlemen : I than you very much for the hearing you have given me.

The conclusion of the address was erected with loud and continued cheering.

Mr JOHN REID, Chairman of the Chamber of Commerce, moved: "That this meeting tenders a cordial vote of thanks to Sir Julius Vogel for the able and interesting address which he has now delivered." It was, he said, un-necessary to detain the meeting with further remarks at that late hour, but he relied upon them to give it their unanimous and hearty support. (Cheers).

The resolution was then put and carried unanimously by show of hands.

SIR JULIUS VOGEL expressed his appreciation of the kindness of the meeting and the good taste displayed. Although it was apparent that there were some in the meeting who did not agree with all he had said, they had not allowed their feelings to interfere, but on the contrary had given him a patient hearing. He expected that they would yet come to believe that his earnest wish and desire was to aid in the success and advancement of the colony.

A vote of thanks was passed to the Mayor for presiding, on the motion of Sir Julius Vogel.

Three cheers for Sir George Grey were called for and enthusiastically given, and a similar compliment to Sir Julius Vogel was also heartily responded to.

The proceedings then terminated.

The Waikato Times.

Thursday, April 16, 1885.

The North Island Trunk Railway.

Turning the First Sod.

THE ceremony of turning the first sod of the North Island Trunk Railway took place yesterday afternoon on the south bank of the Puniu river, at the spot where the line is to cross the stream. That a large amount of interest was evinced in the proceedings was evident by the large attendance, not only of the residents of the immediate locality, or even of the Waikato district, but of the Province. The special train which left Auckland yesterday morning, in addition to bringing a large number of people for the Cambridge races, conveyed many of the foremost citizens of the Northern metropolis to Te Awamutu. These included Messrs T. Thompson, F. J. Moss, and Col. Fraser, M.H.R., the Mayor of Auckland (Mr Waddell), and others. At Hamilton a pretty large contingent, including a number of ladies, Mr J. B. Whyte, M.H.R., the Mayor of Hamilton (Mr Graham), Mr John Knox, Capt. Steele, and others, got on board, and a start was made from Frankton Junction at 11.45 a.m., arriving at the destination at about half-past 12. Numerous coaches and buggies, chartered by a liberal Government, were in waiting at the terminus, and into these the most fortunate (because the most active) of the passengers quickly got, and were driven free of charge to the bank of the classic Puniu, some three miles away. The route, however, lay through Te Awamutu, and at the township a halt of some minutes took place to allow of the procession being formed in proper order. The Te Awamutu cavalry turned out, forty strong, under Major Jackson, Capt. Rutherford, and Lieutenants Bruce and Wilkinson, and made a very efficient guard of honour. The Te Awamutu band, too, under the able conduct of Mr Sibley, mustered strongly, and beguiled the tedium of the general public during the interval that elapsed between the arrival of the train and the departure of the procession. The dust, meanwhile, was intolerable, and as the cavalry came down the road at a smart pace, and drew up into lint opposite Devin's Hotel, nothing beyond the distance of a foot or so could be seen, so dense were the clouds of tine earth that floated in the heavy atmosphere By-and-bye the hon. the Premier (who had arrived the night before, and had occupied the morning at Alexandra) showed himself, and a general movement was made in the direction of the Puniu. The order of the procession was as follows :—An advance guard of the Te Awamutu Cavalry, under Lieut. Wilkinson; a buggy containing the hon. the Premier, and Mr G. T. Wilkinson, Native Agent for the Waikato; carriage containing Mr W. N. Blair, Assistant Engineer-in-Cnief, Col. Fraser, M.H.R. and others; carriage containing Messrs W. H. Hales, District Engineer, D. M. Beere, Resident Engineer, and others; the main body of the cavalry, with a banner; a native carrying the Union Jack; Cavalry band in a waggon; coaches, buggies and horsemen, and, lastly, the rear guard of the cavalry, under the command of Lieut. Bruce. The procession started at about a quarter past one, and the river was reached in a very short time. Just at the junction of the property of Mr S. Westney with that late in the occupation of Mr Parsons, a temporary, but very serviceable plank bridge had been erected, and over this the visitors crowded to the scene of operations on the south bank of the stream. A pathway had been cut up the steep bank, so that none experienced the slightest difficulty in making the ascent. On reaching the level land above, the path led under a small triumphal arch, on which was inscribed the appropriate motto, "Te ika a Maui, te rangimarie " (" A day of Peace to New Zealand.") Further on a booth had been erected for the accommodation of the Premier and party, and over the spot where the sod cutting was to take place there was a lavish display of bunting, in which the Union Jack played a conspicuous part. When the ceremony commenced there must have been fully a thousand persons present, a third of whom were natives, and one and all manifested the keenest interest in the proceedings. The cavalry dismounted and formed a cordon round the space set apart for the ceremony, by which means those present were enabled to obtain a full view of ail that took place. Tawhiao was not present, having gone to the Waikato Heads, but Rewi, Wahanui, Taonui, Hopa and many other chiefs of note were on the ground.

For some time past Mr Hote Thompson, son of the great King Maker, has been making a fuss about the affair, breathing threatenings and slaughter against all and sundry who should take part in the pro- ceedings. Hote opened the ball yesterday by crying out, in a pretty loud tone, to Rewi and Wahanui, " What do you think of your child (Tawhiao) now?"

Rewi replied to the effect that they thought nothing of their child.

Hote said he objected to anything being done without his knowledge and consent; but after a few words from Rewi the matter was allowed to drop.

The Premier and party then approached, and

Mr W. H. Hales, stepping forward, said :—Wahanui, as the Engineer having local charge of public works, I am deputed to ask you on behalf of the native people to turn the first sod of the railway.

Wahanui, then amidst applause, took off his coat, and in the most workmanlike manner dug out three or four sods and depesited them in a very ornamental barrow, varnished and emblazoned with portraits of North American Indians, in default of Maoris, with whose appearance the artist seemed to have but the slenderest acquaintance.

Rewi then said;—I now call upon the hon. Mr Stout to wheel the sods away. (Applause.)

The Premier, following the example of Wahanui, divested himself of his coat, and in the most approved style, wheeled the barrow a few yards away, and dexterously turned the earth out on to the ground, amidst the

vociferous cheers of those assembled, the band playing "God Save the Queen."

At the invitation of the Mayor of Auckland, three cheers were then given for Her Majesty.

Mr Stout, addressing the assemblage, said :—Ladies and gentlemen,—I can assure you that I feel I occupy an honourable position in that I have been deputed to take part in one of the greatest works that this colony can undertake. I need not explain to the Europeans the good that will accrue to the country from the railways, but this railway which we are met to initiate to day is peculiar in many respects. It will unite together two parts of this colony which have been long separated, and I hope that by it we shall further that time when we shall become indeed a nation of New Zealanders; and while we as colonists will always think of our homes, we shall also think of the colony as our nation, and look forward to the development of our national life. We are standing now on ground which a few years ago was not deemed to be open to Europeans, and we are almost in view, of the most classic spot in the Maori country, the Maori Thermopylœ which future historians shall describe as a battle between two rages in which the bravery was not all on one side. In this month, some twenty-one years ago, a battle which is called Orakau was fought, and when we think of the brave words uttered from the Maori pah on that occasion, and when we think what we have accomplished since, and that now the brave warrior who defended the pah on that occasion, has asked the representatives of the Government to take part in the work we are engaged in to-day, we can say that an advance has been made in our history. Men thought in the old days that this colony was to be conquered by war, but we know that peace has her victories greater than war. By works of this nature the progress of the country is secured, and while we ought never to be forgetful of the brave deeds of the past, let this day be kept in remembrance as a great day for this part of the colony; for here, I hope, is given us a pledge of peaceful relations between the Europeans and Maoris; for the latter will see how important railways are in the march of civilisation. I cannot express how deeply sensible I am of Rewi's presence here to-day. I may tell you that when I was appointed Premier, the first congratulatory telegram I received was from him, even before I received any communication from my constituents and friends. I did not know him, I had never seen him, but something I had done or said in 1878 had won his approval, and he took this means of showing his gratitude. I relate this incident because it has been argued that the Maoris have no sense of gratitude, (Applause). If we had in the past been more philo-Maori than we were, we might never have been obliged to have recourse to war. (Applause.) In the future let us think of the Maoris as brethren, and when they do wrong I lot us treat them as we would treat our own children. If we must chasten them, let us do it in a loving spirit. (Applause). To-day we have taken part in a great work, great not only in respect of one section of the colony, or of one district, or of one race; but a work which will benefit all, and I hope that all will so act, that in the future they may be able to look back to this day as one great in the annals of the colony, and that they will have no cause to blush for their present actions. History is made up of the social life of the people. The people in these districts have a heavy responsibility upon them, inasmuch as it their duty in some measure to educate the Maoris, and to train them in the right way. We have already done something that will remain in the remembrance of the Maori people; we are standing on ground where the sale of liquor is prohibited, (applause) and we are going to ask you presently to partake of refreshments in which alcohol forms no part (hear hear), and I would ask even those who do not agree with me in my temperance policy whether this prohibition is not just and right in view of the fact that alcohol is inimical to the existence of the Maori people? I say the Maori race ought to be preserved (applause); and we small incur the detestation of the civilised world if it can be said of us in the future that we have done nothing to preserve the race. It is the duty of out-settlers to endeavour to preserve the Maori race. I trust it will be said of us that we did all we could to raise the race, to improve them, and to perpetuate them. (Applause).

