

Victoria University book plate  
Handwritten list of pamphlets in Volume  
Address to the Students at the Melbourne University  
Delivered at *The End of the October Term, 1881*  
*"Dein Vaterland muss grösser sein"*  
BY H. A. Strong,  
Professor of Classics in Melbourne University  
(Published by request of the Students)  
George Robertson Melbourne, Sydney, and Adelaide MDCCCLXXXI

## Lecture

*Delivered to the Students at the end of October Term, 1881,*

GENTLEMEN,—

In accordance with custom, I wish, as the year's work draws near its close, to make a few observations on the studies we have been together pursuing. No doubt the study of classics in one year bears a considerable likeness to the same study in another year; still, as a teacher gains experience, it is impossible that there should not be certain truths which must strike him as requiring to be more strongly brought into prominence, while there are many others, which, though they may have been often and carefully dwelt upon, still need repetition until they produce good effects. On the whole, as far as I can judge, the work of the year has been satisfactory. The junior class has considerably more than doubled itself in the nine years I have had the honour to teach it, and now contains not less than ninety-six students inscribed as attending my lectures. The increase in the senior classes has been not less marked. Unfortunately, however, the supply of oxygen has not increased proportionately to the number of students; and I have serious apprehensions that some of you who are studying for the medical school may at an early date find yourselves called on to revive one of your fellow-students from an attack of asphyxia.

I am glad to say that, during the greater part of the past year, I have been in a position to pay greater attention to the composition of the class, and I am glad to acknowledge a considerable, though not wholly satisfactory, improvement in this important branch of classical training. You will remember what stress I have always laid upon a close attention to composition. I want you to understand why it is that this exercise is so important. There are two ways of learning any language. The first of these is by mastering what is known as its grammar thoroughly—*i.e.*, the different typical words, together with the different forms which these words take according as they perform one or other function in a sentence. According to this plan whole lists of hard technical terms have to be mastered by the learner before he is familiar with cases in which these technical terms should be applied. At the same time as the pupil is thus mastering his grammar, with its mysterious and bewildering array of words such as Participle, Supine, and Paulo-post-future, he is commonly employed in reading some portions of authors who have written in the language he is studying. But composing in the language is a later accomplishment, and, being delayed until many words and rules and formulas have been mastered, becomes a purely artificial process. This is the method according to which ancient languages are commonly taught. In grammars of modern languages, however, the opposite system is adopted. Here, no sooner has the pupil mastered a dozen words than he is taught to frame a sentence with them. He is taught to turn them in and out, and to master the different forms which they take according to their function. In fact, he is taught, from the first moment that he applies himself to learn a language, to "*think*" in it, to express his thoughts in it, either aloud to his teacher or on paper. The former of these two systems must lead the learner to direct his attention more to words than to sentences, and must tempt him to be on the look-out to classify and arrange all the words and constructions he may meet with under one or other of the categories of grammatical abstractions with which he is familiar before he has come across the object to be classified. The second method I have mentioned tends to draw attention to sentences rather than words; to impress upon the learner's mind that the "student of language cannot deal with words apart from sentences. The significant word—that combination of sounds which represents a thought—is really a crystallized sentence, a kind of shorthand note, in which a proposition has been summed up."

Sayce's "Introduction to the Science of Language," vol. i., p. 115.

Now, if it were customary to deal with Latin and Greek as with modern languages, if oral instruction in framing sentences were commonly given from the very outset by masters to their pupils, I believe that more rapid progress would be made; that the idioms in the classical dead language would be more speedily mastered, and that the genius of the language would be far earlier and more fully appreciated; and that the instinct of the true scholar, which enables him, from sympathy with his author and with his language, to catch at a glance

what his meaning *must* have been, would be earlier developed.

Perhaps I ought to have added that there is a third method of learning languages—viz., by taking Mr. Bohn's series of blue books in the place of grammar, dictionary, and tutor. But the only person who can gain anything by this method is the bookseller.

You will see, then, that in recommending you to practise assiduously, and from the very outset, Latin and Greek composition, I am merely saying use the best possible substitute for the Hamiltonian method of teaching languages, and do not entertain the idea that Latin prose is a series of frequent and dangerous pitfalls or of ingenious Chinese puzzles.

As to Latin verse, I confess that my feelings with respect to its importance as a subject of instruction are undergoing a change. I believed with English educational reformers, that if classics were to be maintained as an important branch of English education, Latin and Greek verse writing must be set aside to make room for more practical studies. But I now wish that every student who comes into the class had been thoroughly taught the principles of Latin and Greek scansion, and that he had acquired the art of turning easy English verses into Latin hexameters and pentameters, and into Greek iambic trimeters. It is only by this means, aided and supplemented by committing to memory well-chosen portions of the classical poets, that the prevailing lamentable inattention to quantity in reading Latin and Greek can be overcome.

But I recommend you to practise learning by heart on other grounds as well. During youth the mind is as wax; it will take and retain any impression you like to stamp on it. The more you learn by heart the easier you will find the task, as any professional or amateur actor will tell you; and if you once secure the habit of exercising your memories when you are young, have no fear that they will play you false in after years. You will find that the habit of concentration formed by committing to memory will materially increase your powers of observation; and that such a thorough mastery as is implied by the power of repetition of portions of an author will enable you to catch his peculiarities of thought and diction, which your mind will, insensibly to you, generalize and apply to the rest of his works. And I am not now recommending you to study Greek and Latin authors alone in this way; my advice to you is to learn English, French, and German poetry as well, only be sure that you learn nothing but what are by common consent admitted to be masterpieces in either language; life is too short to learn trash, which, besides, is too apt to remain, even uninvited, in the memory. You could, most of you, learn twenty lines a day with the greatest ease, read them over carefully before going to bed, and have them by heart before your breakfast time—*Satur est, quum, dicit Horatius evoe!*

As regards the best method of becoming a sound scholar, I believe that this end is best attained by studying one or two plays or books of an author carefully, and critically mastering every difficulty therein, and knowing them well enough to quote freely. You cannot meet with better works for this purpose than those which we have been studying together this year. The "Agamemnon" of Æschylus stands unique for majesty, for interest, and perhaps, I may add, for difficulties. But these difficulties are not insuperable; they in no way obscure the general interest or sequence of the thought or action, but are mainly connected with textual criticism. The "Agamemnon" gives you an insight not merely into its author's dramatic power, but also into his philosophy and his religion. It abounds with fine sustained images, and also with epigrammatic lines and sayings, which cling to the memory. Similar merits may be said, in a less degree, to belong to Sophocles' "Electra," and to Horace and Juvenal in Latin.

In addition to this, but not till you have done this, read portions of other authors less carefully and critically, satisfying yourself that you have gained their general meaning. And do not be satisfied with merely *reading* other authors. Select typical passages from them, and translate them into the best English at your command. Put the translation by for a week or two, and then translate back into the original. You will thus have the advantage of being able to employ Tacitus, or Livy, or Plato as your tutor for style and accuracy. This method has the great advantage of retaining in your mind much of the rhythm and cadence, and many of the words, of the original.

I am no longer the teacher of English language and literature in this University, but I do not, on that account, take the less interest in your progress in that subject. I am glad to see that it is proposed to make two courses in this branch—one for the first year students, and a more advanced one for those of the second year. But I beg you to remember, and I cannot impress it on you too strongly or too often, that you cannot pretend to know thoroughly either your mother tongue, nor that science of comparative philology on which a knowledge of English rests, without a competent knowledge of French and German. Many of the illustrations you receive from your teacher or from your text-books on this subject necessarily are taken from those languages. You are well aware that the French, or Romance element, counts for about half in our language; while the German, as the great literary Teutonic language, has even other claims than its mere cousinship to recommend itself to our studies. Consider, too, that the masterpieces of these languages are wholly untranslatable. The clearness and precision of the French, and the somewhat ponderous, but powerful, majesty of the German, possess a cachet all their own, which it transcends the power of the most practised translator to retain in a foreign idiom. It is so

easy for you to learn these tongues; there are so many good teachers in Melbourne, and you would find the study of modern languages a pleasant promenade after unravelling the mazes of a Thucydides, or digging out Aristophanes' wit by the aid of a German com-mentator.

The greatest classical work which has appeared during the year is the translation of Thucydides by Professor Jowett. The style is luminous, the translation accurate without being servile, and the reader is able to peruse it without being at every moment pulled up by some awkward idiom, only intelligible by a reference to the Greek. An important appendix on the value of Greek inscriptions follows, and notes are added fully discussing questions relative to difficulties in the text. I think that Professor Tyrrell's edition of the "Miles Gloriosus" certainly vindicates British classical scholars from the charge of want of acumen and perseverance in emending texts, and throwing light on hitherto misunderstood passages. I am pleased to be able to tell you that you will now find on the shelves of the public library all the best editions of the Greek and Latin classics mentioned in the "Guide to Classical Studies." I am afraid that you will also find there many of the works which are strongly condemned in that guide—viz., the worthless and inaccurate translations of the classics, from which I hope you will refrain. Believe me that a poor translation is the most certain means of effectually preventing your ever obtaining a just idea of the style or beauty of the author whom it affects to interpret. It presents you its original in a ghastly and grotesque travesty, and the comical effect of the translation is always present to your mind when reading the finest passages of the author. But I recommend you to read good English translations of your authors when such good translations exist; but this only after having carefully gone over the original, and after endeavouring to make out the meaning yourself. Fortunately, fine versions of the most celebrated classics are now within the reach of every scholar. Conington's Persius, Mayor's translation of the Tenth Satire of Juvenal, Monro's translation of Lucretius, and Jowett's of Plato and Thucydides, cannot well be surpassed. But in cases where the classical author has been imitated or translated by modern authors of renown, then make a point of reading the original and the copy together. Dryden's translation of Juvenal would prove him to be a first-rate master of satiric power and of harmonious diction, even were we not familiar with the original. In Johnson's "Vanity of Human Wishes" we certainly see a great deal of Johnson, and not so much of Juvenal as in Dryden's version of the same satire; but we have the advantage of comparing Johnson at his best with Juvenal at his best, and contrasting the way in which each handles a congenial theme. Thus, to every student of Horace I would say, read his satires with Pope's imitations at hand; you will find as much of novelty in the latter as in the former. Mr. Browning's translations and imitations of Greek plays are well known. Of the two, I confess that I prefer the imitations; for in the translation of the "Agamemnon" the curious fidelity attained by the translator seems to be dearly bought by the obscurity of the meaning. Butcher and Lang's "Odyssey," and Church and Brodribb's "Agricola" and "Germania," seem to me models of what translations ought to be.

Many of those whom I see before me to-day will come up to the second and third year classes next year. To those I would say, get a competent knowledge of your subject before you come up to the University, in order that you may be able to get the full amount of benefit out of your teacher. For, consider that a University teacher is very much what his students make him. If the mass of students come up unprepared, and intend to leave it to their teacher to teach them their rudiments, it is quite clear that the teacher must be prepared to accept the position. He *must* teach his students something. He is not in a position to give them the result of his thoughts upon higher work, from a feeling that they would not comprehend his meaning, and consequently he is driven to do the work of a fifth form schoolmaster. I say, then, come up to the University in such a state of preparation that you may be in a position to ask your teacher thoughtful questions only, such as may when answered illustrate principles rather than points which you can easily settle for yourselves by dint of dictionary and grammar.

There is one point on which I have often spoken to you, but which I may be forgiven for referring to again. I am most anxious to see created in you what I may call a literary habit of mind; a love of study for its own sake, wholly independent of any courses which the University may prescribe for your guidance. I may be wrong, but as far as I can ascertain from many of you, you do not seem to me to care for the great models of English literature as much as I could wish. I can quite understand that those who have been brought up in the ways of thought and action of the old country may feel that many of the English writers speak more to their hearts than to those of natives of a newer country. Possibly writers like Sir Walter Scott may be too national and local in their descriptions and feelings; but still I think that even the passages in which his patriotism rises highest should have an interest for many of you, whose fathers passed their boyhood amid the scenes that inspired the poet novelist. Surely, again, the types of character presented by Thackeray and Dickens meet us at every turn, and will continue to do so as long as human nature is the same. A love of poetry, I believe, is rare amongst you: this I regard as a misfortune; I should like to know that there were rival schools of critics among you: admirers of Wordsworth, Byron, Tennyson, I care not whom, so that some poet could succeed in firing your imagination. It is perfectly possible for you to establish a school of criticism among yourselves—you have

abundant leisure for reading in your vacations, plenty of books, plenty of teachers able and willing to aid you in every way, and the indescribable charm of possessing a magnificent country with a future which must be very much what you make it. It is quite possible to be *bookish* without being pedantic or priggish; indeed, what is known as "priggishness" is more commonly the sign of shallowness or ignorance than the outcome of study and reflection. I consider that it is as weak and cowardly for a man to be ashamed of being thought studious as it is for him to be ashamed of being called religious: and I think that the one and the other of these feelings is equally disgraceful.

I should like to see you establish a University debating club; but I should like to be quite sure that when founded it would remain and flourish. It has been the fate of too many of the clubs that you have founded here to be allowed to perish from want of support. Many of England's greatest statesmen have won their laurels in the mimic debates of the Union Club at Oxford, before descending into the true arena of Parliament. Conceive how, in the refining atmosphere of a University, you would accustom one another to the courtesies of debate, and what a grand influence for good you might have in the public meetings in which, as good citizens, you will be constrained to take part hereafter. For I hope that you will all set before you as one of your objects in life to become good citizens. I always rejoice when I see that one of you has gone into public life in any capacity, and resolved "*unum civem donare sibyllæ*." Above all things, remember that if public affairs are not conducted with the dignity and high principle which, as a rule, distinguishes them in older countries, that it is to you, the rising generation of our young men, we must look to remedy this state of things. It is not for you to stand aloof in an attitude of cynical isolation, and to dismiss, with a sneer, what it should be your earnest and ever-present desire to amend. Strive, therefore, to serve your country in and out of Parliament, and carry with you always the impress of a university training, the habitual courtesy and consideration for the feelings of others, the thoughtfulness, the docility, the modesty, the learning, which should be the characteristics of every university man.

As to field sports, believe me that there is no one who sympathizes with your love of them more heartily than I do. I am president of your football club, and am justly proud of the position. But I wish you to bear in mind that sports are only the recreation and not the business of life; and I would not see you, to parody Juvenal, "*propter ludum ludendi perdere causas*." Those sports are best for the student which admit of most exercise in the shortest space of time. You rarely find a first-rate cricketer who is a first-rate scholar. I should like to see an open air gymnasium, such as might be erected in your recreation ground at a very small expense; but gymnastics ought to be practised at first under the eye of a teacher, else the learner is apt to overdo the exercise and strain himself.

I now wish to say a few words to you on another subject, which has been rather prominently before the public lately, and in which you are more especially concerned. I refer to the growing feeling of nationality and unity among Victorians, which was not long since formulated in a public meeting at the University in words to the effect that Victoria should in future fill her public posts from her own sons. Now, I conceive that a healthy feeling of individuality must necessarily arise in a vigorous young community separated by the distance of the world's diameter from the mother country. The very climate would suffice, in no long time, to engender a different type of physique and of character. The fusion of the different races which make up the kingdom of Great Britain, must again tend to produce a character distinct from each, while partaking of the nature of each. Some caste distinctions tend in this country to disappear, such as an aristocracy depending on birth; while new ones appear to be formed, such as an aristocracy of wealth: for mere wealth, apart from hereditary rank, and unless accompanied by a high sense of public duty, is more honoured in new countries than in Europe. Again, our government is in many ways more democratical than the government of Great Britain; for good or for evil, each man feels that he, singly; is in a position to affect the whole well-being of the community more immediately than if he were one of a larger and more aristocratically governed community. Each of his blows has more effect here than in Europe; in fact, each man has a greater responsibility cast upon him towards his country than he has in older countries. Consequently, we may well look for the formation of a national type of a decided kind to be formed before many generations, under circumstances like those I have mentioned; and it is on you, gentlemen, that it is incumbent to endeavour to make this national type a noble and a liberal one, free from petty prejudices and from parochial jealousies. Now, I think that the canon laid down to you the other day, apparently for your guidance, and accepted by you with approval, is eminently calculated to foster such petty feelings as I have deprecated. It means, in other words, that we will artificially protect ourselves against strangers who may compete with us, in the same way that we artificially protect our clumsy colonial shoes; and because we have never seen anything better, we fancy that they are the best possible of all coverings for the human foot. We will surround ourselves by a huge wall of China, and will grow up as a mutual admiration society; each of us will seem a prince of men to his neighbour, for none of us here will ever see anything better. We shall court the risk of growing up after one type, for it is quite clear that the formation and development of character must depend very much upon the easy access of new ideas; and new ideas are brought into life most

readily by the contact of mind with mind. The wider you open your portals, the more able men are you likely to secure for the service of your state; and I think that it is of very great importance that a young country, in its infancy, at a time when its character is in process of formation, should endeavour to secure the best men to fill all its posts, wholly irrespective of the place of their birth.

I would take, then, as my rule, to invariably try and get the best man to fill the place requiring to be filled. If I felt that this rule were adopted and maintained, I should then have good reason to rejoice at the successes of our own University men. I should know that they had fairly distanced all in the race whenever they attained any goal; and it is my firm belief that young Victorians could prove themselves the equals—I do not say the superiors, because I do not believe it—of young men of other countries. But I do think that there is a certain spirit of incuriosity and complacency among many of our younger generation which I would fain see shaken off. I would like, above all things, to see all those who can manage it visit older countries; but, before taking this trip, I would like to see them store their minds with an adequate knowledge of the countries they may intend to visit.

Two very important reforms in University matters have come into operation this year. The one of these is the reform in respect to the matriculation examination, which is a great improvement, inasmuch as it recognizes the principle that less work well done is more useful than more work done less perfectly. But I do not dwell upon this, inasmuch as I can hardly regard the matriculation examination as a University examination at all. It really is, and it ought to be called, a middle-class examination; and a distinct and more simple examination should suffice for admitting our students into the University. The other reform I speak of with the most unqualified satisfaction. I refer to the establishment of boards of examiners for the University examinations. The details are not quite settled, but the two main principles are affirmed, viz. :—First, that each paper shall be set by a board of examiners, and not by a single examiner; secondly, that each paper of answers of each candidate shall be looked over by more than one examiner. I conceive that the result of this system, which is, I believe, in vogue in every University of the world excepting our own, will be excellent in every way. As attendance at lectures is not compulsory, it will leave the student free to get his instruction where he pleases, and the teacher will feel that no one is attending his classes merely with the view of gathering the probable line of examination at the end of the year. It will leave the professor free to deal with the higher aspects of his work, to give more instruction to honour-men, and will give him cause to feel that he is lecturing to men who take an interest in their work for its own sake. Men who come up to the University imperfectly prepared will be able to get their instruction wherever they please, and the bulk of the students will certainly be engaged on higher work than they are at present. There will, however, be a certain premium attached to attendance on the lectures of the professors, because the professor, or lecturer, is to make one of an examining board of three. It may not be theoretically right, according to some, that the teacher should have any voice in examining in his own subject; but I believe that the principle is just. Such a subject as classics, for example, admits of being taught in so many different ways, that it is at least desirable that one member of the board should be a teacher, so as to be in a position to state to the examiners the line of instruction which he has given.

I wish to impress upon you all to set before you the attainment of a degree as your goal. I wish you to be in a position, as soon as possible, to exercise an influence upon the destinies of your *alma mater*; and you know that the new University Bill—the result of the efforts of Professor Pearson and Dr. Hearn—gives the Senate the power of amending any bills sent down to it by the Council. Consequently, the moment that any University undergraduate has become a graduate, he becomes, from a University point of view, enfranchised, and, with his new privileges, assumes new responsibilities and new duties. And it is a noble end to have in view, the shaping the destinies of an institution which ought to have such a great and marked influence upon the whole community.

I conceive, too, that it will be a great spur to your studies to reflect that, if you duly qualify yourselves, you will be in the position to fill the important posts of examiners, and will yourselves become masters of the "art of pluck." But, in order to fill these posts, remember that you have a great deal to do, and a very high standard to attain to. I tell you, quite honestly, that there are not very many of you whom I would consent to accept as examiners (I speak of those who are on the eve of taking their degree) in the case of an examination in Latin composition, simply because you have not attained the art of writing prose and verse (especially the latter) with correctness and elegance.

How I wish that I could induce some of our millionaires to devote the proceeds of the year's clip to found a few prizes for accomplishments not yet pursued in the University because it is felt that there is no adequate premium for them. I would have a large prize for Latin prose annually, and one for Latin verse, but I would give a larger prize still to the best essay in English prose on a literary subject, and an equally large one to an English poem. I do not say that you can create poets. But something short of a real poet is still a desirable addition to a community, and no law can oblige others than the examiners to read his productions, so that I don't think that we need stand aghast at the vision of "*Augusto recitantes mense poetas.*"

I am afraid that, should this short address ever go to the printer, it may be found that he has not enough of type to print the numerous *I*'s that have occurred. But you must remember that I have merely undertaken to put things from my own point of view to you, who are entrusted to my teaching; and anything that I have said is not intended to be spoken dogmatically, but simply in the way of advice. Such counsel as I can give you shall always be at your command; and, believe me, that your future success in every path of life will be matter of deeper interest to me in proportion as I see cause to believe that it depends upon your career passed at your *Alma mater*.

*Walker, May, and Co., Printers, Melbourne.*

Annual Report of the Boys' High School of Otago. Session 1879 Coulls and Culling, Printers and Stationers Dunedin Rattray St. 1879

## Rector's Report.

I have to lay before you to-day the Report of a satisfactory and successful Session. There has been an increase in the numbers attending the School, and the classes in the Upper School especially have been well filled up. The work has gone on from day to day vigorously and harmoniously. The discipline of the school has been maintained with firmness, but without harshness. Substantial progress has been made towards a more complete organisation of the classes; and the boys have enjoyed excellent health.

During the Session, 202 pupils have been enrolled, of whom 77 entered the School for the first time. The numbers on the roll for the four quarters were 173, 177, 185, and 188. Mr. Thomson informs me that twenty-four boys have been received into the Boarding Establishment.

With respect to the practical working of the School, I have to note that the Fourth and Fifth Classes have been taught separately throughout the course, and that the Fifth and Sixth Classes have been taught separately in Latin and Science. As the numbers of the highest class increase, I am confident that the Governors will so increase the staff that it also may be taught separately in every branch. In this way an entire year will be added to our course of study in the Upper School. In the general class arrangements of the School, my aim has been to ensure that each master shall feel himself closely identified with, and directly responsible for, a well-defined portion of the work, and that the whole work shall be so distributed that each master will be able to do justice to the work entrusted to him. This aim has, to a very considerable extent, been realized. Mr. Brent, with the help of two masters, teaches all the Mathematical and Arithmetical Classes, the preparatory class alone excepted. Mr. Wilson teaches daily the English Classes from the Sixth to the Lower Third inclusive. The teaching of writing is entirely in the hands of the commercial master. We have now a French as well as a German Master. Our arrangements for Science teaching are very complete. Of the seven Latin Classes in the School, I have myself taught five daily throughout the Session. I wish also to express my satisfaction with the preparatory class. So long as the present constitution of the School is maintained, this class must always be of very special importance. One of our gravest difficulties in arranging the classes is, how to do justice to boys who come to us late in the course; and it is therefore desirable, for their own sakes, that boys should be sent to us as early as possible. On this account I have marked with pleasure the prosperity of this year's preparatory class. It has increased in the course of the Session from 23 to 33; and it has been admirably managed. We shall conduct the preparatory class of next year in the same manner; and we shall continue the arrangement by which the younger boys have the play-ground entirely to themselves at their lunch hour.

The arrangements with respect to holidays made last Session by the Board of Governors have been loyally observed; and the attendance has been on the whole punctual and regular. At the same time, I may take this opportunity of once more pointing out how much the true prosperity of the School depends on the faithful attendance of the pupils. I earnestly appeal to parents and guardians to co-operate with us in encouraging our boys to form habits of punctuality, regularity, and self-denial at the important period of their lives when their characters are "wax to receive, and marble to retain."

I think it due to the admirable Scholarship scheme of the Education Board of Otago to record here that live of their provincial scholars have been with us during the session—two trained in the Normal School of Dunedin, one in the public school of Palmerston, and two in this school. All have highly distinguished themselves, and give excellent promise for the future. I trust that next session we may have the satisfaction of receiving more of those scholars. I sympathise with my professional brethren, especially in the country, who lose their best boys at the very time when their work becomes most interesting. I venture, however, to remind them that every other consideration must yield to the welfare of the scholars themselves, and that we suffer the same pang when our pupils are transferred to the University. There is room for difference of opinion as to the due gradation of our educational institutions; but I trust that there will always be a free course for talented boys from the humblest grade to the highest. In every completely organized educational system—and surely in this

country we shall be satisfied with nothing less—a genuine High School is the true door of entrance to a genuine University. Every intelligent educationist must therefore regard the Scholarship scheme as an invaluable part of our educational machinery.

I observe with much pleasure in last session's Prize List of the University of Edinburgh, that Charles Low, our dux of 1873, has carried off first-class honours in Material-medica and Therapeutics, and second-class honours in the Senior Anatomy Class. The names of many former pupils of the School appear in this session's honour list of the University of Otago. William McLean took a distinguished place in Mental Science : A. B. Todd in Senior Mathematics: George S. McDermid in Junior Mathematics: Herbert Mac-andrew in Anatomy: W. D. Milne in Advanced Mathematics and Junior Mental Science: F. H. Jeff coat in Senior Mathematics and Zoology; A. Purdie in Practical and Theoretical Chemistry; and A. Montgomery in Zoology, Senior Latin, and Senior Mathematics. J. Salmund, who entered the University last year as a New Zealand University Junior Scholar, is first in English, second in Latin, and first in German.

We have again this year received many prizes in addition to those provided by our Board of Governors. The Chamber of Commerce has given us a gold medal for the best scholar in English and Arithmetic, a silver medal for the best Arithmetician in the whole school, and a silver medal for the best Arithmetician in the Lower School. The Dunedin Builders' Association, through their secretary, Mr U' Ren, has given us the sum of Two Guineas, to provide prizes for the duxes of the Arithmetical Classes. Mrs. Burn, Mr. J. S. Webb, Mr. Maurice Joel, Mr. A. Burt, Mr. J. Wilkie, Captain Hutton, and the Rev. Dr. Stuart have kindly renewed the prizes which they presented last year. Mr. G. Matheson, Mr. T. Austin, and Mr. Mendershausen have also presented us with special prizes. To these warm friends of the School, and to all others who help us in our work, we return our most hearty thanks.

## Prize List.

### Lower School.

#### First Class

- Div. I. *English*—FERDINAND HIMMEL.
- *Arithmetic*—ARTHUR JAMES MURRAY.
- Div. II. *English*—CHARLE FRANCIS SALMOND.
- *Arithmetic*—ARTHUR DAVID SIMPSON.
- *Writing*—ARTHUR DAVID SIMPSON.

#### Lower Second Class.

- *English*—ROBERT HENRY HOGG.
- *Latin*—GILBERT CECIL MATHESON.
- *Arithmetic*—GEORGE ANDERSON COPLAND.
- *Writing*—WILLIAM THORBURN SIMPSON.

#### Upper Second Class.

- *English*—EDMUND ROBERT BOWLER.
- *Latin*—JAMES DRUMMOND BURNS.
- *Arithmetic*—EDMUND ROBERT BOWLER.

#### Lower Third Class.

- *English*—FRANK FIELDING HAGGITT.
- *Latin*—PERCY ADOLPHUS VAILE.
- *Arithmetic*—WILLIAM EWING.

#### Upper Third Class.

- *English*—HUBERT FREDERICK LABATT.

- *Latin*—ROBERT THOMAS MATHESON.
- *Arithmetic*—CHARLES DANIEL BRENT.
- *Euclid*—CHARLES DANIEL BRENT.  
*Chamber of Commerce Silver Medal for Arithmetic.*  
CHARLES DANIEL BRENT.  
*Dux of the Lower School—Silver Medal.*  
HUBERT FREDERICK LABATT.

## Upper School.

### Fourth Class.

- *Latin*—WILLIAM MCGREGOR.
- *English*—ALEXANDER GAISER CAMPBELL.
- *Mathematics*—ALEXANDER GAISER CAMPBELL.
- *French*—JAMES H. BATHGATE.
- *German*—ALEXANDER GAISER CAMPBELL.

### Fifth Class.

- *Latin*—CHARLES THOMAS LITTLE.
- *Mathematics*—ADOLPH PHILIP HAMANN.

### Sixth Class.

- *Latin*—PETER A. LINDSAY.
- *English*—PETER A. LINDSAY.
- *Mathematics*—PETER A. LINDSAY.
- *Science*—PETER A. LINDSAY.  
*For the Best Herbarium—Professor Hutton's Prize.*  
GILBERT M. HUTTON.  
*For the best Writer—Silver Cup, Presented by J. S. Welb, Esq.*  
HUBERT FREDERICK LABATT.  
*Dux in English—Mrs. Burn's Prize.*  
ROBERT M. LAING.  
*Dux in French—Mr. Wilkie's Prize.*  
DAVID W. M. BURN.  
*Chamber of Commerce Silver Medal for Arithmetic.*  
JOHN SOMERVILLE.  
*Chamber of Commerce Gold Medal for English and Arithmetic.*  
PHILIP ADOLPH HAMANN.  
*Dux of the School—Gold Medal.*  
PETER A. LINDSAY.

## Certificates of Merit.

### Lower Second Class.

G. C. MATHESON, English and Arithmetic; JOHN STONE, Arithmetic and Writing; R. H. HOGG, G. J. GILLIES, Latin; W. T. HAZLETT, English.

### Upper Second Class.

C. E. S. GILLIES, English, Latin, and Writing; J. C. HALCOMBE, English and Latin; JOHN WATSON, Arithmetic.

## Lower Third Class.

ROBERT BAIRD, ALEXANDER MACQUEEN, H. R. BUTTERWORTH, English; F. F. HAGGITT. H. J. HALCOMBE, Latin; W. S. PASCOE, German; J. BURT, Writing.

## Upper Third Class.

C. P. BUTTERWORTH, English, Latin and Writing; W. BRENT, J. PARK, R. MATHESON, F. MITCHELL, English; J. SIDEY, LEONARD HARDY, Writing.

## Fourth Class.

NELSON J. LARMER, Latin and Mathematics; W. MCGREGOR, English and Algebra; JOHN H. BATHGATE, Latin; R. HAWKES, Euclid; E. HOWARD, Algebra; J. R. MONTGOMERY, G. HUTTON, English.

## Fifth Class.

T. K. SIDEY, Latin and Euclid; F. LITTLE, English and Latin; C. LITTLE, English.

## Sixth Class.

DAVID BURN, Euclid.

# List of Pupils Enrolled, 1879.

## First Class.

- Brent, Francis Aubrey
- Forsyth, Alfred
- Gillies, Robert Craig
- Goldie, George Wilson
- 5 Guthrie, Walter John
- Hazlett, Luke Clyde
- Himmel, Ferdinand
- Hogg, Alfred Andrew Miller
- Lawson, James Newburgh
- 10 Law, Henry Robert
- Liggins, Alfred Ernest
- Macdonald, Andrew
- Mackerras, James Murray
- Main, William David
- 15 McDonald, Francis John
- Murray, Arthur James
- Neil, Foster Fyans
- Neil, Percy
- Prosser, Evan Owen
- 20 Ridley, Charles Vincent
- Roberts, Anstey Fitzclarence
- Salmond, James Louis
- Salmond, Charles Francis
- Sievwright, Neville
- 25 Simpson, Arthur David
- Stephenson, John
- Stephenson, William
- Stohr, Edward Baldwin
- Wales, Robert

- 30 Webb, Leonard Francis
- Wilson, Edwin Thomas
- Wilson, William James
- Wright. Francis Reynolds

## **Lower Second Class.**

- Alexander, Edward Henry
- Brent, Ernest Edward
- Broad, George Allan
- Christian, James Bland
- 5 Copland, George Anderson
- Cutten, Ernest Cargill
- Gilkinson, Richard Sidney
- Gillies, George John
- Harvey, James
- 10 Haynes, John William
- Hazlett, William Thomas
- Herbert, John Fletcher
- Hogg, Robert Henry
- Maitland, Cecil
- 15 Matheson, Gilbert Cecil
- Reynolds, Alick Gillespie
- Roberts, William
- Sievwright, George
- Simpson, William Thorburn
- 20 Spooner, Edward Wilberforce
- Stone, John
- Stronach, Frederick Thomas
- Tairaoa, George Grey
- Tennet, John Thomas
- 25 Turnbull, William Hamilton
- Walcott, James Alexander
- Watson, James
- Webb, William Philip
- Whitelaw, James Campbell

## **Upper Second Class.**

- Baldwin, Gerald Robert
- Blair, David Ker
- Bowler, Edmund Robert
- Bright, Charles
- 5 Burns, James Drummond
- Burt, William Crawford
- Campbell, Albert Daniel
- Gillies, Charles Edward Stuart
- Gore, William Henry
- 10 Grant, Norman Alan
- Halcombe, John Cuthbert
- Hallenstein, Reuben
- Harris, Henry Temple
- Hay, Henry
- 15 Himmel, William
- Hodgkins, William
- Ingram, Francis George
- Jones, Arthur Henry
- Jones, John Farquharson

- 20 Kirkcaldy, William Melville
- Lees, Edward Lowder
- Massey, Henry Allen
- Quin, Richard
- Reeves, Charles John
- 25 Reynolds, William Eri
- Sidey, Arthur Murray
- Stronach, Henry Donald
- Sutherland, Robert Dunnet
- Turton, Graham Hanson
- 30 Tewsley, Ernest William
- Treseder, Frederick William
- Watson, John Herbert
- Wilson, Leslie Robert
- Woodside, Robert Belgrave

## **Lower Third Class.**

- Baird, Robert
- Burt, James Alexander
- Butterworth, Harry Robert
- Cullen, Alexander
- 5 Edmond, Christopher McLean
- Edmond, William Fraser
- Ewing, William
- Finnie, David Henry
- Glendining, John Ross
- 10 Haggitt, Frank Fielding
- Halcombe, Harry Joseph
- Hardie, John
- Hardy, Louis Francis
- Joel, Philip Simeon
- 15 Larmer, Frederick
- Macfarlane, Frank
- Macqueen, Alexander
- Martin, Alexander Carrick
- McDonald, Henry Edwin
- 20 McGill, William Thomas
- Moodie, George
- Morris, Crosby
- Morris, James Howe
- Murcott, William Henry
- 25 Murdoch, Alexander
- Pascoe, William Stephen
- Pearson, Robt. Roland Randolph
- Roberts, Joshua
- Smith, William Henry
- 30 Taiaroa, John Grey
- Vaile, Percy Adolphus

## **Upper Third Class.**

- Allan, Alexander Mackay
- Allan, Richard Sutcliffe
- Barley, William Whittingham
- Baron, Henry
- 5 Borrows, Andrew
- Brent, Charles Daniel

- Brent, Walter Horace
- Butterworth, Charles Percy
- Donaldson, George
- 10 Donaldson, William
- Douglas, John F.
- Hardy, Leonard Ernest
- Harper, Herbert William
- Henderson, William
- 15 Hepburn, George Douglas
- Hilgendorf, Francis Charles
- Hindle, Joseph Illingworth
- Kingswell, Edwin
- Labatt, Hubert Frederick
- 20 Lindsay, John Hill
- Macfarlane, Alfred
- Marsh, Leonard Herbert
- Matheson, Robert Thomas
- Mitchell, Francis William
- 25 Mollison, Alex. Edmund Robert
- Morris, Arthur William
- Park, James
- Reid, William
- Sidey, John
- 30 Sprott, William Kinloch
- Tewsley, Edward Coltherd
- Titchener, Francis Heading

## **Fourth Class.**

- Allan, John
- Allan, William
- Allan, William
- Bathgate, James H.
- 5 Blake, Charles
- Borrie, James
- Bowler, Eden
- Broadway, William
- Campbell, Alexander Gaiser
- 10 Farquhar, Archibald W.
- Fulton, Robert V.
- Grant, Robert Alexander
- Hawkes, Richard
- Hodges, George
- 15 Howard, Edward P.
- Hutton, Gilbert Montgomerie
- Inglis, William
- Laing, Thomas
- Larmer, Nelson James
- 20 Macandrew, Hunter
- McGregor, William
- Montgomery, John Rogerson
- Palmer, Edwin Fowler
- Perkins, William Herbert
- 25 Reynolds, Eardley C.
- Reynolds, Leslie H.
- Somerville, John
- Stronach, William Roderick
- Wales, James Elliot

## Fifth Class.

- Brown, William Nicholson
- Drabble, Arthur Brownell
- Hamann, Adolph Philip
- Laing, Robert Malcolm
- 5 Little, Fred. Townley
- Little Chas. Thomas
- Sidey, Thomas Kaye
- Smith, Frederick
- Watson, John Lachlan

## Sixth Class.

- Burn, David W. M.
- Johnstone, James
- Lindsay, Peter A.
- North, Frederick
- 5 Salmond, J. W.

## Duxes of the School.

- 1863—N. L. Buchanan.
- 1864—68—Henry Bell.
- 1869—I. Begg.
- 1870—A. T. Stuart.
- 1871—A. Wilmot, S. Solomon, and A. Park.
- 1872—A. Park.
- 1873—Charles Low.
- 1874—F. Stilling.
- 1875—W. D. Milne.
- 1876—H. Halliwell.
- 1877—Bruce Todd.
- 1878—Peter A. Lindsay (Fifth Class).
- 1879—Peter A. Lindsay (Sixth Class).

COULLS & CULLING, Printers and Stationers, Rattray Street, Dunedin.

*The ENSUING SESSION of the HIGH SCHOOL will commence on MONDAY, the 9th FEBRUARY, 1880.*

The East Coast Settlement Bill 1880.

By *W. L. Rees*,

Napier.

Printed at the Office of "The New Zealand Times," Wellington, New Zealand Willis Street. 1880

## The East Coast Settlement Bill 1880.

A Bill, having the above title, will be introduced into the House of Representatives when Parliament meets in May. It is a private Bill, dealing with very large private interests; but it will also affect very greatly the public well-being of the whole colony. I therefore venture to explain its meaning. I do so for the purpose of soliciting public scrutiny; and, I hope, for an expression of public opinion upon the merits of a scheme, which if carried out, will mark the point of a new departure in the question of dealing with Native Lands.

Between the Wairoa River and the East Cape, upon the East Coast of the North Island of New Zealand, lies a district of great fertility, possessing natural advantages, not exceeded in any part of the colony. The soil is rich and well watered, the climate genial, the means of access convenient. Along the course of the sea frontage of this region are at least three excellent natural harbours, at Mahia, Gisborne, and Tologa Bay. There, also, four or five large rivers find their outlet to the sea. In that wide area forming parts of Cook and Wairoa Counties, and comprising nearly two millions of acres of land, there are at present only some four or five thousand Europeans residing; nor until some change in the tenure of land takes place, is it probable that this number will

be largely increased. This is not owing to natural circumstances, nor, as I have said, to a sterile soil. It is due to the complicated condition of landed tenure. The portion of the North Island contained within the limits above-mentioned is rich enough to support the whole present population of the colony. Perhaps one hundred and fifty thousand are owned by Europeans in fee simple. The title to portions of this land, however, is disputed by the Natives, or is so intermixed with land still belonging to them, owing to want of subdivision, that it is comparatively valueless. Perhaps five hundred thousand acres are owned by the Government in different blocks, but those lands are at the present for the most part useless, as roads and bridges are required to render them available for profitable human settlement. The remainder, upwards of thirteen hundred thousand acres, is Maori land, of which the greater part has passed the Native Lands Court under some act of the Assembly, and is now held by the Natives, not under their old tribal and hereditary custom, but from the Crown. That which is yet really Native land, and held as such, can easily be made to undergo the same process and thus become accessible for settlement. This one million three hundred thousand acres of New Zealand soil, in every way fit to support and enrich a numerous population, is now almost entirely a barren waste. It can, however, be settled without the expenditure of any public money, the bestowal of any public favor, or the granting of any monopoly.

Before explaining the plan of the proposed measure, it is necessary to shew the difficulties which now oppose the progress and development of the East Coast. Lands held by the Natives in that district under the Crown, are generally owned in large blocks and by very numerous bodies of proprietors. It is not unusual to find two, or even three hundred names in a title to a single estate. As a matter of course, among these are many married women and children. It is impossible that lands so held can be cut up for ordinary settlement, or small holdings. Even the preliminary step of surveying for sub-division would always be opposed by some of the Native owners; but if the lands were once "cut up" (which, however, is beyond possibility), then the expense and trouble of obtaining so many signatures from all parts of the country, and going through the long and expensive but necessary forms incidental to Native deeds, would amount to more than small pieces of the land were actually worth.

Moreover, very extensive areas of these lands are inalienable by reason of the provisions of the "Native Lands Act 1867," under which Act they passed through the Native Lands Court. They cannot be sold; they cannot be mortgaged; they cannot be leased for more than twenty-one years; neither can they be sub-divided until the expiration of any existing lease. Between Gisborne and Tolaga Bay, a distance of more than thirty miles, nearly all the lands are in this position.

Through the whole district the individual blocks are, as a rule, very large. They run from one thousand to sixty thousand acres. Throughout this territory of such great extent, and inferior to no part of the Australasian Colonies, in those qualities and capabilities which attract the favorable notice of men, all growth is stayed, and all progress is paralysed. It is practically impossible to get a title to the land; and without some certainty of tenure, men will neither bestow their capital nor their labor upon the soil.

Titles are and must be imperfect, for—

- 1st. All the owners, as a rule, will not join in any one deed.
- 2nd. In the ranks of the proprietors are generally to be found married women and children.
- 3rd. It is impossible to cut up and sub-divide the blocks for settlement, and they are too large for individual holdings.
- 4th. Great areas of these lands cannot be sold either in the whole or in part, and these comprise some of the most valuable lands near Gisborne.

Before the East Coast can advance, such obstacles to progress must be removed. They are insurmountable.

The question at once arises—Is it possible to remove the obstacles and so throw open these lands for bona fide settlement on advantageous terms, without coercing the Native owners, and without casting upon them or the European settlers a pecuniary loss?

It is possible to do this, and also to do much more.

"The East Coast Settlement Bill," if it becomes law, will enable all Native owners of land in the district, including infants and married women, to sign for each block a deed of trust, vesting in trustees, chosen by the Native owners themselves, the whole property in the land conveyed. These trustees will be aided by a Committee, also chosen by the Maori owners of the lands to be affected; and these trustees and committees, like the directors and managers of a Joint Stock Company, will have full power, but subject to strict supervision and control, to deal with the subject matter of their trust : to cut up, to lease, to sell, to part, and to divide the lands.

It may be said—Some of the Natives will not agree to do this. What of them? The answer is not difficult—Let the shares of such Natives be set apart in the Native Land Court, and their own land given to them, under the existing laws which provide for the partition of Native lands, and still subject to present restrictions. But this, though a possible, is not a probable contingency. Generally the Native tribes, from Wairoa

to Waiapu, have already consented to the plan, herein set forth, and it is at their request that the proposed Bill is being introduced. By the Bill it is proposed that committees shall have power to determine what share each hapu, each family, and if necessary each individual possesses in the common property.

Thus nearly all the difficulties would disappear, and the land could be "cut up," leased, sold, and conveyed as easily, and as cheaply as an estate held by any member of the community, under an ordinary Grant from the Crown. There still remain, however, the lands to the north-east of Gisborne, which the Act of 1867 will not permit to be sold. The Bill gives power to place such lands under trust also, and removes from them a restriction which now prevents their being dealt with.

The Native owners of these blocks, to a large extent, have consented to assign their lands to Trustees, and in truth have already in great part signed the necessary deeds. The Europeans who hold leases in this particular district (and under these restrictions,) are three in number. One holds in lease twenty-four thousand acres in Kaiti and Pouawa, another twenty-one thousand acres in Whangara, the third twenty-eight thousand acres in Paremata and Mangaheia, in all seventy-three thousand acres, running in a straight line from the post-office, in Gisborne, for thirty-five miles to the north-east. Two of these have already agreed to terms for the surrender of their leases to the trustees; the third is willing to do so if Parliament gives the trustees the necessary powers. I have before said that these lands under restrictions as to sale, are among the most valuable upon the East Coast. On the south-west, when extended, they touch the town of Gisborne. Upon Kaiti, a part of Gisborne must be built, and upon the shore of that block also a breakwater will be erected. On the north-east Paremata and Mangaheia surround Tologa Bay and the Government township of Uawa. At the present, time only a few shepherds and a few sheep occupy this tract of country.

It is certain that there are now in the colony very large numbers of persons who are willing and able to take up good land on deferred payments, wherever that land may be. Many classes of the community are concerned in this desire. Both in the North and South there are young and active men, the sons of settlers, who, unable to procure land in the immediate vicinity of their homes, would gladly secure freeholds for themselves elsewhere. In every town and district there are not a few to whom the obtaining a piece of good land on which to settle and work out a livelihood would be a boon. Working men's clubs, too, in every centre of population, would gladly co-operate to secure for many of their members such pieces of land. Hundreds of families already in the colony, who ought in justice to be considered, can, and will avail themselves of the advantages which this proposed measure will enable the Maori trustees to offer. I have received reliable information from Belfast, which tells me that if these lands are thrown open as the promoters of this Bill desire they should be, hundreds of farmers from the North of Ireland, men of good character, of great energy, and of substantial means are willing to emigrate and make homes upon the Maori lands of the East Coast. I am also informed that a similar desire has been expressed by many of the same class around Edinburgh and Glasgow, while I hear of repeated enquiries from farmers in Lincolnshire, Gloucestershire, Somerset, and Devon.

The subject matter of the Bill may be viewed in two aspects; one as it affects the Maoris, and the other as it may affect Europeans who wish to avail themselves of the facilities offered for the acquisition of Native lands.

As affecting the Maori owners, the trustees will have—

Firstly, to select such lands in each block as may be necessary and convenient for the dwelling places and cultivations of the different hapus and families interested in the particular property.

Secondly, to make such reserves as may be deemed advisable for schools and charitable or other like purposes; for roads, for townships, and for recreation and pleasure; and

Thirdly, to divide the nett proceeds arising from each block in the fairest and justest manner possible, subject to the general charges arising from costs of schools, hostelryes, building and repair of houses, fencing, etc., etc.

As affecting Europeans, the objects to be accomplished are—

1. To cut up the lands for lease and sale in suitable areas and positions.
2. To offer those lands for sale or lease upon such terms as to classification, price, times of payment, amount of interest or rent, and otherwise, upon such conditions as may attract settlers by their liberal nature, and yet yield a reasonable revenue to the native proprietors and vendors. It is easy to perceive that the trustees will be able to offer the land on very easy and liberal terms.

3. To devote a reasonable and proper portion of the returns from the lands to the prosecution of useful works—*i.e.* harbours, roads, and bridges. This Bill provides for works of this kind to be constructed.

4. To choose suitable sites for special settlements for farmers and others from the colony and from the United Kingdom.

These, briefly, are the leading objects of the "East Coast Settlement Bill."

In the proposed measure, power is asked to borrow money upon the security of the lands, or special portions thereof, always excluding reserves, for the purposes following :—

- To pay off mortgages and encumbrances now existing.

- To pay all debts due by the Maori owners of these lands.
- To construct necessary or useful public works.

The trustees are to be incorporated, and though possessing large powers, are placed under efficient control; all their transactions are to be patent and open to those concerned; and provision is made for the audit of their books and accounts.

It is not possible in a short paper such as this, to point out all the advantages which will result to individuals and to the community from the successful accomplishment of the scheme proposed.

To those Europeans already settled upon the East Coast it means the realisation of hopes which have buoyed them up through years of war, toil, and privation. To the district it means a speedy advance in prosperity, while to the colony it means an accession to population and to wealth.

If these proposals are given effect to by act of the Legislature, it is confidently believed that the beginning of the end of Native difficulty will have been discovered. Nearly all Native troubles have arisen in connection with the possession and the disposal of Native lands. To a law so easily understood, and arriving at such worthy objects as those proposed, I believe all the tribes will give their assent.

By the Bill all interests are conserved; existing rights are respected. Every Native will be a sharer in the benefits arising from the occupation, the leasing, or the sale of his ancestral lands, Each individual of the Native race interested will feel that he has committed the care of his land to fit persons, and that he is safe.

Script. (possibly Hebrew).

## During the First Circuit.

### Psalm XXX.

Script. (possibly Hebrew).

Previous to the Consecration, Afternoon Service will be read in the Temporary Synagogue at 3 o'Clock.

*The Minister, the Wardens, and other Honorary Officers of the Congregation, bring the Scrolls of the Law to the door of the New Synagogue, when the Minister exclaims in Hebrew:—*

Open unto me the gates of righteousness; I will enter them, and praise the Lord.

*The doors being opened, the Minister and others enter in procession, with the Scrolls in their arms, when the Minister and Choir Chant:—*

How goodly are thy tents, O Jacob! thy tabernacles, O Israel!

O Lord! I have ever loved the habitation of thy house, and the dwelling-place of thy glory.

We will come into thy tabernacles, and worship at thy footstool.

*The procession then passes up the Synagogue under the Canopy, until it arrives at the Ark; during its progress the Minister and Choristers sing:*

From the Lord's house, we praise proclaim  
 On him who cometh in his name.  
 On us th' Eternal God doth shine,  
 And bless us with His light divine;  
 The sacrifice for Him design'd,  
 Upon the altar haste to bind.  
 A thankful prayer to Thee I'll raise :  
 Thou art my God, Thy name I'll praise.  
 The Lord is good, unto His name  
 Let us with praise our thanks proclaim,  
 For everlasting, good and pure,  
 His gracious mercy will endure.

Hear, O Israel, the Eternal is our God; the Eternal is One.

Our God is a Unity: great is our Lord, Whose name is the Most Holy.

*The procession then passes round the Synagogue seven times; during each circuit one of the following Psalms is chanted by the Minister and Choristers.*

# During the First Circuit.

## (Psalm xxx.)

David's Psalm and Song for the Dedication of the House.

O Lord! Thou hast protected me, And lifted me on high,  
Hast saved me from mine enemy, Still'd his exulting cry.  
I will extol Thy mighty name; I cried, O Lord; to Thee,  
From Thee, my God! assistance came, Thou hast deliver'd me.  
Thou hast redeem'd my soul from death, My life Thou hast restored,  
Hast saved me from the grave beneath, Eternal, mighty Lord!

Script. (possibly Hebrew).

# During the Second Circuit.

## Psalm XLIII.

Script. (possibly Hebrew).

Ye saints, exulting voices raise, In song your thanks proclaim,  
All mindful of God's holy ways, And His exalted name.

For momentary is His rage, But lifelong is His grace;  
Though tears the night's dark hours engage, With dawn come joy and peace.

And thence in my security, Triumphantly I said,  
"I shall remain immutably, There's nought for me to dread."

O Lord! it pleased Thee to endow With strength my mountain fair,  
Thou did'st conceal Thy face, and, lo, Calamity and care.

I raised a supplicating cry, "O Lord! Eternal God!  
What Good is it, that now I die? What profit is my blood?"

"When I descend into the grave, Can I extol Thy name?  
Shall the mere clay in utt'rance have The Lord's truth to proclaim?"

"O Lord! give heed into my prayer, With favour on me shine;  
O Lord! on me bestow Thy care, And grant Thy help divine."

Now Thou hast turn'd my wailing grief Into a dance of glee;  
My garb of sackcloth taken off, And deck'd me festively.

Therefore my voice to Thee I'll raise; In thankful minstrelsy—  
O Lord! Almighty God! Thy praise I'll sing eternally.

## **During the Second Circuit.**

### **(Psalm xliii.)**

Judge me, O God! and aid my cause Against an impious race;  
From unjust and deceitful men Release me through Thy grace.

In Thee, O God! my strength abides, Why dost withdraw Thine aid?  
Why doth my foes' oppression sore, With grief o'erwhelm my head?

Send forth, I pray, Thy light and truth, To guide me on the road,  
Which leadeth to Thy holy hill, Unto Thy bless'd abode.

Then to God's altar will I go; I'll tune my harp, and sing  
My thanks to God, my joy of joys, My Lord—Almighty King!

My soul, why art thou sorrowing, O'erwhelming me with tears?  
Put trust in God, praise His great name, And cast aside all fears.

For I will ever offer praise And thanks unto the Lord,  
Who hath upheld my countenance, And is Almighty God.

## **During the Third Circuit.**

# **Psalm C.**

Script. (possibly Hebrew).

## **During the Fourth Circuit.**

# **Psalm CXXVII.**

Script. (possibly Hebrew).

## **During the Fifth Circuit.**

# **Psalm CXVII.**

Script. (possibly Hebrew).

## **During the Third Circuit.**

### **(Psalm c.)**

Shout joyfully unto the Lord, All earth your voice upraise;  
Exulting serve Almighty God; Come, singing psalms of praise.

Know the Lord God created us; To Him do we belong;  
His people, sheep beneath His care—Then come to Him with song.

Come to his gates with thankful praise. His courts fill joyfully.  
Bless His great name, His holy ways, With grateful minstrelsy.

For everlasting is His grace, His goodness, truth, and worth.  
Enduring when all human race Shall cease to be on earth.

## **During the Fourth Circuit.**

### **(Psalm cxxvii.)**

A SONG OF ASCENSION BY SOLOMON.

If the Lord lendeth not His aid, All useless is man's toil  
To build the house, or safely guard The city free from spoil.

'Tis useless that at early dawn, From slumber ye arise,  
And until midnight labour on For your necessities.

But if God's grace your work attend, If it by Him be bless'd,  
He brings it to successful end, And gives the toilers rest.

Behold! the children whom ye love, Are blessings from the Lord,  
A heritage sent from above To mankind for reward.

He who is bless'd in early life With children's loving smiles,  
Is like a warrior arm'd for fight, Whose darts his quiver fills.

Such man shall never turn aside, But at the gate appear;  
Speak to his enemies with pride, Nor shrink away in fear.

## **During the Fifth Circuit.**

### **(Psalm cxvii.)**

Praise ye the Lord, all nations sing,  
All people your laudations bring;  
For great and lasting is the grace  
Which He bestows on Israel's race.  
True and enduring is His word,  
Then sing aloud, Praise ye the Lord.

## **During the Sixth Circuit.**

### **Psalm CXXX.**

Script. (possibly Hebrew).

# During the Seventh Circuit.

## Psalm XXIV.

Script. (possibly Hebrew).

# During the Sixth Circuit.

## (Psalm cxxx.)

O Lord! I raised to Thee a plaintive cry,  
From the abyss of sin and misery.  
O Lord! I pray that Thou wilt turn Thine ear,  
And hearken to my supplicating prayer.  
Alas! What man before Thy face could stay,  
If thou did'st always mark his evil way?  
But grace and pardon ever with Thee dwell,  
And man to reverential awe impel.  
My soul all hopeful waiteth for the Lord,  
And steadfastly relieth on His word;  
More eagerly than watchmen through the night,  
Await the coming of dawn's glimm'ring light,  
My soul relieth on the Lord, as they  
Await, full certain of returning day;  
And thus may Israel hopefully rely  
Upon the Lord, who reigns eternally.  
Mercy, and full redemption are with Him,  
And He, from sin, all Israel will redeem.