Turning to the natives, Mr Stout spoke as follows :—Chiefs and men of the Maori race. I want to say a few words as to the benefit that the railway will be to you. I do not need to address the Europeans about the good that the railway does. They know that. But a railway is a new thing to the Maoris. They know more about a canoe. A railway is to a European what a canoe is to a Maori. He uses it for travelling about in; but the difference between the two is that the railway can go a great a deal faster than the canoe. On this section we intend to ask the Maoris to make it, and they will get the same money as Europeans. We don't want to make any distinction between them. Mr Richardson, the Minister for Public Works, has told me about the way in which the Maoris work. In 1858 he had 40 Maoris working for him in Victoria. They did their work well, and got wages equal to Europeans, and I have no doubt the Maoris will have pride enough to see that the Europeans do not beat them here. This section will be known as "the Maori section," and I hope it will be better than all the Europeans' work. But the railway will do more than that. It will make your lands more valuable, and the land that you don't need you will get more money for when you lease it. As you get learned in farming, you will raise roots, grain and cattle, and you will get more money for these things if you have a railway. The Maoris can't get on without money any more than Europeans. I hope they will spend the money in making themselves more comfortable. If they take care of their money and their health the land will not be a curse to them. Let me especially thank them for coming here today. The thanks of the Government are due to the chiefs who so

loyally supported them. I don't like to mention names in case there should be jealousy. Let me tell them this: They should not be jealous of this sod-turning, because it does not affect their titles. There was some difference of opinion as to who should do it, but things like this do make a chief or a landlord. They should think of a story that is told of my part of the country. There was a great chief there, the head of many people, and one day when he sat at the foot of the table, someone said, "Come to the head of the table; you are a great chief," and he said, "Wherever McNab sits, that is the head of the table." (Laughter.) So you will remember that if you are great chiefs, and have not taken part in the ceremony, it will not hurt you. Now a few words to all. I have to thank the ladies and gentlemen for their presence here to-day. We have had a good omen. The day is beautiful, and everything is lovely; but all these things are not lovely unless they are graced by the ladies, the Europeans and the natives. What makes scenery lovely, is to see the people enjoying themselves, as I hope you will do to-day.

The Premier retired amidst loud applause, the band playing "For he's a jolly good fellow."

Wahanui said : I shall not make a very long speech. The part in Mr Stouts speech that I wish to make reference to is that which refers to the prohibition. The Government marked out the district, but I objected. I said there can be no better boundary than the stream of fresh water which flows below us. (Applause). I consider a river the best boundary for such a district. One other suggestion I would make, and that is we should give this railway a name, and the name is "Turango road." There was an ancestor whose name was Turango, and I wish that name given to the line. I wish the name to be given only to the chain wide, as the people on each side have their own names for their lands.

Hopa Te Rangianini: All that you are to take is the line for the railway from one end to the other. You must not by-and-bye branch off in the direction of Taupo, or elsewhere, or I shall cause you trouble. All the affection the Maoris show is in connection with this line of railway. After we get on, and see how things go, I may, however, change my mind (laughter and applause).

Taonui: I wish to say a word or two about the management of this railway, but I will defer it until Mr Ballance arrives.

Mr Stout: That, ladies and gentlemen ends the ceremony. I may say in answer to Wahanui, that this section shall be called by the name he has suggested.

Some of the visitors subsequently partook of light refreshments on the ground, but the large majority returned forthwith to Te Awamutu, and thence drifted homewards insections, the Hamilton and Auckland visitors leaving by special train at 6.30 o'clock.

The weather during the whole day was beautiful, and looked upon simply as an outing, and without regard to its important aspect, the visit to the Puniu yesterday, was delightful in the extreme. A ball at Kihikihi wound up the day's enjoyment.

The Hon. the Premier proceeded to Kihikihi last night, and to-day he will drive to Cambridge, meeting several deputations en route, and at the latter place.

The Kapunda Herald, Friday, July 3, 1885.

South Australian Land Nationalization Society.

First Annual Meeting.

The first annual meeting of the above Society was held in the Institute Hall on Wednesday evening. There was a fair attendance, including a number of ladies, the President (Mr. W. Liston) occupying the chair. An apology for non-attendance was received from Mr. J. Clements, the ex-President of the Adelaide Trades and Labor Council, to whom an invitation had been sent by the Executive Committee.

Balance-Sheet and Executive Committee's Report.

The proceedings commenced by the President calling on the Assistant-Secretary (Mr. A. W. Rayment) to read the Executive Committee's report of the past year's operations and the balance-sheet, which he did as follows;—

Balance-Sheet.

Dr.—To subscriptions, £10-4 1s.; dona-tions, £18 17s.; proceeds of entertainments, £12 4s.; books sold, £5 3s. 3d.; accounts unpaid, £41 13s. = £181 18s. 3d. Cr.—By printing, £14 10s. 6d.; advertising, £10 3s. 6d.; postages, £35 3s. 4d.; stationery, carriage,' &c., £4 9s. 8d.; lecturers' expenses, £4 17s.; Terowie branch, £1; purchase of literature, £16 18s. 10d,; publications by Society, £85 15s. 6d.; cash in bank, £5 14s. 11d.; cash in hand, £3 5s. = £181 18 3d.

Executive Committee's Report.

"At a meeting convened for the purpose and held in the Kapunda Institute on the 13th May, 1884, the South Australian Land Nationalization Society was formed to promote the principle of State ownership of land. An Executive Committee was at the time appointed. During the year the Society held 11, and the Executive Committee 33, meetings.

"To advertise itself, the Society soon after its formation issued 6,000 cards, on which were printed the objects of the Society, and some appropriate quotations from leading authorities. Of these 1,000 were printed in German. The objects of the Society were also advertised for three months in the *Observer*, the *Chronicle*, and the *Kapunda Herald*.

"The number of members enrolled is 221. The accession of members was greatest in the first few months of the Society's existence, but has been continual throughout the year.

"The following pamphlets were printed and published at the Society's expense during the year :—

"The following pamphlets and books were purchased for distribution by the Society :—

"A large number of copies of the following pamphlets were presented to the Society by the author, the Rev. W. T. Carter:—"Sources of Henry George's Errors" and "Argyle *versus*Argyle and George."

"The greater portion of the foregoing publications have been distributed by the Society.

"Lectures were delivered by the Vice-President (Mr. P. McM. Glyun, B.A., LL.B.) in the following places—Gawler, Burra, Quorn, Tarlee, and Terowie. A branch was formed at Terowie.

"In last September letters containing the following questions, to which answers were solicited, were addressed to the Members of the House of Assembly:—No. 1. Are you in favor of substituting the system of leasing from the State for absolute alienation in fee simple of unsold Crown Lands in South Australia? 2. Should a Bill be introduced during this or any ensuing session of the present Parliament to stop the further alienation of all Crown Lands, will you support and vote for it? Six replies were received, five of which expressed more or less of sympathy with the principles of land nationalization.

"The balance-sheet shows a deficit for the year of £32 13s. 1d. The Executive Committee hope to clear off this deficit in a few weeks, but at the same time request the public to come to the Society's aid. To give due prominence to this most vital of all social questions, and keep sympathy from relapsing into indifference while awaiting action in Parliament, funds are needed. The support of the public is therefore earnestly solicited."

Mr. Glynn briefly moved, and Mr. Patrick seconded without comment, the adoption of the report and balance-sheet, which was carried unapimously.

President's Annual Report.

Mr. Liston then read his annual report as follows :—

You have heard the report of the work done and progress made by our Society during the first year of its existence, and I think that you will agree that it is, upon the whole, very satisfactory, although perhaps not quite up to the expectations of the most sanguine among us. But it would be a mistake to judge the importance and value of the work done by this Society, and the influence it has exercised in moulding public opinion on the land question, by the number on the members' roll or the amount of the subscriptions. There is ample evidence that, outside our ranks, discussion of the question of State, that is, common ownership of the land, is spreading on all sides. It is a topic in train and tram, at dining-rooms and clubs, at debating societies' meetings, at social and political gatherings, at farmers' associations, and at working men's unions. The Press writes and the Pulpit preaches on it. Without doubt public opinion in the direction of the reforms advocated by the Society is rapidly ripening, and radical legislation on the subject cannot be long delayed, if the people are true to themselves. I do not for a moment take credit to our Society for all that has been done to stimulate thought and spread sound views on this most important question, but, undeniably, the existence of our organisation, the widespread distribution of the literature published by the Society, and of the works of Henry George and A. R. Wallace, and the lectures delivered by our worthy Vice-President (Mr. Glynn), have contributed largely to direct public attention to land nationalization, and to cultivate correct opinions regarding it. At the same time we heartily recognise the support that the cause has received from a very considerable portion of

The Press of the Colony,

forenost among them being the *Kapunda Herald*, the *S.A, Register*, and the *Adelaide Observer*. The first named paper has consistently advocated State leasing since 1872, the year in which a Society having similar objects to this was formed in our town, but which, being too far in advance of public opinion of the day, died in its infancy. For upwards of two years the *Register*and the *Observer*have spoken out boldly and plainly in favor of land nationalization. The *Port Adelaide News*, the *Gawler Standard*, the *Burra Record*, the *Jamestown Review*, the *Terowie Enterprise*, the *S.A. Times*, and possibly other papers that have escaped my notice, have also given their support, while the *S.A. Advertiser*rendered good service by reprinting in its columns Mr. George's masterly work "Social Problems," although the *Advertiser's*editorial utterances are not so far favorable to us. This is, in my opinion, matter for congratulation, as it is very desirable that the public should be made acquainted with all that can be said on the other side. From