# During the Seventh Circuit.

## (Psalm xxiv.)

The earth, O Lord! belongs to Thee, And all that in it dwell,  
For Thou hast built it on the sea, Above the ocean's swell.  
O Lord! Who shall ascend Thy hill—Dwell in Thy holy place?  
Whose heart and hands are free from ill, Imbued with heavenly grace;  
Whose soul from vanity is free, Who hath not sworn deceitfully;  
Such men a blessing shall receive From Thee, Almighty Lord,  
Who in Thy saving power believe, And trust Thy holy word;  
These are the men of Israel's race, who hope to gaze upon Thy face.

*The Ark is opened, and the Header and Choristers chant:*

Ye gates, uprear your lofty heights, Above all earthly domes,  
Doors of Eternity, fly back, The King of Glory comes.  
The King of Glory! Who is he? The strong and mighty Lord,  
Whose presence bringeth victory, The sole Almighty God.  
Ye gates, uprear your lofty heights, Above all earthly domes,  
Doors of Eternity, fly back, the King of Glory comes.  
The King of Glory! Who is he Whose coming ye proclaim?  
The Lord of all Eternity! Praised be His hallow'd name.

## Prater for the Queen and Royal Family.

May he who dispenseth salvation unto kings, and dominion unto princes: whose kingdom is an everlasting kingdom; who delivered David his servant from the destructive sword; who maketh a way in the sea, and a path through the mighty waters: May he bless, preserve, guard, assist, exalt, and highly aggrandize our Sovereign Lady QUEEN VICTORIA, ALBERT EDWARD, PRINCE OF WALES, THE PRINCESS OF WALES, and all the ROYAL FAMILY. May the Supreme King of kings, through his infinite mercy, grant her life, preserve her, deliver her from all manner of trouble and danger; subdue people under her feet, make her enemies fall before her, and cause her to prosper in all her undertakings. May the Supreme King of kings, through his infinite mercy, incline her heart, and the hearts of her counsellors and nobles, with benevolence to act kindly towards us and all Israel. In her days, and in our days, may Judah be saved, and Israel dwell in safety; and may the Redeemer come unto Zion; O that this may be his gracious will! and let us say, Amen.

Script. (possibly Hebrew).

And when the Ark rested, he said, Return, O Eternal! to the myriads of thousands of Israel! Arise, O Eternal! unto Thy resting place, Thou, and the Ark of Thy strength. Let Thy priests be clothed with righteousness, and Thy pious ones shout for joy. For the sake of Thy servant David turn not away the face of Thine Anointed, "for I have given you good doctrine, forsake ye not my law; it is a tree of life to those who take fast hold of it, and the supporters thereof are happy; its ways are pleasantness, and all its paths are peace."

Script. (possibly Hebrew).

CHOIR.

Do Thou turn us unto Thee, O Eternal! and then we shall return. Renew our days as of old.

*The Scrolls of the Law are then placed in the Ark.*

THE MINISTER THEN PREACHES A SERMON, AND OFFERS UP A CONSECRATION PRAYER.

May he who blessed our forefathers, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, bless the Wardens and Members of this Congregation, and all who have brought their offerings for the building of this synagogue. May he bless them, their wives, their sons, their daughters, and all belonging unto them. May he preserve them from distress and sorrow, may he prosper the work of their hands, and vouchsafe unto them length of days in joy and happiness. Amen.

Script with vignette. (possibly Hebrew).

## Evening Service.

### CONCLUDING PRAYER.

It is incumbent upon us to praise the Lord of all; to magnify the Creator of the beginning; for he hath not made us like unto nations of other countries, nor disposed of us in the manner of other families of the earth; neither hath he appointed our portion like unto theirs, nor our lot like all their multitude. For we bend the knee, worship, and make our acknowledgments to the presence of the supreme King of kings! the holy and blessed Being; he who stretched out the heavens, and laid the foundations of the earth, the throne of whose glory is in the heavens above, and the residence of whose might is in the celestial heights. He is our God, and there is no other. Our King is truth, and there is none besides him; as it is written in his law, "Know, therefore, this day, and reflect in thine heart, that the Lord he is God, in heaven above, and on the earth beneath : there is none

else."

We will, therefore, place our hope in thee, O Lord, our God! speedily to behold thy glorious power; removing the abominations out of the earth, and causing all the idols to be utterly destroyed, that the universe may be established under the Almighty government; all flesh invoke thy name, and all the wicked of the earth turn unto thee : then shall all the inhabitants of the world know and acknowledge, that unto Thee every Knee must bow, and every tongue swear: before thee, O Lord, our God ! shall they kneel and fall prostrate : they shall ascribe honour to thy glorious name, and all shall take upon themselves the duties due to thy dominion : and thou wilt speedily reign over them for ever and ever. For the kingdom is thine, and in eternal glory wilt thou reign; as it is written in thy law, "The Lord shall reign for ever and ever." And it is also expressed, "And the Lord shall be King over all the earth," on that day will it be acknowledged that the Lord is One, "and his name One,"

## Psalm CL.

Hebrew script

### (Psalm cl.)

Sing Hallelujah! praise to God;  
Upon His holy seat,  
In His great power. His mightiness  
With praise His presence greet;  
And with His mighty excellence  
Let your high praise accord;  
Exulting Hallelujahs sing,  
And shout, "Praise ye the Lord!"

With trumpet's sound, psalt'ry, and harp,  
With timbrel and with dance,  
With organs and string'd instruments,  
Proclaim His excellence.  
With cymbals' tone, with cymbals' clang,  
Tour praise to Him accord;  
Let every breathing thing proclaim,  
"Praise Him! Praise ye the Lord!"

Hebrew script Order of Service For The Consecration Of the New Synagogue, Moray Place. On Sunday, the 3rd Ellul, 5641/28th August, 1881.

To Commence at 3 O'Clock, P.M.

Coulls & Culling, Printers & Stationers Dunedin, New Zealand Rattray-St. 1881

Script (possibly Hebrew).

## New Synagogue, Consecrated By Rev. Bernard Lichtenstein.

### Honorary Officers:

- MR. Maurice Joel, *President*.

- MR. Abraham Solomon, *Treasurer*.

## Committee:

- PAST PRESIDENT, Mr. Godfrey Jacobs, Ex-Officio.
- MR. Ezekiel Nathan
- MR. Barnard Isaac
- MR. Simeon Isaacs
- MR. Joseph F. Anderson
- MR. Michael Cohen
- MR. Samuel Goldston
- MR. Sigsmund Kohn
- MR. Hyman Naphtali

## Trustees:

- MESSRS Maurice Joel, Ezekiel Nathan, Robert M. Marks

## Building Committee:

- MR. Maurice Joel
- MR. A. Solomon
- MR. Godfrey Jacobs
- MR. J. F. Anderson
- MR. B. Isaac
- MR. Solomon DE Beer

## Architect:

- L. Boldini, ESQ.

## Contractors:

- MESSRS Johns AND Evans.

## Choir Master:

- MR. Joseph Moss.

New Zealand Court. International Exhibition, 1880, Melbourne Catalogue of Exhibits Melbourne:  
Printed for the New Zealand Commissioners, BY Mason, Firth & M'Cutcheon, 51 & 53 FLINDERS LANE  
WEST.

## List of Local Committees.

- Auckland—
- J. M. Clark, Esq., Chairman; Messrs. Geo. Holdship, Thos. Morrin, Thos. Peacock. Hon. Secretary, Jas. Stodart.
- Grahamstown—
- W. M'Culloch, Esq. (Mayor), Chairman; A. Brodie, Esq. (County Chairman); Colonel Fraser, Messrs. J. Brown, F. C. Dean, L. Ehrenfried, A. Price, A. Porter, W. Carpenter. Hon. Secretary, F. C. Dean.
- Gisborne—
- Chairman of Committee, Captain Porter. Hon. Secretary, A. Y. Ross.

- Napier—
- M. R. Miller, Esq., Chairman; Hon. H. R. Russell, Messrs. A. Wardrop, John Harding, J. N. Williams, Thos. Tanner, R. Sime.
- New Plymouth—
- Jas. Davidson, Esq. (Mayor), Chairman; Councillors Thos. Veale, Wm. Humphries, Clarence Rennell, Richd. Rundle, Alexander Boswell, Alexander Colson, J. A. Adams, Jas. Bellringer. Hon. Secretary, L. Cholwill.
- Wanganui—
- Thos. Bamber, Esq., Chairman; Messrs. G. Carson, H. Hurley, A. D. Willis. Hon. Secretary, Geo. Brooking.
- Wellington—
- J. Rees George, Esq., Chairman; Messrs. J. H. Bethune, J. B. Harcourt.
- Blenheim—
- His Worship the Mayor (F. T. Farmer, Esq.), Chairman; and Councillors Fell, Robinson, Presswood, Rogers, Sinclair, Wemyss, Litchfield, and Houldsworth.
- Nelson—
- J. R. Dodson, Esq., Chairman; His Lordship the Bishop of Nelson, Dr. Irvine, Messrs. Brown, Crewdson, J. Gully, Hackett, Hunter, Little, Pownall, Shepherd, Trask, White, Rev. John Beckenham (Hon. Sec.)
- Greymouth—
- Richard Nancarrow, Esq. (Mayor), Chairman; Messrs. Patrick Griffin, James Barkley, F. W. Lahman, J. G. Thomas, Joseph Kilgour, F. C. Dupré, Peter Bell Cameron, Wm. Jas. Coates, Francis Hamilton. Hon. Secretary, John A. Whall.
- Hokitika—
- M' Clean W. Jack, Esq. (Mayor), Chairman; Messrs. John Tait, Robert Walker, John Cross, Thomas Cooke, Wm. Heinz, W. G. Johnson, John Peake, John Nicholson, Thomas Shaffrey. Hon. Secretary, W. D. Banks.
- Christchurch—
- G. G. Stead, Esq., Chairman; Messrs. J. Beaumont, P. Cunningham, L. E. Nathan, W. D. Wood, C. W. Turner, and Hon. J. T. Peacock. Hon. Secretary, J. A. Bird.
- Oamaru—
- Thos. Meek, Esq., Chairman; Messrs. George Sumpter, Samuel Gibbs, E. P. Burbury, Thos. Forrester. Hon. Secretary, J. T. Evans.
- Timaru—
- Captain Sutter, Chairman; Captain Cain, Messrs. Gibson, Grainger, and Jonas. Hon. Secretary, F. Stubbs.
- Dunedin—
- Robert Gillies, Esq., Chairman; Hon. W. H. Reynolds, Hon. George M'Lean, M.H.R., Professor Ulrich, Messrs. L. O. Beal, Wm. Blair, C.E., A. Burt, E. B. Cargill, W. M. Hodgkins, D. C. Hutton, J. B. Mudie, G. L. Sise, John Mitchell, C. S. Reeves, George Bell. Hon. Secretary, John Mitchell.
- Invercargill—
- John Turnbull, Esq., Chairman; Messrs. J. Walker Bain, M.H.R.; J. T. Martin, R. Tapper, J. W. Mitchell. Hon. Secretary, Chas. Rout
- Queenstown—
- F. H. Daniels, Esq., Chairman; Messrs. Wm. Mason, John S. Worthington, Wm. Jenkins.

## New Zealand.

### Statistics, 1879.

Total estimated population (exclusive of Maoris), 31st December, 1879 463,729 Population as per census 3rd March, 1878 414,412 Composed of the following nationalities :— English and Welsh 108,195 Scotch 47,949 Irish 43,758 Australian 16,091 New Zealand born (white) 174,126 Other British possessions 4,840 Foreign 18,505 Uncertain 9,401 Chinese 4,442 Maori population 42,819 Marriage rate 7.65 to 1000 of population Birth rate 40.34 to 1000 of population Death rate 12.48 to 1000 of population

Year. Wool. Gold. Produce. Tallow. Kauri Gum. Timber. 1870 £1,703,944 £2,163,910 £184,513 £75,583 £175,074 £18,509 1871 1,606,144 2,788,368 206,333 67,208 167,958 21,079 1872 2,537,919 1,730,992

371,887 68,788 154,167 26,718 1873 2,702,471 1,987,425 328,875 67,118 85,116 44,039 1874 2,834,695  
1,505,331 432,924 65,366 79,986 44,450 1875 3,398,155 1,407,770 262,942 55,865 138,523 40,046 1876  
3,395,816 1,268,599 399,374 109,896 109,234 49,847 1877 3,658,938 1,476,312 433,741 156,552 118,348  
50,901 1878 3,292,807 1,240,079 528,109 178,502 — — 1879 3,126,439 1,134,641 763,635 145,595 147,535  
35,502

Crown Lands. According to the Crown Lands Report for the year ending 30th June, 1880, 718 settlers had that year taken up 95,000 acres of land on deferred payment, agricultural lease, homestead, and village settlement conditions. Acres. Land sold on immediate payment—Town 182 £149,000 Land sold on immediate payment— Suburban 1,159 £149,000 Land sold on immediate payment— Rural 95,680 £149,000 Land sold on deferred payment— Agricultural 62,036 Land sold on immediate payment— Pastoral 15,673 Land sold on immediate payment— Village settlement 248

Total land revenue for the twelve months ending 30th June, 1880, £332,463. Total Crown lands disposed of or remainine on 31st March, 1880 :— Total area sold or otherwise disposed of 14,126,772 acres Price realised £11,321,045 Open for selection 14,398,809 acres Total area remaining for future disposal, exclusive of area in preceding item and native lands 20,013,832 acres

## Index to Departments.

## Index to Exhibitors.

## Addenda.

The following Exhibits arrived too late for insertion in their proper places in the Catalogue.

## Errata.

- Page 39—*Omit* paragraph following entry No. 261, relating to an exhibit withdrawn
- Page 52—*Omit* 353A; entry transferred to Class 27 (*see Addenda*)
- Page 67—Reid and Sons, *instead of* "Otago," "Flour," *read*, Riverton, Invercargill, Rye Grass Seed

## Withdrawn.

- No. 38—Gifford, E. A., Oamaru
- No. 200—Hill, Henry, Wellington
- No. 216—Beal, Mary, Dunedin
- No. 406—Arkell, John, Nelson
- No. 479—Shand and Worth, Dunedin, partly withdrawn (bacon).

## New Zealand.

## Department I.

## Works of Art.

### Class 1.—OIL PAINTINGS.

1—ANNABELL, JOSEPH, *Hastings, Napier.*

- Oil Paintings—  
  - ♠Horse "Papa Papa"
  - ♠Mare "Kate"
  - ♠Fruit
  - ♠Sir D. M 'Lean.
- 2—BILLENS, HENRY, *Aharoa*.
- Oil Paintings of Akaroa Scenery,  
 3—BLOMFIELD, CHARLES, *Auckland*.
- Original Oil Painting of New Zealand Bush Scenery.  
 4—BRANDON, MISSES, *Wellington*.
- Paintings on Silk.  
 5—BROWNING, MISS KATEY Macey, *Nelson*.
- Two Oil Paintings, Landscape and Portrait.  
 6—DRIVER, H. D., *Thames*.
- Oil Painting (framed), "Off Flambro' Head, England."  
 7—FARR, S. C., *Christchurch*.
- Panoramic Oil Painting of Banks' Peninsula, Canterbury, 1853,. at a height of 2750 feet.  
 8—GARRARD, WILLIAM, *Christchurch*.
- Oil Painting, "St. Kilda, 1857," by G. Winton, F.S.T.  
 9—GEISLER, WILHELM, *Claremont House, Nelson*.
- Oil Paintings—  
  - ♠A Moonlight Scene at the Sea
  - ♠A Moonlight Scene at the River.
- Paintings on Porcelain—  
  - ♠Oyster Breakfast, after Mieris
  - ♠Shepherd Girl, after Hofner.
- 10—GIBB, JOHN, *Christchurch*.
- Oil Paintings—  
  - ♠Lyttelton Harbour, showing the Breakwater and Heads
  - ♠Mount Pembroke and Entrance to Milford Sound, N.Z.
  - ♠Autumn, on the Avon, Christchurch, N.Z.
- 11—GIBB, WILLIAM, *Christchurch*.
- Oil Paintings—  
  - ♠Akaroa Harbour
  - ♠In the Bush, Little River.
- 12—GIFFORD, E. A. (G.M.R.A.), *Artist, Oamaru*.
- Oil Colour Painting, "Sunset Glow on Eastern Coast of New Zealand."  
 13—HANNAN, JAMES, *Invercargill*.
- Oil Paintings.  
 14—M'KENZIE, GEORGE, *Dunedin*.
- Four Oil Paintings illustrative of Scottish Scenery, by J. Moultray.  
 15—MERRITT, THOMAS E., *Wanganui*.
- Oil Painting.  
 16—MORETON, SAMUEL H., *Invercargill*.
- Oil Painting, "Lake Taupo."  
 17—NAIRNE, CHAS. JAMES, *Paurerere, Hawke's Bay*.
- Oil Painting of Terawera Jube and Rua Waihia Mountains.  
 18—NICHOLLS, MRS. A. R. (*née* DALRYMPLE), *Southbridge, Cant[unclear: ra,] bury*.
- Oil Paintings—  
  - ♠View, Upper Waimakariri Valley
  - ♠View, On Teremakau River
  - ♠View, Digger's Hut by Moonlight
  - ♠View, Waterfall, Auckland Province
  - ♠View, Pigeon Bay, Banks' Peninsula.
- 19—PEETLE, JAMES, *Rangiora, Canterbury*.
- Oil Paintings—  
  - ♠Lake Mapourika, West Coast
  - ♠Kanieri Valley, West Coast.

- 20—POWNALL, ROBERT W., *Nelson*.
- Oil Paintings—
  - Mount Crusader, from Motueka River
  - A Bit of Bush, Ngahmoti.
- 21—POWER, PETER, *Leith-street, Dunedin*.
- Six Original Oil Paintings of Local Scenery, "Water of Leith, near Dunedin."
- 22—ROBIN, ALFRED W., *Dunedin*.
- Two Oil Paintings from Nature, by a junior Amateur Student, "Water of Leith, near Dunedin."
- 23—STAFFORD, MRS., *Amesbrook, Nelson*.
- Historical Oil Painting, by Exhibitor, "Lady Jane Grey refusing the Crown."
- 24—TAIT, WILLIAM HENRY, *Invercargill*.
- Oil Painting, "Sealing in the Sounds."
- 25—THOMSON, JOHN T., F.R.G.S., F.R.S.S.A., *Invercargill*.
- Oil Paintings—
  - Dunedin in 1856
  - Queenstown in 1868
  - Earnshaw, Lake Wakatipu
  - Dart Valley do.
- 26—WATKINS, W. M. N., *Aharaoa, Canterbury*.
- Oil Paintings from Nature—
  - View on the West Coast
  - Waterfall, Flea Bay, near Akaroa
  - Creek Scene, Aylmers, Akaroa
  - Flowers.
- 27—WAYMOUTH, MISS E., *Invercargill*.
- Oil Paintings—
  - New River Estuary
  - Waihopai Bush
  - New River Heads
  - Water of Leith, Dunedin (two views).

## **Class 2.—VARIOUS PAINTINGS AND DRAWINGS.**

- 28—AUBREY, CHRISTOPHER, *Invercargill*.
- Water Colour Drawing, "Oyster Fisheries"
- Neutral Tint Drawing, "Mouth of the Waiau."
- 29—BOSCAWEN, HUGH, *Government Buildings, Wellington*.
- Pen and Ink Sketches of Scenery in various parts of the wo[*unclear: rk*] New Zealand included; one on paper, one on parchment.
- 30—BARRAUD, C. D., *Wellington*.
- Copy of "The New Zealand Graphic."
- 31—BARRAUD, C. D., *Wellington*.
- Water Colour Paintings of New Zealand Scenery—
  - Coromandel Harbour
  - Dusky Sound
  - Wet Jacket Arm, Dusky Sound
  - Mitre Peak, Milford Sound
  - Hall's Arm, Doubtful Sound.
- 32—BARRAUD, NOEL, *Wellington*.
- Original Water Colour Sketch of New Zealand Scenery, "Sk[*unclear: ey*] of Mount Egmont."
- 33—BRANDON, E., *Wellington*.
- Seven Water Colour Paintings—
  - Hall's Arm
  - Entrance to Milford Sound (Grey)
  - View in Milford Sound (Sunset)
  - Preservation Inlet
  - View in Preservation Inlet
  - View in Bradshaw Sound

- Bradshaw Arm, Breaksea Sound.
- 35—CANE, THOMAS, *Christchurch*.
- Four Views in Water Colour
  - Drawing of the Town and Harbour of Akaroa.
- 36—FREETH, CHARLES J., *Masterton, Wairarapa*.
- Pencil Drawing, representing Grace Darling Rescuing Survivors from the Wreck of the Steamer "Forfarshire." the coast of Northumberland.
- 37—GAPES, WILLIAM, *Gapes' Valley, Canterbury*.
- Two Water Colour Drawings of New Zealand Scenery, [*unclear: via*] near Geraldine, Canterbury.
- 38—GIFFORD, E. A. (G.M.R.A.), *Artist, Oamaru*.
- Water Colour Painting, "Milford Sound at Sunrise."
- 39—GULLY, JOHN, *Nelson*.
- Water Colour Paintings—
    - Valley of the Teremakau, West Coast, N.Z., Showery Day
    - Mount Aspiring and Glacier, Otago, Evening
    - Running for Milford Sound, N.Z., Storm
    - Golden Bay, Nelson, N.Z., Sunset
    - Gnotuck, Victoria, Sunrise and Rain
    - The Remarkables, Lake Wakatipu, N.Z., Snowy Morning
    - Mount Earnshaw, Lake Wakatipu, Sunrise
    - Otira Gorge, West Coast Coach Road, N.Z.
- 40—HALCOMBE, A. F., *Fielding, Wellington*.
- Drawing in Sepia and Pencil, by Mrs. Halcombe, of the Town of Fielding.
- 41—HALCOMBE, MRS. E., *Fielding, Wellington*.
- Water Colour, "Lake Rhea, Otago," by the Exhibitor.
- 42—HALCOMBE, MRS. E., *Fielding, Wellington*.
- Sketches of New Zealand Ferns and Forest Trees, by the late W. Swainson, Esq., F.R.S.
- 43—HAMILTON, A., *Petane, Napier*.
- Three Illuminations in Water Colour.
- 44—HORNE, MISS M. W., *Parnell, Auckland*.
- Five Water Colour Paintings, Landscapes of Auckland and Taranaki—
  - Nos. 1 to 4, New Zealand Bush Scenes
  - No. 5, Mount Egmont, Taranaki.
- 45—HUTTON, DAVID C., *Art-master, Dunedin*.
- Twenty-four Drawings, consisting of Free-hand, Mechanical and Architectural Drawings, Drawing from the Cast, Painting from Copies and from Nature in Water and Oil Colours.
- 46—KESTEVEN, DR., *Wellington*.
- Sketches of Sydney and Suburbs, taken 50 years ago, by Edward Mason.
- 47—M'CARDELL, JAMES F., *Christchurch*.
- Chalk Drawings—
    - Copy of Engraving in *Illustrated London News*, "Miss"
    - Enlarged copy of a Photograph, "Little Gleaner."
- 47A—MAXWELL, MISS, *Wellington*.
- Drawings in Water Colour.
- 48—MERRITT, CHARLOTTE E., *Wanganui*.
- Water Colour Painting.
- 49—MORETON, SAMUEL H., *Invercargill*.
- Water Colour Paintings—
    - Precipice Peaks
    - Gorge, Precipice Peaks
    - In the Hunter Ranges
    - Dusky Sound, Evening.
- 50—MUNTZ, S. H., *Nelson*.
- Paintings in Water Colour—
    - Lake Tennyson, New Zealand
    - Leithfield Mill, Canterbury, N.Z.
    - Mount Arthur, Nelson, N.Z.
    - Buller Valley, Mount Owen

- Big Bush, looking towards Blind Bay, Nelson, N.Z.
- 51—NEVILLE, LOUIS, *Christchurch*.
- Water Colour Drawings—
    - Wreck on Sandspit, north side of Otago Heads
    - Waihi River, Canterbury
    - Orari Gorge.
- 52—OLIVER, JOHN THOMAS, *Dunedin*.
- Drawing of Wood-planing Machine.
- 53—PALMER, R. G., *Foxton, Manawatu*.
- Water Colour Paintings—
    - River Scenery, West Coast
    - Kai Warra Warra Gorge, Wellington.
- 54—ROSCOE, ADA, *High-street, Dunedin*.
- Landscapes in Water Colours.
- 55—ROWAN, MRS. F. C., *late of Taranaki*.
- Thirty Water Colour Drawings of New Zealand Wild Flow[*unclear: er*] painted from Nature, by the Exhibitor.
- 56—SAVAGE, W., *Christchurch*.
- Pen and Ink Drawing, by F. A. Wrigg.
- 57—SHARPE, ALFRED, *Auckland*.
- Water Colour Picture representing New Zealand Bush and place where Kauri Logs are driven, entrance of Cadm[*unclear: as*] Creek, Coromandel.
- 58—SINCLAIR, GEORGE, *Draughtsman, Dunedin*.
- Decorative Design, Part of William Blake's "Mad Song."
- 59—STEVENS, GEORGE T., *Invercargill*.
- Drawing in Pen and Water Colour.
- 60—STUART, ELLEN, *Morningside, Auckland*.
- Frame of Photographs, painted in Water Colours
- 61—STURTEVANT, GEORGE, Junior, *Auckland*.
- Water Colour Drawings—
    - The Manukau Harbour, from the Howick Ranges
    - The Waitemata Harbour, from the Waitakine Ranges
- 62—TEMPLE, E. F., *Christchurch*.
- Water Colour Painting, "View of Mount Earnshaw"
  - Water Colour Painting, "View on Lake Wakatipu"
  - Water Colour Painting, "View on Lake Sumner"
- 63—WILLIS, A. D., *Wanganui*.
- Water Colour Painting of Rangitoto Island, Auckland, by a crippled Maori boy
- 64—WRIGG, H. C. W., *Chief Draughtsman, Public Works Department, Wellington*.
- Pen and Ink Drawing, "Leisure Hours," by the Exhibitor

### **Class 3.—SCULPTURE AND DIE SINKING.**

- 65—BOCK, WILLIAM R., *Lambton Quay, Wellington*.
- Specimens of Die Sinking
- 66—HON. THE MINISTER FOR NATIVE AFFAIRS, *Wellington*.
- Bust of the late Native Chief Hapuka
- 67—JACKSON, JOHN W., *Wanganui*.
- Engraving on Glass, "Racehorses." This etching was done with the point of a file, ground fine, by A. Milne.
- 68—LEVES AND SCOTT, *Dunedin*.
- Specimen of Glass Embossing
- 69—M'CLENAHAN, R. L., & Co., *Christchurch*.
- Four Pictures engraved on plate glass by steel point—
    - The Fight for the Standard
    - The Hero and his Horse on the Field of Waterloo
    - Carting Timber in Picardy
    - Capture of a Spanish Galliot by Blake

70—MUNRO, GEORGE, *Dunedin*.

- Kakanui Stone, Worked Drapery Vase
- Bust (in White Marble from Caswell Sound, West Coast) of the Rev. Dr. Stuart, Dunedin

71—OAMARU STONE COMPANY LIMITED, *Oamaru*.

- Carved Stone, by L. Godfrey
- Duck and Pukaki
- Vase.

72 THOMSON AND COMPANY, *Sculptors, Dunedin*.

- Carving in Native White Marble.

## **Class 4.—ARCHITECTURAL DRAWINGS AND MODELS.**

73—BURWELL, F. W., (F.R.I.B.A.), *Architect, Invercargill*.

- Architectural Drawings and Designs—
- Street Architecture in Invercargill, consisting of shops, w[unclear: as] houses, offices, &c., erected during the last four years
- Block in same street as above in course of erection
- Girls' High School, Firth and Canon streets, Invercargill, course of erection
- Bank of New Zealand, Invercargill, designed and execu[unclear: te] from plans prepared by F. W. Burwell, F.R.I.B.A., [unclear: I] vercargill, photographed by R. J. Nicholas
- Interior view of same, showing the Banking Office
- Union Bank of Australia, designed and executed by F. [unclear: W.] Burwell.

74—LAMB, ROBERT, *Napier*.

- Series of Five Designs for Timber-framed Churches, illustra[unclear: te] by six sheets of Drawings.

## **Class 5.—ENGRAVINGS AND LITHOGRAPHS.**

75—BOCK, WILLIAM R., *Lambton Quay, Wellington*.

- Engraving

76—BUCHANAN, JOHN, F.L.S., *Wellington*.

- Illustrations of Grasses and Alpine Plants of New Zealand, dr[unclear: aw] on stone, 64 plates

77—HOLMES, R. T., *Wellington*.

- Steel Plate, with progressive proofs, "Wayside Reverie," f[unclear: rom] Oil Painting by Gilbert

78—KNOWLES JOHN, *Under-Secretary for Public Works, Wellington*.

- Lithograph—

Faithful representation of New Zealand native life in [unclear: the] early days of the Colony, having been taken in the y[unclear: ear] 1842

## **Department II.**

### **Class 6.—EDUCATION OF CHILDREN, PRIMARY INSTRUCTION, INSTRUCTION OF ADULTS.**

79—BOARD OF EDUCATION, *Napier*.

- School Apparatus and Appliances, as Teachers' Desks, School Desks, and Blackboards; also Apparatus for Training Infants in Comprehension of Numbers

80—BULLER, DR. WALTER LAURY, Sc.D, F.L.S., F.G.S., &c., *Wellington*.

- Quarto Volume—"A History of the Birds of New Zealand"

81—HAAST, PROFESSOR JULIUS VON, PH.D., F.R.S., *Director of the Canterbury Museum, Christchurch*.

- Report on the Geology of Canterbury and Westland, New Zealand

82—HECTOR, JAMES, M.D., C.M.G., F.R.S., *Director of the Colonial Museum and Laboratory, and of the Geological Survey and Meteorological Departments of New Zealand, and Manager of the New Zealand Institute*.

- Publications of the above Department relating to New Zealand, 24 vols., viz.:—  
Geological Reports, 1808-79

- Museum and Laboratory Reports, 1867-79
- On Phormium Tenax
- Natural History of New Zealand
- Meteorological Reports, 1868-79
- Transactions of the New Zealand Institute. Vols. I. to XII.
- The Grasses of New Zealand, by John Buchanan, F.L.S.
- Handbook of New Zealand, prepared for the Melbourne International Exhibition, by Dr. Hector
- 83—HILL, HENRY, *Inspector of Schools, Napier.*
- New Zealand Objective Reading Tablets, 16 sheets
- The plan of the Reading Tablets is altogether original. Concrete and familiar forms are presented to the young readers, by means of which they quickly distinguish the words standing for the objects.
- All the lessons are based upon the concrete forms as found in Tablets Nos. 4, 5, 6, 7. New words, as conjunctions and prepositions, when first introduced into the lesson, are underlined to attract the readers' attention. Children acquire the art of reading intelligently, as the lessons are based upon subjects familiar to their daily experience.

## **Class 8.—ORGANISATION, METHODS, AND APPLIANCES [UNCLEAR: FOR] SUPERIOR INSTRUCTION.**

- 84—DANIEL, W., *Dipton, Southland.*
- Specimens of Fossils
- Specimens of Building Stones
- 85—HAAST, PROFESSOR JULIUS VON, PH.D., F.R.S., *Director of [unclear: the] Canterbury Museum, Christchurch.*
- Collection illustrating the Ethnology of New Zealand, selected from the Canterbury Museum, Christchurch
- (I) Pre-traditional Man in New Zealand—The Moa Hunters
- A. Rakaia Encampment, Map A.
- B. Moa-Bone-Point Cave, Banks' Peninsula. Diagram B.
- Shag Point Encampment
- D. Maniototo Encampment
- E. Native Implements
- G. Implements and Weapons of the Moriori or Chatham Islanders
- H. Implements of the Solomon Islanders
- J. Implements of Fijians
- 86—HAAST, PROFESSOR JULIUS VON, PH.D., F.R.S., *Director of the Canterbury Museum.*
- Ethnology of Pre-historic Races beyond the Australian Colonies. (Stone Implements). Maps and Sections
- (II) Pre-historic Stone Implements of countries beyond Australasia
- K. Palæolithic Types
- L. Neolithic Types
- These Ethnological Collections are exhibited with a view to show that all people in every part of the world, when arrived at a certain stage of civilization, manufactured and manufacture their stone implements in exactly the same manner; also that, at least for New Zealand and Chatham Islands, we cannot divide the stone implements into palæolithic and neolithic ones, both kinds having been used by the Moa hunters and the Morioris at the same time.
- 87—HAAST, PROFESSOR JULIUS VON, PH.D., F.R.S., *Director of the Canterbury Museum.*
- Three complete skeletons of Dinornithidæ—
- *Dinornis Maximus*
- *Palapterix Elephantopus*
- *Meionornis Casuarinus*
- The three Moa skeletons were articulated from material obtained in the Tertiary deposits at Glenmark, after studying carefully some complete skeletons found in Otago. Selected to illustrate the three most remarkable groups into which the Exhibitor has divided the Dinornithidæ.
- 88—HAAST, PROFESSOR JULIUS VON, PH.D., F.R.S., *Director of the Canterbury Museum.*
- M. Maps, Sections and Drawings, illustrating the Ethnology of New Zealand
- Banks' Peninsula District
- Sumner Cave
- Rock Paintings—Shelter Cave, Weka Pass

89—HAAST, PROFESSOR JULIUS VON, PH.D., F.R.S., *Director of the Canterbury Museum.*

N. Photographs of Objects in Canterbury Museum, Christchurch—

- Groups of Mammals
- Groups of Moa Skeletons
- Group of Birds
- Group of Mammals of the Rocky Mountains
- Group of Animals of the European Alps
- Prow of a Maori War Canoe
- Skeletons of Moas

90—HAMILTON, AUGUSTUS, *Petane, Napier.*

- Special Exhibit of Curios and Rare Specimens of Ancient Printing and Writing—  
Almanac, 1507; Ancient Fire-office Policy  
Enamel of the 13th Century—Arms of Lancastrian  
Rare Print by Bartolozzi

91—HAMILTON, AUGUSTUS, *Petane, Napier.*

- Ethnological Collection (eleven articles)—  
Maori Canoe-head  
Circular Carving  
Genealogical Staff  
Two Maori Skulls  
Six Maori Stone Implements

92—HAMILTON, A., and HILL, H., *Napier.*

- Specimens of Fossils, stratigraphically arranged, illustrating the Geology of Hawke's Bay

93—HARDING, JOHN, *Waipukurau, Napier.*

- Stone Axes (native manufacture)
- Maori Carvings
- Limestone Fossils, Mount Vernon

94—HECTOR, JAMES, M.D., C.M.G., F.R.S., *Wellington.*

- Models made by Dr. Hector—  
New Zealand Topographical and Geological Volcanic System of Ruapehu and Tongariro  
Natural History, Drawings, and Sketches of New Zealand Scenery, by W. M. Cooper and others

95—HECTOR, JAMES, M.D., C.M.G., F.R.S., *Director of Geological Survey of New Zealand.*

- Collection of 2500 Specimens illustrating the Geology of New Zealand

[For Particulars See New Zealand Handbook and Geological Reports.]

A. Palæontology.

- *Palæozoic Fossils.*  
Silurian Formation, XIV.—XV.  
Devonian Formation, XIII.  
Carboniferous Formation, XII.
- *Lower Mesozoic Fossils.*  
Permian Formation (Upper), XI.  
Trias and Rhœtic Formation, X.  
Liassic Formation, IX.  
Jurassic Formation, VIII.
- *Upper Mesozoic Fossils.*  
Lower Cretaceous Formation, VII.  
Cretaceous-Tertiary Formation, VI.
- *Tertiary Fossils.*  
Upper Eocene Formation, V.  
Lower Miocene Formation, IV.  
Upper Miocene Formation, III.  
Pliocene Formation, II.  
Pleistocene Formation
- Named and described by Rev. J. E. Tenison-Woods, Pres. Lin. Soc. N.S.W.

The following species are represented by specimens, casts, or drawings :—

## A. CARNIVORA.

*Morunga elephantina*: Elephant seal. Found in sandhills on various parts of the coast

## B. AVES.

*Palæudyptes antarcticus* (*Huxley*) : Great fossil penguin. Found near Oamaru, East Coast; and Seal Rocks, Brighton, on West Coast. Formation : Lower Eocene.

*Dinornis*: Several species. The Moa, found in superficial deposits in all parts of New Zealand.

*Cnemiornis calcitrans* (*Owen*) : An enormous Anserine, allied to the Cereopsis, or Cape Barren goose of Australia. Formation Superficial deposits with Moa bones.

## C. REPTILIA.

(See HECTOR, TRANS. N.Z. INST., VOL. VI.)

Group—SAUROPTERYGIA. (Vertebrae with both ends flat or concave. Teeth curved, with striated, sharp-pointed crowns, are found in the rock matrix free from the jaws.)

- Genus—*Plesiosaurus*. (Centrum of dorsal vertebra short as compared with its width, which is greater than its height; flat, or only slightly concave at both ends. Humerus prismatic, with a round proximal surface; distal end expanded and flat.)
  - *Plesiosaurus australis* (*Owen*), Cretaceous, Amuri District
  - *Plesiosaurus crassicostatus* (*Owen*), Cretaceous, Amuri District
  - *Plesiosaurus hoodii* (*Owen*), Cretaceous, Amuri District
  - *Plesiosaurus holmesii* (*Hector*), Cretaceous, Amuri District
  - *Plesiosaurus traversii* (*Hector*), Cretaceous, Amuri District
  - *Plesiosaurus mackayii* (*Hector*), Cretaceous, Amuri District
- Genus—*Polycotylus* (*Cope*). (Centrum of dorsal vertebra nearly equal in length to its diameter, constricted; articular surfaces circular, concave, with an elongated tubercle in the centre of the depression. Humerus slender, and long in proportion to the size of the vertebra, with two articular facets on the proximal end.)
  - *Polycotylus tenuis* (*Hector*), Cretaceous, Amuri District
- Genus—*Mauisaurus* (*Hector*). (Centrum of dorsal vertebra equal in length to the diameter, with smooth concave sides and an inferior mesial ridge; articular facets circular, flat, with a deep pit in the centre. Humerus with a large tuberosity.)
  - *Mauisaurus haastii* (*Hector*), Cretaceous, Amuri District
- Genus—*Ichthyosaurus*. (Vertebrae; consist of biconcave discs.)
  - *Ichthyosaurus australis* (*Hector*), Triassic, Amuri District
- Group—PYTHONOMORPHA. (Vertebra concave in front and convex behind. Teeth firmly attached to the jaw; never occur free in the matrix except when broken off.)
- Genus—*Leiodon* (*Owen*). (Dorsal vertebra sub-prismatic, cup and ball of equal diameter. Teeth conical, curved, with thick enamel; pulp-cavity constricted at base.)
  - *Leiodon amuriensis* (*Hector*), Cretaceous, Amuri District
- Genus—*Taniwhasaurus* (*Hector*). (Dorsal vertebra with the cup end expanded, and tapering obliquely to the ball end. Humerus very short, wide, and with powerful muscular crests. Teeth conical, with pulp-cavity expanded at base.)
  - *Taniwhasaurus oweni* (*Hector*), Cretaceous, Amuri District.

(1536-1737) Human Period.

The specimens are classified according to the geological formation from which they are derived, and are accompanied by fifty-two lithograph plates, illustrative of a descriptive work on the subject by Dr. Hector.

B Rock Specimens.

Minerals—Gold Specimens.

- Reef or Quartz Lode Gold—
  - Moanataiari Mine, Thames: 25 per cent gold, 5½ per cent, silver
  - Union Beach Mine, Coromandel: 28 per cent gold
  - Cure Mine, Thames : 14 per cent, gold, 5 per cent, silver
  - Wealth of Nations. Reefton
  - Leaf-gold, White Swan Claim, Coromandel
  - Prince Imperial Claim, Thames
  - Caledonian Mine, Thames : 12 per cent, gold, 4 per cent. silver
  - Turner Reef, Queen Charlotte Sound
- Typical Samples of Alluvial Gold—
  - Canoe Creek, West Coast, Nelson

†Taipo  
 †Moonlight Creek, Grey River, Nelson  
 †Antonio's Flat, branch of Big Grey  
 †Ross (deep lead), Westland  
 †Ross  
 †Moeraki, Otago  
 †Lardi, Little Grey, Nelson  
 †Totara River  
 †Mikonui Beach  
 †Donaghue's  
 †Wakamarina, Marlborough  
 †Greenstone River  
 †Kanieri Terrace  
 †Haast River  
 †Greenland Hill, 2300 feet altitude  
 †Grey  
 †Teremakau  
 †Ho-ho, Hokitika  
 †Ho-ho, Hokitika  
 †Okarito Beach  
 †Lawrence, Otago  
 †Naseby, Spec Gully, Otago  
 †Cromwell, Otago  
 †Queenstown, Otago  
 †Wakamarina River, Marlborough  
 †Blue Spur, Lawrence, Otago  
 †St. Bathans, Otago  
 †Charleston, Nelson  
 †Addison Flat, Nelson  
 †Waimea, Nelson  
 †Twelve Miles Inland, Westport  
 †Fifty Yards Inland, Westport  
 †Gold and Platinum, Southland  
 †Oamaru  
 †Iron, Platinum, Southland  
 †Large Nuggets of Gold from Otago and Nelson

## ANALYSIS.

THE following is a Table of the Average Composition of the Coal Exhibited from New Zealand from Analyses made in the Colonial Laboratory :—

Centesimal Composition. Coal Mine. Fixed Carbon. Hydro-Carbon. Water. Ash. Evaporative Power. lb. 40.  
 Kawakawa Colliery, Bay of Islands, average of seven 50.15 42.63 4.18 3.04 6.50 41. Brunner Coal Company,  
 Grey River, average of seven 56.62 35.68 1.59 6.11 7.36 42. Coal Pit, Heath Coal-mining Company, Grey  
 River 59.38 35.48 1.05 4.09 7.70 44. Green Island Coal Company, Dunedin, average of six 40.30 37.78 17.95  
 3.97 5.02 45. Nightcaps, Southland . . . . 29.30 45.96 21.38 3.36 3.70 46. Shag Point Coal Company, Dunedin  
 43.15 33.70 16.57 6.58 5.42 48. Westport Colliery Company, Mount Rochfort Mine, average of seven .. 60.44  
 34.95 2.26 2.35 7.85 50. Malvern Hills, Canterbury, average often . . . . . 68.54 19.89 4.55 7.42 8.87 Kaiou  
 River, Whangaroa Harbour .. 49.60 28.71 14.40 1.00 6.29 Walton's Mine, Whangarei Harbour, average 41.17  
 35.83 7.50 10.57 4.93 Drury, Auckland .. . . 41.10 36.52 13.90 3.30 5.18 Kupakupa Mine, Waikato River,  
 average 47.45 29.11 15.00 2.45 5.99 Mokau Harbour, upper seam 47.60 36.30 11.90 4.20 — Mokau Harbour,  
 main seam .. 52.60 32.30 12.30 2.80 6.80 Upper Wanganui River, average .. 45.80 24.44 16.25 7.70 5.81  
 Inangahua, Murray Creek, average 54.73 29.49 7.68 1.08 7.02 Upper Buller, Coal Creek, average .. 44.71 27.95  
 15.42 6.42 5.50 Mokihinui . . . . . 46.61 27.38 7.28 2.75 5.98 Collingwood Mine, average . . . 57.31 28.40 1.95  
 4.90 7.44 Pakawau average . . . . 53.47 29.31 3.59 6.68 6.95 West Wanganui, average . . . 47.55 33.98 6.70  
 7.75 4.02 Jenkins's Mine, Nelson . . . 62.40 13.46 14.40 1.80 7.94 Kaitangata Mine, Otago . . . 39.41 37.25  
 19.61 3.73 5.00 Iwaka, Catlin's River . . . 59.60 27.08 4.20 1.40 7.72 Mount Hamilton . . . 49.08 39.44 1.68 9.80  
 6.38 Preservation Inlet, Coal Island, average 60.88 20.69 4.33 6.19 7.91 Preservation Inlet, south of Coal  
 Island, average 41.31 34.03 13.52 5.93 5.21

96—MONCKTON, C. H., *Wellington*.

- Maori War Flag, captured at Opotiki, East Coast of Auckland, from Kereopa, by Wm. Benson, Von Tempsky's Forest Rangers, 1865

97—PARKER, PROFESSOR T. Jeffery, *Otago Museum, Dunedin*.

- A Comparative Series of 12 Vertebrate Skulls, comprising
  - Frog
  - Crocodile
  - Albatross
  - Koala
  - Wallaby
  - Sheep
  - Pig
  - Horse
  - Greyhound
  - Bull Dog
  - Monkey
  - Man

Each skull is longitudinally bisected, and is so placed that the series of bones forming the base of the skull (*basis cranii*) is horizontal. The direction of the series of bones is shown by a red wire, which thus represents the *cranial axis*. From the fore end of this red wire a blue wire is continued along the bones forming the axis of the face, and so marks the *facial axis*. The green wire indicates the direction of the *ethmoidal plane* by which the cavity of the brain-case separated from the chamber of the nose; the black wire, of the tentorial or plane of separation between the greater brain or *cerebrum* and the lesser or *cerebellum*; the yellow wire, the *occipital plane*, or plane of the aperture (*occipital foramen*), through which the spinal cord becomes continuous with the brain. The outline diagrams represent the position of the brain in the skull the lowest (frog) and highest (man) members of the series, the *cranial axis* made of the same absolute length in both. It will be seen that with the increase relative size of the brain, the *facial axis*, *ac*, becomes bent downward upon the *cranial axis*, *ab*, the angle *cab* being, in man, nearly a right angle, instead as in the frog, equal to two right angles. At the same time the *ethmoidal plane* *ad*, is rotated forwards, the angle *dab*, a right angle in the frog, become greater than two right angles in man; and the tentorial and occipital planes rotated backwards, the angles *age*, *abf*, becoming obtuse instead of right angle

98—THOMAS, J. A., *Montere Bluff, Nelson*.

- Fossil Shell and Timber found at Montere Bluff

## Class 9.—PRINTING, BOOKS.

99—COLENZO, W., F.L.S., *Napier*.

- (3) New Testament, printed in Maori in New Zealand, 1839 1st copy of New Testament printed in Southern Hemisphere (edition, 5000 copies)
- (4) Prayer Book, printed in Maori in New Zealand, 1839
- (5) Early Public Papers, viz. :—
  - 1st Government Gazette, 1840
  - 1st English Placard, 1836
  - 1st English Circular, 1835
  - 1st English Prospectus, 1839
  - 1st English Proclamation, 1840
  - 2nd English Proclamation, 1840
  - 3rd English Proclamation, 1840
  - 4th English Proclamation, 1840
  - Treaty of Waitangi, in Maori 10 Statement from Confederate Chiefs, 1835
  - 1st Book printed in New Zealand (Epistle to Ephesians and Philippians), February, 1835
  - 1st English Book printed in New Zealand, 1836
  - 1st English Sermon printed in New Zealand (Bischoff Selwyn), 1842
  - Two Maori Almanacs, 1840 and 1843
  - Letter from Right Hon. Viscount Goderich to the Chiefs of New Zealand
  - Address from James Busby, Esq., British Resident, to the Native Chiefs (both printed in Sydney, 1833)
  - Account of Phormium Tenax, by J. Murray, F.S.A., F.L.S., printed on paper made from its fibre, A.D.

1838

All of these books, printed in New Zealand, were composited by the Exhibitor, and some were written, bound, and translated by him.

- 100—EDWARDS AND GREEN, *Featherstone-street Wellington*.
- Specimens of Machine Printing
- 101—GORDON, W., F.L.S., *Napier*.
- The Lord's Prayer, in Maori, illuminated in Maori Tracery, representing ancient Maori Carvings
- Maori Grammar (1820)
- Threepenny Ticket, dated River Hutt, 1845
- 102—HARDING, B. COUPLAND, *Napier*.
- Specimens of Letterpress Printing
- 103—WILKINSON, W., *Thames*.
- Specimens of Printing (one book)
- 104—WISE, HENRY, AND Co., *Dunedin*.
- New Zealand Directory for 1880-1

## **Class 10.—STATIONERY, BOOKBINDING, PAINTING AND DRAWING MATERIALS.**

- 105—BURRETT, ROBERT, *Wellington*.
- Specimens of Bookbinder's Work
- 106—COLENZO, W., F.L.S., *Napier*.
- Paper made from Phormium Tenax, before 1838
- 107—DIDSBURY, GEORGE, *Government Printer, Wellington*.
- Specimens of Bookbinding, viz.:—
- Set of Account Books
- Set of eleven volumes—"Transactions of New Zealand Institute"
- 108—FERGUSON AND MITCHELL, *Dunedin*.
- Account Books, &c.
- 109—HAMMOND, JOSEPH, *Nelson*.
- Four Bottles of Ink, manufactured by Exhibitor
- 110—INVERCARGILL PAPER BAG FACTORY, *Invercargill*.
- Paper Bags made from Brown and Grey Paper, manufactured by the Mataura Paper Mill Company from native New Zealand grass
- 111—MATAURA PAPER MILL COMPANY LIMITED, *Mataura, Otago*.
- Brown and Grey Wrapping Paper, manufactured chiefly from native New Zealand grass
- 112—OTAGO PAPER COMPANY LIMITED, *Dunedin*.
- Two Samples of Brown Wrapping Paper, manufactured by the Exhibitors
- 113—TOMBS AND DAVIS, *Christchurch*
- Bookbinding, Account Books, &c.

## **Class 11.—GENERAL APPLICATION OF THE ARTS OF DRAWING AND MODELLING.**

- 114—BURRETT, ROBERT, *Wellington*.
- Specimens of Engraved Work
- 115—COLENZO, W., F.L.S., *Napier*.
- Ancient Asiatic Bell (cast of), found in the possession of the Maoris in the interior of the North Island of New Zealand when first visited by the Exhibitor, in 1837
- Plate of do., framed and glazed
- 116—DUNCAN, A., *Grove, Queen Charlotte Sound*.
- Bronze Medal, struck in commemoration of Captain Cook lea[unclear: ving] England, March, 1772, found in possession of the native of Queen Charlotte Sound, 1878
- 117—GRAHAM, ROBERT, *Waiwera, Auckland*.
- Carved Maori Bowl
- 118—HALCOMBE, MRS. E., *Fielding, Wellington*.
- Lithographs of Manchester Block, Fielding Settlement, by the Exhibitor

- 119—HUME, J., *Dunedin*.
- Walking-stick carved from New Zealand wood (mika-mika)
- 120—JOHNSTON, W. G., *Hokitika*.
- Two Scenes and two Artistic Designs, all prepared and arranged from dried specimens of ferns, mosses, and lichens
- 121—LYON AND BLAIR, *Wellington*.
- Specimens of Engraving for Commercial Purposes generally
- 122—M'DUFF, J., Dixon-street, *Wellington*.
- Heraldry Painting
- 123—MACKAY, HENRY, *Ti-tree, Waihola, Otago*.
- Penknife carving of Ox Horns
- Fan Handle in mika-mika wood
- Paper Knife
- Cocoa-nut Casket carved and mounted in silver, the work of the Exhibitor
- 124—PROPRIETORS "LYTTELTON TIMES," *Christchurch*.
- Specimens of Lithography
- 125—PROPRIETORS "LYTTELTON TIMES," *Christchurch*.
- Specimens of Engraving
- 126—STODART, MRS. JAMES, *Auckland*.
- Copies of Flowers grown in Exhibitor's garden, modelled in rice-paper
- 127—SURVEYOR-GENERAL OF NEW ZEALAND, *Wellington*.
- Specimens of Lithographs by the Survey Department
- 128—TREVITHICK, F., *Wanganui*.
- Dog and Bird carved on burnt kauri
- 129—WILSON, WILLIAM, *Wanganui*.
- Dog's Head carved on burnt oak

## **Class 12.—PHOTOGRAPHIC PROOFS AND APPARATUS.**

- 130—BARTLETT, R. H., *Photographer, Auckland*.
- Views of New Zealand and Portraits, in show cases
- 131—BLOCK, THEODOR, *Nelson*.
- Photographs—
  - ‡ Frame, Panorama of City of Nelson
  - ‡ Frames containing four Views
  - ‡ Frame containing Portraits
- 132—BOTHAMLEY, A. T., *Wellington*.
- Photographic Views
- 133—BRAGGE, J., *Wellington*.
- Photographs
- 134—BROWN, WM. EDMOND, *Hardy-street, Nelson*.
- Photographic Views and Portraits
- 135—CARNELL, SAMUEL, *Napier*.
- Carbon Enlargement of the late Sir Donald M'Lean, and Shield showing Natives of New Zealand
- 135—CHAMBER OF COMMERCE, *Oamaru*.
- Photographs of the Town of Oamaru
- 136—CHERRILL, NELSON K., *Christchurch*.
- Photographs, Ceramic Enamel
- Photographs, Carbon, or Autotype
- Photographs, on Porcelain, Glass, Paper, &c.
- The Carbon Photographs are upon porcelain or opal, giving great beauty of tint and softness. The Ceramic Photographs are done of enamel tablets (enamel upon copper), the photo being in all cases burnt into the enamel, and then glazed with porcelain glaze, and afterwards re-burnt to render the glaze perfect
- 137—CLIFFORD AND MORRIS, *Dunedin*.
- 1 Case Cabinet Portraits and Photographs
- 1 Case Carte-de-Visite Photographs
- 138.—COLLIE, W., *Napier*.
- Photographs (silver prints), Negatives taken by the W[*unclear*: et] Collodion Process—

Instantaneous view in the burning Crater of White Island  
 Sunset on Mt. Ruapehu  
 Geyser, at the top of the Petrified Terraces of Mt. Rotomahana  
 Stalactite Formations (middle of the White Terraces of Mt. Rotomahana)  
 Nature's Fonts on the Petrified Terraces of Rotomahana  
 Scene of the Wairau Massacre, 1843  
 Tongariro (volcano, sometimes active)  
 Streaks of Light on the Water, Queen Charlotte's Sound  
 Instantaneous view of Sulphur Fumes from the Crater, White Island  
 Acid Lake and Sulphur Vapours, White Island  
 Three Maories of Ohonimutu  
 White Petrified Terraces and Geyser at the top [*unclear*: of], Rotomahana  
 Bottom of the Cauldron at the top of the White Terraces, Rotomahana (when empty)  
 Steaming Upper Basins on White Terraces, Rotomahana  
 Coral-like Formations on White Terraces, Rotomahana  
 Great Geyser and Pink Terraces, Rotomahana  
 Landing Cove at the Crater of White Island  
 Instantaneous view of the Chief Street, Napier (natural clouds)  
 Stone Tree Rock at the Crater, White Island  
 Edge of Sulphurous and Acid Lake, White Island  
 Entrance to the Manawatu Gorge, Hawke's Bay  
 Manawatu Gorge Bridge (with mists)

139—CORPORATION OF WELLINGTON, *New Zealand*.

- Thirty Photographs of the Principal Buildings in the city of Wellington, taken by J. Bragge, Wellington

140—GIBBS, W. BRICKELL, *Wellington*.