The Pulpit

there have been some noble utterances in this colony on the relation which the people occupy, or ought to occupy, to the land on which and from which they must live. First and foremost stands my friend the Rev. W. T. Carter, who from pulpit, platform, and press has continually and outspokenly condemned the manifest injustice and wickedness of the existing institution of private property in land, and the social inequalities to which it gives rise. All honor to him. He was the first, in this colony at least, to recognise the duty of ministers of religion to deal with political and social questions, and to feel, to use the language of the Rev. Dr. Fairbairn, that "religion ought to be secular, and would be all the more spiritual and eternal for so being." Our thanks are also due—and on behalf of this Society I tendered them—to the Rev. W. Roby Fletcher, who during the past year has delivered two powerful addresses on the religious aspects of the Land Gospel. From his known earnestness and ability, his love of humanity, and from his position as head of the Congregational Church in South Australia, we have much to hope. The late esteemed pastor of the local Congregational Church, the Rev. B. N. Fernie; the Revs. D. Paton, Scots Church, Adelaide; S. E. Gibbes, Church of England, Mount Pleasant; S. Howard, Baptist, Gawler; F. Richmond, Church of England, Koolunga; and other clergymen have also publicly taught the gospel of land nationalization, and this Society has received letters expressing sympathy with its objects from other ministers. Nevertheless, we cannot but deplore the very limited response to the appeal made to ministers of religion by this Society.

Fellow-Laborers.

Several members of Parliament have declared in favor of the principles we advocate, and one of them, Mr. T. Burgoyne, issued an excellent pamphlet advocating State leasing. But any reference to those who have helped on, and are helping on, the movement in favor of land nationalization in this colony would be incomplete without mention of the name of our friend, Mr. William Webster. About two years ago, at the time Mr. Henry George's famous work "Progress and Poverty" was first attracting attention here, Mr. Webster was connected with the editorial staff of the *Register*, and in the columns of that paper appeared two series of articles from his pen, one entitled "The Land Movement in Groat Britain," the other "The Land Movement in South Australia," both of which excited considerable public interest, and did much to spread a knowledge of the history of land tenure, and show how the present iniquitous system of private property in land was, mainly by force and fraud, brought about. Many present will remember the eloquent and earnest address that Mr. Webster delivered in this hall in February last year, and the formation of this Society, a few months later, may be in great part attributed to the impression then created. Let me now refer briefly to what is being done in other English speaking communities shewing the tendencies of the age, which are, as Mr. George writes, "all our way." First as to

Kindred Societies in Great Britain.

In England there is the "Land Nationalization Society" under the presidency of Mr. A. R. Wallace, which, since its formation in 1881, has made steady progress. The time for its annual meeting has just passed, and we await with interest the receipt of the report of the year's work. The method by which Mr. Wallace proposes to restore to its rightful owners the land of Great Britain is fully set forth in his work "Land Nationalization, its necessity, and its aims." The idea is to resume the land by Act of Parliament and to allow present owners and their heirs now living an annuity equal to the present annual value. The economic advantages resulting from nationalization would by this scheme be gradually achieved as the annuites fell in, but the social and moral

benefits resulting from re-uniting labor to land, from which it has been divorced by the landlords,; from the creation of small homesteads for laborers and the better housing of the workers in the great cities, would be realisable at once. In connection with this Society it is pleasing to note the assistance that ladies are giving to the cause. Mrs. and Miss appear frequently in the list of subscribers to its funds, and one lady, Miss Helen Taylor, who is a "Vice-President of the Society, delivered more than half of the lectures given under its auspices during the year ending June, 1883. I hope the ladies of South Australia will accept this hint. Then there is the "English Land Restoration League," at whose invitation Mr. George made a most successful lecturing tour through England and Scotland, winning over tens of thousands to the cause, and resulting in the latter country in the establishment of the "Scottish Land Restoration League." At two of Mr. George's meetings close on 2,500 persons joined this Society. There are also several local societies in the Highlands agitating for the restoration of the land to those who have been unjustly deprived of it, and there is the "Highland Land Reform Association," but this limits its aims to securing fixity of tenure, fair rent, compensation for improvements, and to assisting tenants to become owners. But, perhaps, the best evidence of the advance that has been made in public opinion in Groat Britain on the land question is afforded by the recent meeting in London to form a National land Company. This gathering consisted mainly of influential noblemen and landlords, and among the speakers were the Duke of Argyle—the denouncer of Henry George,—the Duke of Westminster, the Marquis of Ripon, and the Earl of Carnarvon. The object is to form a powerful joint stock company to buy up land in large parcels and subdivide and sell it in blocks of a few acres each, and "to increase largely, and as speedily as possible, the number of landowners, and especially of small landowners." I should be the last to dispute that among the aristocratic advocates of this scheme there are men actuated by the purest and most beneficent motives, but it needs little penetration to see that in the main it is the outcome of landlords' fears; the apprehension that they will not be able to withstand the assault that is being planned against their position unless their numbers are enormously increased. They seek to create a large body of small landowners to act as earthworks in the defence of their citadel. The success of such a scheme would, there is little doubt, greatly retard radical land reform, but I do not think it will be successful. The cry, coming from such a quarter, to make more landlords will, most assuredly, make people ask whether *all* should not be landlords. "At times a cause is advanced by its most inveterate and self-interested enemies." In the House of Commons the most notable thing in connection with this movement is the introduction, by Mr. Jesse Collings, of a Bill to restore to the Crown all lands that have been illegally enclosed from commons, roadsides, &c. As I understand it Mr. Collings does not propose to compensate either the robbers or the robbed if the theft took place during the last fifty years; if earlier than that then compensation is to be given, but, curiously enough, to the wrong party. The agitation in Skye and other islands, and in the Highlands of Scotland, is being vigorously carried on, but except as forming part of the great national movement, it will not, I fear, lead to any permanent marked improvement in the condition of the Scottish crofters although, probably, the wisdom of the landlords will prompt them to make some concessions of immediate but temporary benefit. One potable feature in the land movement in Scotland is the enthusiastic spirit in which the cause is espoused by the ministers of religion, and there are not wanting signs that it is from Scotland that the first and the greatest pressure will fee brought to bear upon the British Parliament. Matthew Arnold says that the danger of the Church of England is "its deference to station and property," 30 we must not omit to recognise the brave words of the members of the "Guild of St. Matthew," who are doing noble work for the cause. At a recent public meeting two of the reverend speakers, on being taxed with advocating a breach of the ten commandments, replied that it was because of their belief in those commandments that they pleaded for the restitution of the land. Let us now turn to

America,

the home of the man who, jeeringly, the Duke of Argyle styled "the prophet of San Francisco." The day will come, as the Rev. Mr. Carter said, when that title will be applied to him in honor. To the author of "Progress and Poverty" and "Social Problems" the world owes more than it can at present appreciate. His teachings mark the advent of a new era in the doctrines of political economy and philosophy, and it is mainly to his teachings we owe the rapid spread during the past few years of belief, not only in the principles of land nationalization, but in their being practically realisable in the immediate future. Mr. George is ever and always at work to hasten on the coming reform. His efforts have resulted, in America, in the establishment of the "Free Soil Society," which has its headquarters at New York and branches all over the Union; its views being promulgated by means of its literary organ, the *Freesoiler*, Americans are prompt to act when once aroused to the necessity for action, and do not then hesitate to apply radical remedies in a very vigorous way. "Already," Mr. George writes to Mr. Webster, "the first indication of what is coming may be seen in the introduction into the State legislatures of Bills to prevent alien ownership of land, to restrict the amount any citizen can hold, to provide each citizen with a homestead, &c." Excepting London and Paris there is is no city in the world where

such utter degradation of poverty exists as in New York, and no country in the world where the extremes of wealth and poverty are so marked. Let us hail with satisfaction the dawning of a brighter day, when just laws shall help to banish the human misery which should not longer be tolerated in any nation which dares to call itself Christian.

The Australian Colonies.

In Victoria very little organised progress has been made in the direction of the aims of this Society. True a Land Nationalization Society exists whose "objects" are a copy of our own, but we see nothing to show that it is vital. The death of the late Mr. Greaham—a man whose memory we must ever respect for his ability, his great earnestness, and his unselfish advocacy of an unpopular cause—was, without doubt, a serious blow to the spread of our principles in the sister colony. Nevertheless, there are signs of reviving activity in Victoria. Two public meetings have been held in Melbourne during the past year to discuss the question of land nationalization. Dr. Quick and Mr. Mirams, both members of the legislature, have published able pamphlets on the subject. Dr. Quick says—"The wholesale alienation of the public lands and their stealthy but rapid absorption into large estates, is a crime and a calamity which can only be averted by the steady, intelligent, and irresistible opposition of the people of Victoria to a policy at once demoralising and destructive. The *People's Tribune*persistently advocates nationalization, and the *Age*expressed satisfaction with the Bill providing for the substitution of leasing for sale of some portion of the limited area of land still owned by the people of that colony. Within the past month we have heard that a Society has been started in Sydney, N.S.W., with like objects to our own. It will advocate the cessation of sales of the Crown Lands and the substitution of leasing, and proposes to restore to the State the ownership of land already sold by such means as the people, or their representatives, may deem best. On behalf of the S.A.L.N.S. I have communicated with the gentlemen who are taking an active part in the matter, and we have sent them a parcel of our manifesto, the lay sermon, and other publications. About a year ago a number of powerful contributed articles on the land question appeared in the *Sydney Morning Herald*, and were followed by others in the *Evening News*, but, so far as I have noticed, the only journal whose editorial utterances on the subject are in our favor is that very ably conducted and liberal paper, the *Sydney Bulletin*. In Queensland members of the Ministry have spoken, and a section of the press has written in favor of State leasing and nationalization, but, so far as I am aware, there is no organized movement afoot to further those objects. In New Zealand much more activity prevails, and during my recent visit to those islands I was pleased to find a wide-spread, although passive, feeling against private property in land. This is doubtless in great measure owing to the teaching of Sir George Grey, and more recently to that of the present Premier, the Hon. Robt. Stout, who is an earnest and able advocate of land nationalization. There is a society in existence in Auckland doing good work, and there had been another in Christchurch. I was told that efforts to revive it would be made during this winter. Many pamphlets bearing on the question, written and published in the colony, were presented me, and I have circulated them among the members of this Society. Sir Julius Vogel, with his scheme for a State pawnshop, will probably be one of the greatest opponents to radical land reform in New Zealand. I now have to speak of

Our Work

in the immediate future. This, doubtless, presents some difficulties. If it did not, the necessity for our existence would soon be at an end. The vigor of our action largely depends on the means at our disposal, and we earnestly appeal to all who believe in our principles—whether they approve our detailed scheme or not—to assist us with funds. At present we are a little in debt, but the annual subscriptions now due will enable us to discharge that. But more than that is required, and each member of this Society can and should lend a helping hand. If each one will resolutely strive during the present month to bring in one other, the sphere of our usefulness can at once be largely extended. We must rely in some measure on individual effort. The Executive has a right to expect, and does expect, active support from the members. I trust they will not be disappointed. Much could be done to enlighten the public mind and quicken the public conscience to a sense of the injustice of, and the evil results flowing from, private property in land by a course of lectures delivered in every important centre in the colony. The Executive are seriously considering if it is possible to get this done. Our worthy Vice President, Mr. Glynn, has so far responded to every appeal, and often at great inconvenience travailed long distances to lecture when and where we have been invited, and I have no doubt he will, so far as his other duties permit, continue to do so. But to push the movement forward we ought not to wait for invitations. The Executive feel some disappointment that outside Kapunda so few working men—in which term I include all workers for wages—have joined a Society, the achievement of whose aims will so materially and lastingly benefit them. Perhaps it is that as yet they scarcely perceive the advantages that must inevitably accrue

to them from making the land common property, and yet many of their recognised leaders, notably my friend, Mr. Clements, the late President of the Trades and Labor Council, have publicly approved our principles and have privately done their utmost to spread them, I believe with a large amount of success. But sympathy with the aims of the Society is not enough. It is necessary, to ensure success, that all sympathisers should join the Society so that the real strength of the movement may be made apparent. All our friends should take an active part in the work that bus to be done, and give us their assistance by forming branches all over the colony, and particularly in the city, so that our organization may have the means at hand for bringing pressure to bear upon Parliament by petition, &c. The power is with the people, and it rests with them whether, by vigorous, united action, they will hasten on the coming reform, or by apathy and indifference delay it. "They have rights who dare maintain them!"

The Society's Scheme.

Now let me say a few words as to the scheme suggested by this Society in its manifesto. We are not, as some suppose, pledged to all the details there set forth. But it was necessary to show how the principles we advocate can be practically realised, and this has been done, but, as is said in the manifesto, "to give shape and symmetry to the final form is the proper business of the legislature." Many earnest supporters of land nationalization believe that all the benefits that will follow from it can be attained by taxing away the whole rental value of land, and—not with-standing this Society prefers that the State should be the sole landlord, and that all lands should be leased from the State, *i.e,* the whole of the people, through the agency of non-political boards—we welcome as brothers in the cause all who believe in, and work for, our common aim, the abolition of private property in land, irrespective of their opinions as to the best method by which that object can be attained.

The Necessity of the Movement.

A few words as to the necessity of this movement in our own colony, and in our own time, before closing this address. I would urge with all the force of which I am capable, the importance of immediate and united action. It is ours to profit by, not to fall into, the mistakes committed by other countries in the past. It is not because of the great extent of our unoccupied country, or our limited population, that we can afford to let things continue as they are. The evil result of monopoly in land is already upon us, and it grows with our growth. It is at the root of the hard times that the toilers in our towns are suffering from, and an element in the present commercial depression Is it not monstrous in this young colony, not yet 50 years of age, with its enormous extent of land is it not monstrous, I ask, that in parts of Adelaide and its suburbs, yes, and in some of the country towns also, we should see vacant acres and vacant sections, and in others should witness the vile overcrowding of dwellings, built in blocks, and with only a few square feet of yard to each? No proper provision for decency, no garden in which to grow fruit and vegetables for the household, no poultry yard, no plot of pleasant flowers to brighten the wife's eyes and gladden the young children's hearts, nothing to elevate or refine—only mean, low, unhealthy, ignoble surroundings. As Carlyle says, "Such an arrangement must end. Ought it not?" And great as this evil of overcrowding is already, it is nothing to what it will be in the future, despite our enormous territory. Look at New York. Who would have dreamt 50 years ago that it would ever be possible for such a state of things to exist there as we see at the present day. Some writers assert that parts of that j city are, more overcrowded than the worst parts of London. I daresay many of you read the extracts, published in last Friday's *Herald,* from the "Report of the Royal Commission on the housing of the working classes in England," and noted the description given of the conditions under which a largo portion of the poorest workers of London always live; "whose existence," as Ruskin said, "whose existence—not the ceasing of *it*—is death." Can any of you contemplate, without a thrill of horror, the possibility that your children, or your children's children, may, some day, come to this? Can any of you contemplate, without a thrill of horror, that *other people's*children should ever come to this? But come to it they will, most assuredly, spite of all building or sanitation laws or any such impotent remedies, unless you strike at the root of the evil and apply the only effectual preventive—the nationalization of the land. I do not propose to-night to dwell on those considerations of self-interest which should prompt all classes to rally round the standard which we have raised, or I might go on to show the pecuniary and other advantages which each would derive from an equitable system of land tenure. These would be shared by all. The abolition of taxation—for, by whatever name you call it, the price paid for the use of the soil is not a tax, but rent the destruction of the speculative value of land in and around all centres of population; the enormous increase in the number of persons cultivating the soil, and consequent increased demand for the labor of those engaged in the mechanical arts; the more equal distribution of wealth, for the unearned increment would no longer go to swell the pocket of the private owner, but would

be national property; a slackening of competition and the struggle for existence; more leisure, with that advance of true art which cannot be born, or exist, without it; the opening of equal opportunities—although not of equal results—to all: these would be some of the results of the nationalization of the land.

A Question Of Ethics.

But the question we have to answer is—Is private property in land right—that is, righteous? Says Carlyle—"The notion of selling for certain bits of metal the Iliad of Homer, how much more the land of the World Creator, is a ridiculous impossibility." I venture to assert, in the language of Mr. Webster's lay sermon, "that there is flourishing in every Christian country an institution which is as essentially unjust and as iniquitous, and which, perhaps, exercises even a still more widespread, disastrous, and evil influence on the souls and bodies of men than slavery ever did." That institution is private property in land; and all of you who have any knowledge of what is possible, and what has been done, when a landed proprietor chooses to exercise his legal rights will, I am sure, agree that Mr. Webster's statement is not an exaggeration. Slavery still exists. It is the form only that is changed. It is for you to say whether it shall be replaced in this young colony by Liberty, by Justice. In other lands vast difficulties surround this question, and the equitable solution of them will tax the wisdom and the virtue of the world's best and bravest. Nevertheless, the solution must be found and the remedy speedily applied. For unless this is done, and the rights of humanity meet with just acknowledgement, the institutions of today will be swept away in the blind fury of a bloody revolution. "But, O, most fearful is such an ending. Let those to whom God, in his great mercy, has granted time and space prepare another and a milder one." But hero our course is comparatively simple and easy. No injustice or even hardship need be inflicted on any, while the benefits that will result to all are incalculable. Our immediate work is in great part educational, and there is much to be done. There will be opposition—honest opposition, interested opposition, the opposition of ignorance, and the passive resistance of apathy and indifference. All these we must fight and overcome as we best may. Ultimate victory is certain. Not much longer will men consent to be disinherited of their birthright. Throughout the civilized world the forces are at work that must end in a more just distribution of wealth and leisure. Who can picture the moral effects of such a change. "A great future, a mighty inheritance, is opening up to the honest toilers of every land." And, to my thinking, the change will be brought about, as was the abolition of slavery, from a consideration of the moral and religious aspects of the question, more than from the purely economic. Matthew Arnold, speaking of the force that the idea of the common good is acquiring amongst us at the present-day says: "An acceleration of progress in the spread of ideas of this kind, a decline of vitality in institutions where opposite ideas were paramount, marks the close of a period. . . . Sometimes we may almost be inclined to augur that from some such 'end of the age' we ourselves are not far now." We, at least, after our survey of what is being done elsewhere, and seeing the progress male, may well take heart, for we can see, now before us, we can see the first faint flush of a roseate dawn, to be followed shortly by a happier day.

The reading of this report was received with a good deal of enthusiasm, and as the President resumed his seat he was warmly cheered.

A Letter From Mr. Webster.