- Portrait and Landscape Photographs

141—GRAHAM, ROBERT, *Waiwera, Auckland*.

- Photographic Views of Waiwera Hot Springs
- Pen and Ink Sketches of Testimonials

142—GRAHAM ROBERT, *Waiwera, Auckland*.

- Photographic Views of Rotomahana
- Ohinemutu and Hot Lakes

143—HARDING, WILLIAM JAMES, *Wanganui*.

- Photographs

144—HART, CAMPBELL AND CO., *Queenstown, Otago*.

- Photographic Views of Lake Scenery, Wakatipu district, shown in twenty-five frames
- The long pictures, which are framed separately, embrace angles varying from 140 to 180 degrees, or about twice that of ordinary photographic views. They were taken with a panoramic apparatus of our own invention, the prints being afterwards joined in the mounting.

145—HART, HONOURABLE ROBERT, *Wellington*.

- Photograph (from life) of Edward Gibbon Wakefield, the originator of the modern art of colonisation (with autograph)

146—HEMUS AND HANNA, *Auckland*.

- 1 Case of Photographic Portraits, various sizes, from cabinet to 12 in. x 10 in
- 6 Large-framed Photographs; sizes, 15 in. x 12 in. to life size

147—HOKITIKA LOCAL COMMITTEE, *Hokitika*.

- Photographs of Westland Scenery, Glaciers, Snow-clad Hills

148—NICHOLAS, R. J., *Invercargill*.

- Photographs, Portraits, and Architecture

149—PERKINS, W. H., *Greymouth*.

- Photographs

150—PROPRIETORS "LYTTELTON TIMES," *Christchurch*.

- Specimens of Photo-lithography

151—SURVEYOR-GENERAL OF NEW ZEALAND, *Wellington*.

- Specimens of Photo-lithography (printed by the Survey Department)

152—SURVEYOR-GENERAL OF NEW ZEALAND, *Wellington*.

- 100 Photographic Landscapes of New Zealand (taken by H. Deverill, late Government Photographer)

153—TRAVERS, WM. THOS. LOCKE, F.L.S., *Wellington*.

- Photographs.  
154—TAYLOR, J. J., *Motueka, Nelson.*
- Photographs of Natural Scenery, Nelson Province  
155—TAYLOR, JOHN P., *Havelock, Blenheim.*
- Artistic and Uncommon Photographs of Scenery in the Nelson and Marlborough Districts  
156—WILLIAMS, HANWELL, *Greymouth.*
- Photographs  
157—WRIGGLESWORTH AND BINNS, *Wellington.*
- Photographs
- Mezzo-tint Portraits

### **Class 13.—MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS.**

- 158—FALCONER, WILLIAM S., *Blenheim.*
- Violin and Case, of New Zealand wood
- 159—SIMPSON, ALEXANDER, *Waikiwi, Southland.*
- One set of Bagpipes made of native material

### **Class 14.—MEDICINE, HYGIENE, AND PUBLIC RELIEF.**

- 160—BURT, A. AND T., *Dunedin.*
  - 1 Double Cabinet Washstand
  - 1 Single Cabinet Washstand
- Both of these are fitted up complete, ready for laying on hot and cold supply and waste-pipes, and are exhibited as samples of plumbing-work, and for sanitary purposes.
- 161—PACKER, J. A., *Nelson.*
  - Artificial Leg, with movable joints at knee, ankle, and toes.
- The leg is made from willow. The upper bucket is made of solid log to fit limb, thus obviating any stuffing or lining on account of glued joints, the whole being covered with calfskin. Springs necessary for movement are all outside, and thereby easily adjusted or renewed, Made to imitate a natural limb, and only weighs lbs. complete.

### **Class 15.—MATHEMATICAL AND PHILOSOPHICAL INSTRUMENTS.**

- 162—BURT, A. AND T., *Dunedin.*
  - One set Copper Spirit Measures
  - 163—STOWE, LEONARD, *Wellington.*
  - Original Models of Stowe's Calculating Machine (patented)
- This machine combines simplicity with accuracy, has no complicated machinery in it, and is guaranteed to last for years without repair. Any sums in Addition, either in plain figures or in money, can be performed with it.
- [For Particulars See Printed Description at the End of the Catalogue.]

### **Class 16.—MAPS, AND GEOGRAPHICAL AND COSMOGRAPHICAL APPARATUS.**

- 164—AYERS, AARON, *Christchurch.*
- Two Views of Christchurch, with Statistical Information about Canterbury
- 165—DEVERELL, WALTER, *Invercargill.*
- Specimens of Survey Drafting, bound in book form
- 166—HECTOR, JAMES, M.D., C.M.G., F.R.S., *Director of the Geological Survey of New Zealand.*
- Relief Map of New Zealand, geologically coloured
- Geological Maps of New Zealand, dated 1865, 1869, 1873, 1880, showing the Progress of the Geological Survey of New Zealand
- Plans, Sections, and Local Geological Maps
- 167—MILLER, M. R., *Napier.*
- Annual Stock and Station Report, containing Statistical Tables showing the Progress of the District of Hawke's Bay from 1874 to 1880

- 168—MUELLER, GERHARD, *Chief Surveyor, Hokitika.*
- Map of the Provincial District of Westland, showing Position of Valuable Minerals discovered between June, 1864, and July, 1880
- 168A—O'NEILL, CHARLES, C. E., *Wellington.*
- Plan of the City of Wellington, prepared from official documents
- 169—SPREAT, W. W. J., *Wellington.*
- Litho Map of Otago, by the Exhibitor
- 170—SYDENHAM BOROUGH COUNCIL, *Christchurch.*
- Chart of Statistics and Views of Buildings in the Borough

## Department III.

### Furniture and Accessories.

#### Class 17.—CHEAP AND FANCY FURNITURE.

- 171—AUGUST, HERMAN, *Upholsterer, Invercargill.*
- Spring-bottoms for full-sized bedstead
- 172—BAIN, A. BRYCE, *Wellington.*
- Hanging Escritoire for use in hall, parlour, bedroom, office, and in travelling.
- 173—BERNASCONI, G., *Cuba-street, Wellington.*
- Superior Inlaid Table of New Zealand woods
- 174—GUTHRIE AND LARNACH'S NEW ZEALAND TIMBER AND WOODEN-WARE FACTORIES COMPANY LIMITED, *Dunedin.*
- Ornamental Hall-door and Frame of New Zealand woods
- 175—GUTHRIE AND LARNACH'S NEW ZEALAND TIMBER AND WOODEN-WARE FACTORIES COMPANY LIMITED, *Dunedin.*
- Cabinet of New Zealand woods
- This Cabinet is made up of 8508 pieces of New Zealand woods, viz. :—Rimu, fig-tree, pepper-tree, totara and totara knots, manuka, mic-a-mic, mottled kauri, goai, broad-leaf burr, silver pine, pocaki and rewa-rewa (native honeysuckle).
- 176—HALLEY AND EWING, *Wellington.*
- Door of red pine, New Zealand wood
- 177—LAWSON, MRS. HENRY, *Wellington.*
- Gipsy Tables, covered with Ornamental Needlework
- 178—LARGE AND TOWNLEY, *Napier.*
- Work Table, inlaid with New Zealand woods
- 179—NICHOLSON, W., *Cuba-street, Wellington.*
- Sideboard of New Zealand woods, made by an apprentice
- 180—NORRIE, WILLIAM, *Auckland.*
- Bookcase and Escritoire of mottled kauri, fitted up in Escritoire with different New Zealand woods
- 181—PETER, CARL, *Cuba-street, Wellington.*
- Table (octagon) and variety of New Zealand Woods
- 182—PETHERICK, JAMES, JUNIOR, *Wellington.*
- Table, inlaid with New Zealand woods, made by Exhibitor
- 183—STEWART AND CO., *Wellington.*
- Mantelshelf and Door of New Zealand wood
- 183A—WADDELL, M'LEOD AND WEIR, *Wellington.*
- Two Inside Hall-doors—one made of kauri, the other of red pine
- 184—WALLIS, BENJAMIN, *Timaru.*
- Chess Table, inlaid with knotted totara
- 185—WARBURTON, PIERS ELIOT, *Palmerston North, Manawatu.*
- Small Table, top of kauri, ornamented with New Zealand ferns in splash-work; legs of rimu
- Chess Table

- 186—WILLIAMS, EDWARD, *Caversham, Dunedin.*
- Panel of red pine, mounted

## **Class 18.—UPHOLSTERERS' AND DECORATORS' WORK.**

187—GUTHRIE AND LARNACH'S NEW ZEALAND TIMBER AND WOODEN-WARE FACTORIES COMPANY LIMITED, *Dunedin.*

- Gilt Console Table and Glass, with marble top
- 188—MAXWELL, MRS., *Fernhill, Wellington.*
- Two pairs of Curtains, New Zealand ferns done in China ink
- 189—MYERS, THOMAS, *Lambton Quay, Wellington.*
- Sample Picture Frame
- 190—PATERSON, BURK AND CO., *Dunedin.*
- Samples of Venetian Blinds
- 191—SALMON, MRS. KATE, *Kakaramea, near Carlyle.*
- Two Cone Picture Frames, seaweed and ferns
- 192—TAYLOR, JOHN, *Maclaggan-street, Dunedin.*
- Venetian Blind, with Stand and Pulleys complete
- 193—THOMPSON, MRS., *Napier.*
- Framed Picture of Seaweed
- 194—WHITE, MRS. S., *Roseville, Wanganui.*
- Picture Frame in New Zealand Cones

## **Class 20—POTTERY.**

195—AUSTIN, KIRK AND COMPANY LIMITED, *Christchurch.*

- Samples of Stoneware, Drain-pipes, Potteryware, and Ornamental Specimens of Fire-clay Goods
- Ornamental Specimens—  
Floral Group in Case  
Bouquet in Vase  
Case of Brooches, Pendants, Rings, and Photo Frames
- Pottery-ware—  
Teapot  
Set Butter Jars  
Pickle Jars  
Spittoon  
Tobacco Pot  
Set Bottles  
Sugar Basin  
Chemist's Mortar
- Sanitary Appliances—  
Nest Drain-pipes  
Channelling  
Kitchen Sink  
Stench Traps  
Filter  
Chimney Pot
- 196—BOYD, GEORGE, *Auckland.*
- Samples of Gas Tiles
- 197—CAPSTICK, RICHARD KESTELL (*late of Milton*), *Dunedin.*
- 6 sets of Jugs, of three in each set
- 3 sets of Vases
- 3 sets of Spill Cups
- 4 sets of Teapots
- 3 sets of Candlesticks
- 6 Small Ink Bottles
- 198—CONDLIFFE, THOMAS, *Malvern Hills, Canterbury.*

- Terra-cotta.—Specimens of Scroll Work, Cornice Work, Trusses, Brackets, Balustrades, Garden Vases and Ornaments
- 199—FORD AND OGDEN, *South Malvern, Canterbury.*
- Drain Pipes—
    - ♣ Glazed Stoneware Sanitary Pipes; length, 3 ft.; diameter, 4, 6, 9, and 12 inches
  - Red Ornamental Bricks—
    - ♣ Front Bricks
    - ♣ Key Bricks
    - ♣ Beaded Bricks
    - ♣ Tooth Bricks
  - Bricks—
    - ♣ No. 5 Fire Bricks, 9 x 4½ x 2 ½
    - ♣ No. 5 Fire Splits, 9 x 4½ x 3½
    - ♣ No. 5 Fire Thins, 9 x 4½ x 1½
    - ♣ No. 5 Fire Ball-head or Wedge Bricks, marked B
    - ♣ No. 5 Fire Crown, marked C
    - ♣ No. 8 Gannister or Silica Fire Bricks, 9x4½ x 3
    - ♣ Moulded Cornice Bricks
    - ♣ Ventilating; Bricks, 9x6 and 9x3, glazed
    - ♣ No. 5 Fire-clay Bricks, for arch of furnaces
    - ♣ No. 5 Fire-clay Soap or Closuer Bricks
    - ♣ No. 8 Gannister Soap or Closuer Bricks
- 200—HILL, HERBERT, *Wallace-street, Wellington.*
- Drain Pipes and Junctions made of ordinary clay, glazed
- 201—NORBURY, GEORGE, *Taranaki-street, Wellington.*
- Drain Pipes, glazed
  - Drain Pipes, glazed
- 202—PLANT, WILLIAM, *Thames.*
- Earthenware, viz.:—
    - ♣ Vegetable Dish
    - ♣ Gillow Teapot
    - ♣ Small Teapot
    - ♣ Large Teapot
    - ♣ Figured Mugs
    - ♣ Plain Mugs
    - ♣ Fancy Mugs
    - ♣ Large Jugs
    - ♣ Fluted Jugs
    - ♣ Prince of Wales Jugs
    - ♣ Egg Cups
    - ♣ Sugar Box
- 203—REEVES AND CO., *Milton Royal Pottery, Dunedin.*
- Specimens of Earthenware, manufactured of New Zealand materials solely, the first manufactured in New Zealand. In point of quality and price, they compare favourably with the earthenware imported
- 204—WAITE, J. E., *Thames.*
- China Dish (raised figures), 200 years old
- 205—WRIGHT AND VINCENT, *Hamilton, Auckland.*
- 1 Vase (in four parts)
  - 2 Vase (in four parts)
  - 3 Vase (in four parts)
  - 4 Church Font (in four parts)
  - 5 Three Water Bottles and Stands
  - 1 Teapot
  - 1 Bread Plate
  - 1 Water Jug and Stand
  - 2 Cornice Bricks 4 Plate Specimens

## **Class 21.—CARPETS, TAPESTRY, AND OTHER STUFFS FOR FURNITURE.**

206—COOK, WILLIAM, *Wellington*.

- Four Mats made of New Zealand flax and wool

207—HISLOP, A. R., *Wellington*.

- Tapestry Picture executed by Mary Queen of Scots

This has been handed from generation to generation in the Hamilton family, by one of whom it was given, 35 years ago, to Mr. Hugh M'Lean, who was murdered in Australia. It was sold by his brother, the Rev. D. M'Lean, to the Exhibitor.

208—OLDHAM, ALFRED, *Onehunga, Auckland*.

- New Zealand Flax Matting  
Neat, durable, and superior to coir.

## **Class 24.—GOLDSMITHS' AND SILVERSMITHS' WORK.**

209—PETERSEN, B., AND CO., *Christchurch*.

- Silver Claret Jug and Cups, manufactured by the Exhibitors from New Zealand silver The engraving on the Claret Jug is an exact copy of a Maori pah, or native village, situated near the town of Petre, in the neighbourhood of Wanganui, New Zealand.

210—SANDSTEIN, MARCUS, *Christchurch*.

- Silver Epergne, of local manufacture

## **Class 25.—BRONZES AND VARIOUS ART CASTINGS AND REPOUSSE WORK.**

211—BURT, A. AND T., *Dunedin*.

- Ladies' Reel Stand, electro-plated, mounted with silk reels of different colours

## **Class 27.—APPARATUS AND PROCESSES FOR HEATING AND LIGHTING.**

212—ATKINSON, THOMAS, *Christchurch*.

- One 3-foot Working-man's Cooking Range, entirely closed, with L boiler; and, when not required for cooking purposes, a comfortable open range, consuming comparatively little fuel

213—BARMINGHAM AND CO., *Ironfounders, Dunedin*.

- Patent Cooking and Heating Range, "Zealandia," perfectly adapted for burning lignite and ordinary New Zealand coal

214—DOUSLIN, WILLIAM, *Blenheim*.

- Three Tin Candlesticks, patented in New Zealand, Victoria, and England
- The candlestick exhibited is an effectual remedy for the invariable clogging of the elevator. The cylinder moves by a spring, and in moving up or down the gravity of the candle is not disturbed, and the whole of the candle can be burnt to a snuff.

215—BURT, A. AND T., *Dunedin*.

- 6 Gasaliers, new design
- 1 Billiard Light
- 1 Running Warehouse Light, with fancy arms
- 4 Pendants
- Several Brackets and Pillar Lights

## **Class 29.—LEATHER-WORK, FANCY ARTICLES, AND BASKET-WORK.**

216—BEAL, MARY, *Dunedin*.

- Ornamental Work, made of sponge, seaweed, shells, fish bones and fish scales

218—HARBUTT, THOMAS J., *Wholesale Brush Manufacturer, Victoria-street, Auckland*.

- Brushware, made of bristles, hair, fibre, whisk, &c.; made by persons taught the trade within the last four

- years
- 219—HENRY, MISS BRIDGET J., *Kensington, Dunedin.*
- Picture in Berlin Wool and Silk, "Christ in Gethsemene"
- 220—JENNINGS, D. H., *Motueka, Nelson.*
- Nest of two Baskets made of native material
  - Card of Pawa Shell Ornaments
- 221—LOCKWOOD, MRS., *Timaru.*
- Antimacassar
- 222—MALCOLM, ALICE JANE, *Dunedin.*
- Picture in Berlin Wool and Silk, "Dogs"
- 223—MALCOLM, OLIVIA ALBERTA, *Dunedin.*
- Picture in Berlin Wool and Silk, "The Huguenots"
- 224—MALCOLM OLIVIA ALBERTA, *Dunedin.*
- Raised Berlin Wool and Silk Picture, "Flowers"
- 225—MURDOCH, MISS H. L., *Upper Hutt, Wellington.*
- Natural Fern Stencil-work combined with Water Colour Sketches—
    - ‡ Dozen Stencilled D'Oyleys
    - ‡ Blotting Case
    - ‡ Handkerchief Case
    - ‡ D'Oyleys with Hand-painted Views
    - ‡ Banner Screens
- 226—MUNRO, GEORGE, *Dunedin.*
- Clock Case made from Kakanui Stone
- 227—PORTER, JAMES, *Waiotahi Creek, Thames.* Puzzle in Decanter
- 228—POWELL, MRS. H., *Oamaru.*
- Picture in Wool and Silk, "Huguenot"
- 229—RAFTON, HENRY, *Upper Queen-street, Auckland.*
- Cane and Basket Work and Flower Stand
- 230—SALMON, MRS. KATE, *Kakaramea, near Carlyle.*
- Cone Bracket
- 231—STOTT, MRS., *Auckland.*
- Models of Flowers in Wool-work
- 232—THOMPSON, WILLIAM, *Dunedin.*
- Draught Board made from Painter's Trying Block, imitation of inlaid wood

## Department IV.

### Textile fabrics, Clothing, & Accesories.

#### Class 31.—THREAD AND FABRICS OF FLAX, HEMP, &c.

- 233—NATTRASS, LUKE, *Bridge-street, Nelson.*
- Bag made of New Zealand Flax
- 234—POTTS, E., *Governor's Bay, Christchurch.*
- Table Cover, Fringe, &c.
- 235—M'TAVISH, MISS, *Thames.*
- Specimens of Needlework from New Zealand Flax

#### Class 33.—WOOLLEN YARN AND FABRICS.

- 236—BRAITHWAITE, A., *Hutt, Wellington.*
- Yarn (Homespun), made by a station hand
- 237—MOSGIEL WOOLLEN FACTORY COMPANY LIMITED, *Mosgiel near Dunedin.*
- Tweeds—
  - Travelling Rugs—

No. 1 2 Wakitipu Rugs, Merino Wool (pattern No. 40) 2 2 Wakitipu Rugs, Merino Wool (pattern No. 35) 3 2 Wakitipu Rugs, Merino Wool (pattern No. 28) 4 2 Wakitipu Rugs, Merino Wool (pattern No. 3) 5 2 Wakitipu Rugs, Merino Wool (pattern No. 38) 6 2 Wakitipu Rugs, Merino Wool (pattern No. 1) 7 2 Wakitipu Rugs, Merino Wool (pattern No. 10) 8 2 Wakitipu Rugs, Merino Wool (pattern No. 37) 9 2 Wakitipu Rugs, Merino Wool (pattern No. 2) 10 2 Wakitipu Rugs, Merino Wool (pattern No. 21) 11 2 Wakitipu Rugs, Rob Roy (pattern No. 48) 12 2 Wakitipu Rugs, Macduff (pattern No. 47) 13 2 Wakitipu Rugs, Forty-second (pattern No. 46) 14 2 Wakitipu Rugs, Mackenzie (pattern No. 45) 15 2 Wakitipu Rugs, Gordon (pattern No. 44) 16 2 Waikato Mauds or Long Wrappers, from crossbred wools (Forbes) 17 2 Waikato Mauds or Long Wrappers, from crossbred wools (Mackenzie) 18 2 Waikato Mauds or Long Wrappers, from crossbred wools (Forty-second) 19 2 Waikato Mauds or Long Wrappers, from crossbred wools (Royal Stewart) 20 1 Waikato Mauds or Long Wrappers, from crossbred wools (Fancy Grey) 21 1 Waikato Mauds or Long Wrappers, from crossbred wools (Fancy Grey) 22 1 Waikato Mauds or Long Wrappers, from crossbred wools (Fancy Grey) 23 1 Waikato Mauds or Long Wrappers, from crossbred wools (Fancy Grey) 24 1 Waikato Mauds or Long Wrappers, from crossbred wools (Fancy Grey) 25 1 Waikato Mauds or Long Wrappers, from crossbred wools (Fancy Grey) 26 Waikato Mauds or Long Wrappers, from crossbred wools to 8 Taupo Rugs, Fancy Checks 33 Blanket- No. 34 to 2 Pairs 11-4 Merino Blankets 35

## Class 34.—SILK AND SILK FABRICS.

238—DIGNAN, R. *Auckland.*

- Silk

The insects were reared in Auckland in a temperature between 65° and 75° without any extraordinary precaution to obtain the degree of heat, as the climate is all that could be wished for. The eggs hatched spontaneously about the end of October, rather later than usual. The moultings took place on the 8th, 15th, 24th, and 30th days respectively of the age of the worms. Twelve days afterwards all were spinning, and those which were placed for seed burst the cocoons within eighteen days after commencing to spin. It will thus be seen that the worms require to be fed during six weeks. Three hundred and sixty cocoons weighed one pound avoirdupois, and from a pound of cocoons I obtained an ounce of reeled silk, winding seven cocoons to the thread with a machine of the simplest construction. A better result might have been attained in reeling, as all the silk was not extracted from the cocoons, my principal object being to get eggs for next year; and I only fed at the rate of 60 lbs. of leaves to 3000 silkworms, whereas at least one-half as much more could have been consumed—100 lbs. being a fair average amount of food for that number of cocoons, which ought to yield a pound of reeled silk.

239—GRAHAM, RICHARD EDWARD, *Auckland.*

- Silk (the produce of 1000 Silkworms reared by R. Graham, Esq., Auckland) in its Crude State
- The worms were chiefly fed on mulberry-leaves, for the growth of which the Auckland climate is admirably adapted, and occasionally on lettuce and fig-leaves.

240—GIBBONS, SAMUEL, *Marton, Rangitiki.*

- Silkworms reared and preserved in their different stages by A. W. Avery, Taxidermist, Marton.

## Class 36.—LACE, NET, EMBROIDERY, AND TRIMMINGS.

241—BEEBY, MRS., *Queenstown, Otago.*

- Knitted Counterpane

242—BINNS, MRS. GEORGE, *Maitland-street, Dunedin.*

- Imitation of old Point Lace, hand-made

243—JONES, MARY FRANCES ELIZABETH, *Nelson.*

- Point Lace

244—LOGAN, MISS JESSIE R., *London-street, Dunedin.*

- Lace Work—
- Two Handkerchiefs
- Fan

245—WILSON, MISS ANNA, *Dunedin.*

- Specimen of English Modern Point Lace.

## Class 37.—HOSIERY AND UNDERCLOTHING, AND ACCESSORIES OF CLOTHING.

- 246—BLACK, MRS. M. A., *Lambton Quay, Wellington.*
- Hosiery, Football Suites, and Fancy Goods
- 247—GREENSHIELDS, WALTER, *Bracemaker, Auckland.*
- Orné Silk Braces, Belts, and Kneelets
- 248—HENRY, MISS MARY, *Nelson.*
- Woollen Scarf, spun and knitted by band, from wool grown in the Nelson district
- 249—MOSGIEL WOOLLEN FACTORY COMPANY LIMITED, *Mosgiel, near Dunedin.*
- Hosiery
- 250—ROTHER, LOUIS, *Dunedin.*
- Specimens of Dunedin-manufactured Socks, Stockings, Pants, Shirts, Football Suits; all of New Zealand wools, unadulterated.

## **Class 38.—CLOTHING FOR BOTH SEXES.**

- 251—ALMAO, V., *Hatter, Dunedin.*
- Hats, manufactured by the Exhibitor
- 252—BECKER, JOHN GEORGE, *Napier.*
- Two Maori Mats, viz.:—
- One worked in peacock feathers
- One worked in pigeon feathers
- 254—BALHARRY, DAVID, *Napier.*
- One Kiwi Mat, ancient Maori ornament for both sexes
- 255—BERTINSHAW, GEORGE, *Furrier and Felt Hatter, Dunedin.*
- Felt Hats, made from rabbit fur—
- 1 Brown Soft Felt
- 2 Drab Soft Felt
- 3 Slate Soft Felt
- 4 Black Soft Felt
- 5 Ladies' Roughed Self-colour Soft Hat
- Pull-over Felt Black Hat; all manufactured by Exhibitor from New Zealand rabbit fur.
- 256—HARRIS, WILLIAM, *Christchurch.*
- Boots and Shoes
- 257—HYDE, GEORGE, *Christchurch.*
- Boots and Shoes of own manufacture
- 258—LIGHTBAND, ALLAN AND CO., *Christchurch.*
- Boots and Shoes, entirely locally manufactured on the "Factory System"
- The sole-leather and the kips used are all of New Zealand tannage, but the calf, kid, Levant, and other light leathers are all imported. Each pair is made off the ordinary lasts in use in our factory, and the soles are all cut in the usual factory method, and every pair is made by the hands always employed at our factory, so that the goods can be fairly looked upon as representing a wholesale manufacture.
- 259—MARRIOTT, MRS. THOMAS, *Wellington.*
- Bonnet, made from lace-bark from a New Zealand tree
- 259A—MUNDEN, JOHN, *Dunedin.*
- Samples of Uppers and Boot Closing manufactured in Dunedin. One sample each Gentleman's (1 and 2) Boot and Upper; Gentleman's Shoe and Upper (3 and 4); Lady's Boot and Upper (5 and 6); Lady's Shoe and Upper (7 and 8).
- 260—NICHOLS, W., AND SON, *Worcester-street, Christchurch.* Boots and Shoes
- 261—O'CONNELL, MRS. JOANNA, *Mount-street, Auckland.*
- Limerick Lace, Baby's Robe worked by hand by the Exhibitor
- These are picked from a large presentation made by a West Coast tribe to Renata; they are of beautiful design and finish, and every variety now made by natives.

## **Class 39.—JEWELLERY AND PRECIOUS STONES.**

- 263—COGAN, JOHN, *Naseby, Otago.*
- Chain, made chiefly of gold found at Maniototo
- Pin do do do
- 264—WILLIAMS AND SON, *Picton.*

- Pearl (black) found by a Maori in a mussel caught in Tory Channel, Marlborough.

## **Class 41.—TRAVELLING APPARATUS AND CAMP EQUIPAGE.**

265—HARRIS, JOSEPH, *Dunedin*.

- One Railway Portmanteau (basil), one Expanding Portmanteau (basil)

## **Department V.**

## **Raw and Manufactured Products.**

### **Class 43.—PRODUCTS OF THE CULTIVATION OF FORESTS AND OF THE TRADES APPERTAINING THERETO.**

266—AUCKLAND HARBOUR BOARD, *Auckland*.

- Specimens of Australian and New Zealand Timber, showing the action of "Teredo Navalis"
- Specimens of Jarrah and Totara Timbers.

267—BAGNALL BROTHERS AND CO., *Thames*.

- Sample Board of Kahikatea

268—BECKENHAH, JOHN, *Nelson*.

- Section of a Stump of Flowering Fuchsia Tree (grown in scrub, near Nelson), 65 inches in circumference.  
Large specimens can be obtained

269—BLAIR, W. N., *Engineer-in-Chief for the South Island, Dunedin*.

- Polished and Named Samples of Native New Zealand Woods

270—COLONIAL MUSEUM OF NEW ZEALAND, *Wellington*.

- Collection of Timbers showing Results of Experiments for Determining Strength

271—CAMPBELL, DR. LOGAN, *Auckland*.

- Two Slabs of Kauri Pine

272—DENNE, JOHN GEORGE, *Nelson*.

- Block of Totara Wood, suitable for veneering cabinet-work, obtained at Wakapauka

273—FLETCHER, JOHN E., *Pakawa, Collingwood, Nelson*.

- Plank of Yellow Pine Timber, and Section of same Tree with the bark on.

274—GEORGE, J. C., *Taranaki*.

- Specimens of New Zealand Woods, polished on face, rough at back.

275—GRAYLING, W. IRWIN, *Omata Chemical Works, Taranaki*.

- Tanning, Dyeing, and Medical Extracts—

- A—Six Samples of Extract of Towai—

Discoloured and refined from cold infusion

Refined from cold infusion

Unrefined from cold infusion

From the Timber infusion

Spring growth infusion

From hot infusion, unrefined

Extract of Rimu or Red Pine, unrefined

Extract of Rimu or Birch, unrefined

Extract of Rimu or Rata Climber, unrefined

Tanning Compound, unrefined

Extract of Hinau, unrefined

Extract of Pukatea

Extract of Towai

Liquid Extract of Supplejack

Compound Extract of the same, with the Kawa Kawa

Liquid Extract of Taraxacum

Cheese Colouring

The Towai (*Weinmannia racemosa*) is an indigenous tree largely distributed over the hilly lands in many parts of New Zealand; it is often to be met with four or five feet in diameter, and from thirty to sixty feet in height. It grows frequently in clusters united at the base in a large tubular stoloniferous root, and in numerous instances round Mount Egmont the tree forms a natural bridge over the stream, as it first grows upright on the bank, and then gradually inclines over until its top reaches the land on the other side; there it rests, a forest of young trees springing up vertically from the prostrate trunk. A zone of thirty miles, three miles in width round the high lands of Mount Egmont is clothed exclusively with Towai, whilst throughout the whole district the banks of most of the rivers will yield a large supply. A reference to the map will show the distribution. The Extract is unusually rich in tannin and forms good leather, and as a dye will yield all the shades obtainable from gambier. It can be cheaply rendered.

In case B the first four Extracts are astringent, of greater or less value.

No. 11, Hinau (*Elæocarpus dentatus*), is of sufficient importance to deserve a special notice.

The Hinau is an evergreen forest tree of considerable dimensions. The bark is used by the natives in dyeing black their beautiful flax mats. The flax after a soaking in a hot fusion of the bark is buried for a time in the red iron mud so abundant in the stagnant pools. The Hinau can only be considered of value as a dye, yielding yellow buffs and blacks.

No. 12 is an Extract of the Pukatea (*Atherosperma Novæ Zealandæ*). It is a valuable tonic, much in use amongst the Maoris as a remedy for neuralgia. In selecting a tree for stripping, they always take one that has been exposed to the fullest effects of the sun's rays.

276—GUTHRIE, ROBERT, *Dunedin*.

- Thirty-one Samples, polished and named, of Timbers grown in New Zealand, chiefly in the neighbourhood of Dunedin

277—HAAST, PROFESSOR JULIUS VON, PH.D., F.R.S., *Director of Canterbury Museum*.

- Timbers of Canterbury and Westland—

*Melecytus ramiflorus*  
*Pittosporum tenuifolium*  
*Olearia ilicifolia*  
*Plagianthus betulinus*  
*Elæocarpus hookerianus*  
*Pennantia corymbosa*  
*Alectryon excelsum* (Titoki)  
*Sophora tetraptera*  
*Carpodetus serratus*  
*Leptospermum ericoides* (Manuka)  
*Fuchsia excorticata*  
*Panax crassifolium* (Lancewood)  
*Griselinia littoralis*  
*Dodonea viscosa*  
*Myrsine urvillei*  
*Epicarpurus microphyllus*  
*Podocarpus ferruginea*  
*Libocedrus bidwilli*  
*Phyllocladus alpinus*  
*Plagianthus lyallii*  
*Dracophyllum traversii*  
*Podocarpus totara*  
*Elæocarpus dentatus*  
*Fagus fusca*  
*Aristotelia racemosa*  
*Panax colensoi*  
*Dacrydium colensoi*  
*Weinmannia racemosa*  
*Dacrydium cupressimum*  
*Panax edgerleyi*  
*Pittosporum tenuifolium*  
*Panax crassifolium*  
*Metrosideros lucida* (Rata)  
*Discaria australis*

- Myoporum laetum  
 Coprosma linariifolia  
 Fuchsia excorticata  
 Panax crassifolium (Lancewood)  
 Epicarpurus microphyllus  
 Pennantia corymbosa  
 Panax edgerlyi
- 278—HALCOMBE, A. F., *Fielding, Wellington*.
- Eight specimens of Native Ornamental Woods, Table Top, shewing totara-knot and honeysuckle, rewa-rewa
- 279—HOKIANGA SAW-MILL COMPANY, *Hokianga, New Zealand*.
- 1 Piece Kauri Timber, 12 feet x 76 inches x 6 inches
  - 1 Piece Kauri Timber, 12 feet x 76 inches x 1½ inches
  - 2 Piece Kauri Timber, 12 feet x 76 inches x 1 inches
- 280—HOKITIKA LOCAL COMMITTEE, *Hokitika*.
- Specimens of Timber from Westland
- 281—HOLDSHIP, G., *Auckland*.
- Specimens of large Kauri Timber, grown in New Zealand
- 282—HORNBY, JOHN, *Mount Pleasant Mills, Picton*.
- Two Planks of Rimu. polished
- 283—HORNBY, JOHN, *Picton*.
- Twenty-one specimens of New Zealand Woods
- 284—ISAACS, EDWARD, *Eden Crescent, Auckland*.
- Rough piece of Kauri Timber, shewing the natural formation of kauri gum
- 285—KINGSLAND, JOHN, *Invercargill*.
- Bark
- 286—NEW ZEALAND COMMISSIONERS, *Wellington*.
- Fine specimen of Kauri Timber
- 287—NORRIE, WILLIAM, *Cabinetmaker, Auckland*.
- Ornamental Timbers from New Zealand Forests—
    - 7 Varieties Mottled Kauri
    - 2 Varieties Puriri
    - 2 Varieties Rewa-rewa
    - 1 Varieties Ake-ake
    - 1 Varieties Mottled Totara
    - 1 Varieties Rihikitu
    - 1 Varieties Rimo
    - 1 Varieties Curly Kauri
- 288—OTAGO MUSEUM, *Dunedin*.
- Specimens of Native Timber of Otago
  - Portion of Totara Log, worked with stone adzes, from Maori Fith-weir, Shag River
- 289—ROBERTSON, J. W., AND Co., *Queenstown, Otago*
- Samples of Birch Totara, 15s. per 100 feet, delivered at Winton Railway Station
- 290—READ, JOHN, *Thames*.
- Kauri Timber
- 291—STONE, ROBERT, *Thames*.
- Veneers of Colonial Woods
- 292—SULLIVAN, MICHAEL, *Basket-maker, Dunedin*.
- 6 large Coal Baskets
  - 6 smaller Coal Baskets
- Made from New Zealand supplejack, the larger baskets being five to carry a ton, the smaller being nine to the ton.
- 293—TAPPER, R. AND A., *Invercargill*.
- Specimens of Timbers from Southland.
- 295—WILDING AND BALL, *Waipukurau, Napier*.
- New Zealand Timber and Bark, for tanning—
    - Pennantia corymbosa (Kaikomako)
    - Elæocarpus dentatus (Whinau)

Fagus solandri (Tawai)  
 Dysoxylum spectabile (Rewa-rewa)  
 Olea cunninghamii (Maire)  
 Podocarpus docrydivides (Kahikatea)  
 Podocarpus ferruginea (Miro)  
 Leptospermum scoporimum (Kahikatoa)  
 Nesodaphne tawa (Tawa)  
 Weinmannia racemosa (Tawhero)  
 Melreytus ramiflorus (Hinau-hinau)  
 Sophora tetraptera (Kohai)  
 Metrosideros robusta (Rata)  
 Fuchsia excorticata (Kotukutuka)  
 Persoonia toro (Toro)  
 Podocarpus totara (Totara)  
 Podocarpus spicata (Matai)  
 Dacrydium cupressinum (Rimu)  
 Bark of No. 2 (Whinau bark)  
 Berries of No. 2 (Whinau berries).

## **Class 44.—PRODUCTS OF HUNTING, SHOOTING, FISHING, AND SPONTANEOUS PRODUCTS; MACHINES AND INSTRUMENTS CONNECTED THEREWITH.**

296—BAKER BROTHERS, *Wellington*.

- Collection of Articles manufactured from Kauri Gum

297—BERTINSHAW, GEORGE, *Furrier, Dunedin*.

- Two Rabbit Skins, one forced, the other unforced
- Sample of Fur cut from rabbit skin
- Sample of blown and prepared ready for manufacture
- One Hare Skin, forced
- Sample of Hare's Fur

298—BURTON, J. R., *Wellington*.

- Specimens of Taxidermy : Four Stuffed Fishes

299—BUSH, CAPTAIN HENRY, *Thames*.

- 350 Specimens of Kauri Gum

300—CARPENTER, WILLIAM, *Thames*.

- Specimens of Kauri Gum

301—DANIEL, W., *Dipton, Southland*.

- Rabbit Skins

302—ELDER, WILLIAM, *Dunedin*.

- Sample of Sea-Elephant Oil, for lubricating

303—HAMILTON, AUGUSTUS, *Petane, Napier*.

- Illustration of New Zealand Zoology—  
Boar's Skull

304—HULL, JUNIOR, AND CO., *Auckland*.

- Sixty pounds Kauri Gum, ordinary market samples

305—HULL, BROTHERS, *Auckland*.

- Kauri Gum in its various forms and conditions

306—INVERCARGILL LOCAL COMMITTEE, *Invercargill*.

- Specimens of Fishes abounding in the waters round the southern part of the Middle Island, and at Stewart Island

307—LABONDE, LEON, *Auckland*.

- Kauri Gum in Natural State
- Kauri Ornaments and Jewellery
- Kauri Varnish
- Kauri as a Basis of Electrical Apparatus

The ornaments are carved by hand, from entirely original designs; the jewellery, as manufactured by the

Exhibitor, is undistinguishable from the finest Turkish amber.

308—LIARDET, H. E., *Willis-street, Wellington.*

- Specimens of Furrier's Work—  
Muffs, Collars, and other Articles made from New Zealand skins and feathers
- Muffs—
  - 13 Grey-breasted Shag (9 backs, 4 breasts)
  - 7 White Shag
  - 1 Green Shag (back)
  - 4 Paradise Drake
  - 1 Paradise Duck
  - 2 Spoonbill Duck
  - 3 Bittern
  - 2 Gannett
  - 2 Penguin
  - 4 Albatros
  - 4 Mollymawks
  - 3 Swan
  - 2 Kiwi
- Collars, made from the skin—
  - 3 Black Swan
  - 6 Grey-breasted Shag
  - 2 White Shag
  - 1 Mollymawk

Collars made from the feathers—

- 4 Paradise Drake (inside feathers)
- 2 Grey Duck (wing feathers)
- 6 Paradise Duck
- 4 Albatros

Cuffs—

- 1 pair Grey-crested Shag
- 2 pair Black Swan
- 1 pair Green Shag
- 2 pair White Shag
- 3 Wreaths from albatros feathers
- 2 Pheasant-head-and-neck Bags
- 4 Gannet-head Bags
- 3 Kiwi-head-and-neck Bags
- 3 Mountain Duck Bags
- 1 King Shag Bags
- 1 King Penguin Bags
- 1 Pukako Bags
- 6 Swan-feet Pouches

309—MITCHELSON, E., *Dargarville, Auckland.*

- Twelve samples, or grades, of Kauri Gum, and two special samples

310—ROSS, A. Y., *Gisborne.*

- Petroleum (crude state), from Poverty Bay

This oil, as collected from a natural well in 1874, yielded, on distillation in the Colonial Laboratory, as follows :—

2 per cent of oil, specific gravity .809 (colourless)

16.0 per cent of oil, specific gravity .826 (nearly colourless) 16.0 per cent of oil, specific gravity .836 (pale yellow) 19.0 per cent of oil, specific gravity .850 (dark yellow) 11.0 per cent of oil, specific gravity .855

(brown, solid at 40° Faht.) 8.0 per cent of oil, specific gravity .864 21.25 paraffin oil 93.75 total distilled off 6.25 residue in retort, pitch 100.00

311—PARKER, PROFESSOR T. JEFFERY, *Otago Museum, Dunedin.*

- Adult King Penguin (stuffed)
- Young King Penguin (stuffed)
- Egg of King
- Skeleton of King mounted in such a way as to allow of the separate examination of the various bones

- 312A PATON, HARCOURT INNES, *Bay of Islands*.
- Kauri Gum Ornaments, consisting of Inkstand, Spiral Shell and Brooches, &c.
- 312—PARKER, PROFESSOR T. JEFFERY, *Otago Museum, Dunedin*.
- Sea Crayfish (*Palinurus Edwardsii*), prepared by being soaked in equal parts of methylated spirits, glycerine, and water, before drying. This method has the advantage of retaining the natural colour and flexibility
- 314—REISCHEK, A., NATURALIST, *Auckland*.
- New Zealand Birds—
  - Group of North Island Kiwis (*Apteryx Mantellii*)
  - Group of Kakapos (*Strigopo Habroptilus*)
- 315—THAMES PRODUCE COMPANY LIMITED, *Thames*
- Three Cases Kauri Gum.

## **Class 45.—AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS NOT USED FOR FOOD.**

- 316—ANDREWS, JOSEPH, *Wakefield, Nelson*.
- Machine-dressed Flax
- 317—BEVAN, THOMAS, JUN., *Foxton*.
- Fishing Line, 55 fathoms
- Ball of Double Twine
- Two Balls of Single Twine
- Lead Line, 16 fathoms
- Two-inch Rope, 14 fathoms
- Two Horse Halters (double twine)
- Fishing Line, 50 fathoms
- Coloured Fibre
- Coloured Twine
- All made from New Zealand flax.
- 318—CAMERON, HUGH, *Lagoon Town, Hokitika*.
- Bale of Flax, 50 lbs.
- 319—CANTERBURY AGRICULTURAL AND PASTORAL ASSOCIATION, *Christchurch*.
- Dressed Fibre, from European Flax, grown by Mr. George Marshall, at Cust, Canterbury, N.Z.; and Plough Lines, also manufactured by the grower. Grown on rich bottom; produce two tons of straw per acre, and twenty bushels of clean seed; yield of dressed fibre, four and a-half cwts. per ton of straw; value of fibre, 4d. per lb. for ordinary spinning purposes: as exhibited, worth 6d. per lb.
- The object of this exhibit is to attract the attention of colonial farmers by illustrating the suitability of the soil and climate of the Middle Island of New Zealand for the growth of European flax, with a view to the opening up of new industries, such as the manufacture of Linseed Oil Cake and Fibre, for which there is a large local and colonial demand.
- 320—COLONIAL MUSEUM OF NEW ZEALAND.
- Phormium Tenax—
- Samples showing preparation of Fibre and application to useful purposes.
- 321—CHINNERY, CHARLES, *Rangiora, Canterbury*.
- New Zealand Flax
  - No. 1 exhibit is a very fine description of New Zealand fibre, and adapted to the purpose of making rope of the finest quality. The flax is stripped, washed, bleached, and dry scutched, but not hackled. Value, £27 10s. per ton.
  - No. 2 exhibit is flax-stripped, not washed, boiled, dried, and dry scutched; value, £25 per ton f.o.b. at Lyttelton. It is adapted for the purpose of making twine for binding.
- 323—FULTON, CHARLES, *Blenheim*.
- Sample of Flax
- 324—KING, W. R., *New Plymouth*.
- Flax Kits made by Maoris—
  - 132 Maori Kits
  - 3 Large Antimacassars
  - 1 Heitiki (very ancient Maori Image)
  - 1 Maori Flax Belt
- 325—ROBERTSON, ALEXANDER, *Dye Works, Nelson*.

- Phormium Tenax, or New Zealand Flax—  
Nos. 1 to 6—six varieties of Maori-dressed flax; the object being to show that it is worth trying to invent a machine to dress the flax after the manner the Maoris dress it. The exhibit will also show what the flax might be brought to by selection and cultivation  
No. 7—sample of ordinary New Zealand flax of commerce, to show that even as now dressed it might be used largely for warps, for carpeting, hearthrugs, and other manufactures, as it dyes as well as, if not better than jute, and is five or six times stronger  
326—ROSS, A. Y., *Gisborne*.
- Tobacco Leaf  
327—SAEFFER, BARNETT, *Willis-street, Wellington*.
- Hand-made Cigarettes, made by Exhibitor.  
328—SEED, JAMES, *Southbrook, Canterbury*.
- New Zealand Manufactures from Phormium Tenax—  
‡ Coil Flax Rope, 2½-inch, £55 per ton  
‡ Coil Flax Rope, ½-inch, £55 per ton  
‡ Ball Twine for Reaper and Binding Machines, prepared to suit all climates, especially tropical, length 250 yards to the pound, 1s. per lb.  
‡ Bale Dressed Flax, £25 per ton  
‡ Bale Tow, £20 per ton

## **Class 46.—CHEMICAL AND PHARMACEUTICAL PRODUCTS.**

- 329—BENNETT, FREDERICK, *Thames*.
- Glass-stoppered Bottles containing Samples of Raw and Calcined Hematite; also Specimen Board, showing different effects produced by one, two, or three coats of each tint exhibited  
330—BENNETT, FREDERICK, *Thames*.
- Specimens of Raw and Manufactured Hematite, capable of being manufactured into a first-class anti-corrosive paint for ships, bridges, ironwork, &c., &c.
- 331—GOMEZ, JOSEPH, *Bulls, Rangitikei*.
- 1 Doz. Soda Water
- 1 Doz. Lemonade
- 3 Bottles Sarsaparilla  
332—HITCHENS, HENRY A. H., *Wakefield-street, Auckland*.
- Vegetable Compound for Purifying the Blood; and a Miraculous Cure for Rheumatics and Rheumatic Gout  
333—HOKITIKA LOCAL COMMITTEE, *Hokitika*.
- 1 Doz. Mineral Waters, from Waihoauri, Westland  
334—INNES, WILLIAM, *Port Chalmers*.
- 5 Pint-bottles Codliver Oil, manufactured pure  
335—KELLY AND FRASER, *Puriri Mineral Water Springs, Thames*.
- 2 Doz. Aërated Waters
- 2 Doz. Medicinal Waters  
330—KITCHEN AND SONS, *Wellington*.
- Candles
- Soaps  
337—M'LEOD BROTHERS, *Crown Soap and Candle Works, Dunedin*.
- Stearine Candles
- Soaps  
338—NEIL, JAMES, *Herbalist, Dunedin*.
- A Selection of Botanic Medicines

## **Class 48.—LEATHER AND SKINS.**

- 339—COLLIER, THOMAS, *Nelson*.
- Sample of Parchment made by Hand from Sweated Pelts  
340—CROSSLEY, H., AND CO., *Wellington*.
- Salted Pelts  
These pelts have been limed, fleshed, and drenched as preparatory to tanning, and preserved in salt and

vitriol, which will keep them in good preservation for shipping home, where they can be put to more varied uses than in the colony.

341—KINGSLAND, JOHN, *Invercargill*.

- Leather

342—WALTON, HENRY, *Glen Craigie, Wellington*.

- White Basils, leather
- Brown Basils,
- Black Basils, grained

## Department VI.

# Machinery: Apparatus and Processes used in the Mechanical Industries.

## Class 49. AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENTS, AND PROCESSES USED IN THE CULTIVATION OF FIELDS AND FORESTS.

343—DUNCAN, P. AND D., *South British Iron Works, Christchurch*.

- 1 Double-furrow Plough
- 1 Single-furrow Plough

These ploughs are distinguished for lightness of draught, and well-packed furrows and general excellence. They are better suited for colonial use than the imported implements.

345—MAYDWELL, DANIEL, *Papanui, Christchurch*.

- Three Samples of Bonedust, fine, medium, and coarse; value, eight shillings per cwt.

346—MOORHOUSE, THOMAS CARTER, *Christchurch*.

- No. 2/1 Superphosphate of Lime, manufactured from bones by the Exhibitor
- No. 2/2 Artificial Bone Manure, manufactured from the superphosphate as seen in jar 2/1, and ready for use either by drill or broadcast

The superior excellence of this preparation over bone as applied in a crushed state consists in its superior adaptation for the immediate utilisation by the plant of all the fertilising properties in the bone, and its even and equal distribution of the same. For top dressing grass lands apply 300 lbs. per acre; for grain, potatoes, and turnips apply from 400 to 450 lbs. per acre.

347—REID AND GRAY, *Dunedin*.

- Double-furrow Plough, with swivel coulters

The frame is made of best hammered scrap iron, and the coulters, mouldboards, and shares of best hard cast steel. These ploughs, of which we have made and sold over twelve hundred in one season, have taken, in actual trials in the field, more prizes than those of all other makers combined, besides having repeatedly taken the Champion Prize for the best ploughing in the field, when competing against the best single and double ploughs of other makers.

- 1 Set Iron Zig-zag Harrows
- An Assortment of Patented Machine-made Castings.

348—WALKER, JOHN, C.E., *Thames*.

- Designs for Farm Buildings

## Class 50.—APPARATUS AND PROCESSES USED IN AGRICULTURAL WORKS, AND IN WORKS FOR THE PREPARATION OF FOOD.

350—ARNOLD, EDWIN, *Kuripenui, near Wellington*.

- Revolving Bee-hive made of straw, enabling keepers to obtain honey without destroying the bees

351—BAGNALL BROTHERS AND CO., *Thames*.

- Bar-framed Bee-hive; excellent hive for obtaining the maximum of honey without loss of bees.

352—BURT, A. AND T., *Dunedin*.

- 1 Oval Tube Refrigerator for Brewers
  - 2 Brewers' Mashing Machines
  - 1 Brewers' Bottling Syphon
  - 2 Brewers' Corking Machines
- 353—ELLIS, THOMAS, *Wanganui*.
- Butter Churn, manufactured by Exhibitor of kauri wood; will churn from 5 to 45 lbs. of butter
- 353A—FISHER, HUGH, *Thames*.
- Colonial Oven and Grate

## **Class 52.—MACHINES AND APPARATUS IN GENERAL.**

- 354—BURT, A. AND T., *Dunedin*.
- 1 Station Pump, mounted on carriage, suitable for portable fire engine and other purposes about a sheep or cattle station
  - 3 Brass Lift and Force Pumps, different patterns
  - 1 Deep Well Pump
  - 1 Copper Tee Piece, made from one piece of copper, shewn as example of marine copper work
  - Sample Coils of Lead and Composition Pipes
  - 1 Water Engine
- 355—BUSH, HENRY, CAPTAIN, *Thames*.
- Pair of Model Double Purchase Blocks of 36 sheaves
  - A purchase adapted for lifting very heavy weights, such as sunken ships. A pair of blocks of this construction, fitted with a three-inch rope, calculated to lift a weight of 300 tons.
- 356—CROW, ALEXANDER, *Dunedin*.
- Working Model Steam Engine
- This model, made by the Exhibitor, is a copy of Watt's beam engine, with improvements in valves, &c.
- 357—DUNGAN, PATRICK JOSEPH, *Timaru*.
- Box Mangle, for which a patent has been applied.
- 358—M'LENNAN, WILLIAM, *Dunedin*.
- Working Model of Condensing Atmospheric Engine
- 360—THOMSON, THOMAS, *Bluff Harbour*.
- Washing Machine

## **Class 58.—APPARATUS AND PROCESSES USED IN PAPER-MAKING, DYEING, AND PRINTING.**

- 361—FROST, JOHN W., *Wellington*.
- Rubber Stamps
- 362—PUSCHELL, JAUNCEY AND CO., *Christchurch*.
- Paper Pulp, Papier-mache, and Short Stuff, made from New Zealand flax
- 363—STANSELL, JOHN BROUGH, *Christchurch*.
- Half Stuff and Papier-mache, manufactured from New Zealand flax
- ¶4) Bottle of Saponaceous Matter, from the treatment of flax for half stuff, &c.  
 ¶5) Flax Waste  
 ¶6) Tray for Half Stuff  
 ¶7) Tray, with six specimens of papier-maché  
 ¶8-9) Pieces of Half Stuff

## **Class 60.—CARRIAGES AND WHEELWRIGHTS' WORK.**

- 364—MOOR, WILLIAM, AND SONS, *Christchurch*.
- Circular-fronted Brougham
- 365—ROBIN, JAMES, AND CO., *Dunedin*.
- Landau, fitted with patent automaton top and Colling's springs.

## **Class 61.—HARNES AND SADDLERY.**

- 366—BROWN, COLIN, AND SON, *Invercargill*.

- Riding Saddle, with improved knee-pad
  - The fancy work represents New Zealand.
- 367—DUNBAR, ALEXANDER. *Christchurch.*
- 2 Ladies' Saddles
  - 2 Steeplechase Saddles
  - 2 Gents' Saddles

## **Class 62.—RAILWAY APPARATUS.**

368—ALVES, JOHN, *Dunedin.*

Working Model of Alves' Patent Aërial Tramway, with specimen full-size clip and hanger for 2-inch rope, capable of carrying 2 cwt. per basket, and as now working at Fernhill Colliery, near Dunedin

369—REID AND DUNCAN, *Civil Engineers, Dunedin.*

- 1 General plan of Wire Rope Railway now constructing between Dunedin and Roslyn
- 2 Separate Sheet, showing enlarged details of various portions of works

## **Class 63.—TELEGRAPHIC APPARATUS AND PROCESSES.**

370—HAYES, J. E., *Lambton Quay, Wellington.*

- Electric Office Indicator, designed for mercantile and other purposes
- It enables the occupier, without rising from his chair, to indicate on the outside of his room or office door, whether he is engaged or otherwise. New invention (patented).

## **Class 64.—APPARATUS AND PROCESSES OF CIVIL ENGINEERING, PUBLIC WORKS, AND ARCHITECTURE.**

371—ALVES, JOHN, *Dunedin.*

- Model of Alves' Patent Silt Elevator and Carrier

This is a machine, or rather a combination of two machines, for raising stuff from a punt and afterwards carrying it to almost any distance required, at any rate within reason. Messrs. Alves and Howorth are the patentees, and patents have been taken out in New Zealand, the Australian colonies, and America.

The working model exhibited is on a scale of 1½ inches to the foot, and the carrier, as it stands, can take the stuff nearly a chain—that is, proportionately to scale.

In full-size machine the ropes will be crucible steel, flat or round, as may be required for the special work to be done.

The clips will be made of steel moulded to fit strands of ropes. (See clips screwed to top rail of model.) Each clip will be fastened by bolt and nut, and will bear a strain on each bucket of two tons without slipping.

The buckets will be made of steel-plate and capable of holding 2 cwt. of material. The lifting buckets will be fastened to the ropes with 4 clips to each to resist a strain on each bucket of 4 tons. The carrying buckets are reversible and easily adjusted.