The Secretary read the following letter from Mr. William Webster, of Melbourne:—My dear friend, your respected President, has kindly invited me to attend the first anniversary celebration of the South Australian Land Nationalization Society. With great regret, I find that it is impossible for me to take advantage of this invitation. I must forego the pleasure I would have derived from renewing the intercourse I had with members of the S.A.LN.S. when I last visited Kapunda, and from making the acquaintance of others whom I have not yet seen. But although on this important occasion I shall be absent in the body, I shall be present in the spirit, for my warmest sympathies are enlisted in the great and glorious cause you are promoting, and I cannot withhold some expression of the admiration I feel at the spirited, self-devoted, and intelligent action taken by your Society throughout the whole of the brief period that has elapsed since its formation. It has been intimated to me, through your President, that a short address from me would be a not unwelcome contribution to the proceedings of your first annual meeting; and if I experience any hesitation in availing myself of the privilege that has been extended to me, it arises solely from the dread that I shall not be able to acquit myself in a manner worthy of the occasion. You are all acquainted with the objects this Society it formed to promote. They are stated in the briefest and clearest terms in its programme. And you are familiar with the simple and self-evident principle on which these objects are based. In the manifesto of the Society you have an exceedingly able exposition of these objects and of that principle, and also of the scheme by which it is proposed to apply the latter in South Australia, and accomplish the former. There are various ways of stating the principle of land

nationalization. "Equity," as Mr. Herbert Spence said thirty-four years ago, "does not permit private property in land;" and therefore, I may add, private property in land is an inequity, or as we say—obscuring the meaning and weakening the force of the word—an iniquity. "We must all toil or steal, however we name our stealing," was Thomas Carlyle's way of expressing the same idea, without indicating specially its reference to the land. The latest and greatest apostle of the land gospel! Henry George, puts the doctrine still more explicitly, however, in a few sentences which I may be permitted to repeat, although they will be known already to all of you : "It' is not enough that men should vote; it is not enough that they should be theoretically equal before the law. They must have liberty to avail themselves of the opportunities and means of life; they must stand on equal terms with reference to the bounty of nature. Either this, or liberty withdraw her light! Either this, or darkness comes on, and the very forces that progress baa evolved turn to powers that work destruction. . . Our primary social adjustment is a denial of justice. In allowing one man to own the land on which and from which other men must live, we have made them his bondsmen in a degree which increases as material progress goes on. Civilization so based cannot continue. The eternal laws of the universe forbid it. Ruins of dead empires testify, and the witness that is in every soul answers, that it cannot be. It is something-grander than benevolence, something more august than charity—it is justice herself that demands of us to right this wrong." I may also be permitted to repeat a few sentences in which I have embodied the principle that this Society is struggling to promulgate, and apply to the practical conduct of affairs in South Australia : "Only those things which are the products of human labor and skill are the just or legitimate subjects of private property. Land is a natural element as indispensable to the existence and welfare of all the human beings on its surface as is the air they breathe, and is not a product of human labor and skill. Therefore, land is not a just or legitimate subject of private property." I shall be glad if you regard these propositions as truisms, for no rational men can deny them; nevertheless, you may agree with me that they are truisms which are ignored everywhere that the institution of private property in land is established, and that, so long as it exists it will be necessary to repeat them, even with "damnable iteration." You may have noticed that in the passage I quoted from Mr. George, he speaks of "our primary social adjustment." Well, I hold that the relation in which the people as a whole stand towards the land, from which they must ever derive an indispensable means of subsistence, determines the charactcr of their social and political organization. No [*unclear:* mad]is free that is disinherited, divorced, alienated from that portion of the bosom of their mother earth from which they draw, their nourishment; and as a matter of fact there never has been a period in history, or a country in the world, when and where the rights of private property in land have been as fully enforced as they are in England and throughout the British Empire to-day, without having entailed the collapse of that civilization. It is the condemnation of the existing land laws that they cannot possibly be administered in their integrity, because of their inherent and flagrant injustice and unreasonableness, and, undoubtedly, the speediest method that could be pursued to procure their abolition would be to compel their strict observance. Let the landlords manage their estates with an exclusive view to their own enrichment, and an entire indifference to the interests of their fellow beings, as they certainly are quite entitled to do, *if* the land is rightly and justly their private property, and the silliest wretch who is not a landlord will see at once that they are, from the position which they occupy, the worst imaginable enemies of the human race. The giants and dragons that preyed on humanity in medieval times, and that were exterminated by such heroes as the Jack of the nursery tale and the St. George of English heraldry, were not—could not have been—a greater scourge than are the landlord who now exercise the rights they claim. Here on this vast island-continent of Australia there are millions of acres of unoccupied and unappropriated lands in certain quarters, although in the settled districts the evils of land monopoly already make themselves keenly felt, but not till our population has increased ten or twenty or thirty-fold will its full effects be experienced. Nevertheless, the man who holds land in and near our centres of population, where, because of the industry, the supply, or products, and the needs, of the community, it is of high value, is able to exact a corresponding portion of the fruits of labour. When we hear, as we frequently do, of sites in our cities fetching over £900 a foot of frontage, game among us hastily draw the inference that that is a proof of our prosperity. The conclusion would be justified, no doubt, if the increase in the value of the land were the result of any efforts that its individual owner had put forth; but it is plainly the reverse of correct when that increase is taken out of the pockets of the producers, and goes into the pockets of one who has contributed nothing towards it, but, on the contrary, may have actually done everything that lay in his power to impede the progress of the community. Under the exiting land system the revenue derived from land, indeed, is the measure of the extent to which the workers are deprived of the fruits of their toil, for, simply as owner of land, the landlord does nothing whatever to enhance its value. He is the drone of the social, hive, who, toils not, neither does he spin, and yet fares sumptuously every day, and is clothed in what corresponds with us to the Scriptural purple and fine linen. It may seem somewhat strange that it has been reserved for these latter days to witness the outcry that is now being raised, and that is growing every: day louder and more widespread, against private property in land; but any one who studies the history of the land system will readily understand the reason of this. Theoretically the

institution of private property in land in its fully-developed form is not yet two centuries old in England, and there it has only even yet been partially applied. There are still, in certain districts in the old country, landlords who regard their tenants as dependants, and entertain a friendly feeling towards them, and tenants who look on their landlords with loyal respect and esteem. To be sure, these relationships are nearly obsolete, and are fast dying away. The commercial spirit has nearly everywhere extinguished the bonds that united the landlord and his tenantry in past times, and freedom of contract, the higgling of the market, and competition, now determine the terms on which they associate together. Land is recognised as a marketable article, like coats, boots, loaves of bread, snuff-boxes, or diamond rings, and there are even men who; wish to facilitate the sale and transfer of it like other commodities, irrespective altogether of the interests of anybody but the holders of the title deeds. It is fortunate that in the jurisprudence of England, however, all land is held from the Crown—*i.e*., the State, or the nation—and though this is at p resent an almost wholly worthless legal figment, it covers a truth of the very highest moment to the people at large, and a truth which has been rediscovered of late, and will shortly be revived and re-invigorated. No man, as the Text Book on the Law of Real Property in England truly affirms, is the absolute owner of land in Great Britain; he has only an estate in it, or, in other words, he only holds it "from the State"—the. State is his superior. *Salus populi suprema lex*—the welfare of the people is the supreme law—is a maxim that is embedded, it may be like a mere fossil, in the Statute-book of England; but when the people of England attain their majority and are really self-govered, it is, I think, highly probable that they will make a strenuous attempt to galvanise this seemingly dead doctrine into life and activity again. It is clear that many amongst them are already awakening to a perception of the necessity that the land should be administered in the interest of the community at large, and not in the interest of those who hold it as property, if the great body of the people are to be saved from the pit of abject poverty and degradation into which so large a proportion of them have sunk under the existing system. Since I spoke on this subject in Kapunda some sixteen months ago, the movement for the abolition of private property in land has made astounding progress in Great Britain. The *Herald*, to its great credit, appreciating the importance and urgency of the land question to the men and women who are laying here the foundations of mighty States, has kept you well informed as to the main events that have marked its history during that interval; but I may be permitted to take a hasty survey of the situation at the present moment. You know that an Act has been passed in Great Britain conferring the franchise on two millions of working men, in addition to the three millions that previously constituted the national electorate, and of whom only about one million were workers. In the next general election, which will take place in November, the working-classes in the old country will for the first time in its history form the majority in the electorate. It would, perhaps, be wrong to assume that the new electors are aware of the power that they possess, and will immediately make effective use of it; but there cannot be the slightest doubt that their political enfranchisement will be followed by legislation in the interests of the majority of the people. There are several important institutions in Great Britain that will have to be "mended or ended," but the institution of private property in land is precisely *the*institution which furnishes all privilege with the substantial basis on which it rests. The emancipation of the soil in the old country is a task of gigantic magnitude, and one that is clearly not to be accomplished at once, no matter how great the effort put forth to that end may be. It will only be gradually, and step by step, that the people of England will be able to resume possession of the land, and relieve themselves from the exactions of the class who now legally intercept and appropriate to themselves the lion's share of the fruits of labour and the bounty of nature. Probably one of the earliest measures relating to the land, that the People's Parliament, when it assembles, will he called upon to consider, will be a Bill for the revaluation of the annual revenue derived from the soil, and the imposition on it of the tax of 4s. in the £, with which the landlords in 1692 commuted the then remaining portion of their feudal obligations, and which they have ever since paid only on the valuation of that date. The effect of such an Act would be that the land tax which now yields a little over one million sterling, would yield between thirty and thirty-five millions, and that of itself would be a great relief to the nation. This is one of the most glaring anomalies in the land system of England, and when it is once fairly faced it will have to be rectified. But there is vastly more involved in this question, and I, for one, should not be surprised if the struggle for its settlement actually entailed the overthrow of the institution of private property in land in Great Britain. Just think for a moment on the issues that will arise in the course of the discussion! There are the feudal obligations of the landlord. These obligations were the conditions under which he previously held the land, and in order to hold it he was obliged to fulfil them. He was not then the absolute owner of the land. How did he transform himself into a landlord? By commuting the remnant of his obligations, as I have already said, into a tax of 4s. in the £ of actual rental, which since 1692 he has only paid on the valuation of that year, notwithstanding that the revenues from the land have increased from £9,000,000 to a sum variously estimated at from £200,000,000 to £300,000,000. The inquiry in connection with this matter will reveal transactions that are calculated to rouse strong feeling, and to render it very difficult to settle the compensation to be paid to the present land owners in a strictly equitable manner. But let us turn to other phases of the movement. It is surely a very significant thing that a Cabinet Minister, who is regarded by

many as the inevitable successor to Mr. Gladstone in the leadership of the Liberal party, should have boldly declared that men and women are born into the world with certain "natural rights." This phrase reminds us of the "self-evident" truth that is the heart and soul of the American declaration of Independence:—" That all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among them are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; " and that these rights, every one of them, are denied when the equal right to land—on which and by which men alone can live—is denied. Mr. Chamberlain has been challenged for uttering these revolutionary words "natural rights" but he has replied by repeating them with emphasis, and when the time comes he will strive to give effect to them on the floor of the House of Commons. The attention of the public in England, as well as in Australia, as been of late frequently diverted from domestic to foreign affairs; but curiously enough, these complications seem hardly to have impeded the progress of the land agitation. There are many people in England to-day who believe that the extension of the franchise will bring the land question at once to the front, and that in the struggle over it the whole system of aristocratic government will be overthrown. As Henry George has remarked, "It seems to me that the great English revolution, which means a social revolution throughout the civilized world, is already begun." The assumption of office by a Conservative Ministry, which will probably exist through the brief interval that separates the peoples of England from the general election, is, in my opinion, a fortunate thing for the Liberal party, and especially for the advocates of radical land reform. I have no faith whatever in Lord Randolph Churchill; but his presence in a Conservative Cabinet is very significant, for it is a sure indication that the leaders of that party recognise that the power with which the democracy has been invested cannot be successfully encountered by the old means they employed. The people in the future will have to be wheedled, if they are to be manipulated at all, and the imperialism of Beaconsfield, the mantle of which has fallen on Lord Randolph's shoulders, offers the readiest means of effecting this that lies to their hand. We shall probably soon see Lord Randolph "educating" his party in the same way that his predecessor educated them, and the result will be an advance in a democratic direction of the *vis inertia*of English politics. In stirring times even the densest Tory cannot maintain his *statu quo*. he too must move, were it never so little and never so slowly, and no matter how distasteful to him the exercise may be. In this connection I may refer briefly to the project for the enormous increase of landlords in Great Britain, which has been started by the Duke of Argyll, the Earl of Carnarvon, and other titled and untitled landed proprietors, under the name of the National Land Company. The landlords of Britain have discovered that they form only a small numerical fraction of the nation. Accordingly they propose to purchase land in large quantities and sell it in small—the smaller the better, they kindly tell us, for by so doing they hope to retard, or prevent altogether, the downfall of the institution of private property in land, by means of which they have won and maintain their ascendancy over the people. Their policy is very simple and easily understood. We shall see whether it is too simple and transparent to deceive the mass of the English people; it will, doubtless, attract a few of the more needy, greedy, and ignorant of the working clashes, who are incapable of loyalty to their fellows. As a sigh of the times, however, this National Land Company is surely very significant. It ought, I think, to inspire the radical land reformer with new hope and vigor, and I do not doubt that this will be the best and most powerful result it will have. The crofters in the highlands and islands of Scotland have, as you know, been making a strong and persistent protest against the land system to which they have been subjected, and have evoked the warm sympathy of thousands, and perhaps millions, throughout the kingdom and the empire. They are men of stern character, and will not be easily repressed. "They have got a firm grasp of the truth," an authority has told us, "that God made the land, not for the landlord, but for all the people," and they are animated by the trust-in-God-and-keep-your-powder-dry spirit. Their case will, doubtless, receive immediate attention from the new Parliament, and it will hardly be found possible, one would think, to do less for them than has been done for the Irish crofters. But then, if this process is once started in Britain, where is it to stop? It will be seen, even from the imperfect survey I have made of the situation at the present moment, that radical changes in the land system of England are impending. What, I may ask, would be the result of these changes in the Australian colonies and the other dependencies of England? Would we be compelled to follow suit? Is this question susceptible of more than one answer? We borrowed our land laws from the mother country, brought them over the seas with us, and have maintained them till now without essential change. If the English people, now that they have obtained the franchise, come to the conclusion that the institution of private property in land is inherently unjust, and the parent of manifold and grievous evils, and that the common weal demands its abolition, it will hardly be possible, I should say, to retain that institution in any corner of the British Empire. But ought we in Australia to follow in the rear, or lead in the van, of progress? Must we wait till the institution, which has produced so large a portion of the crime and pauperism that affects England so heavily, in spite of constant emigration from her shores, has worked out similar results here, before *we*deal with it? Is the experience of the mother country to teach us nothing? It is impossible that an intelligent and spirited people like those who are now engaged in developing the resources of Australia should long ignore the lessons that are now being taught so plainly by the condition of the English nation, and which the English

people themselves are, it may be slowly, but surely, learning. Anything approaching to an exhaustive treatment of the land question as radically conceived—that is, as it affects the whole of the people—would be impossible within the compass of a single address. But it is not imperatively necessary that it should be exhaustively treated. It is enough to show that the only solution of the land question that is in accordance with the plain dictates of justice or equity involves the abolition of private property in land, and its resumption by the people, whose inalienable and indispensable heritage if is. The appeal is addressed to the, conscience even more than to the intelligence. As an intellectual problem, indeed, the land problem is self-evident to every reasonable mortal who can regard it apart from his experience of the system under which he has lived. If he holds that "whatever is is right," he must hold that private property in land is right, for the word right, in his mouth, has no relation whatever to righteousness. It is as a test of the wisdom and virtue of men—two qualities that are essentially inseparable — that the doctrine that the land is not a just or legitimate subject of private property seems to me specially to present itself to the present generation. But let me turn to another aspect of this doctrine, and one that is equally obvious. If it is true at all, it is a universal truth, as applicable in one portion of the globe as in another, here in Australia as in Great Britain or any of the older countries now at the close of the nineteenth century of the Christian era as in the days of Adam. But our land system is a human institution. Surely nobody could ever for a moment imagine that it was Divine! Men have made it, and men can remake it. It has undergone radical changes in the past for the better and for the worse. It may, and, indeed, of necessity, it will undergo radical changes in the future. The changes that it will undergo will be determined by the wisdom or the unwisdom, the virtue or the non-virtue, of the men who make these changes. If class interests dominate a community the land system will be constructed for the maintenance of these class interests. It has been so in the past; it will be so in the future. If the mass of a community have the intelligence and the public spirit to regulate, their affairs on the principle of right, justice, or equity if they are democrats, specialists, communists, or Christians—for at the root the meaning of these words is essentially the same—their institutions will recognize and preserve the rights of all, not only to the air, the water, and the land, which no individual ever created, and all need for their existence and their welfare, but also to the full products of the toil they may expend. It is impossible that the labourer, with hand, brain, or heart, can ever reap the full fruits of his industry and skill, so long as a natural element from which he must derive an indispensable portion of his subsistence, is allowed to remain in the exclusive or absolute possession of individual or class. And it is the manual laborer, the tiller of the field, the baker, shoemaker, tailor, and the distributor, importer, merchant, carrier—the men who contribute, in short, to the material welfare of the community, who, under the present land system, directly and indirectly, are most heavily burdened. There is no denying, I think, that the working men have suffered most by their alienation from the soil, and that they cannot be freed entirely from blame for the privations they have been subjected to. It must be confessed that they have not in the past been animated by the sentiment of loyalty towards their fellows, or, I might even venture to put the idea in Scriptural language, by love to man—all men and women—and that they have not made a judicious choice of their leaders or rulers. These leaders and rulers, certainly, have not acted towards them on the principle that "he that is greatest amongst you let him be the servant of all;" but, on the contrary, have with wonderful unanimity sacrificed the life, liberty, and welfare of their followers, without whom they would all along have been powerless. The wise choice of leaders, rulers, legislators, magistrates, policemen, all public servants from the highest to the lowest, determines whether a people is free, and capable of self-government, for the phrases are equivalent. In such a community as this in South Australia, where the people have practically the power to elect their representatives in Parliament, and through their representatives to control the conduct of public affairs, they are clearly themselves, in the final analysis, the source or arbitrators of their fortunes. To be sure, they have, of necessity, inherited many institutions and customs from their forefathers, and they ought not to be hasty in discarding these institutions and customs without reason, but neither should they retain them if they are proved to be evil and; unjust. As I have said, the institution of private property in land was brought to Australia by the first settlers from the old country, and it has been maintained here ever since in its essential integrity. In Ireland it has undergone most important, indeed radical, modifications; it has to some extent been essentially altered, for in the Green Isle, as you all know, the State has interposed to adjust the terms entered into between the tenant and the landlord. The time is manifestly not far distant when the landlords' power in England and Scotland will be curtailed; and when this process has once been fairly etarted, there can be no doubt that it will develop with considerable rapidity. It has been evident for some time to many—it will soon be evident to all—thinking, independent, and public-spirited men in Great Britain that the civilization which has been reached there will be stopped, and, more, that it cannot even be maintained at its present point if the existing laud system continues in force. There is, fortunately, an inevitable tendency in the institution of private property in land to produce ever-increasing evils, which must, in the very nature of things, eventually become intolerable. Let the landlord believe that the land is his property, and he naturally seeks to promote his own interest, or what he regards as his own interest, by his administration of it, irrespective altogether of the people who may live upon it and have