Whenever it becomes necessary to extend the carrying ladder, a wire rope is stretched over the trestles to the distance required.

The bucket-ladder can be made of sufficient length and strength to dredge direct from bottom of docks or rivers instead of lifting the material out of punts, as shown.

By fixing the lifting-ladder in front of the machine, a canal can be cut and the material carried and deposited by one and the same operation.

There being no pins to wear as in pitch chains, and the ropes passing smoothly over the pulley-wheels, the wear and tear is reduced to a minimum, great rapidity of speed is gained, and a great saving of engine-power is effected.

372—BARDSLEY, JOHN, *Westport.*

- Flooring Clamp, invented and patented by the Exhibitor

373—BOYD, GEORGE, *Newton, Auckland.*

- Bricks

374—BROWN, S., *Wellington.*

- Model of Cape Farewell Lighthouse

375—BURNSIDE, H., *Dunedin.*

- Model of the Residence of the Hon. R. Campbell, Otekaika

376—BURT, A. AND T., *Dunedin.*

- Two Show Cases containing Finished Brass-work, consisting of steam and water fittings, valves, hydrants, branch-pipes, Couplings, &c. Several Brass Castings  
376A—CANTERBURY MARBLE COMPANY LIMITED, *Christchurch*.
- Nine Pieces of Marble  
376B—DANIEL, WILLIAM, *Oreti, Southland*.
- Specimens of Stone from quarry at Dipton, Southland—
  - 1 Bluestone, a good building Stone, supply unlimited
  - 2 Good Stone for building or ornamental work
- 377—ELLIS, JOHN C., *Merrivale, Southland*.
- Two Exhibits of easily worked Durable Stone
- When first quarried this stone can be cut very easily, but it hardens on exposure.
- 378—HAAST, PROFESSOR JULIUS VON, PH.D., F.R.S., *Director of the Canterbury Museum*.
- Building Stones of Canterbury—
  - Trachyte, from a vertical dyke 16 feet broad. Cap Peak, Banks Peninsula; Butterfield's Quarry
  - Trachyte, from a dyke 20 feet broad. Heath cote Valley, Banks Peninsula; Thompson's Quarry
  - Trachyte, from a dyke 20 feet broad. Heathcote Valley, Banks Peninsula; Thompson's Quarry
  - Porphyritic Dolerite, from a dyke 18 feet broad. Banks Peninsula; Teape's Quarry
  - Porphyritic Dolerite Lava. Northern spur of Banks Peninsula (Hillock's Gully), Banks Peninsula
  - Porphyritic Dolerite Lava. Northern spur of Banks Peninsula, Tait's Quarry
  - Anamesite, from a lava stream (submarine) 26 feet thick. Timaru; Kirby's Quarry
  - Quartziferous Porphyry. Governor's Bay, Banks Peninsula; Hodgson's Quarry
  - Calcareous Sandstone (Oamaru formation). Mount Somers; Cox's Quarry
  - Calcareous Sandstone (Waipara formation). Mount Brown; Sheath's Quarry
  - Calcareous Limestone (Oamaru formation). Kakahu; Sheath's Quarry
  - Calcareous Limestone (Oamaru formation). White Rock (near Ashley); Nelson's Quarry
  - Calcareous Limestone (Oamaru formation). Coal Creek (near Timaru); Pavitt's Quarry
  - Calcareous Limestone (Waipara formation). Castle Hill, West Const Road; Enys' Quarry
  - Doleritic Tufa. Latter's Spur, Banks Peninsula; Latter's Quarry.
  - Trachyte Sandstone. Governor's Bay, Banks Peninsula : Pott's Quarry.
  - Carved Specimen of Castle Hill Stone; Enys' Quarry.

#### *Building Stones of Canterbury.*

The building stones of Canterbury are principally derived from two very distinct sources, of which the first, furnishing freestones of excellent quality and generally of considerable hardness, is of volcanic origin.

These are mostly obtained from Banks Peninsula, and are probably of middle tertiary age. The rest of the building stones, mostly of a calcareous nature, are derived from the upper portion of two well defined sedimentary deposits, named the Waipara and Oamaru formations, the first being of cretaceo-tertiary, and the latter of upper eocene or lower miocene age. The hard building stones of volcanic origin quarried in Banks Peninsula are derived either from basaltic lava streams, in which case they are generally used for rubble and for dressed ashlar work, or they are taken from dykes generally of a trachytic character. These dyke rocks, for every kind of architectural work, are very useful, and form in many instances beautiful building stones of rich colour and fine texture.

The calcareous sandstones usually called limestones are of light colours, from brownish-grey to a creamy white, and of a varying degree of hardness, but they can all be cut with a saw when taken from a quarry. Afterwards they gradually become much harder when being exposed to the air, an excellent quality for a building stone of that class. An almost unlimited supply of this building material can be obtained.

378A—HACKET, T. R., *Nelson*.

- Specimen of Marble
- 379—M'CAFFREY, EDWARD, *Sculptor, Queenstown, Otago*.
- Building and Ornamental Stone; one obelisk, showing the dress and polish this stone will take. No chemical preparation has been used; the gloss comes out of the stone.
- Base for same in Natural State, from Frew's Creek, Lake Wakatipu; cost of stone, 2s. per cubic foot
- 380—M'GEORGE, LESLIE DUNCAN, *Clyde, Otago*.
- Plan of Suspension Bridge over River Clutha
- 381—M'LENNAN, WILLIAM, *Dunedin*.
- Working Model of Self-discharging Silt Barge
- 382—MUNRO, GEORGE, *Dunedin*.
- New Zealand Marble
- 2 Pieces of White Marble cut and polished from Caswell Sound.

- 2 Pieces of Dove-coloured Marble from Caswell Sound.
- 2 Blocks of Kakanui Stone from Caswell Sound.
- 383—MUNRO, GEORGE, *Dunedin*.
- 6 Samples of Hydraulic Cement in its Native State
- 384—NEW ZEALAND GOVERNMENT, *Wellington*.
- Carved Panels of an Ancient Maori Runanga House  
These are the principal carved panels of the famous house "Matatua," and are so placed as to form the lining of the machinery annexe of the New Zealand Court.  
The house itself was originally built at the suggestion of Hohaia Matatehokia, chief of the Ngatipukeho tribe, for the purpose of representing therein all their ancestors. It was completed in 1874, and in March, 1875, was formally opened by the late Sir Donald M'Lean with great demonstrations, in the presence of many hundreds of native and European visitors. The image on each post represents the ancestor of some tribe or sub-tribe.
- 385—O'CONNOR, E., C.E., *Hokitika*.
- Plans and Photographs of Nelson Creek Water Race
- 386—OAMARU STONE COMPANY LIMITED, *Oamaru*.
- Stone Column with Capital
- Obelisk Block  
The Oamaru stone is a white calcareous sandstone or granular limestone. According to the Government Analyst its chemical constituents are as follows :—  
This places it in the same class as the oolites of England and the Caen stone of France.  
The Oamaru stone has a remarkable uniformity of colour and texture, and can be obtained in large blocks. Like all stones of this kind it is quite soft when quarried, but hardens rapidly on exposure to a dry atmosphere. This enables it to be worked into the most elaborate ornamentation at little cost.  
The stone is rather porous for use in a damp situation, but it answers well in ordinary walls and columns in a moderately dry climate, and it is unexcelled for internal decorations.
- 387—O'NEILL, CHARLES, C.E., *Wellington*.
- Artificial Caithness Flagging, patented by the Exhibitor. Laid at the main entrance to the Exhibition, opposite the fountain
- 388—STANSELL, JOHN BROUGH, *Christchurch*.
- Specimen of Marble
- 389—THOMSON, THOMAS, *Bluff Harbour*.
- Method of Lifting Heavy Weights

## **Class 65—NAVIGATION AND LIFE SAVING.**

- 390—ARMSTRONG, C. C., *Dunedin*.
- Model, "Samuel Plimsoll"
- Working Model of Brig, with sails and all complete
- 391—BLACKETT, JOHN, *Marine Engineer, Wellington*.
- Lighthouse Chart, to show progress of lighthouse construction, and coast lighting in New Zealand
- 392—FORSTER, WILLIAM, *Christchurch*.
- Life-saving Vest, to be worn on board ship under any ordinary vest. Can be inflated at will, and can be used as an air cushion or pillow.
- 393—GREEN, HENRY JAMES, *Boatbuilder, Dunedin*.
- Outrigger Wager Skiff
- 394—GEORGE, THOMAS, *Dunedin*.
- Plans and Soundings of Otago Harbour
- 395—HARGREAVES, THOMAS, *Nelson*.
- Model Wave Power Machine  
This machine could be used to compress air, to drive an air engine, or to work the electric light at any lighthouse, or for other purposes on the sea coast. No difference would be made in the forward motion by the irregularity of the waves. With a cylinder 20 ft. in diameter and 8ft. wave per minute, the machine would be equal to 19 horse-power; and with three waves per minute, each 5 ft., it would give 22 horsepower. It has been favourably reviewed in "The English Mechanic and World of Science" of 22nd October, 1875.
- 396—HOLLIDAY, CAPTAIN J., *Wellington*.  
Plan of Wellington Harbour.
- 397—LYTTELTON HARBOUR BOARD, *Christchurch*.

- Works and Improvements at the Port of Lyttelton, Canterbury, illustrated by a model of Lyttelton Harbour

*Breakwaters.*—The breakwaters are formed of rubble stone blasted from the quarries at Naval and Officer's Points, and deposited on the respective sites as shown in the model—the outer slopes of both breakwaters are protected or faced with huge blocks of stone. The Officer's Point, or Eastern Breakwater, is some 2010 feet in length, with a width of 40 feet on top, and having an elevation of 6 feet above high water spring tide. The Naval Point Breakwater is 1400 feet in length. The former breakwater has also a timber breastwork built along its inner face for nearly its entire length—known as the Gladstone Pier.

*Water Area Enclosed.*—The area of water enclosed within the breakwaters is about 110 acres.

*Dredging.*—Dredging operations have been proceeding almost uninterruptedly for the past four years, during which period nearly a million and a-half tons of dredged material, consisting of stiff clay and mud, have been removed, at an average cost of 6¼d. per cubic yard. The dredging plant used has been a single ladder dredge and two steam hopper barges, the holding capacity of the latter being 250 tons each. The dredged material is removed by them to a distance of three and a-half miles, and then deposited. The present depth of water inside the breakwaters and at the wharves varies from 16 feet up to 23 feet at low tide. The rise of tide being about 7 feet, vessels up to 2700 tons can now be safely berthed at the wharves.

*Moorings.*—Eight sets of Mitchell's patent screw moorings are laid down in the inner harbour, capable of holding vessels up to 2000 tons.

*Berthage Space for Vessels within the Inner Harbour, Lyttelton.*—The berthage space at the wharves as shown in the model is as follows:—

Jetties—

Which would be capable of berthing the following number of vessels :—

- 20 ocean ships and steamers
- 20 barques and brigs
- 6 intercolonial steamers
- 30 schooners, &c.

This berthage space is capable of very considerable extension, by the construction of additional jetties.

*Expenditure on Harbour Works in Lyttelton.*—The total amount expended upon harbour works in Lyttelton is not far short of half a million sterling, which includes the purchase of the dredging plant, and also of a powerful steam tug, built to the special order of the Lyttelton Harbour Board by Messrs. Laird, of Birkenhead.

*Railway Lines on Wharves and Jetties.*—The whole of the wharves and jetties in Lyttelton have lines of rails laid down upon them, and are worked by the Railway.

*Graving Dock.*—The Graving Dock shown on the model is now being constructed, and when completed will be capable of docking a first-class ironclad. The general dimensions of the dock are as follows:—

*Value of Imports and Exports at the Port of Lyttelton:*—

*Panoramic Photograph of the Harbour of Lyttelton.*—A photographic view of the harbour of Lyttelton accompanies the model, and shows the works already carried out by the Lyttelton Harbour Board.

*General.*—The port of Lyttelton, which is situate on the north-western side of Banks Peninsula, having an opening to the north-east, is the chief seaport town of the Provincial District of Canterbury. This district comprises some 8,693,000 acres, a large proportion of which is fine agricultural land, intersected by lines of railway, some 400 miles in length. The population of Canterbury, by census taken in the early part of the year 1878, was 91,922.

## CANTERBURY AGRICULTURAL STATISTICS FOR THE PAST FOUR YEARS:—

	Wheat.	Oats.	Barley.	Potatoes.	Year.	Acres.	Bushels.	Average Yield.	Acres.	Bushels.	Average yield.
1876	57,500	1,770,363	30 2/3	72,522	2,888,683	30 3/4	16,820	620,699	37	3140	17,895
1877	92,417	2,707,627	29 1/3	70,032	2,106,800	31 1/2	16,047	505,700	31 1/2	3423	19,886
1878	147,197	3,399,353	23	86,728	2,396,483	27 3/4	13,757	335,733	24 1/4	4419	26,786
1879	173,895	3,621,820	21	128,384	3,237,462	25	17,062	371,009	21 3/4	4613	26,766

The number of sheep now depastured within the Canterbury District is 3,500,000.

Three years and a-half ago the Lyttelton Harbour Board was constituted, and since that time all matters connected with the harbour have been dealt with by the Board.

398—LYTTELTON HARBOUR BOARD, *Christchurch.*

- Plan of Lyttelton and Inner Harbour, showing the harbour improvements, railway lines, &c.

399—LUXFORD, G. H., *Wellington.*

- Model of a Maori Canoe

400—M'LENNAN, WILLIAM, *Dunedin.*

- Working Model of Boat with Propeller, capable of being converted into life-boat, pleasure-boat, or for

other marine purposes

401—THOMSON, THOMAS, *Bluff Harbour*.

- Models of Ships' Compasses, Ships' Anchors, Wind-power, Water-power

402—UNION STEAMSHIP COMPANY OF NEW ZEALAND LIMITED, *Dunedin*.

- Steam Navigation in New Zealand Waters, illustrated by statistics and models of steamers.
- Model of the Company's s.s. "Rotomahana"
- Model of the Company's s.s. "Wakatipu"
- Model of the Company's s.s. "Te Anau"
- Model of the Company's s.s. "Rotorua"
- Model of the Company's s.s. "Arawata"
- Model of the Company's s.s. "Ringarooma"
- Model of the Company's screw steam yacht
- Model of Tug Steamer for the Otago Towing Company Chart, shewing the ocean tracks of the Company's steamers Shield

## Fleet of Steamers Belonging to the Union Steamship Co.

403—WAYMOUTH, JOHN, *Auckland*.

- Models of five Celebrated Yachts, and five modified from these by being designed on a diagonal line of geometrical construction

The method adopted by the Designer and Exhibitor is a practical development of Scott Russell's wave-line theory. It is an immense stride forward in yacht designing, as it gives geometrical certainty to what has hitherto been mere matter of taste or rule of thumb.

404—WARBURTON, PIERS ELIOT, *Palmerston North, Manawatu*.

- One Canvas Boat, to fold up for one person; can be made to carry any number.

## Department VII.

## Alimentary Products.

### Class 67.—CEREALS, FARINACEOUS PRODUCTS, AND PRODUCTS DERIVED FROM THEM.

406—ARKELL, JOHN, *Nelson*.

- 1 Bushel Malt
- 1 Bushel Barley

407—BANKS, E. H., *Christchurch*.

- Pearl Barley—  
Manufactured by Exhibitor from barley grown near Christchurch to compete with the imported; weight, per imperial bushel, 65½ lbs.
- White Tuscan Wheat—  
Grown in valley between Christchurch and Lyttelton; weight per imperial bushel, 67 lbs.
- Pea Flour—  
Manufactured by Exhibitor from peas grown at Rangiora, used for soups and sold in packages as shown, to compete with imported; weight per imperial bushel, 56 lbs.
- White Field Peas—  
Grown specially for making split peas and pea flour; weight per imperial bushel, 66 lbs.
- Winter Tares—  
Sown on heavy land, give abundance of sweet nutritious early feed; weight per imperial bushel, 66½ lbs.
- Cocksfoot—  
Grown by Messrs. Hay Brothers, at their farm, Pigeon Bay, Canterbury; weight per imperial bushel, lbs.
- Field or Horse Beans—  
Grown on stiff clay near Kaiapoi, hand-threshed : weight per imperial bushel, 67½ lbs.
- Buck Wheat—  
Grown at Leeston, on rich loamy soil, used by pheasant breeders; present demand small; weight per

- imperial bushel, 53½ lbs.
- Malting Barley—  
Grown at Templeton, on very light soil, after potatoes; weight per imperial bushel, 59 lbs.
- White Tartarian Oats—  
Sown principally to come in early for oaten hay, used for chaff-cutting purposes; weight per imperial bushel, 43 lbs.
- Prussian Blue Peas—  
Used for table purposes, grown in considerable quantities by small farmers, demand good; weight per imperial bushel, 65 lbs.
- Rape Seed—  
Coming into use for sheep-feeding only, might be grown in large quantities for crushing purposes if factories were started in Canterbury; weight per imperial bushel, 55 lbs.
- Hunter's White Wheat—  
Gives large quantity of flour of good colour, deficient in strength, yields well; Weight per imperial bushel, 67 lbs.
- Eye Corn—  
Used for green feed mixed with tares, sown early; also for distilling purposes, and when made into flour, by brewers for ferments; weight per imperial bushel, 64 lbs.
- White Canadian Oats—  
Used for milling and feed purposes; weight, per imperial bushel, 51 lbs.
- Black or Cornish Oats—  
Grown extensively for feed purposes, considered superior for racing stock; weight per imperial bushel, 45 lbs.
- Linseed—  
Grown at Prebbleton in fair loamy soil after potatoes; demand hitherto exceeds supply; pays well for proper cultivation; weight per imperial bushel, 55 lbs.
- Russian Pearl Wheat—  
Strong, hardy cereal, not liable to shell out, yields well, and will stand weather better than most other kinds
- Purple Straw Tuscan Wheat—  
This spring wheat is a great favourite with millers, and always commands top price if sound and well-dressed; weight per imperial bushel, 67 lbs.
- Rye Grass Seed—  
Grown on old pasture, light soil, at Templeton, near Christchurch; weight per imperial bushel, 21 lbs.
- 408—BUTEL, P., AND Co., *Arrow, Otago.*
- 2 Samples of Flour
- 2 Samples of Wheat
- 409—CAPPER, JAMES, *Wellington.*
- Potato Flour, as used in the manufacture of calico, for British gum, and as farinaceous food
- 410—CHAMBERS, JOHN, *Te Mata, Havelock, Napier.*
- One Bushel Rye Grass Seed
- 411—CLAYDEN SAMUEL, *Wakefield, Nelson.*
- Barley grown on newly broken up land, after oats; land light, rather shingly, with sandy gravelly bottom
- 412—CLEAVE, ROBERT, *Invercargill.*
- Perennial Rye-grass Seed, grown on river flat land
- 413—COE, JOHN, *Lake Ellesmere, Canterbury.*
- White and Red Tuscan Wheat
- Champion Wheat, yield 55 bushels per acre
- Chevalier Barley, yield 64 bushels per acre
- Oats, yield 52 bushels per acre
- Peas, yield 3 bushels per acre
- One Sheaf Champion Wheat
- 414—CUDDON, W., *Christchurch.*
- Pale Malt, Porter Malt, and Amber Malt, own manufacture
- 415—CUNNINGHAM, P., AND CO., *Christchurch.*
- Samples of Grain—
  - A Velvet Chaff Wheat, weighing 65 lbs. per bushel
  - B White Tuscan Wheat, weighing 64½ lbs. per bushel

- Ⓒ Velvet Chaff Wheat, weighing 64 lbs. per bushel grown on light land
- Ⓓ Hunter's White Wheat, weighing 63½ lbs. per bushel
- Ⓔ Purple Straw Wheat, weighing 67 lbs. per bushel
- Ⓕ Pearl Wheat, weighing 63 lbs. per bushel
- Ⓖ Adelaide Wheat, weighing 65½ lbs. per bushel grown one season in New Zealand
- Ⓗ White Peas
- Ⓙ Partridge Peas
- Ⓚ Horse Beans—average of this crop was 83 bushels to the acre
- Ⓛ Flathead Barley
- Ⓜ Chevalier Barley
- Ⓝ Dunn Oats—average of this crop 97 bushels to the acre
- Ⓞ Polish Oats—average of this crop 48½ bushels to the acre
- Ⓟ Tartarian Oats
- Ⓠ Average sample Milling Oats, 44½ lbs. to the bushel
- Ⓡ Rye Grass Seed
- Ⓢ Cocksfoot
- Ⓣ Blue Peas
- Ⓤ Canterbury Malt

416—DUNCAN AND SON, *Christchurch*.

- Farm and Garden Seeds—
  - ‡ Bushel Perennial Rye Grass
  - ‡ Bushel Italian Rye Grass
  - ‡ Bushel Cocksfoot
  - ‡ Bushel Timothy
  - ‡ Bushel Crested Dogstail
  - ‡ Bushel Meadow Foxtail
  - ‡ Bushel Meadow Fescue
  - ‡ Bushel Sheep's Fescue
  - ‡ Bushel Hard Fescue
  - ‡ Bushel Red Fescue
  - ‡ Bushel Poa Trivialis
  - ‡ Bushel Poa Memoralis
  - ‡ Bushel Sweet Vernal
  - ‡ Bushel Intermediate
  - ‡ Bushel Yellow Globe Mangold
  - ‡ Bushel Long Red Mangold
  - ‡ Bushel Linseed
  - ‡ Bushel Field Peas (Partridge)
- Show Case containing a collection of Farm and Garden Seeds, 93 sorts

417—DUDLEY, CHAS. THORNTON, *Irwell, Canterbury*.

- Hunter's White Wheat, grown on Exhibitor's farm, 68 lbs. per bushel
- Pearl Wheat, 68 lbs. per bushel

418—DWYER, MATTHEW, *Franklin, Otago*.

- 100 lbs. Red Wheat, sown in autumn and reaped January, 1880

419—FLEMING, GRAY AND CO., *Invercargill*.

- Oatmeal (25 lbs.)
- Pearl Barley (25 lbs.)
- Wheat
- Flour (25 lbs.)

420—GILMOUR, ROBERT, *Wakatip Flour Mills, Arrow, Otago*.

- 25 lbs. Oaten Meal, from Tartarian oats
- 25 lbs. Flour, from Red Straw Wheat

421—HARLEY AND SONS, *Raglan Brewery, Nelson*.

- 1 Bushel Barley
- 1 Bushel Malt, made from same sample

422—HARLEY, THOMAS, *Nelson*.

- Hops
- Malt

- 423—HOADLEY AND LYON, *Napier*.
  - Meadow Fescue (grass seed)
- 424—HOADLEY AND LYON, *Napier*.
  - Rye Grass Seed
- 425—HOLDAWAY, L. D. T., *Richmond, Nelson*.
  - One Bushel White Tuscan Spring Wheat
- 426—HUDSON, R., AND CO., *Dunedin*.
  - 1 Flour made from New Zealand Wheat, grown in Oamaru and Taieri Districts
  - 2 Self-raising Flour
- 427—IRVINE, W., AND CO., *Palmerston, Otago*.
  - Oatmeal
- 428—KING, GEORGE, AND CO., *Christchurch*.
  - Samples of Grain—
    - Purple Straw Tuscan Wheat, grown at Hornby; weight per measured bushel, 66 lbs.; the yield was 65 bushels to the acre
    - Hunter's White Wheat, grown at Kaiapoi; weight, 65½ lbs. per measured bushel; the yield was 65 bushels to the acre
    - White Pearl Wheat, grown at Leeston; weight, 66 lbs. per measured bushel; the yield was 65 bushels to the acre
    - Black Eye Champion Peas, grown at Dunsandel; weight, 63 lbs. per measured bushel; are large yielders
    - Canadian Oats, grown at Kaiapoi; weight, 49 lbs. per measured bushel; the yield was 73 bushels to the acre
    - Beans, grown at Kaiapoi; weight, 65 lbs. per measured bushel; very large yielders
- 429—KELTY, W., *Tapanui, Southland*.
  - Rye, yield 25 bushels per acre
  - Wheat yield 50 bushels per acre
  - Oats yield 60 bushels per acre
  - Grown on chocolate soil.
- 430—M'INTYRE, DAVID, *West Clive, Hawkes Bay*.
  - Malt, a fair sample of malting
- 431—MANNING, S. AND CO., *Christchurch*.
  - 1 Bushel N.Z. Malt, weighing 44 lbs.
  - 1 Bushel N.Z. Barley, weighing 57 lbs.
- 432—MARSHALL AND COPELAND, *Dunedin*.
  - Sample of Malt, from barley grown in Otago
  - Sample of Barley grown in Otago
- 433—METHERELL BROTHERS, *Havelock, Napier*.
  - Flour
- 434—MITCHELL, JOHN W., *Invercargill*.
  - Sample of Southland Barley, grown on river flat land, alluvial deposit, 45 bushels per acre
- 435—Moir, W. and C., *Southbrook Mills, Canterbury*.
  - Oatmeal—Fine, Medium, and Coarse; 14 lbs. of each
- 436—MOORE, A., AND CO., *Christchurch*.
  - Hunter's White Wheat, grown on light soil; weight, 64½ lbs.; yield, 39 bushels
  - Pearl Wheat, light soil; weight, 65½ lbs.; yield, 34 bushels
  - Purple Straw Tuscan Wheat, light soil; weight, 67½ lbs.; yield, 37 bushels
  - White Straw Tuscan Wheat, heavy soil; weight, 67 lbs.; yield, 35 bushels
  - Velvet Chaff Wheat, clay soil; weight, 65½ lbs.; yield, 38 bushels
  - Chevalier Barley, light soil; weight, 57 lbs.; yield, 27 bushels
  - Chevalier Barley, light soil; weight, 59 lbs.; yield, 24 bushels
  - Tartarian Oats, light soil; weight, 43½ lbs.; yield, 60 bushels
  - Feed Oats, light soil; weight, 50½ lbs; yield, 50 bushels
  - Milling Oats, heavy soil; weight, 52 lbs.; yield, 45 bushels
- 437—PALMER, C. A., *Waimea West, Nelson*.
  - Sample of Hops
- 438—PANNELL, GEORGE, *Christchurch*.
  - 25 lbs. Wheaten Flour

This flour is made from a mixture of Tuscan, Pearl, Velvet chaff, Hunter's white, and others.

- 439—PAUL, J. AND E., *Spring Creek, Marlborough.*
- Barley
- 440—PRESTON, JOSEPH, *Palmerston, Otago.*
- Perennial Rye Grass Seed, grown at Langland's Station, Kyeburn, Otago
- 440A—REID AND SONS, *Otago.*
- Flour
- 441—ROYSE, STEAD AND CO., *Christchurch.*
- Cereals, 12 samples—
- Wheat
- Oats
- Barley
- Malt (colonial)
- Oatmeal
- 442—SURMAN, THOMAS, AND CO., *Invercargill.*
- 3 Samples of Malt
- 2 Samples of Barley, grown by Mr. John Brown, Cave Hill Farm, Lake Wakatipu; grown in valleys, land very light; average, 50 bushels to the acre
- 443—TANNER, THOMAS, *Riverslea, Havelock, Hawke's Bay.*
- 1 Bushel Rye Grass Seed
- 444—TRENT BROTHERS, *Christchurch.*
- Samples of Patent Malt as prepared for brewers
- 445—WARD AND CO., *Christchurch.*
- 1 Bushel Colonial Malt
- 446—WESTERN DISTRICT AGRICULTURAL AND PASTORAL ASSOCIATION, *Riverton, Southland.*
- Cereals
- 447—WHITE, WILLIAM, *Kaikora, Hawke's Bay.*
- 1 Bushel Barley
- 448—WILKIN, ROBERT, AND CO., *Seed Merchants, New Zealand Wool Stores, Christchurch.*
- 1 Glass Case, containing—
- † Bushel (measured) Cocksfoot Grass Seed; weight, 23 lbs. Price—bulk sold at 2½d. per lb.; grown by J. R. Gilliatt, Little River, Canterbury, on hill spurs, clayey soil. Note—This sample is extra cleaned
- 1 Glass Case, containing—
- † Bushel (measured) Perennial Rye Grass Seed; weight, 34 lbs. Price—bulk sold at 3s. per bushel; grown by C. T. Dudley, Esq., Irwell, Canterbury, on black soil, clay bottom; yield, 30 bushels per acre. Note—This sample is extra cleaned
- 450—WILSON, HARRAWAY AND CO., *Dunedin.*
- Samples of Flour, from wheat grown at Oamaru
- 451—WOOD, W. D., *Christchurch.*
- Flour, Sharps, Bran, and Semolina
- 452—VILE, JOB, *Masterton, Wellington.*
- 1 Bushel Black Tartarian Oats
- 1 Bushel White Tartarian Oats
- 1 Bushel Potato Oats
- 1 Bushel Velvet Chaff Wheat
- 25 lbs. Flour, ground sample of ditto
- 1 Bushel Hunter's White Wheat
- 25 lbs. Flour, from sample of ditto
- 1 Bushel Rye Grass Seed

## **Class 68.—BREAD AND PASTRY.**

- 453—BYCROFT, J., AND Co., *Auckland.*
- Seventy Tins of Biscuits
- 454—DOUGLAS, R. T., *Shortland, Thames.*
- Biscuits in variety
- 455—GRANT, O. D., *Thames.*
- Biscuits of various kinds
- 456—MENNIE AND DAY, *Thames.*

- biscuits  
457—NEWBURY, PHILIP J., *Biscuit Baker, Dunedin.*
- Sample of Cracknell Biscuits  
458—RENTON, JAMES C., *Dunedin.*
- Eleven Varieties of Biscuits, manufactured by Exhibitor

## **Class 69.—FATTY SUBSTANCES USED AS FOOD, MILK AND EGGS.**

- 459—BLACKWOOD, WILLIAM, AND Co., *Invercargill.*
  - Two Cheeses, 47 lbs.
- 460—GOODWIN, JAMES, *Pigeon Bay, Canterbury.*
  - Cheese made on Cheddar system, and expressly for export purposes
  - No. 1, made January, 1880
  - No. 2 made February, 1880
- 461—GRAHAM, JOHN, *Brighton, Dunedin.*
  - One Cheese, manufactured by Exhibitor, ordinary sample as sold; wholesale price, 6d. to 6½d. per lb.
- 462—GRAHAM, JAMES A., *Sumner, near Christchurch.*
  - Two Cheeses, 36 lbs. and 56 lbs. weight
- 463—KIRKLAND, WILLIAM, *Elm Grove, East Taieri, Otago.*
  - One Cheese, 112 lbs.; wholesale price, 6d. per lb.
- 464—M'CONNELL BROTHERS, *Christchurch.*
  - Two Cheeses, 62 lbs.
- 465—M'INDOE, ROBERT, *Lake Waipori, Otago.*
  - New Milk Cheese
- 466—MURRAY, DALGLEISH AND CO., *Invercargill.*
  - Cheese
- 467—PIONEER CHEESE COMPANY, *Peninsula, Dunedin.*
  - Two Cheddar Cheeses, made in January, 1880, from ordinary stock; wholesale price, 6½d. to 7½d. per lb.
- 468—ROYSE, STEAD AND CO., *Christchurch.*
  - Cheese
- 469—SUTHERLAND, ROBERT, *Christchurch.*
  - Three Cheeses, each 66, 68, and 80 lbs.; made by Chas. B. Candy, Halsewell, Canterbury
- 470—WATSON, WILLIAM, *Brookside, Canterbury.*
  - Two Cheeses

## **Class 70.—MEAT AND FISH.**

- 471—BLAKE, CHARLES, AND SONS, *Picton.*
  - Preserved Fish in tin cases, ranging from 1 to 6 dozen in each; price, 10d. per dozen, including tin case
- 472—EAGLE, JAMES, *Christchurch.*
  - 4 Hams
  - 2 Sides Bacon
- 473—GEAR, JAMES, *Lambton Quay, Wellington.*
  - Six Cases, containing—
  - Tinned Soups
  - Preserved Meats
- 474—GILMOUR, JOHN, *Christchurch.*
  - Hams
  - Bacon
- 475—M'CONNELL BROTHERS, *Christchurch.*
  - 2 Pieces Bacon
  - 2 Hams
- 476—M'DONALD AND MILLER, *Green Island, Dunedin.*
  - 2 Sides Bacon, green
  - 2 Sides Bacon, smoked Market price, 10d. per lb.
  - 2 Hams, green
  - 2 Hams, smoked Market price, 11d. per lb.
  - 2 Rolls Bacon, green

- 2 Rolls Bacon, smoked Market price, 10d. per lb.

477—MEIN, WILLIAM HENRY, *Christchurch*.

- Preserved Meats, viz.
- Spiced Mutton
- Corned Mutton
- Boiled Mutton
- Corned Beef
- Boiled Beef
- Spiced Beef
- Haricot Ox-cheek
- Sheep's Tongues
- Brawn
- Minced Collops
- Noodle Soup
- Oxtail Soup
- Mock Turtle Soup
- Rissoles
- Ham and Chicken
- Potted Beef
- Potted Tongues
- Larded Beef
- Sheep's Petit Toes
- Pigs' Petit Toes
- Brawn Petit Toes
- Spiced Beef
- Yorkshire Hung Beef in jelly
- Corned Beef
- Corned Mutton

478—PORTER, WILLIAM P., *Invercargill*.

- Beef Hams
- Bacon Hams
- Rolled and Flich Bacon, smoked and green

479—SHAND AND WORTH, *Dunedin*.

- 1 Ham, smoked
- 1 Ham, green
- 1 Side Bacon, smoked
- 1 Side Bacon, green
- 1 Roll Bacon, smoked
- 1 Roll Bacon, green

480—SHEEDY, EDWARD, *Dunedin*.

- 2 Hams, smoked
- 2 Hams, green
- 2 Rolls Bacon, smoked
- 2 Rolls Bacon, green
- 2 Sides Bacon, smoked
- 2 Sides Bacon, green

481—WATKINS, M'NULLY AND CO., *Dunedin*.

- 1 Large Pork Ham, smoked
- 1 Small Pork Ham, smoked
- 1 Small Pork Ham, pale
- 1 Roll Bacon pale
- 1 Side Bacon smoked

## **Class 71.—VEGETABLES AND FRUIT.**

482—HUDSON, RICHARD, *Thames*

- Preserved Fruit, viz.:—
- Case containing 2 doz. tins Preserved Peaches. The fruit is preserved in the English fashion without sugar

483—STEADMAN, JAMES B., Tararu, Thames.

- Canned Peaches

## **Class 72.—CONDIMENTS AND STIMULANTS, SUGAR AND CONFECTIONERY.**

485—CAREW AND CO., *Dunedin*.

- Eighteen Bottles Sauce named Worcestershire Sauce and Tomato Sauce, their own manufacture

486—CLIFTON, FREDERICK, *Gladstone, Invercargill*.

- One Bottle Mushroom Ketchup
- Maraschino
- Aniseed Liqueur
- Orange Bitters
- Sarsaparilla
- Stomach Bitters
- Quinine Bitters
- Angostura Bitters

487—FERAUD, J. D., *Clyde, Otago*.

- Samples of Syrups, Liqueurs, and Bitters—
  - Wine Vinegar
  - Raspberry Vinegar
  - Lemon Syrup
  - Peppermint
  - Cloves
  - Pine Apple
  - Lime Juice Cordial

488—GARRATT, W. T., *Wellington*.

- Sauce, "Wellington Relish"

489—GEE, ALFRED, *Christchurch*.

- An Assortment of Jellies

490—GOMEZ, JOSEPH, *Bulls, Rangitikei*.

- 3 Bottles Lemon Syrup
- 3 Bottles Raspberry Syrup
- 3 Bottles Peppermint Syrup
- 3 Bottles Cloves Syrup

491—GREGG AND Co., *Coffee and Spice Merchants, Dunedin*.

- Coffees
- Peppers
- Spices
- Chicory

492—HARDING, JOHN, *Waipukurau, Napier*.

- 1 Jar Honey

493—HUISON, W. H., AND Co., *Cuba-street, Wellington*.

- Half-dozen pints
- Half-dozen Half-pints "Southern Cross" Sauce

494—KESSELL, THOS. NORMAN, *Dunedin*.

- Sample Worcestershire Sauce, made by Exhibitor
- Sample Ginger Wine, made by Exhibitor
- Sample Peppermint Cordial, made by Exhibitor

495—KOEFOED, H. L., *Thames*.

- 2 Dozen Tomato Sauce

496—LANE, WM., AND Co., *Dunedin*.

- Cordials and Liqueurs—
  - Ginger Wine Merks' Alpine Bitters
  - Ginger Brandy Stomach Alpine Bitters
  - Extract Jamaica Sarsaparilla Orange Alpine Bitters
  - Raspberry Vinegar Rimmel's Pick-me-up
  - Quinine Still Champagne Maraschino

- Lime Juice Cordial Curacoa  
497—MOFFETT, WM. JOHN, *Invercargill*.
- One Case containing Cordials and Soda-water—  
Ginger Wine Pine Apple Syrup  
Ginger Brandy Raspberry Vinegar  
Cherry Brandy Peppermint  
Orange Bitters Cloves  
Quinine Bitters Lemon Syrup  
Stomach Bitters Lime Juice  
Soda-water  
498—O'MEARA, MORGAN, *Queenstown*.
- Cordials—  
Orange Bitters Ginger Brandy  
Quinine Peppermint  
Raspberry Vinegar Cloves  
499—STRANG, DAVID, *Invercargill*.
- Prepared Coffees, Peppers, and Spices
- The coffees are prepared by the Exhibitor's patent process, whereby the natural aroma, or flavour, of the coffee is preserved. The peppers and spices are silk-dressed.
- The exhibits are fair stock samples.
- 500—THOMSON AND CO., *Dunedin*.
- Cordials
- Liqueurs
- Soda-water  
501—TRENT BROTHERS, *Christchurch*.
- Chicory, in each stage of manufacture
- Ground Black, White, and Cayenne Peppers
- Ground Spices  
502—WALKER, JOHN, C.E., *Thames*.
- 1 Dozen Tomato Sauce

## **Class 73.—FERMENTED DRINKS.**

- 503—COCHRAN, EDWARD WESBY, *Caversham, Dunedin*.
- 1 Barrel XXXX Ale, mild
- 1 Barrel XXX Ale, mild
- 2 Dozen Bottled Stout
- 2 Dozen Ale  
504—CROWE, WILLIAM, AND CO., *Christchurch*.
- One Dozen Ale and Stout, New Zealand brewed, bottled by Exhibitor  
505—CROWN BREWERY COMPANY, *Christchurch*.
- 1 Barrel Colonial Ale
- 1 Dozen Bottles Ale
- 1 Dozen Bottles Colonial Stout.  
506—DUIGAN AND LLOYD, *Wanganui and Palmerston, North*.
- One Hhd. Ale, made entirely from New Zealand-grown malt and hops  
508—FERAUD, J. D. *Clyde, Otago*.
- Samples of Wines, 4 bottles each—  
Sparkling M. Christo Muscat  
Malaga Aromatic Tonic Bitter Wine  
Constantia Ginger Wine  
Ducal Grape  
509—HARGAN AND CO., *Dunedin*.
- 2 Dozen Strong Ale, medium age
- 2 Dozen Porter, Cat brand.  
510—HARLEY AND SONS, *Raglan Brewery, Nelson*.
- 1 Hhd. Ale  
512—INNES, FRANCIS, AND CO., *Christchurch*.

- 1 Hhd. Light Pale Ale
- 1 Hhd. Strong Ale
- 513—JOEL, MAURICE, *Red Lion Brewery, Dunedin.*
- 2 Hhds. Ale
- 1 Hhd. Stout
- 2 Dozen Ale
- 2 Dozen Stout
- 514—KEAST AND M'CARTHY, *Dunedin.*
- 1 Hhd. Light Ale, XXX
- 1 Hhd. Medium do, XXXX
- 515—KOFOED AND CLIVE, *Black Horse Brewery, Milton, Otago.*
- 1 Hhd. XXX Ale
- 1 Hhd. XXXX Ale
- 518—MANNING, S., AND CO., *Christchurch.*
- 1 Hhd. Bitter Ale, XXXX, brewed entirely of colonial malt and English hops on 1st September, 1879. Price, 2s. per gal.
- 1 Hhd. Mild Ale, XXX, brewed entirely of colonial malt and English and Nelson hops on 18th May, 1880. Price, 1s. 9d. per gal.
- 1 Hhd. Strong Ale (No. 4), brewed entirely of colonial malt and English hops on 9th September, 1779. Price, 2s. per gal.
- 1 Hhd. Stout, brewed entirely of colonial malt and English and Nelson hops, on 25th May, 1880. Price, 1s. 9d. per gal.
- 1 Case containing half-dozen each Bottled Ale and Porter (quarts). Price, Ale, 8s. per doz.; Porter, 4s. per doz.
- 519—MARSHALL AND COPELAND, *Dunedin.*
- 4 Hhds. Ale
- 4 Dozen Bottled Ale
- 4 Dozen Bottled Stout
- 520—MARTIN, JOHN T., *Invercargill.*
- 2 Hhds. Ale
- Well adapted for export to India.
- 521—O'MEARA, MORGAN, *Queenstown.*
- Sample of Wines—full-bodied wine, three different fermentations, made from equal quantities of currants and gooseberries, five years old, not fortified with additional spirit
- Wakatipu, price 32s. per doz.
- Te Anau, price 30s. per doz.
- Kaduka, price 25s. per doz.
- 522—PASCOE AND CO., *Wellington.*
- 1 Hhd. XX Mild Ale
- 1 Hhd. XXX Pale Bitter Ale
- 1 Hhd. XXXXXX Strong Ale
- 523—ROBERTS, E. T., AND CO., *Kent-terrace, Wellington.*
- Tonic Beer
- Ginger Ale Non alcoholic
- 524—SCHWARTZ AND CO., *Christchurch.*
- Two Dozen Wanganui Wines (made by Jos. Soler)—
- Burgundy No. 1—vintage, 1876)
- Burgundy No. 2—vintage, 1877)
- Mangawhero No. 1—vintage, 1877) Red Wine
- Mancanille No. 1—vintage, 1876, 1877, 1878—White Wine
- 525—SMITH, JAMES, *Nelson.*
- Fruit Wines, exclusive of Grape (twelve numbers in duplicate) Hock—
- No. 1 Hock A, manufactured from gooseberries and white currants (double fermented), 1876
- N.B.—This wine ought to be sharp in taste, and in addition to what is marked on label, blend of apple and rhubarb (fermented), 1879.
- No. 2 Hock B, manufactured from green gooseberries (double fermented), 1876
- This wine ought to be soft and matured.
- No. 3 Hock C, manufactured from red rough and green gooseberries (double fermented), 1876

- This wine is of a golden colour, and a little soft in taste.
- All the above hock wines may more or less effervesce, and are bottled exclusive of any effervescing machine.
- Cherade—
  - No. 1 Cherade A, manufactured from red rough gooseberries and strawberries (double fermented), 1877
  - No. 2 Cherade B, manufactured from gooseberries, Kentish and black heart cherries, 1877
  - No. 3 Cherade C, manufactured from black duke cherries and black damson, 1877
  - No. 4 Cherade D, manufactured from red rough gooseberries and damson (double fermented), 1878
  - No. 5 Cherade E, manufactured from Kentish cherries and gooseberries (double fermented), 1878
- Cherrade—
  - No. 1 Cherrade A, manufactured from apricots, white heart, and strawberries (double fermented), 1876
  - No. 2 Cherrade B, manufactured from apricots, black heart cherries, and red rough gooseberries, 1876
  - No. 3 Cherrade C, manufactured from plums, apricots, and Kentish cherries (double fermented), 1877
  - No. 4 Cherrade D, manufactured from mulberries, apricots, and Kentish cherries, 1877

All the foregoing wines are manufactured from the fruits described, sugar, and water, exclusive of any fortifying in the shape of alcohol unless created by their own fermentation and saccharine.
- 527—SURMAN, THOS., AND Co., *Invercargill*.
  - Beer, made of pure Nelson hops and malt, made from barley grown in Southland. No sugar used
- 528—SOLER, JOSEPH, *Wanganui*.
  - One Dozen Port Wine
 

The produce of the district, the sample being of same quality as the bulk of the vintage; 1640 gals, in stock, price 7s. per gal.
- 529—SOLER, JOSEPH, *Wanganui*.
  - 3 Bottles Sparking Moselle, sweet
  - 5 Bottles Mangawhero, full-bodied
  - 4 Bottles Constantia, full-bodied
 

The produce of the District of Wanganui, the samples being of same quality as the bulk of vintage; 3900 gals, in stock, price 7s. per gal.
- 530—SPEIGHT, JAS., AND CO., *Dunedin*.
  - 1 Hhd. Mild Ale
  - 1 Hhd. Pale Ale
  - 2 Hhd. Strong Ale
- 531—STRACHAN, WILLIAM, *Dunedin*.
  - 1 Hhd. Ale, strong
  - 1 Hhd. Ale, mild
  - 1 Case Ale, pale
- 532—TOD, ANDREW, *Wanganui*.
  - One Dozen Wine, from grapes grown by Natives at Manganuiotehao, on Wanganui River. Character natural, not blended. Sample from bulk of 200 gals. Price 12s. 6d. per gal., or 30s. per doz.
- 533—THOMSON AND CO., *Dunedin*.
  - Wines
- 534—THOMSON AND CO., *Oamaru*.
  - Two Dozen Old Otago Ale
- 535—WALKER AND M'TAGGART, *Bottlers, Dunedin*.
  - Two Dozen Speight's Dunedin Ale, old
- 536—WARD AND CO., *Christchurch*.
  - One Hhd. XXXX Strong Ale
- 538—WOOD AND CO., *Ashburton, Canterbury*.
  - One Barrel (36 gal.) of Beer, made from Canterbury barley and malt, and Nelson hops; brewed in May
- 539—VINCENT AND CO., *Christchurch*.
  - Ale and Stout

## Department IX.

## Horticulture.

## Class 76.—FLOWERS AND ORNAMENTAL PLANTS.

- 540—ARMSTRONG, CHAS. C., *Stafford-street, Dunedin.*
- Collection of New Zealand Ferns in natural colours (dried)
- 541—ARMSTRONG, MRS. C. C., *Dunedin.*
- Book containing collection of Victorian Wild Flowers and New-Zealand Ferns, in natural colours
- 542—CRAIG, ERIC, *Princes-street, Auckland.*
- 3 Books of New Zealand Ferns
  - 2 Cases of New Zealand Ferns
- 543—DALL, JAMES, *Nelson.*
- A complete collection of New Zealand Ferns, as found in the Nelson District, with hanging baskets
  - Group of Tree Ferns, in the Fernery
  - Entrance to Fernery—Four specimens of *Areca Sapida*, the "Nikau" Palm of New Zealand:—
    - *Cyathea dealbata*, the silver tree fern
    - *Cyathea medullaris*, black tree fern
    - *Cyathea cunninghamii*
    - *Hemitelia smithii*
    - *Dicksonia squamosa*
    - *Dicksonia smithii*
    - *Dicksonia sanata*
    - *Alsophila colensoi*
    - New tree fern
  - And a large variety of the smaller specimens of ferns, *Dracœna indivisa*.
  - Two Wardian Cases, containing filmy ferns:—
    - *Hymenophyllum bivalve*
    - *Hymenophyllum demissum*
    - *Hymenophyllum dilatatum*
    - *Hymenophyllum flabellatum*
    - *Hymenophyllum javanicum*
    - *Hymenophyllum polyanthos*
    - *Hymenophyllum pulcherrimum*
    - *Hymenophyllum rarum*
    - *Hymenophyllum scabrum*
    - *Hymenophyllum subtile*
    - *Trichomanes reniforme*, the kidney-leaved fern
    - *Trichomanes rigidum*
    - *Trichomanes venosum*
    - *Asplenium richardii*
    - *Asplenium hookerianum*
    - *Asplenium colensoi*
    - *Asplenium trichomanes*
  - And a large variety of mosses, &c.
- 544—GREEN, ARTHUR JOHN, *Westport, Nelson.*
- A large collection of Indigenous Herbarium Specimens of the sub-order filices (ferns), containing 140 varieties on 24 inch cardboards
- 545—HARDY, C. A. C., *South Rakaia, Canterbury.*
- Dried Specimens of New Zealand Ferns
- 546—HELMS, RICHARD, *Greymouth.*
- Two collections of New Zealand Ferns of over 30 specimens, mounted on cardboard; size, 25 x 20 inches, in folio
- 547—HELMS, RICHARD, *Greymouth.*
- Collection of New Zealand Ferns of 132 specimens, on 121 cards, 20 x 12 inches, in 3 folios
- 548—HELMS, RICHARD, Mrs., *Greymouth.*
- Collection of 80 Specimens New Zealand Ferns and Lichens on cards 12 x 12 inches, in two folios
- 549—JEFFS, CHAS. K., *Wellington.*
- Collection of Dried New Zealand Ferns and Fern Allies
- 550—LOGAN, H. F., *Wellington.*

- Collection of Dried New Zealand Ferns  
551—REGAN, JOHN, *Thames*.
- Collection Colonial Ferns, 12 in number  
552—SPENCE, MRS., CHARLOTTE, *Maitland-street, Dunedin*.
- Specimens of New Zealand Ferns, bleached, with skeleton leaves  
553—STEWART, PETER, *Wellington*.
- Collection of Dried New Zealand Ferns  
554—TIZARD, MRS. EDWARD, *Thames*.
- Four Frames, containing collections of New Zealand Ferns  
555—THOMSON J, *North East Valley, Dunedin*.
- Book of New Zealand Ferns, from the neighbourhood of Dunedin

## **Class 79—SEEDS AND SAPLINGS OF FOREST TREES.**

- 556—POTTS, THOS. HENRY, *Governor's Bay, Christchurch*.
- Seeds and Seed Vessels, such as Cones, &c., of valuable species of Trees and Shrubs, exotic and indigenous
- Cones, Seed Cases, and Seeds of Forest Trees, Shrubs, &c., cultivated in Canterbury, New Zealand
  - Pinus austriaca*
  - Pinus brutia*
  - Pinus sylvestris*
  - Pinus pyrenaica*
  - Pinus montana*
  - Pinus inops*
  - Pinus pumilio*
  - Pinus sylvestris rubra*
  - Pinus coulteri*
  - Pinus tuberculata*
  - Pinus bolanderi*
  - Pinus ponderosa*
  - Pinus mitis*
  - Pinus sabiniana*
  - Pinus benthamiana*
  - Pinus insignis*
  - Pinus radiata*
  - Pinus* sps., Mexico
  - Pinus pungens*
  - Pinus muricata*
  - Pinus pinea*
  - Pinus pinaster*
  - Pinus* sp.
  - Pinus pinaster*, var. *lemoniana*
  - Pinus pinaster*, var. *maritima*
  - Pinus pinaster*, var. *religiosa*
  - Pinus halepensis*
  - species
  - Abies excelsa*
  - Abies nigra*
  - Abies alba*
  - Abies rubra*
  - Abies menziesii*
  - Abies douglasii*
  - Picea grandis*
  - Picea nordmanniana*
  - Picea pindrhou*
  - Larix europœa*
  - Cedrus deodara*
  - Cunninghamia lanceolata*

Cupressus funebris  
Cupressus monteriyensis  
Cupressus horizontalis  
Cupressus macrocarpa  
Cupressus macnabiana  
Cupressus goveniana  
Cupressus knightii  
Cupressus lusitanica  
Cupressus sempervirens stricta  
Cupressus sempervirens horizontalis  
Cupressus uhdiana  
Cupressus torulosa  
Cupressus thurifera  
Libocedrus chilensis  
Cryptomeria japonica  
Cupressus lobbi  
Taxus fastigiata  
Sequoia wellingtonia  
Sequoia sempervirens  
Retinospora obtusa  
Retinospora pisifera  
Chamæcyparis sphæroidea  
Cupressus lawsoniana  
Cupressus glauca  
Callitris cupressiformis  
Callitris gunni  
Callitris pyramidalis  
Callitris sp.  
Thuja lobbi  
Thuja gigantea  
Thuja wareana  
Thuja nepalensis  
Thuja skinneri  
Juniperus veitchii  
Juniperus phœnicea  
Juniperus recurva  
Juniperus virginiana  
Juniperus excelsa  
Juniperus hibernica  
Juniperus vulgaris  
Biota orientalis  
Biota aurea  
Quercus pedunculata, var. broad-cupped  
Quercus pedunculata, var. deep-cupped  
Quercus pedunculata, var. short-leaved  
Quercus pedunculata, var. sharp-point-fruited  
Quercus pedunculata, var. late blunt-top-fruited  
Quercus pedunculata, var. small-fruited  
Quercus pedunculata, var. large-fruited  
Quercus pedunculata, var. early narrow-fruited  
Quercus pedunculata, var. smooth-fruited  
Quercus pedunculata, var. long-fruited  
Quercus pedunculata, var. retaining leaf till spring  
Quercus pedunculata, var. leaves green till June  
Quercus pedunculata, var. purple-stalked  
Quercus cirris  
Quercus aquifolium  
Castanea

Æsculus hippocastanea  
Platanus  
Pilia europoea  
Acer platanoides  
Acer pseudo-platanus  
Betula  
Betula alba  
Alnus glutinosa  
Juglans  
Corylus  
Corylus  
Fagus  
Cratoegus oxycanthus  
Cratoegus oxycanthus rosea  
Cratoegus oxycanthus alba flore pleno  
Cratoegus oxycanthus rosea flore pleno  
Cratoegus cuis-galli  
Cratoegus pyracantha  
Pyrus aucuparia  
Pyrus aria  
Amygdala  
Armeniaca  
Arbutus  
Fraxinus excelsior pendula  
Fraxinus excelsior pendula  
Launy  
Veburnum tinus  
Eunonymus europoeus  
Eunonymus japonica  
Circis viliquastrum  
Passiflora (India)  
Benthamia fragifera  
Myrtus communis  
Ilie aquifolium  
Ilie aquifolium chrysocarpa  
Ilie aquifolium variegatum  
Ilie balearica  
Ilie cornula  
Ilie japonica (latifolium)  
Amorpha lervisi  
Elœagnus chinensis  
Symphoricarpus racemosus  
Ribes  
Rosa rutiginosa  
Rosa canina  
Rosa arvenica  
Rosa cinnomomea  
Sambucus  
Spirœa lindlayana  
Spirœa ribesifolia  
Spirœa douglasii  
Rosa spinosissima  
Carpinus  
Cratœgus oxycantha punicea  
Sutherlandia frutescens  
Artesmisia abrotanum  
Artesmisia arborescens  
Rudbeckia augustifolia

Cistus canescens  
Cistus vaginalis  
Cistus capitatus  
Dipsacus sylvestris  
Photinia serrulata  
Camellia japonica  
Phygelius capensis  
Phlomis fruticosus  
Arclepias douglasii  
Syringa  
Solanum capsicarium compactum  
Callistemon linearis  
Callistemon rugulosus  
Callistemon viridiflorus  
Eucalyptus sp.  
Eucalyptus sp.  
Eucalyptus urophylla  
Eucalyptus sp.  
Eucalyptus sp.  
Eucalyptus sp.  
Eucalyptus sp.  
Eucalyptus sp.  
Ribes sanguineum  
Datura sp.  
Sambucus racemosa  
Berberis dulcis  
Berberis vulgaris  
Buddleia lindleyana  
Azalea pontica  
Azalea indica  
Rhododendron ponticum  
Rosa sp.  
Hakea sp.  
Hakea brachyrhyncha  
Hakea acicularis  
Hakea sp.  
Escallonia macrantha  
Escallonia montevidensis  
Escallonia rubra  
Cotoneaster microphylla  
Murrubrum  
Hypericum  
Acacia sp. (gum wattle)  
Acacia retinoides  
Acacia virgata  
Acacia sp.  
Acacia lopantha  
Acacia melanoxylon  
Acacia dealbata  
Acacia armata  
Acacia sp.  
Palma sp.  
Clematis indivisa  
Clematis sp., Northern Alps  
Melicytus ramiflorus  
Melicytus lanceolatus  
Hymenanthera crassifolia  
Pittosporum sp.  
Pittosporum ralphii

Pittosporum cugenioides  
Pittosporum buchanani  
Pittosporum tenuifolium  
Pittosporum colensoi  
Hoheria angustifolia  
Aristotelia racemosa  
Pomaderris sp.  
Coriaria ruscifolia  
Carmichaelia flagelliformis  
Cleanthus puniceus  
Sophora tetraptera  
Rubus australis  
Septospermum scoparium  
Septospermum ericoides  
Myoporum lätum  
Fuchsia excortica  
Panax crassifolium  
Panax colensoi  
Schefflera digitata  
Griselinia littoralis  
Corokia buddleoides  
Corokia cotoneaster  
Coprosma lucida  
Coprosma cunninghamia  
Coprosma acerosa  
Coprosma robusta  
Olearea virtida  
Olearea dentata  
Olearea ilicifolia  
Olearea cunninghamii  
Olearea moschata  
Olearea sp. Southern Alps No. 1  
Olearea nummularifolia  
Olearea forsteri  
Olearea avicenniæfolia  
Olearea virgata  
Olearea solandri  
Olearea cymbifolia  
Olearea sp., Southern Alps No. 2  
Olearea sp., Southern Alps No. 23  
Cassinia leptophylla  
Brachyglottis repanda  
Cyathodes acerosa  
Myrsine urvillei  
Solanum aviculare  
Veronica speciosa  
Veronica macroura  
Veronica vernicosa  
Veronica elliptica  
Veronica pinginfolia  
Veronica ligustrifolia  
Veronica salicornioides  
Veronica stricta  
Veronica glauco-cœrulca  
Veronica colensoi  
Veronica carnosula  
Veronica sp.  
Veronica sp.