been born on it, but have no legal right, nor right that he acknowledges, to the use of any portion of it, except at his pleasure and on the terms he dictates. Unless he can clear his land of its inhabitants, either by evicting them or inducing them to emigrate, there must of necessity arise a conflict of interests. So long as he has the law on his side, he will keep his power and may exercise it; but when the majority, or even a considerable number of the people of a country, come to perceive that the law from which they suffer is not only fatal to their interests, but inherently and heinously unjust, and have the means of altering that law, can anyone suppose for a moment that they will not alter it? What the S.A.L.N. Society is striving to do is—to convince the community that the institution of private property in land is unrighteous, incompatible with any high stage of civilization, certain to entail the most grievous misery on the great mass of the people, and lead to the overthrow of any authority whatever—democratic or autocratic—that favors or even condones it, and that it ought consequently to be abolished.

Of a portion of the evils it produces, and no small portion, you have already abundant experience; but every step that is made in the settlement of the country will increase these evils. Are you to repeat here the errors and wrongs that have produced and are producing such vast and ever-extending pauperism and crime in Great Britain and throughout Europe, and are you to repeat these errors and wrongs in face of the fact that their character and consequences are now being discovered and deplored in the old country, and that strenuous and promising efforts are being made for their rectification now that the people have gained the franchise? Will you help the S. A.L.N. Society to continue to extend the work in which it has been engaged for the past thirteen or fourteen months, and which has been the dissemination of sound ideas on the groat land question? It would certainly not only be a great thing for South Australia, but it would also be a somewhat strange thing, if it were to be the first of the governing dependencies of the British Empire to proclaim the emancipation of the soil! What a bound forward this would be in the race of progress. The rush of men and women to the land where they would reap the full fruits of their toil would be very great, and the effect on other communities would be simply incalculable. Very great and very noble is the work the S.A.L.N. Society is doing, not only for the inhabitants of South Australia, but for humanity. That the cause they are so devotedly promoting is destined to triumph is not denied even by those who desire for selfish reasons to oppose its triumph as long as possible. The time will come, and that soon, when men and women and children will rise up and call the men and women blessed who have mustered under the banner of the S.A.L.N.S., and sounded the Land Gospel through the land—

Others, if not we,
The issue of our toil shall see,
Young children gather as their own
The harvest that the dead had sown—
The dead—forgotten and unknown.

Mr. Glynn's Address.

Mr. P. MoM. Glynn, B.A., LL.B., then addressed the meeting. He said after the very comprehensive presidental address and the interesting letter from Mr. Webster, it would not beseem him to tire their patience with a very long address; but as he had been asked to say something he would endeavor to make his remarks as practical as possible The question of land nationalization was not a new one; he meant by this that it was new as far as the present wide-spread energetic advocacy of the principle was concerned, but the theory of the necessity for the State having a direct interest in the soil had been thought out by leading political economists for generations back. Even in their own town as far back as 1872 a society existed, which urged the substitution of leasing for the alienation of Crown Lands. (Hear, hear.) In Victoria also some fifteen years ago an organization was started under the name of the Victorian Land Tenure Reform Association, having for its objects the adoption of the leasing system, and the resumption by the State of the alienated lands. The question as he before said was not a new one, but it was only within the past few years that it bad come within the scope of practical legislation. If ever political economists spoke out plainly and unanimously it was on the evils resulting from the existence of private property in land. Spence, Cobbett, and others had condemned it, and passing over to Ireland, one of the Young Ireland Party in 1848, James Fenton Lalor, said—"I hold and maintain that the entire soil of a country belongs of right to the entire people of that country, and is the rightful property, not of one class, but of the nation at large in full and effective possession, to let to whom they will, on whatever tenures, terms, rent services, and conditions they will, one condition, however, being unavoidable and essential—the condition that the tenant shall bear full, true, and undivided fealty and allegiance to the nation,

and the laws of the nation whose land he holds." The institution of private property in land, next to Rome, had taken stronger hold in England than in any other country, and there its evil results were seen in all their enormity. Properly the institution did not exist even in England, as, strictly, owners only possessed an estate in the land—that is, they held from the State. This was exemplified in the case of a landowner dying without heirs, when the land would escheat to the Crown, Possibly the day was not far distant when the State would exercise its proper influence over the land. If they looked into the quest ion they would see how the system of private property in land was first brought about. Originally the land was held in common, but subsequently when agricultural pursuits were followed the land was portioned out, but it was still held for the benefit of the people as a whole. This was the law of the Hebrews, and from it originated the institution of the jubilee year, when land which had become alienated reverted back to the original owner for the State. This principle of common ownership, in an imperfect form, still existed in India, Switzerland, Java, and Russia. In the latter country a great portion of the soil was held in common by the village communities They also found that wherever the religion of the Koran existed land nationalization was applied. Under the Koran God was the only proprietor of the land, from whom it was held by the State. In thirty-three districts of Java under these conditions 2,000,000 families of agriculturists were connected with the soil, who contributed rent directly to the State, and speaking of this country that eminent and talented scholar, Professor Emile do Laveleye said's—" Under the British rule lands were sold to Europeans; but since Holland has recovered possession of the colony, they have only been granted leases for terms of greater or less duration, frequently of twenty-five years. The Governor, Du Bus, thought that land should not be sold, for two reasons—First, to avoid introducing a principle borrowed from Europe into the midst of a totally different system; and secondly, to enable the leaseholder to expend in reclaiming the ground what he would have had to employ as purchase-money. The government retained this system, and, under the new law, grants leases *(erfpacht)*for seventy-five years, with exemption from land tax during the first seven years, and of half the tax from then till the twelfth year. This seems to be an excellent system, and very superior to that of perpetual grants, generally practised in English colonies, in Australia, and America. A lease of seventy-five years is sufficiently long for the lessee to execute all the works of cultivation which a proprietor would perform. On this point there can be no doubt, when we see magnificent buildings in England erected on lands leased for sixty or seventy years. The immense works of art, required for the construction of a railway incomparably surpass those which must be executed to bring the productiveness of the soil to its highest pitch; and yet the millions necessary for these gigantic enterprises are never wanting. In Java many lands have been cultivated at great expense, notably in the Residences of Cheribon, Tagal, Samarang, and Banjoemas, even with leases of twenty-five years. It is by these means, especially, that tea plantations have been formed; and they have been so well worked, that, at the expiration of the term, the lands could be re-let for an annual rent of 80, 100, and 130 francs the hectare [about acres]. The lease has a great advantage over perpetual grants, inasmuch as at the expiration of the term the land returns to the State, which disposes of it again to the profit of all. The revenue arising from the soil is the taxation. All the income can be applied to purposes of general interest, instead of being employed to satisfy the fancies of a few wealthy families. It is an actual realization of the system, advocated by the 'physiocrats,' of a single tax on land." Mr. Glynn then went on to speak of Rome, in connection with which country he showed how the land gradually passed into the hands of the few by force and fraud, and which drew forth from Tiberius Gracchus the exclamation:—" The wild beasts have their dens and lairs to resort to, but those who fight and shed their blood in defence of Italy have nothing but the light of the sun and the air which they breathe—houseless and homeless they wander in all directions with their wives and children." Pliny also said—"The large estates have ruined Italy;" and the condition of the present Italian peasants is shown be the following extract from a petition of the peasants of Lombardy, in reply to a Ministerial circular warning them against the dangers of emigration :—What do you mean by the nation, Signor Minister? Is it the multitude of the miserable? Then we indeed are the nation. Look at our pale and emaciated faces, at our bodies exhausted by excessive labour and insufficient food. We sow and reap the wheat, but never eat white bread. We cultivate the grape, but never drink its wine. We raise the cattle, but never taste meat. We are clad in rags. We dwell in dens of infection. We freeze in winter, and in summer we starve. Our only nourishment on Italian soil is a handful of maize, made costly by the tax. The burning fever devours us in the dry regions, and in the wet ones we are the prey of the fever of the marsh. Our end is a premature death in the hospital or in our miserable cabins. And in spite of all this, Signor Minister, you recommend us not to expatriate ourselves! But can the land, where even the hardest labour cannot earn food be called a native country?" Coming nearer home, the speaker pointed out what immense advantages would have accrued had the State not in the first place alienated the land in the settlement of South Australia; instead of taxation there would have been a constantly increasing revenue from the soil. Now, however, under the existing system, small holdings were gradually being swallowed by the large estates, with the inevitable result that sooner or later all the dire consequences which had followed the toleration of private property in land in Europe would overtake this young country. Mr. Glynn in concluding spoke as follows :—The President and Mr. Webster have told you

of the depth of wretchedness in which thousands are sunk in the great cities of civilization as a result of this institution of private property in land. What have the recent Commissions upon the housing of the poor disclosed to us? Are there not millions to whom, if I may borrow a quotation from the President's address, " existence, not the ceasing of it, is death;" millions whose lives are one long, dull, dreary, and joyless struggle against ever-pressing want? To them might be applied the words which Carlyle spoke of the lean and haggard victims of French feudalism :—Dreary, languid they struggle in their obscure remoteness; their hearth cheerless; their diet thin. For them in this life rises no Era of hope; hardly now in the other; if it be not hope in the gloomy rest of death, for their faith, too, is failing. Untaught, uncomforted, unfed ! " And do you think that this state of affairs is to have no ending; that for ever the Angel of Death is to hang over the sleep of the poor, and that the Kingdom of God, which Christ promised, is never to be realised on this earth. I refuse to believe it A better time must come. A great deal of the misery and suffering in this world is no doubt the result of individual depravity, but far more of unjust institutions; and whenever we can lay our hands upon one, like this, and say "this institution does not allow equal opportunities to all to sink or swim in this world," it becomes our immediate duty to get it abolished. I say our immediate duty, for it is cowards and slaves only who will wait until the issue is no longer doubtful. The position is well put in these words of Lowell—