Parsonsia albiflora  
 Fagus solandri  
 Cordyline australis  
 Phormium tenax  
 Phormium veitchi  
 Phormium topota  
 Phormium nagatirankawa  
 Phormium hakewiki  
 Phormium tihore  
 Phormium aua  
 Phormium kahangaroa  
 Phormium oue  
 Phormium colensoi  
 Veronica cupressoides  
 Cytisus linifolius  
 Cytisus racemosus  
 Cytisus ruthenicus  
 Cytisus sp.  
 Cytisus laburnum  
 Cytisus virgatus  
 Genista  
 Genista canariensis  
 Acer saccharinum  
 Acacia sp.  
 Olearea virgata, var.  
 Fuchsia sp.  
 Berberis  
 Ulex europæa  
 Eucalyptus globulus  
 Eucalyptus sp.  
 Spartium  
 Cassinia retorta  
 Cassinia vaurilliersii  
 Veronica traversii  
 Veronica sp., Arthur's Pass  
 Pittosporum fasciculatum

557—POTTS, THOS. HENRY, *Governor's Bay, Christchurch.*

- Statistical Information of Forestry

## **Class 80.—PLANTS FOR CONSERVATORIES.**

558—FOX, LADY, *Rangitikei, Wellington.*

- Water Colour, New Zealand Shrubs and Flowers, from nature, by Miss King

559—HARRIS, MISS EMILY C., *Nelson.*

- Twenty-eight Water Colours of New Zealand Wild Flowers and Berries

559a—NUTT, MISS, *Dunedin.*

- Twenty-four Water Colour Designs of New Zealand Ferns, from nature.

560—TIZARD, MRS. E., *Thames.*

- Twenty-four Water Colours of New Zealand Flowers

## **Department X.**

### **Mining Industries**

## Machinery and Products.

### Class 81.—APPARATUS AND PROCESSES OF THE ART OF MINING AND METALLURGY.

- 561—BRUNNER COAL COMPANY, *Grey River*.
- Fire-clay Retort, for gas making, and other fire-clay goods
- 562—CLIMO, WILLIAM, *Thames*.
- Specimens illustrating a Chlorine Process for obtaining Gold from Tailings
- 563—HECTOR, JAMES, M.D., C.M.G., F.R.S., *Director of the Colonial Museum and Geological Survey of New Zealand*.
- Plans and Sections of Coal and other Mines in New Zealand
- 564—HOKITIKA LOCAL COMMITTEE, *Hokitika*.
- Model of Mining Claim, "Morning Star," Ross

### Class 82.—MINING AND METALLURGY.

- 566—AUSTIN, KIRK AND COMPANY LIMITED, *Christchurch*.
- Fire-clay, raw and prepared
- 567—BANK OF NEW ZEALAND.
- Specimens from the New Zealand Gold-fields—
  - 3 Specimens Auriferous Quartz from the Thames Gold-field
  - 38 Specimens Alluvial Gold from Otago Gold-fields
  - Models of Ingots of Gold and Silver, as exported
  - Also additional specimens
- The following is the average composition of alluvial gold from the Southern Gold-fields, as per assay:—  
And the average composition of gold from quartz, from the Thames District, per assay, is as under :—  
Gold from the same district, refined by a process patented by the Bank of New Zealand, yields the following results, per assay:—
- 568—BAY OF ISLANDS COAL COMPANY LIMITED, *Bay of Islands, Auckland*.
- Block of Bay Islands Coal (glance coal, showing every stage from brown coal to anthracite), highly suitable and largely used for steam, household, brick-burning, and many other purposes
- 569—BIRLEY, PETER, *Engineers' Smith, Auckland*.
- Wrought Iron Work—Fuchsia on a Stick, Flowers and Leaves, from nature
- 570—BLACK, GREACEN, J., *Akaroa, Canterbury*.
- Red Ochre from Okute Valley, Little River, Banks' Peninsula
- 571—BOULT, PHILIP, *Queenstown*.
- Copper Ore from Moke Creek, Wakatipu District, found in extensive lode, easily accessible, not at present worked
- 572—BOYD, GEORGE, *Newton, Auckland*.
- Specimens of Fire-clay and Puzzolana
- 573—BRUNNER COAL COMPANY, *Grey River*.
- Section of Coal Seam, Brunner Mine
- Coke from said Coal
- This coal exhibit is a true section of coal in the Brunner Mine worked for the past fifteen years, and is 16 feet thick. As steam coal it is admitted to be 10 to 20 per cent, superior to any other Australian coal. As a gas coal it yields 12,000 feet per ton of 18 to 20 candle gas.
- 575—COAL PIT HEATH COAL MINING COMPANY LIMITED, *Greymouth*.
- Section of 18-foot Coal Seam from the company's mine
- 576—COMER, ROBERT, *Thames*.
- Three-cwt. Block of Gold-bearing Quartz
- 578—DOUGLAS, GEORGE B., *Macetown, Otago*.
- Quartz Reef Specimens from Macetown
- 579—DRIVER, HENRY, *Hapi and Karaka Creeks, Thames*.
- Specimens of Stone from the above creeks
- 580—D'URVILLE ISLAND COPPER MINING COMPANY LIMITED.

- Specimens of Copper from D'Urville Island  
581—EDGAR, JOHN, *Queenstown*.
- Specimens of Fossilised Fern Roots and Leaves from Lake Wakatipu  
582—EDWARDS, EDWARD ROBERT, *Thames*.
- Pigments and Minerals—
  - Cose, containing 1 cwt. of ordinary trade parcel, Red Oxide of Iron Paint
  - Case, containing Minerals
  - Case, containing Glass Show Cases, Paints and Minerals for testing
  - Case, containing Glass Show Cases, Paints and Minerals for testing
  - Case, containing Glass Show Cases, Paints and Minerals for testing
  - Case, containing Minerals
- 583—EDWARDS, T. R., *Thames*.
- Specimens of Gold-bearing Quartz from the Thames  
584—FORD AND OGDEN, *South Malvern, Canterbury*.
- 3 Samples Fire-clay
- 1 Samples Ganister
- 1 Samples Red Clay
- 1 Samples Ironstone
- 1 Samples Manganese
- 1 Samples Limestone Marble
- 1 Samples Glass-sand
- 585—GARDINER, WILLIAM, *Moke Creek, Queenstown*.
- Specimens of Copper Ore from Moke Creek  
586—GARDINER, WALTER, *Moke Creek, Wakitipu*.
- Three Specimens of Copper Ore  
587—GRAHAM, ROBERT, *Waiwera, Auckland*.
- Tako, found at Rotorua Hot Lakes; formerly used for painting Maori canoes, houses, &c., mixed with water only. When used with oil it makes a good paint
- 588—GREIG AND HUNTER, *Builders, Christchurch*.
- 1 Granite Column, polished
- 1 Column Grey Stone, polished
- 1 Piece Granite, rough  
From the Port Hills, near Christchurch
- 589—HACKET, T. R., *Nelson*.
- Chrome Ores, and the Rocks in which the same are found
- 1 Lump Chrome Ore, weighing 919 lbs.
- Sundry Specimens of Chrome (numbered 1 to 7), and other Ores, with Collection of Rock Specimens connected therewith; with description of the locality and its geology
- Specimens showing Ore attached to the Rock  
The numbered specimens contain chromic acid in the following percentage :—
- 591—HACKET, T. R., *Nelson*.
- Steatite
- 593—HOKITIKA LOCAL COMMITTEE, *Hokitika*.
- Sample of Coal from Paringa, Westland  
593A—HON. MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS, *Wellington*.
- Rough castings of Wheels for Railway Carriages, manufactured from Taranaki iron-sand. One of the wheels bored out to fit the axle, and both have been cleaned off to show the character of the castings
- 594—HOOPER AND DODSON, *Nelson*.
- Sample of Coke
- 595—INGRAM AND WHITE, *Oxford West, Canterbury*.
- Block of Native Chalk found at View Hill, Oxford, taken from the surface; the chalk is supposed to extend over 50 acres  
The following is a copy of Dr. Hector's report on the chalk:—  
"The samples of chalk obtained as above have more perfectly the mineral character and texture of English chalk than any previously discovered in New Zealand. The rock is pure white, fine-grained, and soft enough to be used for the manufacture of crayons."
- 596—INVERCARGILL LOCAL COMMITTEE, *Invercargill*.
- Specimens of Stone

597—IRVINE, F. W., *Maungatapu, Nelson.*

- Chrome Iron Ore—Contains 52.46 of chromic acid

598—JACKSON, H. D., *Nelson.*

- Specimens of Silver Ores—
- One Brick of Regulus ditto
- One Brick of Copper
- One Packet of Pure Silver (19 ounces)

All the produce of the Richmond Hill Silver Mine, Collingwood, Nelson

599—JOHNSTON BROTHERS, *Aniseed Valley, Nelson.*

- Specimens of Galena and Silver Ore, from Collingwood
- Specimens of Zinc Blende, from Collingwood

600—JOHNSTON BROTHERS, *Aniseed Valley, Nelson.*

- Copper Ore, from Aniseed Valley, being samples of ore met with in the Aniseed Copper Mining Company in sinking a shaft 120 feet deep
- Zinc Blende, from Kelly's Gully, Collingwood
- Silver Lead Ore
- Manganese Ore from Tory Channel, discovered by Exhibitors in 1876
- Steatite from Aniseed Valley
- Pottery Clay Aniseed Valley
- Hematite Paint, made by Exhibitors from Para Para Iron Ore
- Glass-making Sand, obtained from an inland reef running north and south at Para Para
- Block of Chrome Ore, weighing 13 cwt. 3 qrs. 15lb., from Aniseed Valley, from the Black Chrome Reef

This chrome is celebrated for its excellent quality.

601—KAITANGATA COAL COMPANY, *Otago.*

- Sample of Coal—ordinary working seam

602—LESSEES OREPUKI COAL RESERVE, *Orepuki, Southland.*

- Sample of Shale

This sample is from a lode in the coal bed at Orepuki. The bed of coal seems to be of great extent and dips to the west at an inclination of 1 in 30, depth not known, but 18 feet has been sunk through, and no signs of bottom. In this coal the lode of shale dips to the west at an angle of 45 degrees. The sample sent is the thickness of the seam, or in other words, 5 feet. The sample is taken from an outcrop, but in sinking, the quality appears to improve. The shale has been traced 30 chains, but the coal has been sunk in to a depth of 12 feet at a distance of three miles from where the sample is taken, and it is supposed the shale continues as far. A sample of the shale yielded at the rate of 45 gallons crude oil to the ton.

603—Low, WILLIAM, *Maori Point, Shotover, Otago.*

- Specimen of Specular Ironstone, from Maori Point
- The specimen is water-worn as found on the terraces; lode from 3 feet 4 inches thick.

604—M'CAFFREY, EDWARD, *Sculptor, Queenstown.*

- Specimens of Stone, &c.—
  - Marble, from the head of Lake Wakatipu
  - Freestone, fossil leaf, from Frew's Creek
  - Freestone, light yellow, from Frew's Creek
  - Freestone, different grain, from Frew's Creek
  - Freestone, green, from Frew's Creek
  - Gypsum, from the head of Lake Wakatipu
  - Freestone, fine grain
  - Freestone, cream, or light green
  - Freestone, with coal specimens
  - Freestone, crest of quarry, with fossil wood
  - Limestone
  - Mineral, gold found under it
  - Stone, with broken shell
  - Limestone, with large shell

606—M'ILRAITH, JAS. A., Homebush, Malvern Hills, Canterbury.

- Fire-clay, suitable for fire-bricks, pottery, &c.; also Bricks made from same

This clay is found in the brown coal measures.

- Sample of Brown Coal, from 7-ft. seam in the Homebush Colliery, being mined level free
- 3 Bottles Glass Sand, suitable for glass-making

- 2 Bottles Pigment  
607—MUNRO, GEORGE, *Dunedin*.
  - Sample of Pottery-clay and Vases  
608—MURRAY, DALGLEISH AND CO., *Invercargill*.
  - Coal, obtained at the Nightcaps
  - Good bituminous coal, burns freely, and leaves very little ash. An inexhaustible supply.  
609—NELSON MUSEUM, *Nelson*.
  - Grey Stone Slab  
610—NEW ZEALAND COMMISSIONERS, *Wellington*.
  - Auriferous Quartz—
  - Trophy representing the total Export of Gold from New Zealand:—  
611—NEW ZEALAND HEMATITE PAINT COMPANY, *Nelson*.
  - Hematite Raw Ore, Calcined Ore, and Manufactured Paint  
612—PAWA RIKA LITHOGRAPHIC STONE COMPANY, *Abbey Rocks, West-land*.
  - Slab of Lithographic Limestone  
613—PEACHE, A. EDWARD, *Mount Somers, Canterbury*.
  - Block of Freestone from Mount Somers, suitable for building and monumental work  
614—PLANT, WILLIAM, *Thames*.
  - Crude Gypsum from White Island, Tauranga
  - Plaster of Paris, manufactured from same  
615—PORT CHALMERS QUARRYING COMPANY, *near Dunedin*.
  - Obelisk of Port Chalmers Bluestone  
616—RODING RIVER COPPER MINING PROSPECTING COMPANY, *Roding River, Nelson*.
  - Specimens of Copper and Chrome Ores and Hypersene—  
    - Bisulphide of Copper, No. 1 lode width of lode, 5 feet, 28 feet from surface
    - Bisulphide of Copper, No. 2 lode; shows a heavy outcrop, very rich of red oxide, green carbonite, and bisulphide of copper; not sunk more than 4 feet up to date
    - Small Specimens of Bisulphide of Copper from lodes Nos. 1 and 2
    - Green Carbonite of Copper from Lode No. 2
    - Red Sub-oxide of Copper from Lode No. 2
    - Black Crystallised Chrome; 4 chains from copper lode No. 2
    - Hypersthine. This is of no intrinsic value, merely showing locality where chrome and copper are found.
- The property from which the above specimens were obtained is known as the Roding River Copper Mining Lead, about two miles in length by about a quarter of a mile in width, and is situated within nine miles of the city of Nelson.
- 617—SMITH, E. M., *New Plymouth*.
  - Taranaki Iron-sand in its various stages of manufacture Septaria  

Titanic iron-sand occurs widely disseminated in the tufaceous lavas of Mount Egmont. By the erosion of the streams which flow from the cone a considerable quantity of this substance is set free from its matrices, and conveyed to the sea coast in alluvium. Here, by the action of the waves, a mechanical separation between it and the earthy particles of the tufa takes place, the earthy matter being carried out to sea, while the iron-sand in a state of great purity, is left on the beaches. At the mouths of rivers the sand is found in the greatest purity, and in such places is often found to contain 90 per cent, of the pure ore. This black, sparkling, metallic sand, extending for miles along the coasts, early attracted the attention of travellers and settlers, and many attempts have been made towards its utilisation. One of the first persons to attempt the reduction of this ore was Mr. Weekes, the Colonial Surgeon at New Plymouth, who in 1841 reported to Captain Liardet, the New Zealand Company's Agent, that he had melted some of the sand, had discovered that it contained from 80 to 90 per cent, of iron, and had obtained a beautiful specimen. In November, 1842, the following analysis of the ore was given by Mr. Robert Oxland, of Plymouth, England, to whom a parcel of the sand had been by Mr. Weekes :—"Sample No. 5 is magnetic iron ore, in the form of fine sand from the sea shore. It consists of peroxide and protoxide of iron mixed, containing about 71 per cent, of iron. It is free from the admixture of other substances, and, if obtainable in large quantities, is likely to be at some future time in considerable demand, as it is the most valuable of iron ores. The celebrated Swedish iron ores, in such high repute for the making of steel, is obtained from a mineral of precisely the same character." The following is the formula of the most recent analysis of this sand :—Magnetite, 71.0; titanite, 8.0; quartz and olivine, 21.0—100.0. The early attempts to reduce this ore were made by means of crucibles, and by this method, when the proper fluxes were used, the operation was practicable, although a very considerable degree of heat was found to be necessary. But when the sand was tried in a blast furnace, difficulties of an apparently insurmountable character presented themselves. One difficulty

was that much of the sand burned and was driven by the blast out of the top of the furnace. Another difficulty was that what ore was not blown away filtered down through the fire and formed a cake on the hearth. At length the idea occurred of forming the sand into bricks by the addition of tufaceous clay, and of introducing it in that form to the furnace. The brick now exhibited in connection with the Taranaki iron-sand at the present Exhibition is a specimen of these cakes of ore, and is composed of one part of tufa and three parts iron, and mixed with fresh water and burned in a clump or stack. The iron exhibited is a specimen of the metal produced at the New Zealand Titanic Iron and Steel Company's Works, Te Henui, Taranaki, on the 23rd September 1876, according to the following improved formula :—Iron-sand, 1 ton 10 cwts.; tufaceous clay, 1 ton; ground charcoal, 1 cwt.; lime, 2 cwt. 2qrs.; mixed with sea-water and moulded by a machine. The cakes made according to this formula have the advantage of solidifying by themselves without the aid of burning, the intimate admixture of the charcoal aids the carbonising of the ore and the lime operates immediately on it as flux. The salts remaining after the evaporation of the mixing-water also aid in the fluxing. The excellence of the metal produced from this ore by a charcoal furnace is accounted for by its absolute freedom from phosphorus and sulphur, the deteriorating ingredients whose presence in iron is productive of those forms of brittleness known respectively as cold-shortness and hot-shortness, while the presence of titanium in it adds to its toughness.

618—STANSELL, JOHN BROUGH, *Christchurch*.

- Pottery Clay

619—STANSELL, J. B., *Christchurch*.

- Sample of Glass-making Sand

620—STANSELL, JOHN BROUGH, *Christchurch*.

- Specimens of Iron Ore and small Ingot, from Para Para, Nelson

621—TATTON, J. W., *Waungamoia, Nelson*.

- Chrome Iron Ore

622—THOMPSON, T. J., *Bluff*.

- A Specimen of Eurite

623—WAIPORI ANTIMONY MINING COMPANY (LIMITED), *Waipori, near Dunedin*.

- Four Samples of Antimony, from the company's mine

624—WATT, ALEXANDER, *Campbelltown, Southland*.

- Granite, rough and smooth

625—WARREN, WILLIAM, *Queenstown*.

- Specimen of Copper Ore, found between Lake Wakatipu and the West Coast

626—WESTPORT COLLIERY COMPANY, *West port*.

- Specimen of Coal, showing one-half the thickness of the 30-ft. seam, Mount Rochfort Mine.

627—WILLIAMS, C. J., *Thames*.

- Specimens of Silver Lead Ores, from Tararu Creek

628—WILSON, WILLIAM, *Christchurch*.

- Sample of Coal Seam, 7 ft, 10 in., from Pit at Malvern Hills, Canterbury

- Sample of Stone, from White Rock Quarries, Ashley District, Canterbury

- The quantity of stone in these quarries is almost inexhaustible.

629—WORTHINGTON, JOHN S., *Queenstown*.

- Specimens of Iron-sand

- It occurs in large quantities at Queenstown,

630—WRIGHT AND VINCENT, *Hamilton, Auckland*.

- Thirteen Specimens of New Zealand Clays

631—VIVIAN, JAMES M., *New Plymouth*.

- Iron-sand, from Taranaki Beach

- Soil used as Flux

- Brick prepared for Smelting.

Vignette

Mason, Firth & M'Cutcheon, Printers, 51 & 53 Flinder Lan West, Melbourne.

## The County of Westland, N.Z.

### General Description.

WESTLAND is the central part of the West Coast of the Middle Island. In 1861 this part of the colony was purchased by the Government from the native owners, of whom there were not more than thirty at that time. The district thus acquired extends from the Province of Nelson on the north to the Province of Otago on the south, and from the Province of Canterbury on the east to the sea coast on the west; its boundaries being, on the north the river Grey, on the south the river Awarua (flowing into Big Bay), and on the east the watershed of the Southern Alps. Of the total area of Westland (4442 square miles), the mountain ranges and forest lands occupy 2,843,141 acres; the rivers and lakes, 29,759 acres; and open country, 172,800 acres; making in all 3,045,700 acres.

After the purchase and annexation of the West Coast to Canterbury in 1861, the former was occasionally visited by surveyors and others in search of pastoral country; they, however, met with great hardships at that early period, and not a few lost their lives in fording the swiftly running rivers. Little advance was made towards settlement until gold-hunters penetrated its wild and inhospitable interior. This occurred during the latter part of 1863 and the beginning of 1864. The first discovery of gold was reported on the Hohonu, a northern tributary of the Teremakau. The Hohonu rises in Mount French—named after Mr. Michael French, an early settler in the Grey Valley. He was one of the leading prospectors of that and other localities. About the same time, also, a party of Scandinavians, having ventured in a boat from Invercargill, prospected the Totara district, and their labours were rewarded by discovering gold in a small mountain stream taking its rise at Mount Greenland, the ravine through which it flows being known at the present day as Scandinavian Gully. This stream empties itself into Donnelly's Creek by a waterfall just above the junction, and later on joins with the river Totara. Subsequently, the Kanieri and other places were discovered, and from that time a rush set in to the West Coast. During the latter part of 1864 and early in 1865, the main rush commenced, and from that time forward the discoveries of auriferous deposits were continuous in all directions, from one extremity of the coast to the other, and in such rapid succession that, within a short space of time, the West Coast, from north of the river Grey to the southern boundary, was clearly shown to be a vast continuous goldfield.

In consequence of its increased importance and great natural resources, the West Coast of Canterbury was created an independent district on the 1st of January, 1868, under the appellation of the County of Westland. In 1874 the county was made a province, and on the abolition of the provincial form of government in New Zealand, Westland was again made a county, with a reduced area. The portion north of the river Teremakau, containing an area of 255,460 acres, was added to the Grey County, leaving, however, to the County of Westland the considerable area of 2,790,300 acres, of which 31,950 acres are apportioned as freehold, and 76,637 acres represent lakes, rivers, and general reserves, which leaves the handsome area of 2,681,713 acres to be appropriated at the present time.

Hokitika, the chief town, was founded in 1864. It is situated at the mouth and on the north bank of the Hokitika River, formerly called Okatiki, and has a population of above 3000 souls. It contains a town hall, supreme court-house, and other judicial and administrative buildings, a general post-office and telegraph office, all of considerable architectural pretensions, also a large and most commodious theatre, and a public library. There is large wharf accommodation, and owing to the improvement of the entrance of the river, caused by the protection works, now nearly completed, an excellent harbour is afforded for vessels of 200 tons burden. The town is well laid out with large public squares and other recreation grounds; and there are, in connection with the town, a public hospital, lunatic asylum, and gaol.

The Kanieri district includes the land between the Arahura and Hokitika Rivers, and the land on the south bank of the Hokitika River as far as Lake Mahinipua. Besides the Kanieri, Kokotahi, and Mahinipua townships, this district contains the mining centres of Blue Spur, Big Paddock, Woodstock, and Eight-mile. The township of Kanieri is situated on the banks of the Hokitika River, and is backed by a large agricultural and grazing district. Woodstock is opposite to it, on the other side of the river. Gold mining, timber-cutting, and farming are the chief industries of this district. The whole of the timber exported from the port of Hokitika is cut in the Kanieri district. There are large areas of agricultural land not sold in the Kokotahi Valley, and between it and the Hokitika River.

The Totara district extends from the Kanieri district to the Mikonui River, and includes the town of Ross, and the mining districts of Donoghue's, Donnelly's Creek, and Redman's; the tributaries of the Totara and Mikonui Rivers being all auriferous. Ross was founded in 1865, and is situated south of Donnelly's Creek, a tributary of the Totara River, in the centre of one of the richest alluvial deposits of gold, if not in New Zealand, at least in Westland. It is a pleasant inland town, about 18 miles south of Hokitika, with which it is connected by an excellent road, which extends to Okarita. All intermediate rivers between Hokitika and Ross are bridged. The population of Ross is above 1170 souls. It possesses a court-house, post and telegraph offices, town-hall, library, a public and other schools, and an excellent local hospital. The prosperous future of Ross, as a large gold-producing locality, with proper appliances, can hardly be doubted.

The mines near Ross were worked with the aid of powerful steam pumping machinery. Gold has been

found in them in six different layers, in depths from 50 feet to 450 feet. Most of these mines are at present flooded out, and perhaps will remain so till capital is introduced into the district to work the mines on an extensive system. A large race (surveys and plans of which have been prepared) to carry water from the Mikonui River to near Ross is much needed, and would prove reproductive, as the deep claims can be worked with water-power far less expensively than with steam. The main industry of this district is gold mining, which is extensively carried on in the terraces.

The Okarita district comprises all that part of the district between the river Mikonui and the southern boundary of the county. Gold mining is the only occupation followed in this district. There are scarcely any mines being worked inland, except up one or two of the rivers; the miners rest satisfied with obtaining gold easily in the beach workings. In many of the beaches of this district (as well as in other parts of the coast), after bad weather and a heavy sea, the sand on the sea-beach is found impregnated with gold, and, after the sand has been scraped off the beach, and the gold extracted, there is likely to be, after the next heavy sea, a similar quantity of gold found in the beach sand in the same localities. The district has had but little attention paid to it, either by the miners or settlers. It has two splendid harbours—Bruce Bay and Jackson's Bay—and several rivers with good entrances and depth of water. It has easy access to the Province of Otago and the East Coast by the saddle at the head of the Haast River, and it possesses large tracts of auriferous land, fine agricultural land, and splendid grazing country and timber.

Northward of Hokitika is the Kumara district. The township of Kumara was founded in 1876, and is situated south of the Teremakau, about seven miles inland from the ocean beach. Its site is a large auriferous flat extending many miles in all directions, and the population is above 900 souls. It is a fine inland town, with regular, broad streets, about eighteen miles north-east of Hokitika, with which it is connected by excellent roads, as also with direct roads with Greymouth and Christchurch. There are a court-house, post and telegraph offices, public school, town-hall, and a local hospital.

## **General Features.**

Some of the most picturesque scenery that even New Zealand can boast of is to be found in Westland. Between the Southern Alps, whose snowy peaks pierce the sky at a height of nearly 14,000 feet, and the coast line may be seen an infinite variety of the grandest alpine and forest scenery. One of the largest glaciers on the western slope of the main range of mountains is the Francis Joseph Glacier, descending from Mount Cook. The face of this magnificent glacier is about half a mile in breadth and of considerable height, and may be easily reached from Hokitika by coach road to Okarito (40 miles), and thence by a fair bridle track some twelve miles up the Waiho river bed. Dense forests, exhibiting new and beautiful forms of vegetation, including the gigantic scarlet flowering myrtle, the rata, one of the largest forest trees, and graceful tree-ferns, clothe the mountain-slopes and much of the undulating lower country towards the sea coast.

## **Climate.**

Notwithstanding the very heavy rainfall in Westland (118 inches per annum, average), the climate is remarkably healthy; the temperature, compared with other parts of New Zealand, being exceptionally equable. Animal life of all kinds thrives well, and the growth of vegetation is surprisingly rapid and vigorous.

## **Land.**

Of the two millions of acres of unsold land in Westland, the larger part consists of mountains and dense forests, but there are, in places, considerable areas of open country, chiefly between the low lying hills and the main range, of splendid agricultural land, having from six to ten feet of rich black soil. There is very little improved land in private hands open for sale to persons of small capital. Most of the holders of improved lands have themselves made the improvements; but any one anxious to secure a homestead, with a market to dispose of his produce, will find it a not very difficult task, as every facility for the purchase of land is offered by the Government.

For the purpose of forming special settlements in the southern portions of Westland, three blocks in the Okarito district have been set apart; one containing 20,000 acres, between the Mikonui and Wanganui Rivers; one containing 50,000 acres, from the Saltwater River southwards for 17 miles, of a depth of three miles and a quarter; and one of 50,000 acres, in the neighbourhood of the Haast River.

Within the last four years a good deal of country has been taken up for pastoral purposes; and although agriculture has not yet become a prominent feature in the industrial aspect of the district, the number of farms dotted over the county is yearly increasing, the favourable nature of the climate, combined with the natural fertility of the soil, rendering farming, when once the land is cleared of bush, a very profitable pursuit.

## Trade.

Considering the important part which mining plays in the prosperity of Westland, and the uncertain character which generally attaches to this industry, the trade of the district for the last three years, or at least that portion represented by the exports, shows remarkable steadiness. In 1877 the imports were valued at £122,326, and the exports at £213,616; in the year following the imports amounted to £99,680, and exports to £243,068; and in 1879 the imports were valued at £67,696, and the exports at £267,824.

## Mining.

That which was originally the making of Westland—gold-mining—is now also its main industry. Although the population of Westland (about 12,000) is not now so large as in the first fervour of the great rush, the produce of gold has been maintained—a fact which speaks well for the permanency and richness of the district as a gold-producing country.

The quantity of gold exported from the port of Hokitika during the year 1879 was 54,203 ounces, value £216,933. The export for the quarters ending 31st March and 30th June, 1880, were respectively 14,275 ounces, value £57,098, and 13,383 ounces, value £53,533. The total quantity of gold exported from the West Coast, from the first discovery of gold to 30th June, 1880, amounted to 2,485,512 ounces, value £9,849,015.

A map of the County of Westland, prepared by Mr. Gerhard Mueller, chief surveyor, and forwarded to the Melbourne International Exhibition, shows the various localities where gold has been obtained. In no district thus marked, except in the case of Ross, has gold been worked to any considerable depth; so that it has been truly said that as yet the surface of the country has only been scratched over.

Reef and lode mining has hardly yet been entered upon in West-land, but many important and promising discoveries in this direction have been made. Thus, on the Taipo River, in the northern part of the district, quartz reefs, averaging about an ounce of gold to the ton, have been explored; and at Mount Rangitoto, south of Hokitika, a lode band occurs, carrying, besides auriferous pyrites, argentiferous galena, and zinc blende.

In the gorge of the Hokitika River a similar association of magnesian rocks occurs as that which characterises the copper and chrome mineral belts in Nelson, and the general geological structure of the country points to a recurrence throughout the district of isolated areas of a gold-bearing formation similar to that which has proved so rich at Reefton in the Nelson Province.

## Timber.

Westland offers a good many advantages for the development of a large timber trade. The forest lands occupy more than two-thirds of its total area, and are easily accessible. The rivers are not more than four or five miles apart, so that in localities where there are no roads the timber can be floated down to the coast. The timber consists of black, red, white, and silver pines; black, red, and white birches; miro, totara, rata, kawhaka, cedar, and manuka. The quality of the timber generally is excellent, and samples have been forwarded to the Melbourne Exhibition. Considerable quantities have been exported, but the expansion of the trade is much cramped by want of freight facilities, the quantity exported being, in a great measure, limited to the tonnage offered by vessels bringing in cargoes, such vessels carrying away the timber as return cargo.

## Other Resources.

One of the exhibits forwarded to the Exhibition is a bale of flax, from Westland.

The flax plant (*Phormium tenax*) is found in all parts of Westland, the moist climate being very favourable for its growth; yet nothing has been done to utilise it. On the banks of the rivers, and in the swamps, flax grows luxuriantly. Samples of the only kind dressed by the Maoris have the appearance of delicate glossed satin. Another kind, the *tai*, is remarkable for its length of fibre and great strength. The making of flax into rope and all kinds of cordage could be carried on advantageously in Westland, as the supply of flax is inexhaustible. If properly cultivated, and by stripping only the outer leaves of the flax plant twice a year, each acre of land would yield more than two tons of marketable flax.

In other parts of New Zealand, where the climate is not so favourable for the growth of flax, swamps have been drained, and, immediately after, the plants that had a stunted growth of two feet commenced growing till they attained a height of nine feet or ten feet.

All the rivers of Westland, and the bays in its southern parts, abound with fish. If parties of men would organise, and settle in the southern parts of the district, they would find fish-curing a profitable occupation, more especially if they fitted out boats for whaling and seal-catching, as whales are frequently cast on our

shores, and seals abound on the rocky parts of the coast; at seasons when fishing may be dull the settlers could prospect for gold, as the whole of the coast is auriferous. There are men scattered in the southern parts of this province who, for the last five or six years, have been gold-mining and doing nothing else. These men will not leave the district, preferring to remain there, notwithstanding the difficulties and expense of obtaining provisions. There are blocks of land set apart for special settlements, and immigrants can easily obtain homesteads in the southern parts. Bruce Bay and Jackson's Bay, both well sheltered, are good localities for the establishment of fishing stations.

Sites with water frontages to any of the rivers can be easily obtained, and a supply of bark being at hand, tanneries could be cheaply worked, and would probably give good returns, as the demand for leather is very great, most of the population being engaged in mining, in the bush, or other heavy work. If tanneries were established boot factories would soon follow.

Brickmaking is another industry which might be entered upon much more extensively than it is at present, if capital and labour were more abundant. There is a good supply of good brick-clays, and also of fire-clay of first-class quality. Several varieties of good building stone exist, and a fine marble of close grain is obtainable at Caswell Sound. Lithographic stone exists at the Abbey Rocks, and a sample of this may be seen in the New Zealand Court of the Exhibition.

## **Education.**

The system of Education adopted in Westland is the same as that carried out in other parts of New Zealand, and is maintained by the general Government of the colony. It is of the most liberal character and special endowment reserves have been set apart for educational purposes. The head school of Westland is in Hokitika, and is attended by upwards of 400 children, out of a population of about 3000 souls. There are also 25 branch schools, superintended and taught by about 50 teachers of all grades. The average number of scholars on the roll being about 3500.

Vignette

Mason, Firth & M'Cutcheon, Printers, 51 & 53 Flinders-lane West, Melbourne

# **The New Patent Adding Machine.**

## **Messrs. Stowe, Brothers, 32, Essex Street Strand, London.**

*Inventor and Patentee, Leonard Stowe, Wellington, New Zealand.*

### **INTRODUCTORY.**

ADDITION of money, in small and large sums, occupies a portion of the time of almost all persons, especially bankers, merchants, tradespeople, and housekeepers; the object of this Machine is to enable this work to be done by mechanical means with perfect accuracy.

All the weariness of mind often caused by long nights spent in trying to find some small mistake in a balance-sheet, can be completely obviated by it.

The tradesman or housekeeper, who does not even know how many pence there are in a shilling, or how many shillings in a pound, can, provided he has eyes to read figures, unaided produce his monthly accounts, and make up his ledgers without a mistake after he has once learnt to work the Machine; this knowledge can be thoroughly acquired in a very short time, some persons have achieved it in less than five minutes.

Instructions are issued with each Machine, so as to render failure impossible.

This Machine combines simplicity with accuracy, has no complicated machinery in it, and is guaranteed to last for years—without repair.

Any sums in addition, either in plain figures or in money, can be performed with it.

All the cylinders are constructed upon the same principle, so that to know how to work one is to know how to work all.

Machines for adding weights or measures of any kind can be supplied by applying to Messrs. Stowe Brothers, 82 Essex Street, Strand; or, to Leonard Stowe, Wellington, New Zealand.

## DESCRIPTION.

The Machine consists of a number of cylinders, or rollers, with figures printed thereon, zero or naught being represented by a red square. To the left of the cylinders are a number of Indicators, each of which records every perfect revolution of its corresponding cylinder.

## HOW TO WORK IT.

To place the Machine ready for work the indicators must be turned until zero or naught is visible; and the cylinders must be turned so that the zero or naught on the extreme left i.e., nearest to the indicators is visible.

The Machine being placed as directed, we will proceed to exemplify its mode of working—using the units cylinder.

*First Example.*

To add the following figures:—

- 4
- 5
- 7
- 3
- 4

Turn the cylinder towards you till 4 appears in the first column at the left end—stop, start again from the Zero or Red Square, now visible till you come to 5 in that column; start again from the Zero or Red Square, now visible, till you come to 7 in that column; start again from the Zero or Red Square, now visible, till you come to 3 in that column; start again from, the Zero or Red Square, now visible, till you come to 4 in that column.

On looking at the Indicator you will find figure 2 recorded, and figure 3 will be the figure now visible at the left end of the cylinder, the two together making 28 which is the required total.

N.B.—The result of any addition will always be found by reading the figures recorded on the indicators together with the first figure on the left end of the cylinders.

*Another Example.*

To add the following figures:—

- 1365
- 2491
- 317
- 56
- 258

Still working only on the *units* cylinder.

Indicator at Zero, left end of cylinder at Zero.

- Turn cylinder to you till 8 appears in the left-hand column.
- Turn cylinder to you, starting from the Zero now visible, till 6 appears in that column.
- Turn cylinder to you, starting from the Zero now visible, till 7 appears in that column.
- Turn cylinder to you, starting from the Zero now visible, till 1 appears in that column.
- Turn cylinder to you, starting from the Zero now visible, till 5 appears in that column.

Indicator marks 2; first figure on left end of cylinder 7.

Set down 7, turn the *Indicator* to Zero, and start with 2 at the left end of the *cylinder*.

- Turn to you, starting from the Zero now visible, till 5 appears in that column.
- Turn to you, starting from the Zero now visible, till 5 appears in that column.
- Turn to you, starting from the Zero now visible, till 1 appears in that column.
- Turn to you, starting from the Zero now visible, till 9 appears in that column.
- Turn to you, starting from the Zero now visible, till 6 appears in that column.

The Indicator marks 2; first figure on left end of cylinder 8.

Set down 8, turn the *Indicator* to Zero, and start with 2 at the left end of the *cylinder*.

- Turn to you, starting from the Zero now visible, till 2 appears in that column.
- Turn to you, starting from the Zero now visible, till 8 appears in that column.
- Turn to you, starting from the Zero now visible, till 4 appears in that column.
- Turn to you, starting from the Zero now visible, till 8 appears in that column.

Indicator marks 1; first figure on left end of cylinder 4.

Set down 4, turn *Indicator* to Zero, and start with one at the left end of the *cylinder*,

- Turn to you, starting from the Zero now visible, till 2 appears in that column.
- Turn to you, starting from the Zero now visible, till 1 appears in that column.

The figure at the left end of the cylinder is 4.

The total obtained is 4,487.

## **ADDITION OF MONEY.**

This is performed on the Units Cylinder for Pounds, in a manner similar to the explanation given above.

The Shillings Cylinder is used in exactly the same way, and when any sum of Shillings is finished, the Pounds will be found on the Indicator and the odd Shillings on the left end of the Cylinder, in the first division.

The Pence Cylinder is used in exactly the same way, and when any sum is finished, the Shillings will be found on the Indicator, and the odd Pence, on the left end of the Cylinder, in the first division.

It is an easy matter to transfer the Shillings on the Indicator, to the Shillings Cylinder to make the addition complete, or to read off the odd Shillings on the end of the Shillings Cylinder, with the Shillings on the Pence indicator.

Leonard Stowe, INVENTOR AND PATENTEE,

*Wellington.*

ADDRESS :—

Stowe, Brothers

82 ESSEX STREET,

STRAND,

LONDON. or,

WELLINGTON,

NEW ZEALAND.

To Add a Larger Sum, on three Cylinders at a time.

Indicators all tinned to Zero.

Cylinders, with the Zero or Red Square at the left-hand end, in line with Indicator.

- Turn the top cylinder towards you till 300 appears on the first column.
- Turn the second cylinder towards you till 40 appears in that column.
- Turn the third cylinder towards you till 2 appears in that column.
- Turn the top cylinder towards you, starting from Zero now visible, till 600 appears in that column.
- Turn the second cylinder towards you, starting from Zero now visible, till 80 appears in that column.
- Turn the third cylinder towards you, starting from Zero now visible, till 1 appears in that column.
- Turn the top cylinder towards you, starting from Zero, now visible, till 800 appears in that column.
- Turn the second cylinder towards you, starting from Zero now visible, till 10 appears in that column.
- Turn the third cylinder towards you, starting from Zero now visible, till 8 appears in that column.

Mathematical equation

Indicator, opposite the top cylinder, shews 1,000; the first figure on the left-hand end of the top cylinder is 700.

The first figure on the left-hand end of the second cylinder is 80.

The first figure on the left-hand end of the third cylinder is 6.

Total, 1,786, as required.

Vignette

LYON & BLAIR, PRINTERS, LAMBTON QUAY, WELLINGTON.

Into the Financial Condition of the Bank of New Zealand.

Dedicated to the Hon. H. A. Atkinson, by R. A. A. Sherrin.

Printed by E. H. Fail, At his General Printing Office, Auckland Karangahape Road, Newton 1881

**To the Colonial Treasurer, the Hon. H. A.  
Atkinson.**

SIR,—I have decided, on reflection, to address this pamphlet to you, and may state that I intend to review the condition of the Bank after each future half-yearly meeting, in one of the newspapers in the colony, until different banking arrangements are made by the Government of the day, to those now existing. It was you who made the last, agreement with the Bank for the custody of the Public Funds, after you had demonstrated to the Country the profitableness of borrowing money at five per cent, and lending it at four. The rare skill you display in arranging the Public Accounts precludes the supposition that you will have any difficulty in understanding the finance of a bank when it is explained to you. We all confess that you are our only safe guide in financial matters, as on several occasions, for the satisfaction of the bondholder and the maintenance of the credit of the Colony, you have changed the annual yearly deficit in our revenue into a substantial surplus. I now invite your attention and solicit your aid to the solution of a more difficult problem. Dealing mainly with the finance of the Bank since you saved the Colony from impending ruin in 1879 by impairing its credit, and questioning its solvency, it will be seen by a carefully compiled table, how different was the condition of the Bank of New Zealand in 1870, before your friends began your "heroic policy of colonization." Having told the people that the Property Tax is an aid to improvements, you will find no difficulty in dealing with the lesser issues I have raised. Your known integrity as a politician, and your stern truthfulness as a party man, will save you from the reproach of being thought the tool of a mercantile corporation desirous of controlling the finance and the policy of the Government of New Zealand, when the agreement you made with the Bank in 1880 is generally understood. Those who appreciate these facts will recognize the propriety of this dedication.—I have the honor to be, Sir, your most obedient servant,

RICHARD A. A. SHERRIN.

Auckland,

November 5th, 1881.

## An Enquiry Into the Financial Condition of the Bank of New Zealand.

THE condition of the Bank of New Zealand is open to the freest criticism as the Bank keeps the Government account, and all the contributors to the Colonial Revenue have a right to enquire whether the monies collected by the State are placed in safe custody. If there had been in my mind any doubt as to the legality of such an enquiry, I should have made myself a shareholder in the Bank before writing this pamphlet; and should my opinion, as is possible, be mistaken, the sooner we obtain definite ruling on such an important matter the better. In determining the financial soundness of a Corporation of this kind we can have hardly any clearly defined rules for our guidance, unless we could find another country in the same financial circumstances as New Zealand, possessing what is to all purposes (save the Government guarantee) a State Bank, having similar obligations to the Bank of New Zealand. And should such a discovery be made we have to bear in mind that no fixed rules have been unanimously agreed upon by mercantile men, which should in their opinion regulate the business of a Bank under varying conditions. It was recently said by a high financial authority, Banking in England goes on growing, multiplying, and changing, as the English people itself goes on growing, multiplying, and changing. The facts of it are, one thing to-day and another to-morrow, nor at one moment does any one know them completely. Those who best know them will not tell them; gradually, and in the course of years, they separately come to light; and by the time they do so, for the most part, another crop of unknown ones has accumulated. If we wait to reason till the facts are completed, we shall have to wait till the human race has expired."

Varied, however, as the " facts " of banking may be, there are certain banking postulates with which most men will agree. I would venture in this manner to describe them :—

- A Bank should be enabled under all circumstances to meet promptly all legal demands made on it for payment.
- It should meet these demands without unduly pressing on its customers.
- The amount of its capital and its reserve fund should form the basis of the calculation as to the extent of the business it transacts.
- It should undertake no obligations requiring fortunate circumstances to enable it to fulfil.
- It should be enabled to lend freely on good securities in times of panic.

- Its capital should be sufficient to guarantee the soundness of its business.

A Bank having the custody of a Government account is placed in a different position to other Banks. When the German Government was drawing large stores of bullion from England, after the Franco-German war, they kept a large balance at the London Joint Stock Bank, and this bank required its immediate resources to be larger than another bank, having such a customer doing the same amount of business with an equal capital, by reason of the derangements its deposits were liable to experience. A Government may have, and often has, an urgent need for a large sum of money, and the bank which does its business is expected to be in a position to meet what has been happily termed the intensity of the liability.

If a Bank has a million of money on deposit at call from one customer, its reserve of cash should be greater than if the million were deposited by ten or twenty different persons. If the Bank of New Zealand has a million of Government money in its custody, and the Government, on the direction of the Legislature, or by order in Council, should transfer the public account to another Bank or Banks, the transfer should entail no stringency in the money market, nor cause any inconvenience to the Bank, or to its customers. You will bear in mind that the amount of *public* money held by the Bank is not to be confounded with the Government deposits or balances it holds. And this consideration is of importance, because should the Government transfer its account to another bank, the local and other bodies would without doubt, follow the example.

The average yearly balance of the Government monies in the possession of the Bank *in* New Zealand for the period of ten years ended the 31st December, 1880, has been in round numbers £823,000. Extending over the same period the annual average of the coin, bullion, notes and bills of other Banks, balances of other Banks, and Government securities, kept by the Bank in New Zealand is found to be £931,760. These various assets I shall hereafter call *the available cash* of the Bank of New Zealand, *in* New Zealand. You will observe the narrowness of the margin between the available cash of the Bank and the Government deposits.

As the main source of the profitableness of Banks, and the cause of their multiplication is the smallness of the capital needed for their founding, it seems the more necessary that a legal restraint, determining the limit of their operations, should be placed upon their business, as eager competition, and zealous management, may readily produce calamitous overtrading. Banks trade with their customers' money. The Banker's task is so to place the money entrusted to his care that it may be readily available in case of need, or an emergency. I am not writing, or hinting at the Statutory Reserve Fund, which it should be (but is not) imperative for all banks to keep, but of the ability of the banks to be able at any time to produce the deposits at call which it holds. I include, of course, traders' balances in the term *deposits at call*. After bitter experience of the neglect of this precaution, or a similar one, the American law says that each National Bank shall have a fixed proportion of cash to its liabilities, and it is ascertained by inspectors, who inspect at their own times, whether the required amount of cash is in the bank or not. In the State of New York, 25 per cent, is the proportion fixed, but the obligation was only made, if I remember right, after 1857, when in New York alone 62 out of its 63 banks suspended cash payments. In the times of prosperity the seeds of mercantile disaster are sown. The prudent banker puts all the strength he can obtain into his reserve fund. It is as a wise precaution on the part of a State to restrain the trading of a bank which does the State business to a limit in accordance with its capital, as it is for the Legislature to determine the maximum rate a Railway Company charges the public for its services.

It will be seen further on, that the Bank has its main cash resources in London; and very large obligations in New Zealand, which it cannot meet without calling on its English funds. It is one of those risks which success does not justify. This risk is further heightened when it is known that the Reserve Fund of the Bank is absorbed in its business, and not invested in securities immediately realizable. No thinking man can regard this absorption without regret. There seems a special necessity for a bank doing a State business to keep its Reserve Fund intact. Under certain social conditions, in our case such as a general failure, or blight in our crops, or a murrain in our stock, we may have to provide a large sum of gold for export. The extra drain of gold in 1847 from Great Britain for a supply of food was estimated £20,000,000. A Government can export no gold in quantities for food when the bank it does business with has only sufficient "to open shop with." It is hardly necessary to trace the history of the Bank Reserve Fund, nor to point out how the strength of the Bank is weakened by the absorption of that Fund in its business.

I shall deal first with the returns of the Bank published in the *Government Gazette* of February, 1881. They contain the New Zealand business of the Bank only at the end of the year 1880. I use only £ figures. The liabilities of the Bank in the Colony were sworn to as follows :—

The additions are of course subject to shilling differences in the right hand figures.

In the same return the capital of the Bank paid-up is stated as £1,000,000 with a Reserve, Fund of £653,337, but the whole amount may be regarded as the working capital of the bank. By this unfortunate, although common mode of book-keeping, Capital and Reserve Fund are mixed together, causing confusion in the mind of the casual observer. By the 21st section of the Act of Incorporation, July, 1861, the shareholders of the Bank, chiefly non-residents in the Colony, are liable for the payment of another million sterling; an amount

equal to that of the capital subscribed. This sum of money could *only* be regarded as an asset *in full*, were the affairs of the Bank in liquidation, if the shareholders were all able to pay the call. When the West of England Bank failed not long since some 70 of the 1000 shareholders promptly met the call; about 150 partly did so; nearly half the shareholders were found to be without means.

Deposits fixed for a term cannot be legally claimed until the term expires. It is optional on the part of the banker to release monies lodged on fixed deposit before the expiration of the term, either with or without interest, unless he has come under some agreement so to do when the money was deposited. In the latter case, of course, the customer can regard the deposit at call. Ignoring, then, the money held by the Bank of New Zealand bearing interest at that date, December 31st, 1880, amounting to £1,950,250 let us see the sum of money the Corporation could have been called upon forthwith to pay should the Government have found reason at that date to have withdrawn its account. I do not know what sufficient reason could be alleged for the Government allowing a Bank to keep its funds if the solvency of the bank were publicly and reasonably questioned.

The deposits bearing interest will of course be maturing daily, but they may be left out of our calculation, as the Notes and Bills discounted by the Bank in New Zealand amounted to a very similar sum *viz.*: £2,007,714, and the maturing of the assets may be placed against the maturing of the liabilities, with very great advantage to the bank in the way of comparison; the deposits being fixed, chiefly for twelve months, the Notes and Bills bearing much shorter dates.

Let us see then what available funds the Bank had in New Zealand on the 31st December, 1880, to meet a call for £3,034,474.

The landed property the Bank has cannot be regarded as an available cash asset until sold and paid for. It is true the debts due to the Bank are put in the assets as representing £3,767,262, and the other securities as being worth £136,736; but the debts would have to be collected and the securities realised before the payment could be made of the monies liable to be called for upon demand. The forced collection of these debts would mean not only ruin to the debtors and a vast depreciation in value of the securities held for the cover of the debts, but would entail consequences on the Colony, which the General Assembly would be regarded as inexcusable in not having foreseen. *There are no cash funds in the Colony representing the value of these debts.* While the debts and other securities due and held by the Bank at the end of the year 1880 amounted to £3,903,998, the whole of the coin and bullion held by the other Banks in New Zealand only amounted to £1,317,946.

We are almost tempted to enquire curiously how these debts of £3,767,262 are secured, or whether they are overdrafts for which collateral securities have been given. When the General Manager, Mr. Murdoch, at the last March (half-yearly) meeting, is reported to have said that the Bank had no monies locked-up in land. In what other commodity could they be safely invested, the speculative will doubtless enquire? I fully understand what answer will be made to this interrogation, but can attach no importance to such an evasion. If the advances are made on bills, they cannot be met until the land is sold. The notes in circulation although promises to pay, require some description as to the conditions of their payment. The 5th clause of the Act of Incorporation gives the Bank power to issue Bank notes, but it provides that such privilege shall cease in case of the suspension of specie payment on demand for the space of 60 days in succession, or for any number of days at intervals which shall amount altogether to 60 days within any one year. The notes in circulation, however, form only some 15 per cent of the claims on the bank payable on demand. And here it can be pointed out that the Government appears to have no check over the note circulation. In England the Commissioners of Taxes are empowered to inspect the books of all banks issuing notes, to ensure the rendering of true and faithful accounts, or the amount of bank-notes in circulation. There can be no valid reason why the Government should not take the note issue under its own control, in the same manner as it issues Stamps. By the 6th clause of the Act of Incorporation it is provided that the total amount of the Promissory notes payable on demand, issued and in circulation within the Colony shall, not at any time exceed the amount of the coin, bullion, and public securities held by the Corporation. Without entering into the debated question of an inconvertible paper currency, the consideration arises whether it may not yet be found expedient to widen the liberty given to banks as to their note circulation so as to include other than "public securities" in the note guarantee. I shall, however, revert, to this subject further on.

Should, however, the idea be entertained, that the branches of the London, New South Wales, and Fijian portions of the Bank could afford to help the stringency of a call for money in New Zealand, the surmise will be dispelled by an analysis of the accounts of the Bank published in the *New Zealand Herald* of the 23rd Oct., 1880, and the returns published by the Treasury, on the 26th of the same month. It is only by such an analysis that the Foreign business of the Bank can be separated from the New Zealand portion thereof.

The result of the analysis shows that the surplus assets of the Bank are in New Zealand, and that the Foreign liabilities on September 30th 1880. were £214,000 in excess of the Foreign assets. The New Zealand apart from the Foreign business of the Bank may be thus divided :—

It will thus be seen that although the bulk of the available cash of the Bank at this date was in London, had "a run" set in on the Bank here, or in London, all the London assets would have been required to meet the calls made for payment in London, and the New Zealand business would have had to provide the deficit.

It is instructive to notice how the Public Works Policy has deranged the finance of the Bank. The following table show the amounts of the deposits and the available cash held by the Bank *in* New Zealand at the 31st of December of each year :—

At the end of years 1870—1871, the available cash of the Bank of New Zealand equalled about 50 per cent, of its deposits. In 1880 the amount had fallen to 20 per cent. In a statement of 78 out of 118 of the Joint Stock Banks of England and Wales for October 19th, 1878, it appears that their deposits amounted to £235,392,087, and their cash in hand, money at call, and Government stock to £118,452,226; and on the 17th of May, 1879, of 74 banks out of 119 having deposits of £228,902,459, their available cash was £128,181,688. If you take the statement of the liabilities and assets of the Union Bank of Australia of the 30th of June, 1880, you will find the deposits amounting to £6,767,350, while the available cash of the bank was £3,581,610.

I do not think that this pamphlet would have been written had not a section of the New Zealand Press commented with much elation of spirit over the Report of the Bank describing the details of the business up to the 31st March, 1881. From the report it appears that the money at short call in London, invested by the Bank, had been reduced from £1,442,000 to £675,900; that while the deposits and other liabilities of the Bank had remained nearly the same during the six months, what I have called the available cash of the Bank, had decreased from £3,343,851 to £2,885,329. In other words, from another point of view, the debts of the Bank had been increased £429,445; the immediately available cash resources of the Bank were decreased £456,512

The position may perhaps be made more clear to your, mind by the perusal of the following table showing the deposits and the liabilities of the Bank enumerated at the different dates. The note liability is excluded from the calculation :—

You will see from the above figures bow, since you have last been in office, the available cash of the Bank has decreased £1,049,476, while the bills payable have increased £713,647; and the liabilities of the Bank have been extended from £11,116,808 to £11,798,019.

I do not see that any measurable benefit would arise from a further extension of this tedious analysis, but would point out that the fear which may be engendered from its consideration is increased by the reflection that there is no store of what has been termed "unused cash" in New Zealand, from which money can be obtained on the deposit of good security in times of difficulty in the money market. We have followed the custom of the English Joint Stock Banks, without having the safeguard the English Joint Stock Banks possess. They keep in their possession public securities which they can deposit with the Bank of England when they want money. We have no Bank here holding an analogous position, nor has the Legislature felt it incumbent on itself to provide that Colonial Banks should hold unused a cash reserve in a fixed ratio according to their liabilities. It will be said with force that this fixed cash reserve will remain useless in the Banks, and that alarm would arise in a sensitive state of the money market when this legal limit of reserve was reached; but the public safety is a higher consideration than the profits of Bank shareholders, or an unfounded fear on the part of Bank customers. We cannot with safety allow any Banks to incur vast liabilities on securities, good doubtless of their kind, by the use of their customers' monies, which they would find it im- possible to pay, without a manifestation of patience unknown to general depositors. The one difficulty in the case of the Bank of New Zealand in paying monies demanded, would arise from the fact of our possessing as a people no reserve of cash. It is a consciousness of this fact which, doubtless, has lately made the Bank of New South Wales—alone among the Colonial Banks—hoard in the Colonies such a large store of coin and bullion.

It was not without a definite purpose that I compiled the table in a previous page shewing the deposits and the available cash of the Bank for eleven years. As the Government policy seems to have deranged the conduct of the Bank, it appears only the duty of the Government to aid in every way in its power to place the Bank in a healthier financial position. Although the bulk of the shareholders are living out of New Zealand the Bank is to all intents and purposes the Bank of New Zealand. I was induced to enter this enquiry with a spirit hostile to the Bank on account of its supposed exercise of political influence, and its apparent neglect of New Zealand interests by its keeping the bulk of its resources in England; but seeing how thé Bank has entered into enormous obligation for the sake of helping the Colony, it may be assumed that the exercise of its political power has been considered necessary to preserve its vitality, and that the employment of money in England has been in some measure necessary to enable it to pay its dividends. Placed by the force of circumstances, and the manifestly inadequate control of its Board of Directors in a difficult position, the question arises, what is the best plan to adopt to fortify the Bank, and preserve the interests of the colonists. The interests of the Bank and the interests of our colonists are so interwoven as to be in a large degree identical. The Bank of New Zealand already fulfills nearly all the functions of a State bank, and there seems no reason why it should not do so completely. It would appear to be quite within the power of the Bank to lend large sums of money to the New

Zealand Government. To the extent of the amount of such loans the notes of the Bank could be made a legal tender *in* New Zealand. The Bank of England was founded with a capital lent to the State. The custom is by no means uncommon of granting concessions for advances. Such a proposal would be received with hostility by the other banks without doubt, but the Legislature could appraise this hostility at its proper worth. The whole question of an inconvertible paper currency is here raised, but it must be borne in mind that one of its ablest opponents has remarked that the experiment has only failed, and the depreciation of a legalised paper currency, after the Governments "had compromised it by the most flagrant abuse." It is not that an extension of paper currency is needed for our mercantile wants, but that we ought to establish and to maintain a Reserve Fund in New Zealand. Indeed no greater amount of a circulating medium is ever in *actual use* than is required by the wants of the community; and during the long suspension of cash payments by the Bank of England in the last century, elaborate investigation showing that the difference between paper and bullion was not greater than the enhancement in value of gold itself and that the paper, though depreciated relatively to the value of gold, did not sink beyond the ordinary value at other times either of gold, or of other convertible paper. The danger is not in the use, but in the abuse of an inconvertible paper currency. The consideration is not whether an inconvertible currency is the best currency to adopt, but what is the wisest course for the Legislature to devise to assist the Bank and to protect its customers.

This *brochure* is put forward in the hope that the questions herein glanced at will be discussed at greater length by the General Assembly at the next session of Parliament. There may be slight errors in the calculations I have made, although they have been carefully checked, but such errors cannot affect the issues have submitted for your consideration.

Annual Report of the Dunedin Chamber of Commerce. August, 1881. Printed at the "Daily Times" Office Dunedin Dowling St. MDCCCLXXXI.

## Officers and Committee, 1881-82.

### Chairman:

- W. J. M. Larnach, O.M.G.

### Vice-Chairman:

- Robert Wilson.

### Committee:

- J. Ashcroft
- G. Bell
- T. Brown
- G. L. Denniston
- A. Hill Jack
- J. M. Jones
- G. Lewis
- J. Roberts
- D. Stronach

### Secretary:

- H. Houghton.

### List of Members.

- Aldrich, G. M.

- Anderson, James
- Ashcroft, James
- Banks, R.
- Bartleman, A.
- Bastings, H.
- Bathgate, J.
- Bathgate, A.
- Beal, L. O.
- Begg, A. C.
- Bell, George
- Black, C.
- Blakeley, John
- Blyth, George
- Brown, Thomas
- Brown, W.
- Burt, A.
- Campbell, J.
- Cargill, E. B.
- Cargill, John
- Coombes, C.
- Connell, J.
- Cowie, George
- Curie, J.
- Danson, J.
- Davie, John.
- Day, Edward
- Denniston, G. L.
- Driver, Henry
- Dymock, W.
- Edmond, John
- Elliott, G. W.
- Esther, George
- Ewing, R.
- Fargie, J.
- Farquhar, G. P.
- Fenwick, George
- Ferrier, G.
- Findlay, J.
- Fraser, J. G.
- Fulton, F.
- Gilchrist, William
- Gillies, R.
- Glendining, R.
- Gregg, William
- Guthrie, H.
- Guthrie, W.
- Haggitt, B. C.
- Hayman, M.
- Haynes, D.
- Heeles, M. G.
- Hepburn, W.
- Hislop, J.
- Hodgkins, W. M.
- Hogg, James
- Holmes, A.
- Howison, C. M,
- Inglis, A.
- Irvine, W.

- Jack, A. H.
- Joachim, G.
- Joel, M.
- Jones, J. M.
- Kenyon, E. P.
- Kirkpatrick, H.
- Kohn, S.
- Lang and Thoneman
- Larnach, W. J. M., C.M.G.
- Leary, R. H.
- Logan, P.
- Lees, A.
- Lewis, G.
- Maclean, G.
- Maclean, H. J.
- Marshall, J.
- Matheson, G. C.
- Mecnan, F.
- Mendershausen, M.
- Mills, James
- Moore, C.
- Morrison, J. H.
- Mudie, J. B.
- McFarlane, A.
- McKerras, J. T.
- McKenzie, J. A.
- McKenzie, R.
- McLeod, A.
- McNall, John
- McNeill, H.
- McQueen, C.
- Neill, P. C.
- Neill, W. G.
- North, Henry
- Oliver, R.
- Paterson, A. S.
- Paterson, R.
- Patterson, R.
- Proctor, F.
- Prosser, E.
- Proudfoot, D.
- Pym, M.
- Quick, E.
- Ramsay, K.
- Rattray, James
- Reid, D.
- Reynolds, W. H.
- Ritchie, T. T.
- Roberts, W. C.
- Roberts, J.
- Robin, J.
- Ross, A. H.
- Ross, M.
- Royse, William
- Saunders, R.
- Scoular, J.
- Scoular, W.
- Shand, J.

- Sheen, J.
- Sievwright, B.
- Sise, G. L.
- Smith, A. L.
- Smith, J.
- Spedding, D. M.
- Spence, E. J.
- Sprent, J. S.
- Stewart, W. D.
- Stout, Robert
- Stronach, D.
- Sutherland, A.
- Thomson, A.
- Thomson, W.
- Turnbull, G.
- Union Insurance Co.
- Walden, Henry
- Watson, G.
- Watson, W.
- Whitelaw, James
- Wilkie, James
- Wilkinson, T. M.
- Wilson, James.
- Wilson, James
- Wilson, R.
- Wright, J. T.
- Young, T.
- Ziele, C.

## Dunedin Chamber of Commerce.

*Report of the Committee of the Dunedin Chamber of Commerce for the year ending 30th June, 1881, presented at the Annual Meeting held on the 7th September, 1881,—the President, Mr. W. J. M. Larnach, in the chair.*

Your Committee have now the pleasure of submitting the Annual Report of the Chamber, and reviewing in some degree those events of the past year which, from time to time, have been brought under its notice, and which have affected more or less the interests of those engaged in commercial pursuits in the Provincial District of Otago, of which the city of Dunedin claims to be the capital.

The Committee in their last Report expressed their belief that the bad times were passing away and that we were then entering upon a period of renewed prosperity. It is now a satisfaction to note that they were not too sanguine. Their anticipations have been fully borne out—capital in abundance is seeking investment, money continues cheap, and business throughout New Zealand is at the present time in a sound and wholesome state. The last harvest in the Colony was exceptionally good, and though prices have ruled low, the increased yield and fine condition in which crops have been harvested have been all that producers could desire. The Committee regret to have to notice one temporary clog in the wheel of prosperity, which has been occasioned by the reduced value in the Home markets of wool, one of the most important articles of export from the Colonies of Australasia.

At the last Annual Meeting of this Chamber, the feeling was very generally expressed and it was again particularly referred to by the President in his address delivered last February, that the time had arrived for providing Members and the public generally with accommodation suitable for conducting business pertaining to a Chamber of Commerce. The Committee have now much pleasure in stating that the attainment of these objects appears guaranteed by the handsome building in course of erection at the corner of Bond and Liverpool Streets. This work has been accomplished during the present year by the liberality and energy of a number of Members coming forward and subscribing sufficient money to purchase the building site in the first instance, and subsequently initiating and supporting the formation of a small limited Company, with the object of erecting *The Dunedin Exchange*. Within a few months it is hoped that the building will be finished, when Members will be provided with proper offices wherein to conduct the important business of the Chamber. The

Committee desire again earnestly to draw the attention of the public to this institution in the hope that a much larger share of support will be given to it in the future than has been done in the past. Whether their interests relate to mercantile, pastoral, or agricultural pursuits, each alike will be a subject worthy at any time the consideration of the Chamber. All professions, trades, and occupations depend directly or indirectly on *Commerce*, it therefore remains with the people of Dunedin and its rich surrounding districts to constitute its *Hall* their chief factor in all that may concern their commercial progress, and by their universal support give increased weight and influence to the deliberations of the Chamber.

The Committee desire to impress upon Members the usefulness of watching passing events, so that attention may be directed to the prevention of any measure from becoming law which in any way threatens to interfere with the legitimate intercourse of trade, or to affect injuriously the proper scope of commercial operations.

Among the many subjects which have engaged the attention of the Committee during the past year are the following, viz. :—Property Tax, Otago Central Railway, Deposits on General Average, Law Procedure Commission, Direct Steam Communication with Great Britain, American Duties on Australasian Wools, Railway Tariff, Railway Workshops, Intercolonial Conference in Sydney, Trade with Fiji, Decimal System of Weights, Coinage and Measures, Postal Union, Weekly Market, Refrigerating Meat and other Produce for Export, new large Graving Dock at Port Chalmers.

The Committee having served their year of office it will be the duty of this meeting to appoint a President, Vice-President, and Committee for the ensuing year, and the retiring Committee venture to express a hope that the duties entrusted to them in the past have been faithfully fulfilled, and that the results of their term of office have not been wanting in some benefits to the general community.

Appended hereto will be found the Annual Statement of Income and Expenditure, together with Tabulated Statements of Imports and Exports, and many other useful statistics of various kinds bearing on the growing trade of the Provincial District of Otago and Southland, which the Committee have taken some pains in collecting and arranging for the information of Members.

## AMERICAN DUTIES ON WOOL.

At the last annual meeting of the Chamber special notice was directed to the excessive duty levied on New Zealand and Australian Wools imported into the United States, and urging that the interests of the several countries would be best advanced by the removal of existing obstacles to free commercial intercourse, and by substituting an *ad valorem* duty on wools the produce of New Zealand and Australia at a rate which would admit those of New Zealand without injury to the lower grades of American growth. The Committee for the present year have had the subject several times under discussion, and the subjoined memorial was forwarded through the American Consul, Mr. Henry Driver, M.H.R., for presentation to the Government of the United States. By the last mail the subjoined reply was received, from which it will be seen how hopeless at the present time are the prospects of any change being made in the fiscal system of the United States in respect to Wool duties :—

Dunedin, New Zealand, November 14th, 1880.

SIR,—We, the undersigned, the Chairman and Committee representing the Chamber of Commerce of Dunedin, in the Provincial District of Otago, New Zealand, desire respectfully to submit some considerations establishing the expediency of reducing the duties levied on New Zealand wools on their importation into the United States. In support of the view that while the said reduction would be a great boon to our wool-growers, it would also be one of great advantage to your woollen manufactures, we advance the following reasons :—

- That interchange between the United States and this rapidly, growing Colony would thereby be promoted.
- That New Zealand produces in large quantities precisely the quality of wools most desired by the American manufacturers, and such as would not come into competition with the wools which form a large part of the American production.
- That there is a growing demand in the Colony for many of your products, such as kerosene, tobacco, hardware, lumber, canned goods, agricultural machinery, and many other manufactures which it needs only frequent and cheap inter-communication to develop into a large trade.
- That nothing would so much promote such trade as direct exports of wool from this Colony to the States, affording, as they would, return freight for the vessels bringing us your manufactures.
- That our trade with the United States is at present one-sided, the imports into New Zealand from the United States having reached in 1879 £438,399, while the exports only aggregated £59,679, although the total value of New Zealand exports in that year was £5,743,126, included in which was wool to the value of £3,126,439, and of the total weight of 62,220,810 lbs.

- New Zealand has for some years, in concert with New South Wales, joined in subsidising one of your largest steamship companies to keep up a monthly communication with San Francisco, and a considerable trade with the United States has grown up, and is still growing, though much restricted by your tariff.
- The Customs duties of New Zealand have been imposed merely for revenue purposes, and are no barrier to the increase of trade with the United States were there reciprocity of interchange.
- We conclude, therefore, that great advantages to both countries would accrue by the withdrawal of the restrictions to which we have adverted, and we trust that the Government of the United States will, by considering the question of the wool duties in its bearing on the future trade of the United States and its relations with these southern seas, devise such measure of will remove the great existing obstacle to trade between America and this progressive Colony and the Australian Colonies generally.

Dunedin,

1st August, 1881.

W. J. M. Larnach, Esq., Chairman, Dunedin Chamber of Commerce.

SIR,—I have the honour to convey to you the undermentioned reply from the "Department of State," Washington, in answer to the Chamber's Memorial regarding the reduction of duty on New Zealand Wools:—

*"Referring to your despatch No. 52, of the 15th January last, transmitting a letter from the Chamber of Commerce of Dunedin, asking a reduction on the duty of New Zealand Wool, I have now to inform you that the Secretary of the Treasury, to whom a copy of your despatch was referred, states in a letter of the 12th inst. that, when the proper time arrives, the subject will be referred to the Committee of Ways and Means at the House of Representatives for its consideration."*

I am,  
Yours faithfully,

HENRY DRIVER,  
U.S. Consular Agent.

The following is a copy of a letter received by the Chairman of the Dunedin Chamber of Commerce from the Secretary of the Fijian Chamber relative to the opening up of a larger trade between the two Colonies :—

*Chamber of Commerce, Levuka,*

*August 1st, 1881.*

*Sir,—I have the honour, by direction of the Committee of this Chamber, to notify you that your communication under date March 19th, addressed to Mr. F. W. Witham, was laid before the Chamber at its last general meeting.*

*The apparent neglect of the Chamber to notice it at an earlier date is solely due to the late serious illness of Mr. Witham, which prevented his laying it before them.*

*The Chamber is thoroughly alive to the importance of cultivating more extended business relations with your province and city, and as you will notice by the report contained in the Fiji Times of July 30th, a copy of which I send you, a sub-committee has been appointed to arrange for your receiving a set of samples which shall fittingly represent the products of this Colony.*

*I forward you by this mail a copy of the lately-published Customs returns for 1880, from which you will be able to see the extent and character of our import and export trade. I think you will admit that neither our buying or selling capacity is inconsiderable, of course keeping in view the fact that the community is not a large one, and that the Colony is as yet in its infancy. Within the past year there has been a large influx of imported capital, chiefly invested in sugar machinery and cane cultivation, and the effect of this will be to largely develop both the import and export lists as soon as the mills are in working order. It will therefore be of undoubted mutual advantage if the object we now have in view can be carried to a successful issue.*

*This matter very materially, in fact I may say entirely, depends upon the establishment of an adequate and regular monthly service connecting Dunedin and Levuka. In connection herewith, I would ask your perusal of the editorials contained in Fiji Times, July 2nd and 20th, copies of which I send you, and the position of affairs at present will at once be apparent to you.*

*In the important matter of fruit export, I may mention that when the A.S.N. Co.'s steamer Leemoon was first placed on the berth for Levuka, her cargo did not include more than 100 packages of fruit, chiefly bananas,*

value in freight say £6. At the present date the same export represents between £3000 and £4000 annually on the freight lists of the Company.

*I have no doubt as to the commercial success which would attend the establishment of the service, and you will yourself see what prospect there would be of it receiving Government support if the matter could be laid before his Excellency the Governor in practicable form when the Estimates for the ensuing year are under discussion.*

*The Chamber will be most happy to receive from you any remark upon or suggestion affecting this matter, and all communications shall receive prompt attention. The samples will in all probability go forward by the September boat, as there will not be time enough to prepare them to catch the Cross, now shortly leaving.*

*Soliciting the favour of your reply at convenience,—I am, &c.,*

T. H. PRITCHARD, Secretary.

AVERAGE BONDS.—This subject, which was again prominently brought before the Chamber by a draft form from the Christchurch Chamber, was referred to a Sub-Committee, who reported, "That having given due consideration to the draft agreement furnished by the Christchurch Chamber for the views of this Chamber on the subject, and having compared it with the form proposed by the New Zealand and Australian Underwriters' Association, London, we are of opinion that the latter fully provides for the equities of both consignees and owners, and that in any change that may be necessary to provide security for deposits, an agreed general form, such as that adopted by the above-named Association, is preferable to one of a more local character, and that the practice and experience of Home Underwriters should as much as possible be adopted in these Colonies." Since that date a Conference has been held in Melbourne between the representatives of the Chamber of Commerce and the Merchant Shipping and Underwriters' Association, and the result of their discussion is, "that the form of bond approved of by 'Lloyds' is the form recommended by the Conference for adoption at this Port," and will no doubt be followed throughout these Colonies.

LAW REFORM.—Your Committee have been watching with interest for an opportunity of bringing the influence of the Chamber to bear in favour of any movement in the direction of simplifying, cheapening, and shortening legal proceedings in the Superior Courts of the Colony. Whether it is the fault of the laws and rules regulating legal proceedings in the Supreme Court, the Judges who allow the needless adjournments, rules nisi, rules absolute, new trials, appeals, demurrers, arguments in banco, or the ingenuity of gentlemen of the long robe who raise points and work up questions, which so greatly add to the costs and delays, your Committee are unable to say, but the difficulty of reaching finality under the present system is now so great and costly that the matter has become a scandal to the Colony, and it is notorious that many honest and just claims are abandoned simply because the parties either have not the golden key to open the doors of justice, or the inclination to incur expense, loss of time, and worry necessary to obtain their rights. Your Committee were therefore glad to see the appointment last Session by the Assembly of a Judicature Commission, which body has discussed the subject fully, and agreed upon a report which it is believed contains many valuable recommendations. The Committee have asked the Government to supply the Chamber with a copy with the view of considering it, and if necessary forwarding suggestions before the Bill which the Attorney-General is introducing, founded on the report of the Commission, becomes law. The subject is one of the greatest importance to all classes of the community, and any Government enabled to carry a measure of Law Reform would deserve well of the country. The Christchurch Chamber has taken action in the matter, and your Committee now recommend it to the earnest consideration of their successors. Although in some quarters there may be opposition to the proposed reforms, they are urgently demanded by the country, and your Committee believe that even the majority of the respectable portion of the legal profession would gladly see the reforms as recommended carried into effect. Whenever that is so, many legitimate claims may be brought up for adjudication which are now unsettled and remain in endless dispute, the parties concerned being solely deterred by protracted delays and excessive expenses from entering the Law Courts of the Colony to settle any legal or equitable difficulty.

TRADE WITH FIJI AND QUEENSLAND.—The trade with these places, which was especially referred to at the last annual and also at the half-yearly meeting, as offering a market for our produce, has been followed up by correspondence with the Chamber of Commerce, Levuka, and some enquiries have since been made through the Union S.S. Company, as to the probability of direct steam communication between Dunedin and Levuka and intermediate ports being established. It was felt that such was indispensable to the opening up of a trade between the southern parts of New Zealand, Fiji, and the surrounding islands, and it is expected that the Union Company may ere long see their way to embrace these Colonies within the limits of their operations.

In Queensland sugars some small shipments have been received via Sydney, which are reported as favourably comparing with those of Mauritius and other sugar producing communities, but no direct trade has as yet followed. Looking to the largely increasing importations of sugars to New Zealand, reaching to upwards of 16,800 tons for the past year, the Committee think that the time has arrived for the erection of our own sugar

refineries, and also for the cultivation of sugar-beet, for which the Committee think the soil and climate of New Zealand are eminently suited.

The following address was delivered by the President:—

GENTLEMEN,—The remarks I had the honour to deliver to you in February last, no doubt will be remembered by some Members who are present here to-day; they referred more particularly to the first half of our financial year, and I then spoke with satisfaction of the beneficial change which was apparent in our circle of Commerce, I predicted that confidence was being restored, and a more wholesome state of business generally was making a healthy growth among us. I have reasons to-day for confirming my views previously expressed, and while I do not feel justified in congratulating you on the briskness of trade in our City, I may be permitted to do so in regard to its soundness. If we have been prudent and modest in our dealings for many months past, we have not lived without developing to some extent that energy and enterprise which are known to have existence with us. A great number of important subjects have been discussed and considered by this Chamber; some of them I rejoice to say are now bearing good fruit, and to which I shall more particularly refer before I sit down. As the Chamber of Commerce in this City has hitherto been carried on under great disadvantages, chiefly through the want of suitable office accommodation and scarcity of Members to support it, the Committee took decisive measures recently to cure the first difficulty, in the hope that the remedy would act beneficially on the second. Under a constitution subscribed to by Members, a Dunedin Exchange Company has been formed, as referred to in the Report before you to-day, and suitable offices for the Chamber are now being erected. I am therefore in hopes that we will shortly have a considerable accession to our numbers, for liken us unto a bundle of faggots, the more numerous that we can make its component parts the more difficult it will hereafter be to break us asunder. Unity to my mind is a proper watchword for a healthy state of commerce, and I will be surprised and disappointed if the public generally do not take advantage of the facilities now offered to them and become members of an institution where they can meet daily and discuss the events and business passing around them. The wholesale merchant, the retail trader, the squatter, the farmer, the professional man, the artisan, and the mechanic will each discover sentiments and views in common in the Hall of Commerce. It is the intention of the Committee at no distant date to connect telegraphic and telephonic wires with the Chamber, so that Members will have the advantage of receiving the most recent intelligence of an important nature daily from all parts of the world. The subject of refrigerating meat, fish, fowl, dairy produce, etc., by the cold air process for export and sale, has had much attention from the Chamber since we last met, and you will be glad to learn a short history of the efforts of the Committee in that direction, as also of the practical shape the proposed new industry has already taken in our midst. As an outcome from the labours of the Committee, a Refrigerating Company was formed, with a capital of £20,000, divided into 4,000 shares of £5 each, the whole of which were offered to the public. I will save your time and my own by plainly stating that the Company was successfully floated, and the shares have all been applied for. Machinery of the most approved pattern has been purchased in England, and ere this I expect has been shipped for this city. A suitable site upon which to erect the works and commence operations will be chosen in a few days. Plans for the buildings—which, at the first out-set of the undertaking, will be of an economical structure—are in the hands of the architect, so that I may speak with certainty of the practical establishment of a new and very important industry among us—a scientific industry of such value to a young country like New Zealand, which possesses fine tracts of agricultural lands, with a glorious climate to make them productive, that I am not prepared to-day to indicate, even by estimation, the direct and indirect benefits the fixation of such a business with us will confer on this portion of the Colony. I am, however, satisfied that improvements are being made every week in machinery for freezing purposes, and every day is bringing us nearer to a time when the process will be more closely watched as a near ally and staunch friend to domestic economy. There need be no excuse in the future that dairy-farming, stock farming, and poultry-rearing will not pay. If either occupation be properly managed it will pay with the aid of the Refrigerating Company's machinery to preserve its products. Under similar aid, also, the most will be made out of good land, and as a sequence we may look, at no distant date, to a considerable rise in the value of the landed estate of New Zealand. Members will also be aware of the interest taken by the Committee as a necessary adjunct to the success of Refrigerating Works, in the subject of direct steam communication with Great Britain, and recently, while in Wellington, I was invited by Mr. Macandrew, who is always in the front where progress is meant, to give evidence (which I did) before a Committee of the House then sitting, of which Mr. Macandrew was Chairman, in respect to this important matter. I have since seen published the report brought up by the Committee referred to, wherein strong recommendations are made favourable to a direct line of monthly steamers. It must therefore appear to you to be only a question of time when this Colony will feel a practical beneficial effect from such an advantage. No better incentive to the cause of immigration of the proper kind could our Government give in the present condition of this country than by substantially assisting the establishment of a direct line of steamers to our mother-country. The fact of the arrangement with the contractors of the San Francisco line of steamers being nearly at an end, the present time

seems opportune for considering plans for a new service. Although I, for one, would very much regret to find our direct chain of steam communication damaged even in a single link with so great a country as America, no one among us can glance over the comparative tables of imports and exports of our port for the years 1879, 1880, and 1881, as placed before you to-day, without being struck with the extraordinary anomaly apparent regarding our present trade with

America, and which certainly needs something akin to reciprocity to rectify. During the three years referred to the imports from the United States of America to the Port of Dunedin amounted respectively to £168,081, £93,430, and £106,918, while our exports were nil. Surely the advantages up to the present have been one-sided, and America as usual having been on the right side so far as her interests were concerned, let us fondly hope that the far-seeing, energetic, and enterprising people of that great nation may still consider the small Islands, now well-known to them as New Zealand, with its inhabitants and trade yet worthy of their attention, by arranging to continue a line of steamers between the two countries under their own flag, and thus make signs of a further cementing of the bond of commercial fellowship, and perhaps the slight impress of a step in the right direction of the federation of the world's nations. I cannot pass over my allusion to our trade with the United States of America without referring members to the memorial sent by their Committee to the President of that country on the subject of reducing the duty on wool to be sent from this Colony to America. A reply has been received through the American Consul here, and it is published with the Report of the Committee. I regret that we cannot hope for any early change in wool duties, if at all. Meanwhile, all your Committee can continue to do is to have the matter kept before them, with a determination to make another effort to gain their end should circumstances hereafter favour their doing so. This question, however, is another one between reciprocity and one-sidedness, and should find a place in the minds of our legislators when dealing with the tariff of the Colony. Members will observe with satisfaction, by reference to the tables furnished with the Committee's Report, that a considerable trade is still done with India, and a much greater with China—the latter being decidedly on the increase, and shews a certain extent of reciprocity; while the former at present takes nothing from us that filters through our Customs. Yet we are warranted in cherishing hopes that a very large trade will grow up between this Colony and India in connection with refrigerated meats, dairy produce, &c. What is wanting mainly to develop such a trade is direct steam communication between that country and this. As with most other events in this age of progress, it is only a question of time when the people of India will look forward with regularity to receive monthly shipments of, and relish at their tables with exceeding gusto, beef, mutton, and dairy produce of New Zealand. The same conclusions to some extent will apply to China, from which country many of its people seem determined to come and judge for themselves as to the fitness of things in the Colonies of Australasia by personal visits and ocular demonstration. Although China is a country of great fertility, owing to its being splendidly watered by magnificent rivers and lakes, and possessing, as it does, two of the greatest rivers in the world, watering respectively country 2500 and 3000 miles in length, the chief exports of its people are tea and silk. Looking however to the intelligence, patience, and perseverance of the Chinese and the greatness of their country, with its varied climate, is it prudent of us among our new and sparsely habited islands of promise, to shut our gates on these people? For myself, I apprehend not. Far better receive them in a Christian way; treat them kindly; insist upon them strictly observing our laws and customs (in parenthesis let me say particularly with regard to opium); invite them to bring their wives, sisters, and daughters here, and I do not think that we would have anything in the shape of immorality to complain of on their part. If China has hitherto shut out foreign commerce from its shores, foreign nations only help to perpetuate the absurdity by attempting to close their doors against Chinese immigration. Why should we not invite them to a healthy rivalry in a commercial relationship between our respective countries? and if we receive their tea and silk, why should not they in course of time be educated to receive our wool, and use it plentifully in the colder parts of their country? If we persist with other nations in assisting to keep Chinese at home in their own country, do not allow ourselves hereafter ever again to join in the cry that the Chinese are a *peculiar people*. I had occasion in February last at our half-yearly meeting to refer to the opening that existed in Fiji and Queensland—both countries of warmer latitudes than ours—for doing a large trade with this part of New Zealand, by an exchange of commerce. I am glad to say that a beginning has been made with Queensland by an importation of sugar from that Colony, which promises to be the forerunner of a direct trade being established between the two countries shortly. With regard to Fiji, the Chamber of Commerce at Levuka, as will be seen by a letter here published, of date 1st August, has taken up the question of obtaining monthly steam communication between Levuka and Dunedin, and I believe that the Directors of our well-established and creditably managed local Company have the matter now under consideration. We may safely leave it in their hands; they will not allow trade to go past them that offers inducements to be cared for; and so long as a prudent Board of Directors continue to guard jealously the interests of the Union Steam Ship Company, the trade of our port will not be neglected. We may, therefore, look for the establishment, at no distant date, of direct steam communication between the southern ports of New Zealand and that group of islands in the

Southern Pacific known as Viti or Feejee, originally discovered by the Dutch navigator, Tasman, nearly 240 years ago. This Polynesian group consists of more than 200 islands, some of which are Still uninhabited. The total population, however, of colored people and white cannot be far on one side or the other of a quarter of a million souls. The soil is volcanic, exceedingly fertile, and the future trade with them should certainly be worthy of our serious attention. It will become more so when we look to the probability of establishing sugar works in this Colony both North and South within a short period of time, and from these islands we must look for considerable supplies of raw sugar. I trust that members will not have forgotten my remarks made previously as to the desirability of having sugar works in Dunedin, and I hope that some of the gentlemen present will not allow this important subject to be forgotten during the currency of the ensuing year. Members will note with satisfaction the great increase in the output of coal mines in New Zealand during the year 1880 as compared with 1879. The out-put for last year reaches 300,000 tons, as against 163,000 tons for 1879. And now the colonists generally and the Government of the day, as indicated by the last Public Works statement, are becoming sensible to the fact of the enormous wealth in coal fields of the finest quality for gas and steam purposes, and of inexhaustible quantities, that is merely beginning to be opened up on the west coast of this Colony, and which only requires suitable steam colliers of light draught of water to aid in developing an export trade of incalculable value to New Zealand, which will assuredly expand year by year, as the coal mines of the Old World are fast being worked out. We should take pride in quoting the fact that one of our newly-established Collieries, *The Westport*, can boast of one seam of coal over seventy feet through, while another exceeds fifty feet in thickness. At an Intercolonial Conference held recently in Melbourne, perhaps the first footprint was taken towards a federation of the Colonies of the Australasian group, and one of the earliest effects of which would be a free interchange of the natural products of each. At present an anomaly exists in the sister colony of Victoria, so far as we are concerned, by the heavy duties imposed on one of our greatest products, grain. Surely time will see this evil eradicated, when our neighbours begin to look more soberly at things as they should be, for if the two countries had to do battle in a "War of Tariffs," I presume to say that Victoria would come off second best. It may not be out of place here to draw your particular attention to our Agricultural Statistics as published in one of the Tables before you to-day. To speak vernacularly, they are really "fetching," when we come to consider that the average yield of wheat *per acre* throughout the whole of New Zealand for the year 1880-1881 appears 28 bushels; oats, 36½ bushels; barley, 30¼ bushels; potatoes, 5½ tons; while in this Provincial District of Otago the average of wheat per acre reached 31¾ *bushels*. It will also interest you to note the number of holdings, together with the acreages under crops and English grasses. No wonder then, with results such as I have referred to should we find a gradually increasing demand for land for *bona fide* settlement, and notwithstanding the sudden cessation of assisted immigration, it is cheerful to find the white population of the Colony rapidly increasing. We are now within 10,000 of half a million of inhabitants, of which the Provincial District of Otago and Southland can claim 134,166 the city of Dunedin and suburbs 46,544. Our Colonial Customs Revenue Returns for the past year are encouraging, and show considerable increase, being nearly one million and a half, of which Otago and Southland contribute *one-third*. Our southern district has produced well on to nearly one half of the total export of gold from the whole Colony since its first discovery. We may continue to have our periods of panic, depression, and prosperity. I suppose it is well that our sphere of commerce is by times lighted and shaded by sunshine and clouds, but, nevertheless, the facts I have placed before you show increased and solid prosperity, worthy of the enterprise of an intelligent, energetic, and hardy people. The Banking Statistics, as shewn in our Tables, are interesting for a young country with half a million of people to be able to show deposits in hand, not including Government of nearly eight and a-half millions, and a Note circulation amounting to over nine hundred thousand pounds. Insurance Companies' Returns are also striking, as will be seen by the Comparative Statement here printed. The six New Zealand offices, although younger than those of Australia, show an aggregate paid-up capital of L550,000; reserve funds, L415,000, and dividends paid, L62,000. New South Wales, with eight older companies, exhibits capital paid, L189,250; reserve, L205,000; dividends paid, 24,285. Victoria, with six companies—Capital, L181,003; reserve, L249,000; dividends, L67,800 South Australia, five companies—Capital, L161,000; reserve, L241,000; dividends, L20,499. Queensland, one company—Capital, L18,000; reserve, L12,000; dividends, L1,800,—the dividends of which refer to one year. By the foregoing it must be admitted that the insurance business of this Colony is neither of an undue risky nature nor incautiously managed. On the contrary, the figures speak well for New Zealand. As Parliament is now in session, and has been for some months, it would seem invidious to allow this occasion to pass without mentioning the fact that very little real legislative business has been done. The Licensing Bill has been dealt with, and so also the Gaming Bill, but it is very questionable whether either measures will be workable or meet with the wants of the country. The Colonial Treasurer has held out a promise of a reduction in the property tax, and there are certainly some irregularities in it that ought to be remedied. The enormous vote for Education also requires to be considered, for while the majority of us would desire to see a liberal hand held out by the State in that direction, we are but a young

country and cannot afford to be extravagant even in the direction of State Education. Members will be glad to learn of the Commission that was lately appointed to consider improvements in law procedure in our higher Courts with the objects of simplifying and cheapening the process. Let us hope that the labours of the Commission will be attended with beneficial results to the people of New Zealand. Several minor matters, and such as were not of a pressing nature, have had the attention and consideration of the Committee during the last six months—viz., communication with the Bengal Chamber of Commerce upon the subject of a parcel post between India and Australia, the decimal system of coinage, weights and measures—to which special attention has been called by the Melbourne Chamber—and to the Colonial Conference held in London recently at the suggestion of the Canadian Board of Trade. Whilst I heartily sympathise with each of the subjects, I am of opinion that no urgent necessity exists at the present time for your Chamber dealing with them. A question of local importance, however, occurs to me, and which should have our attention without further delay. I allude to a Sailors' Home. Years ago I took some trouble in the matter of obtaining subscriptions to aid in building one, and as a site has been granted for the purpose by the Harbour Board, I think that the time has arrived for a beginning to be made with the Home. I trust, therefore, that the gentlemen who were early associated with the scheme will renew their efforts, so that we may shortly see a very useful and much-wanted institution established at the Port of Dunedin. While on the question of a Sailors' Home, I am reminded of the increased dock accommodation required for our Port. For some time past our present Graving Dock has been continually kept employed by the boats of the Union Steam Ship Company, and on more than one occasion members have been reminded, in view of a direct ocean steam service, of the necessity of providing a more extensive Graving Dock than the one now in use. Accordingly, the matter has had much consideration by the Committee. A Conference was recently called, at which members of the City Corporation, the Harbour Board, and the Port Chalmers Town Council were present by invitation, when, after discussion, it was decided to send a deputation to Wellington to interview the Government on the subject. As Chairman of your Chamber, I proceeded to Wellington, accompanied by the Mayors of this City and the Town of Port Chalmers, and the Chairman of the Harbour Board. You have already learned that our errand was, so far as possible, successful. We received every assistance from the city members and the Otago members generally, and the Government, from the first, seemed disposed to hear an explanation of our wants. We were duly heard in deputation, and after further assistance by the city members and the member for Port Chalmers, the Government agreed to grant us what we asked, and promised to bring in a short measure during this session to constitute a trust, with certain endowments and powers, to enable the work to be done. It is hardly necessary to remind you how important the completion of such an undertaking will be to our Port, and while I may be allowed to anticipate the good work which it is expected will be done to our harbour by the new dredge after her arrival here, I look with much anxiety for her appearance in the waters of Port Chalmers. With a dock 500 feet long and a proportionate width, we will be able to accommodate the largest vessel likely to visit us for many years to come. That the Harbour Board works are in the right direction I feel no doubt, and notwithstanding the strong and unjust declamations of its detractors it is only a question of time the deepening of the Otago Harbour, and which can be regulated by the appliances used for the work, as much so as the emptying of a bag of sand with a teaspoon, if you apply a shovel the latter task will be more speedily performed; and as surely as the evening and the morning of the sixth day saw the completion of the world, so will the evening and the morning of a future time not far distant see the Intercolonial boats steaming to the Dunedin wharves, where they will in the near future discharge and receive cargoes. Before concluding my remarks to-day, I desire to say a few words in reference to the indebtedness of New Zealand; and as our Public Works policy has played an important—and I hope a winning—hand in connection therewith, it may be satisfactory to you to know the relative positions they bear to one another. On the 30th June last our National Debt stood—after deducting accrued Sinking Fund of L2,122,835—at L27,441,176. If we deduct the cost of Railways to present time, L9,599,355, we have a balance of L17,841,821, which has been largely expended in Maori Wars, acquisition of Native lands, compensation to aggrieved Natives, or to those with a supposed grievance, roads, bridges, &c.—say chiefly for *unproductive works*—against which we have unexpended out of the total debt incurred L1,092,659, which, deducted therefrom, would leave a total debt of L16,749,162, excepting our Railways, which are now reproductive, paying *three and one-half per cent, on cost*, with strong evidences of improvement. Not a very frightful amount, looking at the increasing revenues of the Colony, its great natural resources, besides its large landed estate. To be curious and for comparison, let us take the National Debt of Great Britain for 1880 at L774,000,000, which do not include cost of railways, such works there having been constructed by private capital, and are owned by private individuals, incorporated into companies. Let us add the aggregate cost of those works to the National Debt of Great Britain and deal with the figures in globo, we then find other L562,000,000 to add to the sum, which possibly posterity of our Fatherland would have had to face—making a grand total of L1,336,000,000—had the State borne the cost of making the railways of Great Britain. Surely, gentlemen, the financial position of New Zealand is not such at the present time that members of the

administration of the Government need feel any alarm in having railway works already begun carried on and brought to a state of completion, and more especially where such works would penetrate into the interior of the Government estate, and would open up and improve the values of vast tracts of good lands that must, failing early settlement, become the *habitat* of the wild pig and the rabbit. The present state of the Otago Central Railway forces those conclusions on my mind, and, whether my opinion may be in the minority or not, I cannot help feeling that the interests of the City of Dunedin and the trade of its port are being trifled with by the policy pursued by the Government in respect to this great arterial railway. If, instead of wasting time by trying to initiate and legalise a measure to enable the Government to make railways by giving away the estate of the Colony at one-half, and perhaps at one-fourth of its value, in payment for works done, arrangements were made to pay for such works *in cash*, the Colony would reap a benefit in two ways—firstly, by getting work done more cheaply and better by paying for it in cash rather than in kind; and secondly, by improving the landed estate of the country by opening it up with railroads rather than by bartering land away at a sacrifice, in its rough and unimproved state, with its qualities entirely unknown. It is hurtful and ruinous enough for an individual to barter in kind for whatever he may require, how much more so for a country? If it be the policy of New Zealand to construct its own railways and public works, let that policy be adhered to. If any attempt be made to carry on such works under two plans, although each may be distinct in itself, the one will conflict with the other to the serious detriment of the Colony. Let us be content with one great policy in respect to one great work, and determine that our railways shall be paid for in *cash*—not in kind, in the shape of land. The District Railways Bill of 1877, I do not think, has proved a successful measure. The Railway Construction Bill of 1881, I think, will prove itself to be no better so far as the interests of the Colony are concerned. I have to apologise, gentlemen, for the length of my remarks, for I fear they may have wearied you; the great interest I have felt in the many subjects referred to must be my excuse. In vacating the office to which you did me the honour of electing me twelve months ago, I would be forgetful of my duty were I to fail to thank my friend the Vice-President, other members of the Committee, and the Secretary for the great assistance rendered to me at all times in the discharge of my office. It will be necessary before we close the proceedings of to-day to elect a Committee for the ensuing year. I beg to move the adoption of the Report.

Mr R. WILSON (the vice-president) seconded the adoption of the Report. In doing so he said : The Chairman has touched upon so many topics in the exhaustive speech he has addressed to us that it is difficult to find fresh matter to speak about. Perhaps it is that after the scare of 18 months ago he thinks it better not again to refer to the distress that those bad days had for us. However, in a meeting like this, reviewing our improved prospects, it is as well to mention the almost entire absence of failures during the present year. It is true that the usual monthly list of insolvencies appears, but they are of such a trifling character as in no way to detract from the general soundness of trade throughout Otago. I believe the matter of a market-day stands thus. A communication has been addressed to the railway authorities asking them to co-operate with the Chamber in setting apart Wednesday for a market-day by giving return tickets at single fares, as on Saturdays. I think this is a most important thing for the retail trade of the town, as it would probably mean £500 being spent in town on that day. Ever since I have been a member of the Chamber there has always been a debit balance to carry forward from year to year, and I think it is not creditable to a mercantile body that such a state of things should continue, and I hope the meeting won't separate to-day without first wiping this off. Since sitting here I have passed round a subscription-list, which I have headed with three guineas, and from the success it is meeting with I trust the debt will be wiped off before we leave the Chamber. Some people cavil a good deal about the work the Chamber does. I should like to refer them to what has been done during the past year. What I find reason to complain of is the apathy that is shown by a great number of merchants with regard to the Chamber and other matters of interest to the city. There are actually merchants amongst us who have refused to pay the annual two-guinea subscription to the Chamber. This is greatly to be deplored. In Canterbury they pay three guineas subscription, and every merchant in Christchurch, every grocer, shopkeeper, and man of business there subscribes to the Chamber. I wish to draw attention to this matter, and hope that my remarks will be taken notice of. I think it is the duty of every man, and of every business man, to support the Chamber as the headquarters of mercantile business. If any information is wanted it is to the Chamber of Commerce we must go for it, and after what has been done I hope we shall hear no more croaking about the Chamber being of little use. I would like to say a few words about our Chairman. No man ever threw himself more into the work than he has—it is through his energy that so much has been done. Whatever he has taken in hand has been successfully accomplished. For instance, the Exchange, the Refrigerating Company, and the new Graving Dock at Port Chalmers have all been persistingly pushed forward by our Chairman to a successful issue, and I for one would like to see him filling the post again for another year. The Otago Central railway is a work that should be pressed forward. No doubt the prosperity of Dunedin rests a good deal upon the main central line of railway being opened up, and it is a pity that lines in the North should be put in the same class as the Otago Alair Central. We have here hundreds of thousands of acres of good arable land, and we might say millions of acres

of pastoral land—all now in the hands of the Crown. In whatever way the Government take it, this line is bound to pay; whether they give land for its construction, or money, or whatever way they get it done, it is bound to pay in the long run, and I would urge on the citizens of Dunedin the necessity to press forward this great work, for it is our duty as citizens to bring all the influence that we can to bear upon the present or any future Government to complete this work. I hope the Chairman, though he has stated he will not stand another year, will be induced to reconsider the matter, and that you will press him to decide to again act as President of the Chamber. I may say I have never known a chairman of the Chamber who has done so much, or so set his heart upon the work, as our present Chairman.—(Applause.)

Mr E. B. CARGILL said : I should like to offer one or two remarks before you put the motion for the adoption of the report. I must say I quite adopt what Mr Wilson has said with regard to the degree in which the Chamber is indebted to your own personal exertions for the manner in which the business of the Chamber has been conducted under your presidency. I think we owe a great deal to your energy, your intelligent devotion to, and your able assistance in the business of the Chamber. And, sir, while I cannot venture to follow you through the very full report you have made upon every subject which can in any way affect the commercial interests of this part of New Zealand, I must say I am greatly at one with you in some of the prominent points to which you have referred. There are just one or two points in respect of which I should like to emphasise your remarks, so far as I can. In the first place, sir, as to your reference to the Chinese question, I think the spirit in which you have dealt with that is very much more worthy of what should be the conduct of British people than a great deal that has been said on the subject in the Colony from time to time. We occasionally hear the expression that a thing is "English," or "un-English." I take it, sir, that by so using the word "English," we take credit to ourselves for a national spirit of truthfulness and generosity towards others. I should like to know, sir, how that expression fits upon the poor, shabby detraction and cowardly misrepresentation that has been made regarding a few thousands of Chinese. I quite admit that if there was any danger of an overwhelming number of Chinese coming down upon us and occupying our lands so as to prevent our people coming in, it might be an important measure of State policy to prevent what would be a miscarriage of our colonisation. But we have no reason to expect anything of that kind, and while it may be right to take precautions to prevent an undue influx of Chinese; but with regard to those who have come, and those who are likely to come, it would be well to meet them in the truly Christian spirit of your remarks, and not in accordance with what is expressed by the mouths of some of our representatives and by some of our representatives in the Press. Another matter in regard to which I endorse your remarks is that we should keep our eyes open more fully to the extension of trade in Fiji and surrounding places. We have been too much confined within the limits of our own territory, and it would be of great importance to see enterprise taking the direction of developing the Polynesian trade. That has hitherto been left too much to the Northern part of New Zealand, and there, I believe, a large amount of profit has been reaped from it. With regard to the Otago Central railway, I quite agree with your remarks. It would be a pity to see a great work of that kind undertaken upon a different system to that under which all our railways, with a few small exceptions, have been constructed. It appears to me that one thing only requires to be done, and that is to set apart specifically the value of the land through which the railway must pass, I have never entertained a doubt that if that were done a great part of the difficulty of constructing the railway would vanish at once. I do hope we may be able to see our way to the construction of the railway in that manner, and so get rid of the financial difficulty by which the question is now surrounded. With regard to the Chamber of Commerce generally, it is certainly an extraordinary thing that is stated by the Deputy-chairman—that there are to be found in this city mercantile houses of some standing who decline to support the Chamber. I cannot suppose that it is because of the poor subscription of two guineas that they decline. There must be some other reason, and it would be well to get at it. What would be our position as a mercantile community if we abolish the Chamber? Would anyone say that should be done? Could anyone say we should be doing our duty if we dropped the Chamber of Commerce, and had no means of making our voices heard as a mercantile community? That is what the conduct of the people who decline to join the Chamber must lead to. I trust that in keeping together this Chamber we shall have the unanimous support of all those who have to do with the commerce of the place. There is sometimes, I think, a little mistake in the minds of many persons as to the benefits to be derived from a Chamber of Commerce. It seems to be thought that it is a sort of an institution that can of itself, in some way or other, do work that will benefit the community; but for a Chamber of Commerce to be of advantage, it must be supported by the whole community, and whatever it does must be taken as the act of the community. It will only be useful so far as it is put in motion by the community itself. It is not a privileged body, to perform duties on its own motion; it is an organisation by means of which the commercial community can discuss questions of general or special interest, and by which an utterance can be given which shall be recognised as the voice of the commercial community. Now that we are getting a hall built for ourselves—a hall, which, I think, will be very creditable and suitable for our purposes—I do trust we shall see a general determination to rally round the Chamber, and to make it what it is intended to be—truly a body representing the commercial community as a

whole, and obtaining on all occasions their hearty support.

Mr R. STOUT said he did not wish to make a speech, but only to say, in case it might be thought that all present agreed with the remarks with reference to the Chinese question, that for his part he thought it necessary some restrictive measures were adopted. The Colony should see that its civilisation was not crushed out by an inferior civilisation, which he believed the Chinese to be. Though he would deprecate treating any Chinaman once in the Colony differently from any other man, still he thought it the duty of colonists to see that the country was not overran by men of a different civilisation from our own, for they had only to read of what had occurred in other places where the Chinese had obtained a preponderance to see what the result would be. There was one other remark in the Chairman's excellent speech with which he could not agree. He could not agree with the suggestion regarding the vote for education. The money spent on education was, he believed, the best spent money in the Colony, and that it would be injurious if the vote was lessened, or the present system of education disturbed.

The motion for the adoption of the Committee's annual report was carried unanimously.

## STEAM SERVICE WITH GREAT BRITAIN.

Mr. PROSSER said that some of the gentlemen present who approved of the remarks of the Chairman on the question of a steam service with Britain thought they should urge the Government to deal with the matter of a subsidy to a monthly line of steamers this session. The question was one of vital importance to New Zealand, and a subsidy of L100,000 a year would be a mere bagatelle compared with the advantage the service would be to the Colony. According to rumour the subject was not to be dealt with till the expiration of the San Francisco contract; but he hoped that delay would not occur. At the present time a large number of farmers were willing to emigrate, and if the matter was allowed to stand over we might lose the opportunity of getting this worthy class of settlers.

Mr. T. BROWN said he had been at some trouble to get up figures in connection with this matter. In such a warehouse as theirs, in which a careful record is kept of the dates of sailing and arrival of each vessel, and of the date upon which each package is landed, it was found that the average of 32 ships was 107½ days from the time of leaving the East India Docks till the goods were in the warehouse here. The average passage of sailing ships was 90½ days. The average of 28 steamers bringing goods via Melbourne was 67½ days between the dates of the bills of lading and the delivery of the goods here, thus making a difference in favour of steam, even when exposed to all the delays of transshipment at Melbourne, of 40 days. Assuming the direct service averaged 60 days—a very liberal allowance—the interest of the money at 8 per cent, would more than make up the difference between the freight by the sailing ships, at L2 3s 4d, and the freight by steamer reckoned at L3 a ton. The rate they were paying for goods via Melbourne, including freight to the Union Company and the cartage to the store, was at present as low as 60s. a ton in some cases. With a saving of 50 days the credit obtained at Home would be of some service, but at present the credit was nearly absorbed in the passage of the goods and transit of the money. By using steam there would be, besides a saving of a half per cent. on the value of the goods, an immense advantage from the use of capital set free. In fact, a merchant could make nearly twice the use of his capital. In not having direct steam communication with Britain the Colony was behind the world. The Cape Colony and other small dependencies of Britain had steam services, and the people of New Zealand could not remain content to receive their goods in 107 days. Independently of the benefit that would accrue through having passenger traffic and a means of exporting produce by the refrigerating system, the service would be of great advantage to the Colony, and its institution was warranted.

A VOICE : Which port do you think they should come to?

Mr. BROWN: I say we want steamers to New Zealand.—(Hear, hear.)

Votes of thanks were passed to Mr. Nixon for the use of the room, and to the Chairman for presiding.

W. J. M. Larnach, *Chairman*.

## Dunedin Chamber of Commerce.

*Receipts and Expenditure to July 1st, 1881.*

Dr. LIABILITIES. £ s. d. Colonial Bank Overdraft ... 134 1 9	July 1st, 1881 To Balance ... ..	£73 11 9 Cr.		
ASSETS. £ s. d. Furniture ... ..	50 0 0 Outstanding Subscriptions 10 10 0	Balance ... ..	73 11 9	£134 1 9

Examined and found correct,

John Davie,

11th July, 1881. Auditor.

H. Houghton,  
Secretary.

# **Comparative Table of Imports and Exports for the Port of Dunedin for the Years ending June 30th, 1879, 1880, and 1881, respectively**

CUstoms Revenue Returns for the year ended 31st March, 1881, for all Ports of Entry.

Of which was collected at—

Return of Shipping at the Port of Dunedin for the Year ending 1881.

Registered Tonnage of Colonial Owned Vessels, Port of Otago.

Return shewing the number of Foreign and Intercolonial Vessels Entered and Cleared at New Zealand Ports during the Year ending 30th June, 1880.

## **Gold Exported.**

Return of Gold Exported from 1st April, 1857, to 30th June, 1881.

Return of Sheep and Lambs in Otago and Southland, August 30, 1880.

## **Wool Shipments.**

Total quantity of Wool exported from New Zealand for the Season of 1881 ... .. 63,171,939 lbs. Of the value of ... .. £3,127,574 Of which there was exported from Otago and Southland ... 67,598 bales Equal to ... .. 21,892,303 lbs. =To a little more than one-third of the whole. And of the value of ... .. £1,124,683 Increase over season of 1880 for Otago ... .. 2,703,215 lbs.

## **Banking Returns.**

For the Quarter ending June 30th, 1881.

Being an increase of £289,264 on the Quarter.