They are slaves who fear to speak
For the fallen and the weak;
They are slaves who will not choose,
Hatred, scoffing, and abuse,
Rather than in silence shrink.
From the truth they needs must think;
They are slaves who dare not be
In the right with two or three.

Election of Officers.

The public business of the meeting having been got through, the President invited the members present to remain to elect the officers for the ensuing year. A moderate number responded to this invitation, and the election of officers resulted as follows:—President—Mr. W. Liston; Vice-Presidents—Messrs. P. McM. Glynn, B.A., LL.B., W. Lewis, J.P., T. Roberts, J.P., and W. Patrick; Hon. Secretary—Mr. A. W. Rayment; Assistant Secretary—Mr. W. Jeffs; Hon. Treasurer—Mr. H. J. Hine; Executive Committee—Messrs. W. Flavel, J.P., E. Austin, R. Nairn, D. Cameron, J. VonBortouch, E. Heuzenroeder, R. J. Dav, J. Stock, J. Kennare, J. T. Matthews, and W. H. Williams.

A hearty vote of thanks was accorded to Mr. Webster for the active interest he continues to manifest in the Society, and a similar compliment having been paid the President for his unwearied exertions in the cause of land tenure reform, the proceedings terminated.

The Natal Mercury

Commercial Advertiser and Shipping Gazette.

Friday, June 5, 1885.

The Natal Mercury

A CORRESPONDENT in to-day's issue is good enough to volunteer the testimony of a stranger and an outsider to the efficacy of responsible government. Mr. SMITHis so fortunate as to be a New Zealander, and is well qualified, therefore, to speak with the authority that attaches to practical experience of the working or the system. New Zealand has had its native difficulties and its native wars, and both only terminated when the Colony undertook the control of its own affairs. War after war, rising after rising, followed in quick succession as long as Dowing Street held the reins. Military operations dragged on at great cost, and with indifferent success, until the happy thought occurred to the guardians of the Empire that a little less Imperial interference and a good deal more colonial control and responsibility might work a change. And so those influences did. In a very short time Maori wars became things of the past, and the Maoris now live at peace and on good terms with

the white colonists. New Zealanders would not change the freedom of government under which they live for all the coin that a twenty years' campaign with Imperial troops might circulate in the country. Nor would they emulate the humiliating example set by so many of on neighbours in the Eastern Province in visiting whatever ills they suffer from upon the fact that they rule themselves. Our antipodean cousins would be ashamed to do so. The "Britain of the South" is the abode of sturdy English colonists, who act up to the traditions of their forefathers, and; who trace out current evils to their true; sources. They do not weakly bewail the liberality of the Home Government in giving to their country its freedom. They have their grievances and embarrassments like the rest of us. They are as a colony deeply in debt, but they have derived so much benefit from the expenditure of their borrowed money that they are eager to borrow more. They have a considerable native population in the northern island, but they know how to deal with those people when the occasion arises. They have taxes to pay and party influences to contend against, but they are consoled and sustained by the knowledge that the power of the purse and the power of punishment at the polling booths rest in their own hands. So far from dreading responsibility they value and cherish it as their chief safeguard against maladministration.

Mr. SMITHshows us that whether we compare imports or exports per head of the population of the colony, Natal stands a miserably long distance behind Australasia. In the one case the comparison is as £5 to £17 per head; in the other it is as 36s. 6d. to £15 10s. per head. He includes of course the native population; it would never occur to him to exclude nine-tenths of the inhabitants from such a calculation merely because! they are black. That is a method of political argument confined to communities whose political vision has been contracted and warped by a long experience of political tutelage. Our natives have a perfect right to be regarded as an integral element in the community by virtue—of their presence amongst us in the first instance, and not less by reason of what they consume, what they produce, and what they contribute in taxes and labour to the support of the government and the wealth of the colony. As a matter of fact they are the peasantry of the country, and a very loyal, if lordly, peasantry too. Mr. SMITHis evidently of opinion that in our native population we have good material for the development of a far higher degree of progress and productiveness than has yet been attained; but he believes that no substantial improvement will take place in this direction so long as the " ruling and nomi-" nated class " as Orown servants have it all their own way." For you, at any rate, the first thing to be done is to face boldly your present condition and the causes that are producing it, and those causes are not having responsible government Responsible government will effectually put your local body in such a position as will enable them to do the work which rightly devolves on them, and which must be done if the colony is to prosper. It is selfevident that with responsible government you will be able to address yourselves to real economy, to awaken you to the facts of your position and the responsibility it involves. Waste of revenue will be impossible, representatives will have to face the sensitive taxpayer, every man of whom should know what government is costing. Under the present want of system nobody knows, and few people care." These sentiments are but a repetition of what we have been putting forward for years past, but they are timely and valuable as the unsolicited statement of opinion from an entirely impartial and disinterested observer. We are not aware whether our correspondent means to be sarcastic at the expense of many of our farming friends, when he ventures to state that "there should not be a farmer" against the change; but he is absolutely correct in his inference. No class have a keener personal interest in the establishment of responsible government here than our farmers and planters have. Their wrongs or grievances are just those that would be most effectually treated by a responsible administration, and that are most persistently neglected by the Government under which they live. They may not all see this now—though we rejoice to know that they are fast coming to do so—but they will, because they must, see it in time. It may be said that the verdict of Cape colonists is of more practical value to us than the opinion of a New Zealander; but has that verdict been recorded? Certain politicians on public platforms, and certain writers in the public Press have acquired a habit of charging everything that goes wrong upon "responsible government;" but has the voice of the public at large done so? Let a plebiscite be taken in the Cape Colony upon the question: " Shall we continue to " govern ourselves as we do, or go back to "Downing Street rule," and what would the answer be? We should be greatly astonished were it not overwhelmingly on; the side of freedom—of freedom, that is, weighted, regulated, and curbed by responsibility. The fact is that our Cape neighbours have only yet considered the question from one point of view. They have not seriously asked themselves what their position would be were they again to become the victims of the system they escaped from j fourteen years ago.

The fear that prevails with so many people is that were responsible government accepted and established here, the Empire would at once be absolved from every sort of obligation to assist in the protection of the country. No idea is more unconstitutional, unfounded or misleading. In what other sphere of activity is the power or obligation of the central authority confined to the centre? Take churches, take banks, take any form of combined and co-operative organisation that you choose to name; where is one that justifies such an interpretation of its duties? Facts, moreover, occurring under our eyes belie this theory. Why did the government of Mr. MOLTENOquarrel with the action of Sir BARTLE FRERE, if it was not because the latter

appeared to interfere too directly with the defensive responsibilities of the local government? Why is Sir CHARLES WARRENin Bechuanaland now at the head of a small Imperial army? Simply and solely to vindicate Imperial obligations throughout the Empire, and to protect Cape interests from injury and aggression? We have to thank Lord DERBY however, for a decisive definition of Imperial obligations towards even the freest colonies. Of all the colonial possessions of Great Britain Canada is the most completely independent and self-governed. Its autonomic privileges and powers are probably the purest and best development of the democratic principle that this, or any age has witnessed. It enjoys all the advantages of a constitutional monarchy. It is vast, rich, populous and though intensely loyal, thoroughly independent. Engaged in a struggle with an insurrection in a distant corner of its territories it would have resented any attempt on the part of the mother country to participate in the military operations it has conducted with so much vigour and success. Yet what is the fact as regards the responsibility of the Empire in case of need? The answer comes to us by the last mail. In the House of Lords on May 9, in replying to a question, Lord DERBY said:—"That as Canada " had the fullest power to manage its own internal affairs, the question was one that concerned the Canadian Government in its relations with the Indian half-breeds, and was not one that would come before the Colonial Office, *except, of course, in the event of the Canadian Government not being able by its own resources to deal with the insurrection*. The question was not, therefore, one on which he could give any authoritative information; but judging from such information as he had received, he believed the Canadian Government were themselves in some perplexity as to what the real causes of the movement were." The italics are ours. Even in the case of Canada, were its resources unequal to the strain of putting down a purely internal disturbance, the Empire would, as a matter of course, come to its assistance, This admission on the part of the Colonial Minister is most timely and pertinent; and it ought to satisfy the scruples of those who have been led to regard responsible government as an absolution of the Empire from all its duties as regards the defence of a, self-governed colony.