## **Property Tax Returns.**

### **For the Year 1880 and 1881.**

## **Mortgages Under the Land Transfer Act.**

Returns showing the mortgages under the Land Transfer Act during the last two years. The following are the amounts, shillings and pence omitted :—

## **Agricultural Statistics.**

The agricultural statistics for the whole Colony are now published for 1880 and 1881, and show as follows :—



# 1st July. 1880, to 30th June, 1881.

Ships. Registered Tonnage Date of Sailing. Bales Wool. Wheat. Tons. Oats. Tons. Barley Tons. Oatmeal Tons. Flour Tons. Meats. Tons. Tallow. Tons. Leather. Oil. Tons. Pelts. Tons. Gold. Oz. Sun-dries. Tons. Rabbit Skins. Bales. 1880 Dunbritten ... 1471 Oct. 12 904 660 550 120 195 .. 290 37 20 .. Invercargill ... 1246 Oct. 22 613 63 674 400 85 .. 74 .. 83 .. 110 Lyttelton ... 1111 Nov. 15 1972 .. 565 78 .. 13 14 48 32 ... 5441 10 556 Waipa ... 1057 Dec. 4 2133 100 262 17 .. 18 ... 7000 2 58 Zealandia ... 1116 Dec. 8 3614 .. 277 .. 8 .. 1 63 Arvid ... 200 Dec. 14 .. 230 .. Timaru ... 1306 Dec. 18 4614 .. 142 126 .. 7 1 .. 6270 6 46 ... 1881 Dunedin ... 1248 Jan. 5 5548 .. 2 .. 9 .. 1 18 Ned White ... 551 Jan. 6 2447 .. 2 .. 21 Taranaki ... 1126 Jan. 20 5301 .. 8 31 .. 5 .. 22 Ane Cathrine ... 194 Jan. 21 .. 231 .. Nelson ... 1247 Jan. 31 5833 .. 7 12 ... 12985 .. 40 Piako ... 1136 Feb. 10 4919 .. 31 6 .. 5 1 .. 2 13 Auckland ... 1245 Feb. 23 5769 .. 48 16 .. 4 .. 2 23 British Sceptre ... 1436 Mar. 3 3098 .. 965 10 .. 7 .. 9 .. Canterbury ... 1245 Mar. 19 2953 600 118 34 .. 24 11 .. 6 7 Florinda ... 108 .. 115 .. Oamaru ... 1306 Ap. 14 2537 824 13 .. 10 2 .. 34 18 .. 122 Minnie Allen ... 662 Ap. 15 2067 99 .. 50 .. 25 .. 3542 .. 16 Formosa ... 915 May 19 874 29 43 .. 20 William Davie ... 841 June 9 1548 443 .. 10 .. 34 26 25 18 .. 17462 15 106 20,767 56,244 2818 4221 854 290 22 412 288 227 18 9 52,750 45 1231 £899,904 £21,135 £18,994 £5,551 £29,00 £220 £15,244 £80,064 £21,111 £1,260 £90 £205,725 £450 £3,0775

BLUFF. 1880 Leucadia ... 896 July 24 .. 264 882 11 12 .. 13 Matura ... 858 Sep. 13 125 156 581 114 80 .. 1 .. 12 251 Otago ... 850 Sep. 15 69 324 673 103 15 .. 58 .. 7 88 Waimea ... 848 Oct. 18 455 .. 724 63 14 .. 17 .. Wild Deer ... 1016 Nov. 30 1881 873 .. 830 6 8 .. 3 .. Jessie Readman ... 962 Jan. 25 4120 .. 215 12 .. 4 .. Waitara ... 833 Mar. 11 3569 .. 112 7 .. 65 .. 3 9 .. 30 .. May Queen ... 733 Ap. 4 751 211 429 .. 1 .. Leucadia ... 795 Ju. 4 664 301 294 225 .. 2 .. 7 .. 7791 10,626 1,256 4,740 541 129 65 58 5 10 .. 81 352 ... £170,016 £9,420 £21,330 £3,516 £1,290 £650 £2,146 £28 £930 .. £810 £8800 Oamaru. Gemma ... 749 ... 174 196 .. Lurline ... 761 .. 884 .. Hedwig ... 288 .. 10 305 39 .. £ .. Bengal ... 307 .. 333 .. 260 .. Rio Loge ... 241 .. 324 .. 130 .. Bernica ... 447 .. 500 .. Ardentenny ... 411 .. 1900 .. 16 .. 130 .. Clifton ... 380 ... 460 .. 513 .. Earn ... 450 .. 50 174 ... 150 .. 200 .. Harmodeus ... 491 .. 523 ... Havilah ... 410 ... 634 .. Superior ... 550 .. 397 ... 297 ... 5485 .. 1,900 868 4,122 39 .. 447 .. £1,233 .. £30,400 £6,510 £18,504 £253 .. £4,470 .. £1,233 .. The following are the totals for the different ports :—DUNEDIN, £1,332,423; BLUFF, £218,936; OAMARU, £61,370; grand total, £1,603,729. JAMES U. RUSSELL, Secretary.

At the half-yearly meeting held in February last, the following address was delivered by the President :—

Gentlemen,—In accordance with the rules of the Chamber, this meeting is called together to give a short *resumé* of the proceedings of the Committee during the last six months; to elect a member of the Chamber to the Harbour Board; and to ask the sanction and co-operation of the members in the erection of an Exchange and Hall of Commerce. Members will have fresh in their memories that at the time of the election of the present Committee, this part of New Zealand, like other parts of the Colony, was suffering from the effects of a very severe crisis—unequaled in severity and intensity by any previous depression and collapse of trade ever experienced hitherto, within an equal period of time, by even the oldest inhabitant. At the time referred to the banks were fast gathering in and hoarding up their coin, new business of the safest nature was declined, genuine mercantile bills were cautiously looked at—until at length honest and *bona fide* trade seemed to rebel at being crippled within unwholesome limits, when restriction gradually gave way to a more hopeful and better state of things. Confidence is slowly but surely returning. Fresh capital from Britain and some of our sister Colonies has not been slow in relieving our money market of any undue tightness that existed. Money can now be borrowed freely at 7 per cent., whereas a few months ago it was difficult to secure at 10 per cent. The abundant clip of wool and high percentage of lambing which the season has brought round will together assist most substantially to strengthen that restoration of confidence to which I have referred. The extremely bountiful harvest now being cut and gathered throughout this island must of itself point, within a reasonable time, to a still further cheapening of money and an improvement in values of other commodities, and a benefit to trade generally. Agricultural lands are already engrossing more attention daily by inquiries that are made for them, and although sales of land made recently are not yet numerous, evidence is not wanting to show that a great number are waiting to invest in land suitable for settlement; and knowing of the earth-hunger that naturally exists in mankind, we must not be surprised to bear witness, at no distant date, to the value of good land becoming higher than ever known before in this Colony. I have to refer to the exertions of the sub-committee in their

efforts to secure the carrying out of the Otago Central railway. Notwithstanding the many adverse criticisms that have appeared in reference to this railway line, I believe that I shall express the views of most members of the Chamber when I state, in my opinion, the work to be one of great utility, and therefore necessity, in opening up the valuable interior of Otago. That it is rich and valuable there can be no doubt, and whether to be developed in minerals, metals, or good land, is of equal importance to our commerce and the growing trade of our port. I hope the works will not be allowed to remain much longer at a standstill, as a large sum of money already spent will remain unproductive; and, moreover, the line must ultimately become the main one to the west coast of this island. The Harbour Board Borrowing Powers Bill.—The Chamber has given much assistance to the Board in obtaining the sanction of Parliament to increased powers in that respect; and, although the limit has been fixed for the present at a much lower figure than asked, I have sufficient faith in the Board to believe that before the new loan has been spent many of us will have an opportunity of seeing more than one of the larger intercolonial boats steaming up the new channel to the Rattray-street Wharf in the city of Dunedin. The Chamber has also co-operated with other Chambers in this Colony with the view of bringing about a reduction in the excessive rates levied on New Zealand wools imported into the United States of America; and although I feel by no means sanguine that any beneficial change will shortly take place, yet I believe if the question is persevered in the ultimate result will be satisfactory. Members will be aware of the efforts made for the repeal of the property tax, and that a substitute would be found by a diminished expenditure, a re imposition of the tea and sugar duties, and also school fees. There can hardly be two opinions of the harm done to the progress of this Colony by the imposition of the property tax. Such a species of class tariff is far more apt to discourage than encourage settlement. It is therefore to be hoped that when Parliament meets measures will be devised by which this Colony will be relieved of the noxious burdens under which it staggers but cannot walk. Sufficient taxation for all wants of the Colony can be found through the Customs tariff, which is most willingly paid and most easily collected. The Chamber have urged that an alteration be made in the existing law of bankruptcy, and although a reform is much needed in this direction, the matter must stand over for future legislation. In the question of the Fire and Marine Companies Bill nothing further has been done, and in the absence of specific information showing its necessity, the Chamber unanimously objected to the Legislature dealing hastily with it. The Chamber have recently been in communication with the Christchurch Chamber on the question of general average, with the view of affording a better protection to the interests of consignees where ships become disabled and cargo damaged, and it is hoped that shortly reasonable and equitable terms will be agreed upon for fairly and quickly disposing of such cases. The Chamber will be aware that the question of railway tariff has been much discussed both here and in Christchurch—the latter putting forth claims for exceptionally lower rates over the lines in Canterbury than we enjoy in Otago, to which this Chamber have been unanimously and strongly opposed; and it was deemed advisable, in order to show the unfairness of such claims and to enter our protest, to wait upon the Hon. Minister of Public Works, which was accordingly done by a deputation of the Committee. Another subject of some importance has been discussed by the Chamber in connection with the Victorian tariff, in the recent enactment by its Government to levy a heavy duty on grain imported from this Colony. In an interview with the Hon. the Colonial Secretary the Committee brought the matter under his notice, and urged advantage should be taken of the Conference held in Melbourne and Sydney with the object of remedying the evil by an agreement of reciprocity or other wise; and the Hon. Colonial Secretary's recent visit to Sydney may perhaps prove to have been the first step towards that end, or even free trade in the natural products of each Colony one with another. If we could commence by sending over our good grain and beer free of duty to Australia, in exchange for Colonial wines being received here free, we should have accomplished that small and coveted beginning from which very great and lasting beneficial results would most certainly follow. A welding of rival interests and jealousies would be a firm and sure step between any two colonies of Australasia toward the federation of the whole group. The Chamber have long since been of opinion that a proper and suitable new building for a Hall of Commerce in this city, commensurate with its commercial importance, had become a necessity, and in September last a sub-committee was appointed to consider and report upon the best course to pursue to procure a central and permanent site on which to erect offices for the Chamber. After many meetings and much consideration it was thought that the only practicable way to raise funds towards the building of a new Chamber was to ask not less than twenty gentlemen to subscribe, each to the extent of £100, to give the scheme a start. You will be glad to learn that this plan proved successful. There are already twenty names on the list, and ere long I have reason to believe they will increase to nearly double that number. It is now proposed to form a limited company, with a nominal capital of £5000, in 50 shares of £100 each, and members are asked for their co-operation in a scheme which, to my mind, seems to promise to our commercial interests generally much usefulness. I may here mention that an excellent site at the corner of Bond and Liverpool-streets has already been secured by the Committee on favourable terms. Mr. Cargill, who, with Mr. John Roberts and Mr. Robert Wilson, took an active part in the negotiation, will explain more particularly its details. Among other subjects that have engaged the attention of the Committee in

connection with new offices are telephone and telegraph systems to meet the growing wants of the community as the use of such facilities may be required. The important question of exporting frozen meat, butter, &c., to Great Britain has also been discussed by the Committee, and I trust that the time is not far distant when a practical beginning will be made by a shipment of such cargo from our ports. It is a mistake to suppose that, as I noticed in a paragraph in Wednesday's "Times" the process of freezing destroys the cohesion of the tissue of the meat, and that when the meat is thawed it shows a tendency to decompose rapidly. I can now tell you one fact in opposition to that theory : A friend of mine in London recently purchased a quarter of frozen beef on its arrival there, and sent it up to the North of Scotland as a present to a small family. The good lady of the house, fearful of the capacity of her household to consume the whole as fresh meat, lost no time in salting down the greater part of it; and I have been assured on indisputable authority that the result was most satisfactory. In short, the Australian fresh beef sent by chance to the North of Scotland to be salted and cured proved an unqualified success. In conclusion, I may remark generally for your satisfaction that the Customs receipts and the land fund receipts of the Colony have increased, and exceed the Hon. the Treasurer's Estimates; while the cost of administering our railways has economically improved, and the efficiency of management has not been impaired. Before closing my remarks, I desire to call attention to what might be termed neglect on the part of our mercantile community in not having sought for new outlets for produce. Look, for instance, to the Colonies of Queensland and South Australia, the Islands of Fiji, and others surrounding them, where British people are fast making homes and connections. Surely a trade could be opened up with these Colonies for some of our products that cannot from climatic influences be produced by them; and why, gentlemen, in this enterprising commercial community, in this year of grace 1881, should we find ourselves without sugarworks of our own? unless it be in the cause of sweet philanthropy to enrich our friends who may be interested in the rich harvests to be gathered annually by the Sydney and Melbourne sugarworks. Gentlemen, with these remarks I move the adoption of the report.

Mr. R. WILSON said : Gentlemen, I have much pleasure in seconding the adoption of the report, and I have to thank the Chairman for the very able manner in which he has addressed us. (Hear, hear.) I think he deserves very great credit for the pains he has taken. He has gone into everything so minutely that he has left very little for me to say. I am very pleased indeed to see that things have taken such a turn. Anyone travelling through this country at the present time cannot help being delighted at the grand sight he can see in the shape of crops, and if we can only get a market for our grain we have very little to fear. Another good feature is that, as I saw in a sub-leader in the "Times" to-day, our wool produce is 10 per cent, more than it was last year, and I believe the prices are higher, so that will give us a very large return. Our gold return is also greater; in fact, everything seems to be prospering. No country in the world, I think, could have experienced a more sudden change for the better than this has done during the last twelve months. Mr. Cargill was to be here to say something about our new Hall of Commerce. Mr. Larnach has just mentioned that we have got that almost arranged for. However, we shall be very pleased if we can get a few more names; and I am sorry to have to complain of the apathy shown by a few of our merchants in not coming forward to support us in this matter. It has been the old story over again—that the Chamber has always been log-rolling, and that we have done no good. I may say that I have been connected with the Chamber for many years, and have been on the Committee for nearly seven years, and during that time I have seen no log-rolling; but we have done our duty—we have done the best we could for the welfare of the citizens, and it is our intention to do so still; and if we cannot get a few more gentlemen to come forward and help us, we have twenty names already, and will be able to carry it through without them. I think that the building will be an ornament to the city, and will be the means of cementing together the commercial community, whose members will have a habitation of their own to meet in. By this means I think we shall be able to do away with the petty jealousies that now exist. I think it is high time that we all put our shoulders to the wheel and moved in many matters that would be for the welfare of the place. For instance, sugarworks, as Mr. Larnach has just said, would be a very great acquisition to us, and I believe a great source of profit. There is a good deal of spare capital here just now, and anything of that kind, I think, if it was shown that it would give a good result, or that a fair interest on the money could be got from it, it could be floated at the present time very well. I do not know that I have anything more to say at present, but I assure you I am very much pleased indeed to see the turn things have taken, and I hope when we meet at our annual meeting we shall be able to report more favourably still.

The CHAIRMAN : In the notice calling the meeting it was mentioned that one of the objects of the meeting was to elect a representative to the Harbour Board. I may state that the notification was made through some oversight. It is found that the election can only be made on the second Monday in February. By the Act giving the Chamber power to send a representative to the Harbour Board, it is provided that the election shall take place on the second Monday in February, so that nothing can be done to-day.

Mr. R. WILSON thought they should nominate a representative now they had a full meeting, and let a quorum of members meet on Monday to elect him.

Mr. T. T. RITCHIE : I think it would be more satisfactory if we now nominate a gentleman, as that will do away with the necessity for a full attendance on Monday. If that meets the views of members present, I beg to propose that Mr. Larnach, the chairman of the Chamber, be elected the representative of the Chamber at the Harbour Board. I have no doubt that the duties of the office may entail some little degree of self-sacrifice, but doubtless Mr. Larnach will willingly take upon him to follow in the steps of those who have previously so ably represented the Board.

Mr. MATHESON : I have great pleasure in seconding the nomination of the Chairman. I do so with greater pleasure because I am the preceding member. Though I was only called to represent the Chamber by filling up the balance of time allotted to a former member, still I found the duties such as to demand too much of my time, and, as you are all aware, I had given intimation that I would not stand for re-election. The office of a member of the Board is no sinecure, as you, sir, will find when you come to sit at the Board; for besides committee meetings there are other duties that demand a good deal of time. It is fortunate that the Chamber should select a gentleman who can give a large amount of time without infringing upon his resources in any way. At the time I joined the Harbour Board it was not in very good odour with the public, because it was poor; its funds had run out, and the prospects of a further loan were rather problematical. It is gratifying to find that the loan passed Parliament, and we hope soon to hear of its being placed on the London market at a very fair premium. You have already in your address expressed the hope that within twelve months we shall have the inter-colonial steamers coming to the Dunedin wharves. I hope that expectation will be fully realised, and we have the Engineer's opinion—indeed he has pledged his professional reputation that within that time the steamers at all events will come up, and these, which will bring commerce a little nearer to our doors, will, I hope, be the forerunners to opening up the larger dock in the northern part of the sea margin. In connection with this matter I hope, sir, when you take your seat at the Board, you will give your attention to the principle that the Harbour Board having expended a large amount of money upon the harbour, that every possible convenience shall be afforded to the commercial public for access to these wharves, and that we shall not be threatened, as we have been, that to Rattray-street basin, which for a good many years to come will form the principal receptacle for the shipping, there will be but one access—viz., by Rattray-street—but that the Government will in its wisdom see its way clear to give a second access by way of Jetty-street. I have much pleasure in seconding the nomination.

The CHAIRMAN replied as follows : Gentlemen, I thank you for the remarks offered on my behalf, and while I am averse to accepting any new office, I am also averse to do anything in the way of not obliging my fellow citizens. I shall, if elected, give the office a trial, and if I find that my time will not permit me to accomplish the work I am called upon to do, I will come back and say so to you; because I should be sorry to hold office if I could not attend to its duties. Gentlemen, I thank you.

Mr. J. BATHGATE said: Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, I rise to express the great pleasure I have had in listening to the clear and hopeful remarks made by the Chairman in his opening address. There is one point to which he alluded that I think deserves a little ventilation, because I find a great misunderstanding exists concerning the point, not only here but also at Home. It is this : He has placed his finger upon the true cause of our depression—our commercial depression—that was the sudden, and I have no hesitation in saying, the undue restriction on the part of our monetary institutions, the banks. It is the fashion of some amongst us here to decry the country in which we live. I would recommend all those people who find fault with the country and its sources to ship themselves home at the first convenient opportunity.—(Hear, hear, and applause.) But a feeling of that kind is not limited to the Colony; we find it existing at Home, and we find that we have been actually traduced and slandered by the leading newspapers in England. Now there is no denying that commercial depression exists—(A VOICE : Has existed)—but when I know the real cause of that depression I am not surprised at it; but I am perfectly surprised that widespread ruin was not the result. I find, from statistics, that in one year the banks in this Colony restricted their accommodation to customers from £14,000,000 to £11,000,000, calling upon a small community of 450,000 people to fork out £3,000,000 sterling in the course of 12 months. Why, gentlemen, it is no marvel that depression ensued. I am perfectly surprised that there was not a complete disorganisation of credit and commerce. To my mind the fact that we, as a whole, were able to meet that sudden and extraordinary demand on the part of the banks, satisfies me more than anything else of the stability of commerce of this Colony.—(Hear, hear.) I feel grateful to the Chairman for having brought out that fact, for even the newspapers approach it "gingerly," for what reason I do not know; but none have taken the bull by the horns and said, "Your banking institutions are the great and immediate cause of everything that has happened to prejudice the commerce of the Colony." Let us be thankful that that is all past now, and that capital is again flowing into the Colony. Before I sit down I wish to repeat what I said before, that I had great pleasure in listening to the hopeful anticipations of the Chairman, and that I can say conscientiously that I join in them most sincerely.

H. HOUGHTON, *Secretary*.

DUNEDIN,

Sept. 14, 1881.

Annual Report and Balance Sheet of the Caledonian Society of Otago Caledonian Society of Otago Crest

Report of Society's Evening Classes, Session, 1879.

A. Sligo, Bookseller and Stationer Dunedin George Street

## Seventeenth Annual Report and Balance Sheet of the Caledonian Society of Otago

The Directors have much pleasure in submitting to the Members the Seventeenth Annual Report and Balance Sheet of the operations of the Society.

The net balance at credit of Profit and Loss Account is L4361 11s 4d. The grounds, grand stand, fence, plant, and care-taker's cottage remain at the official valuation given by Mr. Calder last year.

REVENUE.—The total receipts for the year just ended are L2198 4s 5d, as against L1983 0s 3d the previous year—notwithstanding there are 39 fewer members on the roll.

GATHERINGS.—The Annual Gathering in January was most successful, and shows an increase in the takings of L205 1s 9d over the former Gathering. The usual Gathering on Easter Monday was not held, the grounds having been let to the Otago Athletic Association, from which the sum of L51 3s was derived.

RENTALS FROM RECREATION GROUNDS.—The revenue derived from letting the Recreation Grounds during the year amounts to L229 19s, being an increase of L75 on any previous season.

LEASEHOLDS.—The sum of L141 6s 4d has been collected to date on account of rent of leaseholds, leaving a balance of L196 8s 8d to be received.

ANDERSON'S BAY ROAD.—Your Directors regret that the frontage to this road is still unlet, but trust that their successors in office will be able soon to utilize this valuable portion of the Society's property.

EXPENDITURE.—The expenditure for this year includes L407 which should have been settled before, also exceptional expenses amounting to L131.

GRAND STAND.—The severe gale of last October having damaged portion of the roof, your Directors expended a sum of L81 14s 4d in thoroughly overhauling and strengthening it and repainting the stand.

EVENING CLASSES.—The cost of the Classes this session is L224 11s, less L108 7s received by way of fees. From the official report herewith appended you will learn that 385 pupils attended the classes, and that great good has been done by this means.

Your Directors trust that the efforts of their successors will tend still further to promote the prosperity and usefulness of the Society.

W. C. KIRKCALDY, *President*.

SEPTEMBER 1ST, 1879.

## Balance Sheet of the Caledonian Society of Otago, August 31, 1879.

Revenue. £ s. d.	£ s. d.	Invercargill Band ... ..	38 0 0	Dagg and Thomas ... ..	28 0 0	Tyson and Thomas ... ..	23 17 6	Promenade Concert ... ..	9 0 8	Goodfellow and Shepherd ... ..	21 8 6	Hibernian Society ... ..	50 0 0	Hudson and Tiffen ... ..	5 3 6	Easter Monday Sports ... ..	51 3 0	Brooks and Allen—Two Matches ... ..	3 6 0	229 19 2	Annual Gathering, Entries ... ..	46 12 6	" " Gate Money ... ..	783 8 9	" " Booths & Privileges	401 9 6	" " Cards of Sports	44 5 6	1,275 16 3	Members' Subscriptions ... ..	239 5 0	Evening Classes, Fees ... ..	108 7 0	Grazing Account ... ..	6 2 0	Rent Account ... ..	338 15 0	Balance ... ..	33 18 4	£2,232 2 9	£ s. d.	d. Education Account, 1877-8 ... ..	124 18 6	" " 1878-9 ... ..	224 11 0	349 9 6	Donations ... ..	108 2 0	Prizes ... ..	448 6 0	Money takers, Checktakers, and ... ..	Groundsmen ... ..	101 14 6	Band ... ..	48 18 0	Printing, Stationery, and
------------------	---------	--------------------------	--------	------------------------	--------	-------------------------	---------	--------------------------	-------	--------------------------------	--------	--------------------------	--------	--------------------------	-------	-----------------------------	--------	-------------------------------------	-------	----------	----------------------------------	---------	-----------------------	---------	-------------------------	---------	---------------------	--------	------------	-------------------------------	---------	------------------------------	---------	------------------------	-------	---------------------	----------	----------------	---------	------------	---------	-------------------------------------	----------	-------------------	----------	---------	------------------	---------	---------------	---------	---------------------------------------	-------------------	----------	-------------	---------	---------------------------

Advertising, 1877-8 ... .. Printing, Stationery, and Advertising, 1877-8 ... .. 105 9 0 Printing, Stationery, and Advertising, 1878-8 ... .. 93 4 9 198 13 9 Grounds Improvement Account 105 1 11 Grand Stand Repair and Painting ... .. 81 14 4 General Expenses ... .. 56 6 5 Legal Expenses ... .. 94 4 10 Interest ... .. 447 2 2 Groundsman ... .. 100 16 0 Secretary ... .. 91 13 4 £2,232 13 9

## Liabilities and Assets. Profit and Loss Account.

Liabilities. £ s. d. Mortgage ... .. 4000 0 0 Bank of New South Wales ... .. 1585 10 0 Sundry Creditors ... .. 101 13 10 Teachers' Salaries ... .. 183 0 0 Balance, Profit and Loss Account ... .. 4305 9 8 £10,265 13 6 Assets. £ s. d. £ S. d. Freehold ... .. 7200 0 0 Grand Stand ... .. 1800 0 0 Fences ... .. 800 0 0 9800 0 0 Plant and Cottage ... .. 173 15 0 Books ... .. 25 0 0 Band ... .. 2 17 0 Educational Committee, 1877 6 5 0 Members' Subscriptions, 1877-8 7 0 0 " 1878-9 17 0 0 Sundry Debtors ... .. 196 8 8 Cash in hand ... .. 3 9 6 223 18 2 Balance ... .. 33 18 4 £10,265 13 6 PROFIT AND LOSS ACCOUNT. 1879. £ s. d. Aug. 31. To Balance ... .. 33 18 4 " Ditto Carried forward ... 4361 11 4 £4395 9 8 Audited and found correct, GEORGE FALCONER, J. T. ROBERTS, Auditors. 1878. £ s. d. Sept. 30. By Balance ... .. 4395 9 8 £4395 9 8 1879. Sept. 1, By Balance brought forward, £4361 11 4 GEORGE WATSON, Secretary and Treasurer.

## Closing of the Caledonian Society's Evening Classes.—Session 1879.

The Annual Meeting and Distribution of Prizes in connection with the Caledonian Society's Classes took place in the large hall of the Athenæum, on the evening of Friday, 12th September. There were some 250 persons present. The chair was occupied by the president of the Society, Mr. W. C. Kirkcaldy, and on the platform were Messrs. Keith Ramsay, A. Sligo, W. D. Stewart (M.H.R.), G. M. Thomson, and A. R. Livingston. On the table in front of the Chairman there was an imposing array of books to be distributed in prizes, many of them being at once handsome in exterior and valuable as regards their contents.

The Chairman said : As President of the Caledonian Society, I have much pleasure in congratulating the teachers and pupils on the successful completion of the seventh session of the Society's classes. Mr. Ferguson, our superintendent, will read the official report, and as it is an interesting and exhaustive one, it will not be necessary I should make any remarks in introducing it.

Mr. J. L. Ferguson, Superintendent of the Society's classes, then read the annual report as follows :—

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen—I have the honour to submit to you the seventh annual report of the Caledonian Society's evening classes. You will see by the report and also by the reports and remarks of the several masters, that the classes have proved a great success this year. The number of pupils and the fees show an increase on those of last year. Three additional classes have been added—viz., Chemistry, Latin, and Shorthand; and the work, as a whole, has been better than in previous years. The classes were resumed in the second week of May. The Education Board, as in former years, granted to the Society's Educational Committee the use of eight of the class-rooms in the Normal School. The High School authorities also granted the lecture-room and laboratory connected with the High School for the use of the chemical class. The following scale of fees was adopted by the Committee for the course of four months :—Junior classes, 5s; senior classes, 7s 6d; mathematics, 7s 6d; engineers' class, 7s 6d; chemistry class, 7s 6d; shorthand class, 7s 6d; Latin class, 7s 6d. An extra fee of 2s 6d was charged to pupils belonging to any of the other classes who were desirous of attending the chemical class.

The following is a statement of the fees received at the different rates:—

The scale last year was :—Junior classes, 5s; senior classes, 7s 6d; mathematics, 10s; engineers' class, 10s; the total amount of fees received, £95 10s; number of pupils, 330. The number of scholars admitted this year, deducting the number who paid 2s 6d extra for chemistry, was 385. The fees last year amounted to £95 10s; this year, to £108 5s. This shows an increase of 35 pupils, and £12 15s in fees. The total cost of the

classes—which is made up of teachers' salaries, prize fund, stationery, advertising, janitors, &c.—amounts to about £235. The fees, amounting to £108 5s, leave a balance of £126 15s, which is contributed from the funds of the Caledonian Society of Otago.

The following is a list of the number of pupils at each age who attended the classes during the session:—

The occupations of the 385 pupils admitted to the classes arranged alphabetically are as follows :—

# The Masters and Their Classes.

The masters employed in conducting the various classes were :—Mr. Jackson, of the Otago Foundry, engineers' class; Mr. Kyle, of Ravens-bourne School, mathematics; Messrs. Kneen, of the Normal School and Worsop, of the North-East Valley School, senior classes; Messrs. Balsille, of the North School, and Cooke, of Albany-street School, junior classes; Mr. Wicks, formerly one of Professor Black's students, chemistry; Mr. McLean, Latin; and Mr. Smith, shorthand.

The numbers admitted to the various classes at the beginning of the sessions :—Mr Jackson (engineers'), 26; Mr Kyle's (mathematics), 21; Mr Wicks' (chemistry), 19; Mr McLean's (Latin), 7; Mr Smith's (Shorthand), 19; Mr Kneen's (senior), 58; Mr Worsop's (senior), 70; Mr Balsille's (junior), 78; Mr Cooke's (junior), 80; and 7 pupils taught by myself in book-keeping by single and double entry. About 265, or 68 per cent., continued their attendance to the end of the session. The percentage last year was 04.

## Classification.

In classifying the scholars written examinations were given, and no difficulty was experienced in placing them according to merit. The papers given in by the junior classes were no improvement on those of last year, many of the lads failing utterly in the simple rules of arithmetic. In my last year's report I took occasion to point out that it was a matter for regret that such elementary work should have to be undertaken by the Society's evening classes. Many of these lads, and a number who applied for admission, were under 11 years of age, should in justice to themselves be still attending the public schools. While the Society deserves the thanks of the community for undertaking this work, I think it will be unnecessary in the course of a year or two. The public are aware of the efforts made by the Education Board towards increasing the school accommodation in Dunedin, and I see by the reports of the last meeting of the Dunedin School Committee that by the beginning of 1880, from the increased school accommodation which will be available by that time, they will be in a position to enforce the compulsory clauses of the Education Act. When this has been in operation, say two years, the Society should no longer provide a master to undertake the 3rd standard Work of our educational syllabus of instruction in the evening school.

The following are the masters' reports of works accomplished :—

## I.—Engineers' Class (Mr. Jackson's).

The number of students enrolled at the beginning of the session was twenty-six (26), which was maintained for several nights. It then dropped to 24, by-and-bye to 20, 19, 18, which was the number at the close of the session. The average attendance has been nearly 22, which, satisfactory as it is, would have been still better had not death removed two of my most constant students—viz., J. Caldwell and W. Chisholm. The students were arranged in two classes—junior and senior—and the work done ranged from the most elementary questions in mechanics and engineering to such advanced problems as would be set at a Board of Trade. Second and First Class Examination.—Both divisions were likewise drilled in those parts of arithmetic indispensable to the working out of engineering and mechanical problems, as, for example, the extraction of the square and cube roots, management of decimals, and the reduction and conversion of the three scales of temperature—Fahrenheit, Centigrade, and Reaumur. In addition to the class work, two practical demonstrations of the steam indicator were given—the one at Messrs Guthrie and Larnach's Factory, and the other at the Otago Foundry. These were highly appreciated. Throughout the session the students were most respectful in their demeanour to myself, and earnest in the work of the class. Some of them have attained a very fair knowledge of the subjects gone over, showing considerable natural talent for scientific work such as should induce them to aim at a still higher standard of attainment. The prizes have been awarded partly for regularity of attendance and general excellence, and partly by competitive examination. At the beginning of the session our work was much impeded on account of bad light—indeed on one occasion we had to send out for candles. On this being represented to Mr Kirkcaldy and Mr Ferguson, they took steps to introduce gas, after which there were no grounds of complaint on this score. In a city like Dunedin, where there are many hundred mechanics, an engineering class should present a much longer class-roll, and I shall be glad to see an improvement in this respect next session.

Prize Lists—Senior Class : Michael J. Moloney, 1; John Scott, 2; John Rose, 3; John M'George, good

conduct and regular attendance. Junior Class: John Davis, 1; Robert Dickie, 2; Michael D. Dunne, 3; Alfred Perry, good conduct and regular attendance.

## **II.—Mathematics (Mr. Kyle's).**

During this session I have confined my teaching wholly to algebra and geometry. In algebra those attending for the first year have got to simple equation, those for the second year to quadratic equation (Todhunter's Smaller Algebra), while those for the third year have gone through simple equation, evolution, indices, surds, and quadratic equation (Tex-book, Todhunter's Larger Algebra). In geometry, the first two books of Euclid have been gone over. Deductions were given out once a week, and were very creditably done by several. The home work, especially in algebra, has been very satisfactory, both in quality and in quantity. The conduct of the students throughout the session has been orderly and gentlemanly in the highest degree.

Prize List—Lower Division: Prizeman—John M'Cune; honourable mention—William Manley, Joseph Hendry, Henry Sheppard, William Hendry, and John M'Lennan. Second Division: Prizeman—George Bodley; honourable mention—Alexander Hendry. Upper Division: Prizeman—William Wilson; honourable mention—David Standfield. Geometry: Prizemen—William Wilson, 1; Alex. Hendry, 2.

## **III.—Chemistry (Mr. Wicks').**

Lectures were delivered at the High School every Friday evening on oxygen, hydrogen, nitrogen, carbon, sulphur, phosphorus, chlorine, potassium, sodium, calcium, aluminium, gold, arsenicum, antimony, and iron, and a number of experiments to show the properties of each were performed. During the lectures the atomic theory, notation, and nomenclature were explained, also the methods of taking the specific gravity of solids, &c. A description of the manufacture and uses of the barometer, thermometer, and other instruments used in the laboratory were given.

Prize List—J. W. Innes (instruction in the laboratory of University), 1; J. Rose and J. M'Farlane, equal, 2; David Standfield, 3.

## **IV.—Latin Class (Mr. M'lean's).**

Seven pupils enrolled themselves as members of this class. Six attended regularly during the greater part of the session, and five remained to the close. The book which we used throughout was the first part of Smith's "Principia Latina." The whole of the nouns, adjectives, and pronouns have been mastered, together with the greater portion of the verbs; and all the exercises prescribed, of turning Latin into English and English into Latin, have been carefully performed. I had every reason to be satisfied with the conduct of every member of the class, and also with the attention which they individually gave to my instructions. I may also state that I have been requested to continue the class during the summer recess, which, if sufficient encouragement offers, I have consented to do. This result will, no doubt, be regarded as encouraging by the friends and promoters of higher education. Whilst a knowledge of the rudimentary branches is admitted to be of the greatest importance, yet the advantages to be derived from the study of the Latin language should not be overlooked. Not only as a means for disciplining and training the mind to habits of study is it useful, but from the fact that one-third of all the words of the English language are derived from it, it must be obvious that great benefits must accrue from the possession of some acquaintance with the Latin language. It is a great mistake to suppose, as many do, that to acquire a competent acquaintance with Latin is a most laborious and painful process. I speak from experience when I say that in six months a person may acquire such a knowledge of the principles of the language as may be useful to him for life.

Prize List—Charles Beeby, 1; Matthew Lewis Moss, 2; D. Waters, honourable mention.

## **V.—Shorthand (Mr. Smith's).**

The work gone over has exceeded all anticipations. We commenced with Pitman's "Phonographic Teacher," going carefully through it into the "Manual," which we have also passed through, and translated several pieces from newspapers into phonography. With a few weeks' practice the pupils may hope to attain to the speed of 100 words per minute. The excellent progress made is solely to be attributed to the attention which

has been given by my pupils throughout the session. I am highly pleased with the manner in which they have stuck to their work. Some have not made the progress that might have been desired, as the work of the other classes occupied so much of their time.

Prize List.—John Morrison, 1; Charles Young, 2; John Brown, 3; Fritz Cottrell, 4; F. E. Baume highly commended.

## **VI.—Senior Class (Mr. Kneen's).**

The work gone over comprises—Bookkeeping by single entry, and the following rules of arithmetic :—Vulgar fractions, decimals, square measure, with many practical questions; square root, simple and compound interest, stocks, proportion, discount, and percentages. These rules have been thoroughly gone over, especially vulgar and decimal fractions, to which we devoted two entire months. A good knowledge of these having been attained, the rest of the work was extremely easy. The pupils have been most attentive, and nearly all of them did home exercises every night. The major part of the class I would strongly recommend to join Mr. Kyle's class for mathematics next session.

Prize List.—Arithmetic: James Farquharson, 1; Arthur Tidey, 2; John Robertson, 3; John Bevin, 4; Donald Maclean, 5. Bookkeeping : James Arthur, Thomas Mant, William J. Bardsley, Edward McFadyen, Samuel Jenkins, James Robertson, Archibald MacGregor, Alexander Dempster, Alexander Wilson, honourable mention.

## **VII.—Senior Class (Mr. Worsop's).**

Work done by Senior Division—Vulgar and decimal fractions, simple and compound interest, square and circular measure, square root. Work done by Junior Division—Vulgar and decimal fractions, simple and compound proportion, and simple interest. In addition to the above work, a good number of both divisions have been learning bookkeeping, and those who were not doing so had a writing lesson instead. The conduct of the majority has been exceptionally good. As a rule the pupils have done their best to profit by the instruction given.

Prize List.—Senior Division : A. McCarthy, 1; William Pietersen, 2; James McPherson, 3; James Wallace, 4; William Terry, D. Douglass, and Peter Walker, honourable mention. Second Division : William Love, 1; Clement Beck, 2; George Arthur, 3; William Anderson, 4; John Leslie, Nisbet Binnie, and Henry Wallis, honourable mention.

## **VIII.—Junior Class (Mr. Balsille's).**

This class has been worked in two divisions, as some were not equally advanced with their neighbours. The average attendance was fully 10 per cent, better than last year. The work gone over by the First Division consisted of the compound rules in money, square measure, &c., vulgar fractions, simple interest, and practice; together with the making out of accounts and letter writing. The work of the Second Division embraced the simple and compound rules, together with bills of parcels and practice, as well as letter writing. There has been a greater number doing home exercises this year, and some deserve great credit for the manner in which they have executed the work. In short, the work done this year has been far more satisfactory than hitherto. I was much pleased with the progress many made in the subject of letter writing.

Prize List.—First Division : Sinclair Swanson, 1; Alexander Campbell,; Thomas Carr, 3; John Pay, Alexander Swanson, Frank Battson, Jesse Hounsem, William Matthews, honourable mention. Second Division : James Moir, 1 (a microscope, presented by His Worship the Mayor); Robert Renwick, 2; George Readman, 3; Benjamin Hay, Edward Glaister, James Wilson, Fred. Brooks, George McGregor, John Black, honourable mention.

## **IX.—Junior Class (Mr. Cook's).**

In classifying the scholars I found it necessary to make three divisions, namely, one for the study of the first four simple rules, another for the study of the more simple rules of compound quantities, and a third for the more advanced questions in the compound rules, together with simple interest, proportion, and fractions, and I

am happy to state that the examination held last week shows very satisfactory progress in the different branches, the lowest division having acquired a fair knowledge of the subjects, the second or middle division having likewise shown a very fair acquaintance with the prescribed course, while the third and highest division have thoroughly mastered the compound rules, and acquired a good grounding in questions relating to interest and commission, as well as shown great aptitude in mastering the calculations of goods, &c, by the method of aliquot parts as taught under the rule of practice. The behaviour, with one exception, has been very good, and the scholars as a whole have shown an earnest desire to take every advantage of the chances of improvement offered them, and the progress made is very satisfactory and encouraging. The class received instruction in English composition and letter writing every Thursday, but with few exceptions the writing has been anything but satisfactory, and the want of knowledge of the most simple grammatical rules and the construction of sentences of the simplest form, have prevented the progress being made which I should have desired

Prize List.—William Sim, 1; Charles Hamon, 2; Joseph Manley, 3; Edward Jackson, 4; Samuel Hoare, 5; Donald Fitzgerald, 6; William Tracey, James Reynolds, John Burns, James Simpson, William Brown, honourable mention.

## Conduct of Pupils.

It gives me great pleasure to state—what you will find borne out by the reports of the respective masters—that the conduct throughout has, with very few exceptions, been excellent. At the beginning of the session we experienced much annoyance from five boys who had evidently joined the classes more for amusement than from a desire for learning. After bearing with them for some little time we were compelled to expel four. Much annoyance was also caused by a troop of larrikins, probably led by the boys expelled; but Mr. Inspector Mallard, having been informed of the fact, kindly and promptly brought the nuisance to an end. I am sure, from the diligence and earnestness of the pupils, that their appreciation of the evening classes is in no wise abated since last session. I have great pleasure in stating that in addition to the funds set apart for prizes by the Society several gentlemen interested in education have contributed money to be spent in prizes, and valuable books (special prizes.) It is gratifying to me, and I am sure gratifying to you all that so many testify to the interest they have in your progress in such a substantial manner. I have much pleasure in acknowledging money contributions from Messrs. Hallenstein and Co., Guthrie and Larnach, J. Mackerras and Co., Findlay and Co., Burt Bros., Keith Ramsay, Esq., J. Robin, Esq., and A. R. Livingston, Esq. (Dunedin School Committee,) W. C. Kirkcaldy, Esq., and James Davidson, Esq., also valuable books from James Caffin, Esq., of Wise and Co., D. Petrie, Esq., Inspector of Schools, P. G. Pryde, Esq., Secretary Education Board, T. S. Graham, Esq., William Caldwell Esq., His Worship the Mayor of Dunedin, and I have also to thank Professor Black for his special prize to the Chemistry class. I have also to thank Mr. Lyster for a very large supply of excellent writing paper which he sent me at the beginning of the session, and which proved very useful in the composition and writing lessons. Towards the close of the session several of the masters held a meeting in regard to the annual custom of presenting the master of each class with a testimonial or present at the end of the session. The result of the conference was that an intimation to the pupils to the following effect was drawn up :—"We, the undersigned, beg to make the following intimation to the students attending the Caledonian Society's evening classes—That at the close of each session a practice has hitherto prevailed of presenting the teachers with gifts purchased by the joint contributions of the several classes. While thanking the students for their kindness and liberality, and fully appreciating the motives which influenced them in making the presentations, we respectfully request that the custom—for the practice has grown into a custom—be not followed at the close of this session." This intimation was signed by all the teachers, and read by myself to each class. I may say that I agree entirely with the teachers in this matter. Testimonial nuisance, as it has been designated by some of our newspapers, should certainly be discouraged. We have too much of it in this Colony. The work of a teacher who enters heart and soul into it, though laborious, is a pleasure to him, and the harvest which will most gladden his heart is to see the fruit of his labours in the attention of his pupils and in the substantial progress made by them. I am sure I am speaking the minds of the masters when I say that such a reward will be more valued by them than any presentation which could be made to them. In conclusion, I cannot refrain from remarking upon the golden opportunities presented to the young men of Dunedin—opportunities which probably the majority of their fathers might have sighed for in vain. The Caledonian classes have done much, and will yet do more, and with our School of Arts and University we should ere long have a noble phalanx of young men possessed of solid learning and useful acquirements ready to do good service in this young and rising country.

The Chairman read a communication from the Rev. Dr. Stuart, bearing date the 18th inst., in which that gentleman wrote as follows :—"I regret that a fixed engagement on Friday evening will deprive me of the pleasure of being present at the distribution of prizes. Your excellent Society I regard as an important factor in

the educational agencies of this City." The Chairman prefaced his reading of this communication by adverting to the deep interest the Rev. Dr. Stuart had always taken in the classes.

The Chairman said :—You have heard the report, and you will now agree with me that it is both an interesting and exhaustive one. I notice one serious omission, however, in the list of the occupations of those attending the classes. I do not see any member of Parliament in the classification, and I do not know but that some of them even, might have derived advantage from attending some of the classes. But we have a member of Parliament present, and he is going to make amends for his guild by giving us his opinion of the classes.

Mr. W. D. Stewart. M.H.R., then said : Mr. Chairman, Gentlemen and boys—(loud laughter from the boys)—I have felt very much gratified indeed in listening to the very exhaustive report which you have heard read. Your countenances are beaming with intelligence, and you reflect very great credit indeed on the youth of this town. I am quite sure that those who have attended these classes have done so not through compulsion, but through an earnest desire to fit themselves for future duties in life, and I am quite sure there are amongst you those who will score your marks in the different trades in which you will be engaged. You cannot to highly prize the present, and you will often in future years realise and appreciate the services which this Society is rendering you in fitting you for the duties which you will be called on to discharge. If I were to give you an advice on anything, I should advise you not to allow your studies to come to an end when the doors of the Society's school-room closes upon you. You will I am sure devote your time hereafter in perfecting these studies which you have initiated and carried on under the auspices of this Society. Of course, in a Colony like this every position in life, from that of the humblest boy to the Premier of the Colony, is open to every one of you, and if you choose by diligent application to gain for yourselves a position in society, society will recognise your labours and place you in a position honourable to yourselves and creditable to the Colony. Everyone one of you, no matter how young, may from a laudable ambition attain the very highest position which this free country can proffer any of its inhabitants. Many of you, I have no doubt, look on those who are at present holding prominent positions in public life as occupying positions which are not attainable to you, but I tell you that a large number of those who hold positions in this Colony have risen by their own industry—by their own continuous application—and I am quite sure that these are the men who will render the greatest service to this country. Now this generation is imposing taxes which will hereafter, I think, have to be paid by posterity; and you, and I daresay those who come after you, will probably have to solve the problem of how best to pay the debt the present generation is incurring. Therefore it is desirable you should bring to bear, and all those in similar circumstances to yourselves should bring to bear, in the solution of this difficulty, all the powers which you possess. I do not know I need to refer to anything else beyond proposing a vote of thanks to the Caledonian Society for the noble provisions they are making for those young citizens who are desirous of spending their time not frivolously nor in useless amusements, but so as to fit themselves to properly carry out the duties they have entered on here. One thing has been very gratifying to me. It is that this is not what might be termed a society got up with any limited sectarian or national object, although it is under the auspices of this Caledonian Society. I see from the names which were read, and also from the varied trades which were represented amongst the students here, that the Society is making very liberal pro-vision for all industries and all trades which exist in this City, and there-fore everyone has an opportunity, if he pleases, to fit himself for whatever trade or business in which he may be engaged. I think we cannot too highly praise these efforts of the Society. I have some considerable de- gree of pleasure in being present here this evening, although I did not expect to be asked to say anything. Still, in the absence of Dr. Stuart, who has always taken a very warm interest in the affairs of this Society, and also of this Educational Institute, I have very much pleasure indeed in proposing a vote of thanks to this Society, and hope their labours will be abundantly rewarded in times to come, and that instead of having the number that is present here this evening it will be increased and doubled year by year I have very much pleasure in proposing a vote of thanks to this Society for the efforts they have made.—(Applause.)

Mr. Livingston seconded the vote of thanks, and in doing so said; I think the Caledonian Society have done admirably during the last seven sessions. They deserve considerable credit for providing us with the New Year's amusements, but I think the best work they do is providing these evening classes for this town.—(Applause.)

The Chairman said that on behalf of the Society he had to acknowledge the vote of thanks proposed by Mr. Stewart, and seconded by Mr. Livingstone. It was not necessary he should put it to them, because they were all of one mind, and had indicated so by their acclamations. Mr. Stewart had made a mistake, however, in saying the Society had no national object in view. They wanted to build up an educated nation here in New Zealand—to make the pupils they had there a creditable section of an educated people.—(Applause.) They had another pleasure to come to—that was the distribution of the prizes. He regretted that they could not give prizes to all who had been diligent and attentive. Some years ago the Society gave free tickets to the Athenæum to all those who attended regularly and who showed, by their application and diligence when in the class-room, that their hearts were really in their work. Such pupils received free tickets for the Athenæum, no matter what place

they took in the classes. The object the Society had in view was to encourage diligence and attention on the part of the pupils, and to secure the interests of parents in the work, and he believed that when a pupil secured a prize in the shape of a free ticket to the Athenæum, the parents took care that their boy continued diligent and regular in his attendance. Unfortunately the want of funds had prevented them from continuing these tickets, but he thought, seeing the good that was done by the classes and that the mechanics' part of the Athenæum was a misnomer, the Society should be entitled to hand in a list of those who had shown diligence and attention, and that these pupils should be entitled to receive free tickets. That would be a very graceful recognition on the part of an institution that had received Government funds, and was supposed to be also a Mechanics' Institute. He hoped the Press would take notice of it, and with a little pressure the Athenæum Committee might open their hearts and authorise the Society to send in a list of those entitled to such prizes for the present year.

The Chairman then proceeded to present the prizes, adverting ap-properly to the individual character of them. On presenting one youth with a copy of the works of Shakespeare, he said it was the best book in the English language after the Bible, and the numerous quotations slightly altered in their dress, which were to be found in his writings, indicated that the author himself had been a diligent student of sacred writ. The next book to be presented was a copy of Burns, and the Chairman observed that it formed a fitting sequel to Shakespeare.

The prizes having been all presented, a work which, from the number of them, consumed some time,

Mr. Keith Ramsay said he had to ask the students present to join him in according a very hearty vote of thanks to Mr. Ferguson and the other gentlemen who have been associated with him in the conducting of these classes. He must heartily congratulate these gentlemen on the success of their efforts, and the students on the diligence they had shown during the past winter, and the satisfactory results they have attained. He recognised with very much pleasure the young men whom he had seen there year after year, and he thought it did them credit to come there regularly. He believed they would reap much substantial benefit from their attendance at these classes. On behalf of the Society he begged to invite them all back again next year, and on any future year in which the Society may hold classes.

Mr. A Sligo said he had pleasure in seconding the vote of thanks to the teachers. He was highly gratified to find the teachers had so good a report to give of the conduct of their pupils. He believed with Mr. Ramsay that those attending the classes would reap much benefit, that they would be able to make their mark in after life in a way they could not have done but for their attendance at the classes. He hoped and believed that many of them would fill positions hereafter which they could not have aspired to but for the training they had received at the classes. The teachers had spoken so favourably of their pupils that he had no doubt the pupils were ready to accord their teachers a vote of thanks in an unmistakable manner. The motion was carried by acclamation, the applause being hearty and long continued.

Mr Thomson said he thought the most gracious thing they could do now was to join in a hearty vote of thanks to Mr Kirkcaldy for the manner in which he had discharged the duties of Chairman. He had always shown the warmest sympathy in that Society, and he hoped they would join him (the speaker) in giving the Chairman a hearty vote of thanks on that occasion.—(Applause.)

The Chairman expressed the hope that all those present would practically express their interest in the classes by each bringing another student with him next session. It was not sufficient that they alone should have the benefit to be derived there; for they wanted not only to improve a few, but to benefit the community in general. Mr Thomson took charge of the first chemistry class, and but for him it would not have been started three years ago. He not only, however, took an interest in it, but gave a special prize, entitling the holder to admission to Professor Black's laboratory. The boy who secured it had attended, and had been greatly benefited.

The Chairman then thanked the students for their presence, and the proceedings terminated.

The Art-Union of Victoria. Instituted 1872. Eighth Season, 1880

Annual Report and Balance Sheet, With Prize Schedule and List of Subscribers.

Mason, Firth & M'Cutcheon, Printers, Melbourne 51 & 53 FLINDERS LANE WEST. 1880

## **The Art-Union of Victoria.**

### **Instituted 1872.**

Offices : 80 Collins Street West, Melbourne.

Council for 1880-1881.

## **President:**

- Robert Wallen, ESQ.

## **Vice President :**

- W. H. Jarrett, ESQ.
- James Duerdin, ESQ.

## **Hon. Secretary :**

- A. Robertson, ESQ.
- (80 Collins Street West, Melbourne.)

## **Members :**

- Charles Andrews, ESQ., GEELONG.
- A. W. Birchall, ESQ., LAUNCESTON.
- George Bleach, ESQ.
- J. W. Carroll, ESQ., SALE.
- Chester Earles, ESQ.
- W. Gillbee, ESQ., M.R.C.S.
- F. S. Grimwade, ESQ.
- H. E. Hart, ESQ., DUNEDIN.
- Henri J. Hart, ESQ.
- Isaac Hart, ESQ.
- Lawrence Hindson, ESQ., SYDNEY.
- HON. John Hodgkiss, ADELAIDE.
- T. J. Laby, ESQ., CRESWICK.
- J. C. Lloyd, ESQ.
- W. Lynch, ESQ.
- Alfred May, ESQ.
- A. C. MacDonald, ESQ.
- E. L. Montefiore, ESQ., SYDNEY.
- J. M. Nelson, ESQ.
- S. J. Payne, ESQ.
- R. Sands, ESQ., SYDNEY.
- John Thomson, ESQ.
- J. R. Tuckett, ESQ.
- H. G. Turner, ESQ.
- J. H. B. Walch, ESQ., HOBART TOWN.
- J. ST. V. Welch, ESQ., SYDNEY.
- F. Williams, ESQ.
- E. J. Wivell, ESQ., ADELAIDE.
- Henry Wooldridge, ESQ., M.R.C.S.

## **The Art-Union of Victoria. INSTITUTED 1872.**

### **RULES.**

1. EVERY subscriber of one guinea per annum shall be a member of the Society, and shall be entitled to

vote at all ordinary and extraordinary meetings thereof.

2. The Society shall be governed by a Council, consisting of a President, Vice-Presidents, Treasurer, Secretary, and not less than twelve other members. Three shall constitute a quorum. Any vacancy occurring during the year may be filled up by the Council; but the person or persons so appointed shall hold office only until the following annual general meeting.

3. Each member shall, for every guinea subscribed, be entitled—

- Firstly, to a presentation work or works of art, executed expressly for the purpose; and
- Secondly, to one chance of a prize at the annual drawing, subject to the conditions hereinafter provided.

4. The revenue of the Society, after the necessary deduction for cost of presentation pictures and other expenses, shall be apportioned by the Council into prizes of different values, which shall be publicly drawn for by lot, among the whole number of subscribers. Such drawing shall be held before the opening of the Annual Exhibition of the Victorian Academy of Arts; and the time and place thereof shall be previously advertised in one or more of the Melbourne daily newspapers.

5. The amount of each prize must be expended by the winner in the selection of a work of art from the same season's Exhibition; but the actual payment shall be made by the Treasurer directly to the artist, and in no case to the prize-winner.

6. Should the work of art selected be of greater value than the amount of the prize, the winner may pay the additional price to the artist; but should the price of the work selected be less than the amount of the prize, the difference shall lapse to the funds of the Art-Union of Victoria.

7. If any artist shall pay, or agree to pay, any money (other than the ordinary commission charged by the Academy) with the view to induce the selection of one of his or her works, the amount so paid, or agreed to be paid, shall be deducted by the Art-Union from the amount of the prize when paying it to the artist.

8. Should any prize-winner neglect to select (either personally or by agent) a work of art during the currency of the Annual Exhibition of the Academy, the amount of such prize shall lapse to the funds of the Art-Union of Victoria.

9. An extraordinary meeting of the members may be called by the Council for purposes to be specified in the notice calling such meeting, which shall be advertised at least three times in one of the Melbourne daily newspapers. The Council shall also call an extraordinary meeting on the requisition of not less than twenty members.

10. The annual general meeting of the members shall be held in the month of September in each year, when the Council's Report of the year's proceedings, and the Treasurer's statement of receipts and expenditure shall be submitted, and the Council for the succeeding year shall be elected.

## **The Art-Union of Victoria. INSTITUTED 1872.**

### **REPORT OF THE COUNCIL**

#### **For the Season 1880.**

Submitted to the Members at the Annual Meeting, 10th. September, 1880.

"Your Council is sorry to report that a serious diminution in the number of subscribers has taken place as compared with last year. The number for this year is 889, while last year they numbered 1211. This is owing to widespread commercial depression and curtailed incomes. But for the liberality of Mr. D. M'Dougall, of the firm of Messrs. Sands and M'Dougall, who, in the most generous spirit, presented £100 towards the prize fund, your Society would have been unable to distribute so many prizes as fell to the lot of the subscribers. Mr. M'Dougall has, in many ways, shown himself to be a true patron of art, and notably so in the presentation of the fine picture, "No Surrender," to the National Gallery. The chromo-lithographs issued as presentation pictures to the subscribers have given general satisfaction, and they are acknowledged to be executed in the best style. With the object, however, of giving variety to the presentation work of art, your Council, after very considerable thought and attention, has determined to issue in book form to each subscriber Mr. Henry Kendall's poem "Orara," which is an imaginative and able production, and shows him to be a poet of high order. It is thoroughly Australian in subject and treatment. Your Society has purchased the copyright. Commissions to illustrate passages in the poem were offered to some of the leading artists in these colonies. The other drawings were thrown open to competition by public advertisement, and all the known artists were communicated with by post and invited to compete. There was a gratifying response, and your Council has much pleasure in

informing you that thirteen beautiful drawings on wood, 9 in. by 6½ in., have been selected, and are now in the engraver's hands. They will be executed in the best style, and every exertion will be made to produce such a book of artistic illustrations as has never been attempted south of the line. If sufficient inducement offers, an edition *de luxe* will be prepared as additional prizes. Your Council with great pleasure report that the presentation pictures of your Society were adjudged a certificate of merit by the Commissioners of the Sydney Exhibition. A large number of good pictures were shown this year at the Exhibition of the Victorian Academy of Arts. The students attending the classes for drawing from the life show great earnestness, and the School is self-supporting. Some of the students already show proofs of the advantage of drawing from the human figure, and a number of very promising pupils of both sexes are now attending the Schools. When it is considered that this gratifying result is due to the exertions of the members of the Academy of Arts, unaided by Government patronage or monetary assistance, it must be conceded that they are deserving of praise and support. The accounts furnished by the hon. treasurer (Mr. Jarrett) show that the expenses are £283 12s. 5d., as against £332 15s. 6d. last year, and the value of prizes and chromos is £692 13s., as against £1011 16s. for last year. The copyright of the poem to be presented with illustrations in 1881 has been paid for, and a balance of £66 11s. has been carried to next season.

"Robert Wallen, *President.*"

THE annual general meeting of the Society was held at the office, 80 Collins-street West, Melbourne, on Friday, the 10th September, 1880; Mr. Robert Wallen, President, in the chair.

The Annual Report and Balance-sheet having been read by the hon. Secretary, were, on the motion of Mr. H. G. Turner, seconded by Mr. A. C. Macdonald, adopted, and ordered to be printed for circulation among the members.

The Council and Officers for the ensuing year were then elected, and the meeting closed with the customary votes of thanks.

Subscribers who have omitted to call for their chromos can obtain them on presenting their receipts to Messrs. Sands and M'Dougall, Collins-street West, Melbourne.

## Distribution of Prizes, 1880.

THE annual distribution of prizes in connection with the Art-Union of Victoria took place at the Athenæum on Friday afternoon, 2nd April; Mr. Robert Wallen, Vice-President, in the chair.

The Scrutineer, Mr. A. W. Cleveland, certified that the proper number of tickets were in the respective ballot-boxes.

The Chairman then made a few remarks, and feelingly alluded to the death of the late President (Mr. Richard Twenty man).

The progress report was then read by the Hon. Secretary, as follows:—

"Ladies and gentlemen—Your Council has great regret in announcing that your Society has not been successful in obtaining that measure of support to which the Council believe it to be justly entitled, notwithstanding the active exertions of your agents and canvassers, and the great assistance willingly given by well-wishers of the Society. Making every allowance for the generally prevailing depression in all branches of business throughout the Australian colonies, still your Council considers that it would have been no severe strain upon those with ample means if, inspired by earnest good will towards the development of local art, they had subscribed much more numerously than they have done. It has been disappointing to find that in some cases even past prize-winners have not felt it incumbent upon them to give the Society what is individually a very small measure of aid. This is specially to be deplored, as the Academy of Arts Exhibition, which will be opened to-morrow, contains a large proportion of unusually good works. The members of the Academy of Arts and other artists, who have so largely benefited by your Society, have, as a rule, shown the utmost indifference to the success of the Art-Union, inasmuch as they have neither obtained subscriptions from others nor become members themselves. They are willing to reap any pecuniary advantage from your Society, but they will do nothing else. Messrs. Nelson, Earles, and Gibbes, artists, have, however, worked hard, and have obtained a considerable number of subscriptions, showing what can be done by those who are willing to assist in the interests of art. Had all exerted themselves in the same way, they would, no doubt, have individually derived advantage, and the Academy of Arts, from whose annual exhibition the prizes given by your Society are selected, would have been financially benefited. The presentation chromo is admirably executed, and the subject is thoroughly characteristic of Australia; it was, therefore, hoped that a large subscription-list would have been obtained. Your Council has great pleasure in intimating that D. M'Dougall, Esq., of the firm of Messrs. Sands and M'Dougall, has in a spirit of liberality, and in the interests of the artists of Victoria,

presented your Society with the munificent sum of £100 towards the prize fund. It is not too much to say that a gift such as this, and the presentation of the fine picture, "No Surrender," to the Victorian National Gallery, will make his name a household word amongst patrons of art. Would that there were more like him. Your Council deeply regret the death of your President, Mr. Richard Twentymen, who for so many years earnestly aided the cause of art, and gave his valuable assistance to your Society. His loss has been greatly felt by your Council. The subscriptions for the season number 889, yielding, net, £854. To this sum have to be added the donation of Mr. D. M'Dougall, £100, and the balance carried forward from last year of £19, making the total receipts £973. Out of this sum the following items have to be paid :—Chromos, £490; printing and stationery, £45; freight and carriage of chromos, £70; salary, £40; printing report. £25; advertising and other petty expenses, £90; total, £760—leaving a balance available for division as prizes of £213, besides Mr. Ford's picture, valued at £60. The Council has appropriated to the prize fund £264 15s., which has been divided into twenty-five prizes. Mr. Ford's original picture, "The Last of the Drove." valued at £60, will constitute the first prize."

Misses Gibbes and Joyce officiated at the ballot-boxes, and Messrs. R. Colvin Clark and J. A. B. Koch as scrutineers. The drawing then took place, with the result shown in the schedule on the following pages, which was published as an advertisement in the Melbourne daily papers of the following day.

Votes of thanks to the ladies and scrutineers terminated the proceedings.

## ART—UNION OF VICTORIA.

### Statement of Receipts and Expenditure, Season 1880.

RECEIPTS. To Balance from last Season ... .. £19 7 5 " Subscriptions—889, @ £1 1s. ... .. 933 9 0 "  
 Donation per Dugald M 'Dougall, Esq. ... 100 0 0 £1052 16 5 Examined and found correct, 1st September,  
 1880. (E. E.) MELBOURNE, 1st September, 1880. ARTHUR W. CLEVELAND, AUDITOR. W. H.  
 JARRETT, HON. TREASURER. EXPENDITURE. By Prizes, as per Schedule ... .. £204 15 0 Less difference  
 value one Picture 2 2 0 £202 13 0 " Presentation Chromo, as per contract £450 0 0 Specimen Copies for Agents  
 40 0 0 490 0 0 " Copyright Poem for illustration, 1881 ... .. 10 0 0 " Expenses— Commission... .. £76 7 0  
 Advertising ... .. 13 10 6 Printing and Stationery ... .. 56 9 9 Postage and Telegrams ... .. 20 4 0 Forwarding  
 Expenses ... .. 62 0 8 Salary and Rent ... .. 42 10 0 Frames for Specimens ... .. 6 3 6 Exchange ... .. 2 4  
 0 Miscellaneous ... .. 4 3 0 283 12 5 " Balance, carried to new Season ... .. 66 11 0 £1052 16 5

### List of Prize-Winners—Eighth Season, 1880.

### Determined at the Annual Distribution, April, 1880.

Names and Values of the Works selected from, the Exhibition of the Victorian Academy of Arts. No.  
 AMOUNT. WINNERS. SUBJECTS. ARTISTS. £ S. d. 1 60 0 0 A 'Beckett, Mrs. Emm ... .. "The Last of the  
 Drove" ... .. W. Ford 2 26 5 0 Ware, J. ... .. Streatham ... .. "Bring Flowers—Young Flowers" ... J. R. A  
 shton 3 21 0 0 Elliott, M. ... Bank of Australasia ... "Lake Heron, Canterbury, N.Z." ... .. W. M. N. Watkins 4  
 15 15 0 Millar, D. ... .. Argus Office ... .. "Loutit Bay" ... .. Mrs. Geo. Parsons 5 12 12 0 Elder, C. W. ...  
 South Yarra ... .. "Fishing Station on the Gippsland Lake" J. W. Curtis 6 12 12 0 Gaunt, W. H. ... Ballarat ... ..  
 "Milford Sound, N.Z." ... .. J. C. Hoyte 7 10 10 0 Barnes, F. ... .. Melbourne ... .. "A Flinders-street  
 Merchant" ... .. Chester Earles 8 10 10 0 Wilde, H. ... .. Fern-tree Gully ... "Coliban Falls" ... .. II. Rielly  
 9 10 10 0 Sheville, P. W. ... Portland ... .. "A Morning Study" ... .. T. W. Roberts  
 10 10 10 0 Merrifield, G. ... Castlemaine ... .. "Creek near the Cascade Ranges, Oregon " H. J. Johnstone  
 11 8 8 0 Robertson, A. W, ... Melbourne ... .. "A Puritan" ... .. E. a' Beckett 12 8 8 0 Ramsay, Mrs. Ross  
 Corowa ... .. "Broken Off" ... .. E. a' Beckett 13 5 5 0 Dinwoodie, Walker and Co. Auckland, N.Z. ... "Old  
 Gum Tree, near Windsor" ... .. Mrs. Geo. Parsons 14 5 0 0 Tolstrup, C. ... Castlemaine ... .. "Near

Beaconsfield" ... Mrs. Geo. Parsons 15 5 5 0 Firebrace, E. B. ... Melbourne ... "At Elaine" ... Mrs. Geo. Parsons 16 5 5 0 Macdougall, J. ... Melbourne ... "Devil's Staircase, Bondi, Sydney" ... J. C. Hoyte 17 5 5 0 Farthing, W. ... Hawthorn ... "Nancy" ... Miss Isa Rielly 18 5 5 0 Davis, Wm. ... Deniliquin ... "At Woodend" ... Miss Isa Ilielly 19 5 5 0 Smith, Robert ... Fitzroy ... "Selector's Home—Mount Macedón in the distance" W. Short 20 5 5 0 Campbell, Andrew ... Castlemaine ... "Morning" ... Miss Isa Rielly 21 3 3 0 Lyon, G. O. ... Ballan ... "Sunshine and Showers" ... J. Mather 22 3 3 0 Orr, J. G. ... Beechworth ... "Fishing Boats outside the Heads" ... J. Mather 23 3 3 0 Martin, Mrs. W. ... Malvern ... "On the Road to Lilydale" ... F. B. Gibbes 24 3 3 0 Ochiltree, W. B. ... Deniliquin ... "Cottage at Heidelberg " ... F. B. Gibbes 25 3 3 0 Readshaw, Miss ... Melbourne ... "The Murray" ... C. D. Richardson.

## Members' Names.

## Season 1879-80.

Mason, Firth & M'Cutcheon, Priters, Fiinders-lane West, Welbournue.  
Bible in Schools Primary Education in New Zealand 1880  
Extracts From Speeches, Letters, ETC., ETC.  
Collected and Compiled by Prophetes  
James Hughes Wellington Steam Printer, Lambton Quay. 1880

## Dedication.

Ecclesiastes xii. 13—"Let us hear the conclusion of the whole matter : Fear Gob, and keep his commandments : for this is the whole into of man."

## Introduction.

THESE pages are offered to the public,—

In the belief,—that, education without religion is a one-sided kind of education, one-sided in the wrong direction, and a kind that is scarcely worthy of the name of education,—that, infidelity is a deadly peril to the nation in this as in every age.—and, that without faith and love towards God, and His blessing upon our labours, all our schemes for intellectual advancement, or national prosperity, will be in vain, for "Except the Lord build the house they labour in vain that build it."

In this belief, and in the hope that some plan may be adopted, either in accordance with the scheme suggested by the compiler of this work, or such as may be devised by the people of the Colony, for modifying the clause in the Education Act of 1877, which limits the Education to be given, to an entirely secular one,—the opinions of a Governor of New Zealand, and other legislators of this and other Colonies, of clergymen living in New Zealand, of the Press of this country, of those whose business it is to administer the existing Education Act and who are most intimately acquainted with its working, viz., Education Boards, Committees, and Inspectors, and of large numbers of the Parents themselves, are here brought together, as they have been variously publicly expressed during this year, together with the customs and statutes of our own country, of our Mother Country, of other Colonies and Continental Nations relating to Education.

The object of this pamphlet is not to pull down a system of Education which has been built up with so much care and thought in this country, but of improving that system by eliminating from it a blot which seems to be one of the most vital character. An abuse so great that whilst it remains unremoved it will undermine and destroy the effect and value of the Education to be given under the existing Act, a blot which it is believed is not in accordance with the mind of the people of New Zealand, and cannot be in accordance with the mind of God, viz., that all religious instruction shall be absolutely forbidden in the State Schools.

## What Our Legislators Think of Bible Reading in Schools.

# Speech of His Excellency Sir Hercules Robinson, G.C.M.G., Governor of New Zealand, Delivered at the Opening of the New Normal Schools, in Thorndon, Wellington, 3RD MAY, 1880.

Ladies and Gentlemen,—It has given me much pleasure to comply with the invitation of the school committee to be present here today at the opening of these new school buildings. The occasion is one of more than ordinary interest, for, as pointed out by Mr. Woodward, provision is made by these buildings, not only for a commodious and well-appointed public school for this immediate neighbourhood, but also for a Normal School for training teachers, for a class room to serve as a school of art, and for an educational museum and library for the whole colony. Of late years great attention has been directed in all countries where education is appreciated to every detail connected with the construction of school buildings, and the arrangement of playgrounds—both of which are important elements in a school system. I was glad to see on a visit which I paid to these buildings a few days ago that all modern requirements in such matters as cubic space, lighting, and ventilation had been kept in view; and that all those improved appliances and arrangements had been adopted which experience has shown to be essential for the health and convenience of both pupils and teachers, and for the maintenance of regularity and cleanliness and discipline in the school. (Applause.) The weak point appears to me to be the play ground, which is too confined in space; but I hope the Board of Education may be able to see their way to purchasing or renting the neighboring paddock, which seems as if it had been left unoccupied for this very purpose, and which I am sure could not be more usefully employed than in straightening the backs and widening the chests, and hardening the biceps of the rising generation of the Thorndon district. (Loud applause.) With this single exception these buildings and their appurtenances appear to me to supply all that can be desired, and I feel sure they will contribute their full share to the successful administration of the public school system of the colony. It is now nearly a year since Mr. Woodward and a deputation from the several Wellington school committees called on me, and invited me to preside at some educational demonstration which was then about to take place. I was unable to accept, as I was at the time about leaving for Auckland. Besides, I had only just arrived in the colony, and I remember telling the deputation that I should like, before taking part in any public gathering of the kind, to make myself acquainted with the provision made by law for primary education in New Zealand, and to be able by personal observation to compare the system in operation here with that in force in other countries and colonies with which I was acquainted. In the twelve months which have since elapsed, I have carefully studied the Education Act, and the admirable report from the Department of Education presented last year to Parliament. I have read too the able and interesting reports of the various Inspectors of Schools, and I have not failed to avail myself of my journeys through the country to have a look at the principal schools in operation in the districts through which I passed. And now that Mr. Woodward and the school committee have again returned to the charge, and have asked me to be present here this afternoon, and to offer a few remarks, I do not see that I can do otherwise than to tell you candidly exactly what I think of your national plan of education, which appears to me to be admirable in its general design, although defective in one or two of its details. (Applause.) If I understand your scheme correctly, it is this: It is proposed in New Zealand to provide the whole juvenile population of the colony with instruction, free of charge, in the following subjects :—Reading, writing, arithmetic, English grammar and composition, geography, history, elementary science, drawing, object lessons, vocal music, drill; and, in the case of girls, needle-work and the principles of domestic economy. The scheme includes also provision at the public expense for the establishment of a system of scholarships—for the maintenance of normal schools for training teachers—for the efficient inspection of public schools—and for the erection of suitable school buildings. As soon as sufficient school accommodation has been provided, the Education Act contemplates further that attendance at public schools shall be made compulsory on all children in the colony between the ages of 7 and 13 who may not be otherwise under efficient or regular instruction. This is, I think, a correct *résumé* of the provision made by law for the education of the people of this colony; and it is, as far as I am aware, the most comprehensive and ambitious scheme of free public instruction which has as yet been adopted in any country in the world. (Loud applause.) In England the liability of the nation to its uninstructed youth is generally supposed to be limited to education of a very rudimentary character. Mr. Bright, in one of his speeches on this subject, explained with clearness and precision exactly the kind of education which he thought the State was under an obligation to give. He said :—"What I would wish to see in this country is that every child should be able to read, and to comprehend what he reads; that he should be able to write, and to write so well that what he writes can be read; and that at the same time he should know something of the simple rules of arithmetic, which might enable him to keep a little account of the many transactions which may happen to him in the course of his life." (Applause.) Here, as I have shown, you go far beyond this modest estimate of the debt of a nation to its youth, but, if the colony can afford it, I am not

prepared to say that your curriculum of primary education may not be an improvement upon that of the old country. (Applause.) It is sometimes urged, I am aware, that as the great majority of the population must always be dependent for their livelihood upon manual labor, the tendency of a national system of education, which aspires to so high a standard for the masses, may be to make the majority discontented with their lot in life. But the answer to this objection is, I think, this: That with every encouragement but a small proportion of the youth will ever advance beyond the fourth standard; and even were it otherwise, intellectual cultivation to the fullest extent which the fifth and sixth standards offer, ought not to make persons discontented with their lot in life, however lowly, or unfit them for employment in the humblest industrial or productive occupations; on the contrary, it should, if rightly appreciated, help both men and women to discharge even the common work of the field or the ordinary duties of the household with more intelligence, and not only more intelligently, but with greater enjoyment to themselves. (Applause.) For these reasons I do not attach much weight to the objection that you are running the risk here of educating the masses above their occupations, but the doubts which do occur to me are these: Whether your programme of primary education may not be found in practice to be too varied, and whether it may not also prove to be too costly. In other words, whether, considering the very early age at which the majority of children are removed from school—attendance not being compulsory after thirteen—the cramming them with instruction in such a variety of subjects will not tend to lower the standard of efficiency in reading, writing, and arithmetic—objects of primary importance—and thus substitute a smattering of many subjects for thoroughness in a few; and whether, too, the attempt to provide the machinery for supplying the whole youthful population of the colony with free education of the varied and advanced character embraced in the six standards will not entail upon the country an expenditure more heavy than can be borne. (Applause.) As to the first point I scarcely feel competent to express a decided opinion; but the earnest, able, and experienced officers who are engaged in inspection, and who have opportunities of watching the operation of the new system over extensive areas, will soon be able to judge whether the quality of instruction in essentials is being sacrificed to variety and quantity. As to cost, however, I must confess that when I contemplate the expenditure which primary education will entail on the general revenue, so soon as the scheme at present established by law is brought into full operation, the prospect appears to me to be appalling. It must be borne in mind that the present Act has only been in operation for the last two years. In 1877—the year before it came into effect—the number of public schools was 730. The average daily attendance for the whole year in these schools was 40,837 and the total amount paid by the Government to Education Boards—exclusive of the proceeds of Education Reserves—was, £204,205, being £154,205 for ordinary expenditure, and £50,000 for school buildings. In 1878 the number of public schools was 748. The average daily attendance was 48,212; and the Parliamentary grants—exclusive of rents of reserves—amounted to £317,923, being £216,666 for ordinary expenditure, and £101,257 for school buildings. In 1879 the number of public schools was 812. The average daily attendance for the whole year was 54,809; and the Parliamentary grants—exclusive of reserves—amounted to £368,457, being £217,876 for ordinary expenditure, and £150,581 for school buildings. Thus it will be seen that the Parliamentary grants for primary education have increased from £204,205 in 1877, to £317,923 in 1878, and to £368,457 in 1879—or, in other words, from £5 for every child in average daily attendance in 1877 to £6 12s. in 1878, and £6 14s. 6d. in 1879. estimating the probable expenditure for the future, it must be remembered that the capitation rates paid by the Government to the Boards for ordinary working expenses and scholarships, added to the subsidies for normal schools and inspection, amount together to about £4 10s. for every child in average daily attendance. In these items there can be no reduction, as the tendency of the new standards will be, I apprehend, to increase rather than diminish the ordinary expenditure. But under the head of school buildings some saving upon the heavy outlay of the last two years may possibly be effected. Having regard, however, to the facts that the population is increasing, and the percentage of attendance to population increasing also, that in consequence, accommodation for a considerable number of additional children will be required annually, and that there will besides be a constant necessity for replacing old worn-out wooden buildings, I scarcely think that it will be found practicable, without impairing the efficiency of the system, to reduce the annual expenditure on buildings much below £1 10s. per head upon the average attendance. This, with £4 10s. for ordinary expenditure, would make the total cost to the country of primary education about £6 for every child in average daily attendance in the public schools. And next as to the probable numbers in the future. The last census, taken in 1878, shows that the number of children at that date of school age—that is between 5 and 15—was 105,208, and, as has been observed, the average daily attendance in the public schools for that year was 48,212, being in the proportion of 45.8 per cent. In 1879 the estimated juvenile population was 110,552, and the average attendance in schools 54,809, being in the proportion of 49.5 Percent. From these data it is not unreasonable to expect that the average daily attendance for the present year will be over 62,000, for next year about 70,000, and for 1882 not less than 80,000; so that, if the present system be maintained, the colony will soon find itself face to face with an annual expenditure from the public Treasury of from four to five hundred thousand pounds upon primary education alone, exclusive of the cost of the

Department of Education, and of the sums appropriated annually for higher and secondary education. This appears to me to be really a very serious consideration. The expenditure on primary education will soon amount to nearly £ 1 per head of the whole population, and the consolidated revenue alone will be quite unable to bear such a charge without considerable additions to the general public burdens. Of course, if the people of New Zealand desire education of this expensive class free, and are prepared to submit to the necessary taxation, there is an end of the matter; but I doubt whether the position we are drifting into in this respect has as yet been generally realised. (Applause.) It appears to me a great pity that all local sources of revenue—such as school fees and school rates—were extinguished by the Education Act, and the whole cost of primary education thus thrown on the consolidated revenue. Such a course has not merely sacrificed a considerable amount of much needed revenue, but its inevitable tendency is, I believe, to deaden parental responsibility, to encourage irregular attendance, and to weaken the feeling of self-reliance, by teaching people to look to the State for everything. (Loud applause.) I have never been able to see myself why attendance should not be compulsory, and a small fee at the same time charged in all cases in which the parents can afford it. This is the course adopted in England; and also in the neighbouring colony of New South Wales, where the fees last year amounted to about £1 for every child in average daily attendance, and contributed nearly twenty-five per cent, towards the total ordinary expenditure. I believe the best authorities condemn free schooling. The Rev. Canon Norris, formerly an inspector of schools in England, in one of his reports observes :—"That parents ought to feel responsible for their children's education is allowed by all. That the State, or the clergy, or a society, or a patron should take it out of their hands, and do it for them, is clearly a second-best expedient—an argument that something is wrong—a concession to conditions (real or supposed) which we must all deplore." Dr. Chalmers, too one of the greatest authorities on the subject writes :—"The only way of thoroughly incorporating the education of the young with the habit of families, is to make it form a part of the family expenditure, and thus to make the interest, and the watchfulness, and the jealousy of the parents, so many guarantees for the diligence of the children; and for these reasons do we hold the establishment of free schools to be a frail and impolitic expedient." Professor Smith, also, who has for seven and twenty years been intimately associated with primary education in New South Wales—who has been ten times elected president of the Council of Education—and whose opinion on all subjects connected with national education is second to none in Australia, strongly supports the retention of school fees, and he points out in an admirable speech which he recently delivered in the Legislative Council, of which he is a member, that the abolition of fees is not only injurious to parents, but also to teachers. He observes :—"The substitution of a fixed salary for combined salary and fees tends to diminish the difference between a good and a middling teacher. They may have the same attainments, and the same classification, but the one may be popular and successful and the other a good deal the reverse, for to be popular and successful may depend on qualities which cannot be gauged by examination and are not taken into account in classification. But the popular teacher draws pupils in abundance, and gets his reward in increased fees. Do away with fees and he loses his advantage." But if a return to the system of school fees is impracticable, the next best thing to my mind would be that the public schools should be, in part at all events, supported by local rates. I think that it will always be expedient to continue to pay some considerable portion of the ordinary expenditure out of the general revenue, in order to ensure effective supervision. (Applause.) But if fees are not levied, some part of the ordinary expenditure, and the whole cost of buildings, should be provided locally—the ratepayers being allowed to elect the Education Boards. (Applause.) School rates, doubtless, would not be as good as fees as far as the teachers are concerned, but they would have the same effect in bringing home to parents a sense of their obligations, and the system would provide a remedy for the constitutional anomaly involved in the existing arrangement under which the whole of the vast sum required for primary education is raised by one body and administered by another. With reference to the compulsory clauses which have been embodied in your Act, I will only remark that although I do not much like the principle, it is difficult to resist the conviction that some interference of the kind is necessary. The census taken in March, 1878, shows that there were at that date 27,731 children in the colony between the ages of five and fifteen who were not returned as attending either public or private schools. Of course many of these may have been receiving efficient instruction at home, and others may have left school fairly educated before reaching fifteen years; but after making all reasonable deductions for such cases, there must remain a large number of children who were not receiving instruction of any kind; and it is difficult to see how parents who habitually disregard such a primary duty can be influenced except by penal legislation. (Applause.) I hope, however, that the compulsory clauses will be administered with discrimination and forbearance, and with a view rather to induce attendance than to recover penalties. (Loud applause.) There is only one other point in your national system to which I will advert, and that is the clause in the Education Act which prescribes that the teaching shall be entirely of a secular character. I do not know the precise meaning which the Legislature may have attached to words "entirely secular," but I think the extent to which moral training is ignored in your national plan of education is to be regretted. (Applause.) Of course, in public schools established for children of

all denominations, and at which attendance is made compulsory, the schoolmaster should not be made the medium of imparting dogmatic religious teaching, nor should such instruction form an integral part of the school routine. Perhaps, indeed, upon abstract principle, the State to be consistent, ought not to interfere in religious teaching at all; but I think the compromise which has been arrived at on this vexed question, both at Home and in New South Wales, is a wise one. In England, the Bible is read in State schools, guarded only by a conscience clause, and instruction is allowed to be given by the teachers in the general principles of religion and morality. In New South Wales a selection of Scripture extracts is included amongst the school books authorised by the Education Department, and there are numerous lessons in the ordinary reading books which give Scripture incidents and moral teaching. The Act, too, permits the teachers when reading these books to give a considerable amount of general religious instruction, and it permits clergymen to go during school hours, and to supplement this by special teaching to children of their own persuasion, assembled in a separate class room. Here there is, I believe, nothing of the kind, and the omission appears to me to indicate a forgetfulness of the fact, that the two-fold object of national education is to secure in the individual citizen intellectual clearness and moral worth. Nearly every man in this country, in every rank of life, participates in the exercise of political power, and such being the case it is no doubt of much importance that his intelligence should be sufficiently quickened to enable him to form for himself a sound judgment upon subjects of public concern. (Applause.) But it is even more essential to the well-being of a community that its youth should be taught to love right and hate wrong—that they should be brought up to entertain a strong sense of truth and justice of virtue and integrity, of honor and duty, of respect for the constitutional authorities and the law; and these and such like moral results can, I fear, never be accomplished by intellectual cultivation alone. (Loud Applause.) In the present condition of society moral teaching, to be efficacious must, I believe, rest upon a religious basis. (Applause.) The world has not, as yet, been universally attracted to well-doing by the simple Confucian precept—"Be virtuous and you will be happy and until it attains to such perfection it will be well not to discard the influence which has so far proved the most effectual in arresting the sources of evil in the human heart. (Applause.) I was reading the other day the recent debate in the New South Wales Parliament on the new Public Instruction Bill, and I was much struck with an interesting bit of testimony which was quoted by Professor Smith in support of the contention that religion is the best foundation for morality. De Luc, speaking of the superior efficacy of positive laws compared with the mere philosophy of morals, says :—"Some time ago I was conversing on this subject with a very celebrated man (the late Sir John Pringle) who had been Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Edinburgh. He was advanced in years, and had lived much in the world. At that time I was still rather a friend to teaching rational morality, thinking it was useful to bring men acquainted with their duty in every possible way. I had just read a work of this nature entitled, 'Of an Universal Moral; or, Man's Duties founded on Nature,' and as he had not read it I offered to lend it to him. I cannot express the tone in which he refused this offer, but you will have some idea of it when you come to know the motives upon which he did it. 'I have been,' said he 'for many years professor of this pretended science. I have ransacked the libraries and my own brain to discover the foundation of it; but the more I sought to persuade and convince my pupils, the less confidence I began to have myself in what I was teaching them; so that at length I gave up my profession and turned to medicine, which had been the first object of my studies. I have nevertheless continued from that time to examine everything that appeared upon the subject, which, as I have told you, I could never explain or treat so as to produce conviction; but at length I have given up the point, most thoroughly assured that without an express Divine sanction attached to the laws of morality, and without positive laws accompanied by determined and urgent motives, men will never be convinced that they ought to submit to any such code, nor agree amongst themselves concerning it. From that time I have never read any book upon morality but the Bible, and I return to that always with fresh delight.'" I think the English plan of allowing teachers to draw instruction in the general principles of religion and morality direct from the Bible the best that can be devised; and that we lose a great deal here even in the matter of teaching English, and history, and biography, by not having the Bible as a school-book. Professor Huxley gave lately to the world some striking testimony in support of this view, which is the more remarkable as flowing from such an unexpected source. He said :—"I have always been strongly in favor of secular education, in the sense of education without theology; but I must confess I have been no less anxiously perplexed to know by what practical measures the religious feeling, which is the essential basis of conduct, was to be kept up, in the utterly chaotic state of opinions on these matters, without the use of the Bible. The Pagan moralists lack life and color, and even the noble stoic Marcus Antoninus, is too high and refined for an ordinary child. Take the Bible as a whole; make the severest deductions which fair criticism can dictate for short-comings, and positive errors; eliminate, as a sensible teacher would do, if left to himself, all that is not desirable for children to occupy themselves with, and there still remains in this old literature a vast residuum of moral beauty and grandeur, And then consider the great historical fact that for three centuries this Book has been woven into the life of all that is best and noblest in English history; that it has become the national epic of Britian, and is familiar to noble and simple from John

o' Groat's House to Land's End, as Dante and Tasso were once to the Italians; that it is written in the noblest and purest English, and abounds in exquisite beauties of a mere literary form; and, finally, that it forbids the veriest hind who never left his village to be ignorant of the existence of other countries, and other civilizations, and of a great past stretching back to the farthest limits of the oldest nations in the world. By the study of what other book could children be so much harmonized, and made to feel that each figure in that vast historical procession fills, like themselves, but a momentary space in the interval between two eternities, and earns the blessing or the curse of all time, according to its efforts to do good and hate evil, even as they also are earning their payment for their work." \* \* \* I have thus stated to you frankly what appear to me to be the weak points in your educational plan, namely, that it will entail a larger expenditure than the general revenue can well defray without assistance from local sources; and that the course of instruction prescribed fails to inculcate sufficiently the observance of those moral obligations which are essential to the welfare of society. (Loud applause.) With these exceptions I think that your scheme of national education is one of which any country might feel proud, and that it is being administered with an earnestness and an ability which is deserving of all praise. (Loud applause.) I have been much struck in travelling about the country with the deep interest which is universally taken in this most important question, and with the determination which pervades the whole community that the blessings of education shall for the future be placed within the reach of all. Possibly the very intensity of this popular feeling has rendered the correct adjustment at first of all parts of the educational machine the more difficult. But with such a healthy vigorous motive power, supervised and directed with so much intelligence, any defects in the driving gear of the machinery will soon be detected and corrected, until the object which all have equally at heart is fully attained, and New Zealand is placed in the front rank amongst the educated communities of the world. I beg now to declare the new Normal School formally opened. (Loud applause.)

## **Extract from Speech of the Hon. Sir William Fox, K.C.M.G., Delivered in the House of Representatives, in Wellington, New Zealand, 14th July, 1880.**

SIR,—\* \* \* believe, if we had the means of ascertaining the feelings and opinions of the fathers and mothers of the children of this country at this moment, we should find an overwhelming majority in favour of the introduction, to a limited extent, of religious teaching in the Government schools—to the extent which I should propose myself. I am not making this assertion altogether at haphazard, although I am free to admit that we have not at this moment any positive proof of what is the opinion of the heads of families in this country. Although there have been laid upon the table of the House since the Education Act was passed, particularly last session and the session before, a very considerable number of petitions indicating the opinions prevailing in the minds of a very large proportion of the people of this country, yet what the exact proportion is we have not the means of ascertaining. But in our intercourse with private individuals of the country every now and again we come upon some person who has taken trouble in this matter, and within a limited area has applied a test, which leads me to the conclusion at which I have arrived, that a very large and overwhelming proportion of the heads of families are in favour of the introduction of religious instruction into our public schools. Sir, I hold in my hand here a letter from a clergyman in the Province of Hawke's Bay, who some years ago resided in the Province of Nelson, and it has fallen to his lot, in both those provincial districts, to make a house-to-house canvass upon this very question. I will read a paragraph from his letter, which will show the result of what has come within his own knowledge. He is a gentleman of experience, and he may be relied upon as to the accuracy of his statement. He says : "From an experience of thirteen years in testing the public feeling in this matter by personal canvass, I thoroughly indorse the Hon. Mr. Bowen's remarks, when advocating the introduction of the Bible in public schools, that nineteen-twentieths of the people desire it. In 1867 I took a petition round a village in the then Province of Nelson—Riwaka—in favour of Bible-reading in the Riwaka school; and out of fifty householders forty-nine signed it, and the fiftieth, though he had personal reasons for not attaching his signature, expressed himself in favour of it. Again in 1870-71 I canvassed Wakefield, in the old Province of Nelson, in favour of Bible-reading in the Wakefield schools, and got fully nine-tenths of the householders to sign it and express approval of the object with more or less emphasis. In 1873 an attempt was made by some members of the then Central Board of Education in Nelson, by petition to the Provincial Council, to secularize the Provincial Education Act of Nelson by excising its religious clauses. Mr. Shephard, M.H.R. for Waimea, will remember this. The people immediately took it up, not the clergy, and a petition against the proposed measure was framed by a layman, Mr. J. W. Barnicoat, the Speaker of the Provincial Council of Nelson, at the request of a layman, Mr. Masters, a farmer in Wakefield. This petition was signed by over 1,100 householders. A second petition was started at the same time in advocacy of the measure, but it obtained no support, only 134 names being found on it. In the City of Nelson 500 householders signed the petition against the exclusion of the

undenominational-religious-teaching clause—the 37th of the Act—and the utmost that could be obtained in favour of its excision was 34. I canvassed the City of Nelson myself at that time, so can speak with certainty. The effect of these petitions on the Provincial Council of Nelson was that it refused to secularize the Education Act, but defined the time when the Bible was to be read." \* \* \*

There is another point of view from which I approach this subject, and that is this: I think it is an indignity offered by ourselves to ourselves—if I may say so—that, in a country at least nine-tenths of the inhabitants of which profess a religion of some sort or another, based upon what we know as the sacred Scriptures, the sacred Scriptures themselves should be the only book that is interdicted in our schools. You may teach the religion of Confucius; you may teach the religion of the Brahmins; you may teach the whole of the ancient mythology, including everything about Jupiter, Mars, Venus, and their loves, and so on; you may teach them that *ad nauseam*—you may cram their minds with things of that sort; but you are on no account to let them know that there is a God in heaven, or to mention the name of our Saviour. Any master who would dare to open his lips and tell a child anything on these heads during the hours of instruction would be dismissed. I am told that in Victoria the Minister of Education, a very different one, I hope, from ours—actually went through all the common education books—Nelson's and Collins's—and struck out everything that had the least shade of religious teaching in it. Well, we are not so bad as that; and I say, as a citizen of this country, as a member of a community which forms part of a Christian nation, that it is an indignity that this Book, the only book which is the foundation of our national religious faith, should be the only book in the whole circle of our literature which is excluded from our schools. I may be told that we have no national religion. That is true, in one sense: that is to say, we have no State Church—the State does not identify itself with any special form of religion: but the identification of the nation with the Christian faith is complete; and I appeal to you, Sir, to say whether the book in front of you, from which the prayer is read every day, is not a proof that we are a Christian nation. What is that prayer read for, if we are not a Christian nation? You may read a Mohammedan prayer, or anything else you like; but, as long as we have evidence of the fact that we use Christian prayers, I think we may call ourselves, to all intents and purposes, a Christian nation, and I say that it is unfair, it is unjust, and an insult to the national character, that this book, the basis of our whole faith, should be the only book in the whole course of our literature which is excluded from our schools. And, Sir, I believe that we ourselves and the Colony of Victoria are the only two peoples—if I may dignify ourselves by such a name—we are the only two peoples amongst the nations of the earth who have deliberately abolished religious instruction from the schools. It is done completely in Victoria, and it is done nearly as completely here. I know of no other country where this is the case. In any other country where there is a religious faith pervading the mass of the people, provision is made for the teaching of some portion of that faith in the schools of the country. I know we shall be told that this is not so in America. I have been a good deal in America, and I know something about it, and I venture to say that in by far the larger proportion of the American schools at this moment the Bible is read, and in a great portion of them Christian hymns are introduced, in addition to the reading of the Bible. It is a great mistake to say that the American system is altogether a secular system. It never was so in the New England States, and, if religious instruction has fallen into desuetude in some of the States, which may be the case, still there is no absolute prohibition. Then take the Continental nations—France, Prussia, and many others that I could mention. As far as I am aware, religious instruction is given in some shape or other in the schools of those nations; and let me say, further, that within the last few weeks the Parliament of the Colony of New South Wales, in which, for twenty years past, a bitter struggle on this question has been going on, appears to have solved the problem to its own satisfaction by passing, by an enormous majority, a Bill which introduces religious instruction into the schools on a basis which might be very well adopted here, and which is not open to the ordinary objections that are urged to religious teaching. But in any proposition which I shall make I think it absolutely essential that there should be what is known as a conscience clause and a time-table. I wish to work on the lines laid down by Mr. Forster's English Bill, which has been in operation in England a dozen years or more. No doubt honorable members have read that Bill, and will recollect what it provides. It provides that, at some time during school hours, at a time to be permanently fixed by the School Board, religious instruction shall be given for a specified time; and then comes the conscience clause, which says that any parent may withdraw his children during the time in which religious instruction is given. There is no inconvenience. I have heard pathetic speakers sometimes address themselves to the agony of the poor children waiting in the wet while their companions were receiving religious teaching, and so on. Well, Sir, the best proof of the success of the system is that in England it has been working for about twelve years, and has given entire satisfaction there. In the London Board schools, where, of all places, people's religious feelings would be most likely to be hurt by the introduction of this system into education, and where some two hundred thousand are being educated by the State, there have been withdrawals of only one in every four thousand under the conscience clause for the half-hour during which religious instruction is given. What evidence can be more satisfactory than that? I read in the reports of the inspectors throughout England a unanimous concurrence of opinion that any religious difficulty, if it even

practically existed, has been entirely got over. There was one district, certainly, which set us the example which we have followed, and that was the district under the Birmingham Board; but what was the result there? They persevered for eight or ten years in the system in which they started, but they had to give it up. Larrikinism and rowdyism, and evils of every description, were growing to such a fearful extent, and popular feeling was so strongly in favor of religious instruction being imparted, that it had to be adopted. \* \*

I have heard that it was said by an honorable and gallant gentleman in another Chamber, to which I must not further allude, that it was not the business of the State to give religious instruction—that we all get our religious training at our mothers' knees. Did these young larrikins get their religious training from their mothers? Evidently they did not. And anybody who knows anything of the rising generation must be aware that a proportion of their mothers are degraded and debased to a degree which makes them utterly incapable of imparting religious instruction. And more than that: there are hundreds of those whom we know to be decent and respectable women who are incapable of doing it. Therefore, if we are to depend upon the religious instruction given at the mother's knee, I am afraid it will not reach a large proportion of the class of children to which I have alluded. And then, Sir, with regard to these mothers themselves in the next generation, we have to think of them, and of how they will grow up. If they grow up without any religious teaching, what sort of mothers will they make? And if the children of the next generation grow up without any religious training from their mothers, what sort of women will there be in the generation that comes after them? A woman must have religious feeling: her whole nature is subject to it. To quote the words of the great Book itself, "Her desire is to her husband." It is the nature of women to lean on others. A woman who has not a God will have a devil. You must bear that in mind. You must remember that you are training these women up to be the mothers of the larrikins of the future if you do not give them religious instruction; and we must take care that their being shall not be dwarfed and degraded and debased by the absence of religious instruction.

## **Speech of the Hon. Dr. Menzjes, M.L.C., Delivered in the Legislative Council, Wellington, New Zealand.**

SIR,—When the Education Act was passed, in 1877, the Council may remember that I ventured to protest against the decision then arrived at to expel all reference to religious subjects from the course of study to be adopted in schools. I at that time proposed, upon more than one occasion during the progress of the Bill through this Council, first of all that the Bible should be part of the curriculum, and subsequently that it should be read at the beginning of the daily work without necessarily being part of the curriculum; but on both of those occasions the Council thought fit to reject the proposal. I then said that I conceived the question had not been settled aright, and that until it was settled aright no question could be considered to be settled finally. The proposal which I make to-day is somewhat different, and falls considerably short of that which I made then. I do not in any way withdraw from the opinion I then expressed that it was right the Bible should be read in schools—that there should be a recognition of Divine authority in training up the children of the colony; but I conceived I would not have been likely to attain the object in which I formerly failed if I were to attempt to renew it. I think the proposal I now make is a reasonable one, and one to which I trust the Council will accede. It proposes, in effect, to allow the Education Boards in each district to have authority to permit the reading of the Bible in any school in their district where the Committee desires that it should be done. It, in fact, gives to the people of the various districts, as represented by the School Committees, the power of deciding whether they shall have the Bible read in the schools or not. If they desire it, the Education Board, in the event of the Act being amended in the direction I propose, will have the power of allowing them to obtain this privilege, and if they do not desire it they will not be obliged to have the Bible read. I know that in many districts the concession now asked for will be hailed as a great boon. In the remarks which I made on the subject on the second reading of the Education Bill, in 1877, I took occasion to point out that many eminent and intelligent persons, who had written largely on the subject, contended that it would be wise for the State, in the interests of peaceful civil government, to make religion not only an essential, but the foundation of education, and a variety of quotations were made from the writings of many of those authors. Many American authors contended for this on the somewhat low ground of expediency, but other writers—such men as Guizot, Lavaleye, Principal Shairp, and others took higher ground, and contented it was the duty of the State to train the rising generation to a full recognition of the Divine authority, and to familiarize them with that book which recorded the Word of God, inspired them with the love of truth for its own sake, and taught them a sense of responsibility in a future state, without which foundation, or without a foundation so based, they could not be regarded as having a right moral training. I quoted, from an admirable report which was published in Canterbury some years ago, various passages to the same effect. I do not propose now to repeat them, with the exception of a few lines. The Canterbury report, published in 1863, says,—"It would seem that the Government—by which is meant the representative acting-power of the people—being confessedly Christian, is bound in all its legislation, and not

least in the matter of education, to recognize Christianity—not on the points on which it is the subject of human imperfections and infirmities, nor in the divisions of the community into rival sects, violating the laws of the creed they profess, but as a general ruling principle in the life of the State." And then, a little further on, Sir, it says,—"The Commission do not think it necessary to enter into a discussion of the opinion held by some, that all but purely secular knowledge should be banished from our schools. Such a course would not satisfy the wants of the people generally; and, further, without entering into the religious question, it would be impossible in any system of teaching which professed to fit men for the social and civil duties of every-day life to ignore the existence of Christianity as prevailing the laws, literature, and institutions of the civilized world. In a Christian country no one could be called educated who was ignorant of the Christian Scriptures, to which our civil institutions are so largely indebted." Sir, in the legislation of the Mother-country the Imperial Parliament recognised this necessity quite as fully as it has been recognised in the words I have just read from the Canterbury report, and the Council will see that they made sufficient provision to meet the wishes of all; and the circumstances there are very much the same as here. In the Home-country, as in New Zealand, there are many denominations, differing from each other, some very widely; but, by certain clauses which were introduced called the conscience clauses, it was conceived then that all reasonable objections would be obviated. Under the provisions of the Imperial Act the religious instruction given was Bible-reading and other religious instruction, such as prayer and singing a hymn, and no children were obliged to attend if their parents desired they should not; in other words, if the parents of any children objected to their attendance while these religious exercises were being performed, then they might be withdrawn. It was felt at the time that, in undertaking the duty of education, if the Government undertook to educate the rising generation, it could not stop at mere secular education; and it may be remembered that, during the debate on the subject, Mr. Foster, who moved the Bill, said the Government recognized the necessity : that, if they meddled with education at all, they must also meddle with religion. Now, the Imperial Act not only prescribes that the religious teaching shall be such as I have described, but also goes considerably further, and authorizes the inspectors to examine the children in these branches—showing that it is part of the curriculum, and a very essential part of it. The question arose in the course of that debate whether the conscience clause would be sufficient to meet the objections which might be taken, and it was found, from the testimony of teachers and managers generally, as stated in the House, that they all concurred in the expression of opinion that very few parents indeed would take objections to the religious teaching and that very few, even in the denominational schools, would seek to withdraw their children. Of this fact Mr. Gladstone made use in the course of the debate; and pointed out that the very fact that few children were withdrawn even from the denominational schools was the strongest argument for the continuance of the system where the teaching was not denominational. Mr. Gladstone made some other remarks, which I find in the *Times* of the 25th June, 1870. He says,—"Can it be said that the prevalence of denominationalism in these schools at the present moment is generally felt by the people to be a grievance? On the contrary, is it not the case that everybody and every section are telling us continually that the religious difficulty, directly you come to practice, becomes insignificant, and that it is a difficulty made rather for Parliament and for debate, than one that would be raised within the schools?" After this Mr. Gladstone substantially said,—"Do not say that I overstate and say there is no religious difficulty now. There is, about compelling schoolchildren to attend a church—learn school Catechism; but the conscience clause in the Bill, and prohibition of the Catechism, will give ample protection." Now, Sir, the system that has proved successful at Home—and I shall presently show how signally successful it has been—ought to be equally so here. We have different denominations represented here, and these denominations at Home appear to be satisfied, judging from the results, with the provision made for the instruction in religion. I contend that there can be no sound moral training unless it is based upon Scriptural knowledge. We find that in all Christian countries, notwithstanding the exertions of the various Governments, and the active benevolence of numberless philanthropic individuals and societies, yet there are multitudes growing up utterly untaught, having no sense of moral responsibility, and having no knowledge or hope of the future. These classes are dangerous elements in any State. And how are they to be reached? Will secular schools reach them? I apprehend not. If they are to be humanized at all, it must be through the means of the knowledge conveyed to them by ragged schools and Sunday schools—a knowledge of the Christian Scriptures—and without that there is little hope for their restoration to the ranks of society. It may be a grave question for us to consider whether a serious difficulty may not hereafter arise if we debar the rising generation from obtaining this knowledge at the fountain head; and, looking at the position of the community here, considering that, according to the census returns, about 94 per cent, are professing Christians, that of these about 80 per cent, are nominal Protestants—considering this, one does not see there would be any great difficulty in effecting an arrangement in this colony similar to that which has been found so successful in the Mother-country. It is true that a certain section of the community objects to religion being taught in the schools unless taught by their own teachers; but a considerable section consisting of something like per cent, of the population, joins these re-claimants and insists, not only that Protestantism shall

not be taught in the schools, but that Christianity shall not be taught in them. Sir, a part of these, about 14½ per cent., consisting of Roman Catholics and Jews, might very well agree in accepting the same arrangement here which has been found so successful, in other countries. I have here a copy of the eighth report of the Education Department in Victoria, and it gives some information about the system now in operation in various countries. It says, for instance, that, in Prussia,—“In the elementary schools religion is considered as the basis of instruction in conformity with the religious creed of the pupil, and consequently every school bears a religious character. The religion of the master must be in conformity with that of the majority of the children; where the master is not of the same creed with the child, the parents of the child may decide as to the religious instruction which the child is to receive.” And then, further on it says, with reference to Prussia also,—“As a rule, the national schools must be Evangelical or Catholic; but, in the case of a population containing Jews, wherever a sufficient number of Jewish children are found, Jewish elementary schools may be established and considered as national schools. No child is to be refused admittance to the schools on account of difference of religion. Children who may belong to a religion which differs from that of the teacher are not to be forced to attend his religious instruction against the will of the fathers or guardians.” Then in Sweden, Mr. West reports on the religious question,—“The instruction given in the schools ought to have for its main object the mental development of the children, who should be made to understand what they read on religious subjects before they take their first communion.” In Ireland, this report says—and it is a quotation from the Imperial report,—“In 1867, 59.8 per cent, of the national schools were combined. One thousand and thirty-nine national schools, taught by Protestant teachers, had an average of in Protestant to 28 Roman Catholic children; 132 schools, with both Protestant and Roman Catholic teachers, had an average of 112 Protestants to 100 Roman Catholic children; 2649 schools, taught by Roman Catholic teachers, had 9 Protestant to 126 Roman Catholic children.” There seems to be no difficulty there for both denominations to attend the same schools. In America we find,—“In all the States the schools are maintained chiefly by local rates, and are unsectarian, the Bible only being read, without comment. On this subject the Rev. J. Fraser says,—“There appears no difficulty in assembling children of all denominations in the same schoolroom; but he thinks that the practically entirely secular character of the education given by the public schools causes them to be regarded with growing disfavor by certain sections of the community.” I find, from a list contained in this report, that in the New England States—Massachusetts and others, and also in one or two of the Western States—Ohio and California, as well as in New York, the schools are described as “unsectarian,” the Bible being read without comment.” Now, Sir, I come to the Imperial report. I find it stated,—“It is not invidious to set apart certain hours, but rather to show respect to different religious opinions in a way that forms no departure from the general principle of liberty of conscience. Parents could withdraw their children and appeal to the Board if necessary. Difficulties can be easily overcome by the exercise of common sense and mutual forbearance. The parent, however, must be free to withdraw his child.” Then we are told,—“In schools (Scotland) other than parochial, the parent decides what branches his child shall learn. He is a competent judge in the matter, and if he objects to any branch—classical language or religion—that branch is not taught. There is no fixed course of instruction.” Then, again, Mr. Dale, I think, says,—“Further, it is important to remark that the principle of respect for liberty of conscience is everywhere fully acknowledged. Either religious instruction in schools is confined to that on which all can agree, or special instruction is given by denominational teachers, or the parents are allowed to withdraw their children from religious instruction altogether. In no case is the school allowed either to endeavor to make proselytes or to refuse to admit scholars whose parents object to the religious teaching that may be given.” We know that a keen controversy occurred at the time when the Imperial legislation was passed through, and that all these points were then freely discussed. I shall show presently what the result has been; but I should first like to point out that a discussion of the same character has been going on lately in one of the States of America—Connecticut. About a year ago the School Board of New Haven decided upon prohibiting the religious instruction which had been allowed before, and at the following election a considerable amount of excitement arose, the result being that the former members of the Board were rejected, and men in favor of Bible instruction elected in their places. I need not detain the Council by referring to any of the manifestoes issued during the election, but I may say they are very much of the same character as those we have seen issued in this colony, and I might point out that the result of the contest is suggestive as showing what public opinion may be here as there. The Board thought they represented popular feeling in prohibition religious instruction, but when the people had an opportunity of showing what they thought, they rejected the members of the Board who had carried the prohibition. I have said the result of the Imperial Act was signally successful, and I think the authority from whence I draw that information will be accepted. From an article in the *Contemporary Review* I read :—“The question of religious instruction was very hotly contested at the formation of most of the Boards, being, unfortunately, in many cases made a battle-field for political parties. A large number of nonconformists looked upon the introduction of religious teaching into the schools as a violation of those principles on which they were grounding their opposition to the Established Church. But, notwithstanding the

efforts of this party, there was so strong a national feeling that it would be a fatal mistake to exclude the Bible from the schools—that, having at great expense and trouble gathered the children of the irreligious and profligate into the schools, it would be utterly unjustifiable to send them forth ignorant of the principles of religion and morality. In London the issue of the contest was very striking—through systematic Biblical education as one of the essential subjects being carried by a majority of five to one in a Board consisting almost equally of Churchmen and Nonconformists. So well has the system worked during the whole term of the Board's existence that no single complaint has been made of the teaching that has been given, and not more than one in four thousand children attending the schools has been withdrawn by its parents, although by the rules of the London School Board any person who objects to his child receiving Biblical instruction may require that during the time set apart for this purpose the teacher shall give it secular lessons. In the schools provided by the Board the Bible shall be read, and there shall be given such explanations, and such instruction therefrom in the principles of morality and religion, as are suited to the capacities of the children." Then the article concludes by saying :—"And, lastly, the almost universal adoption of some amount of religious teaching proves a general concurrence in the opinion that the spiritual—that is, the highest—part of human nature, is one that must not be neglected." Sir, we find that many petitions have been presented to the Legislature upon this subject, and the expressions which they contain show that over a very large extent of country in many districts the most cherished feelings of the community have been outraged by the banishment from the schools of that Book which, in the words of the petitioners, they regard as the Word of God and the supreme rule of conduct. Under the present arrangement, because a small minority of the community will not tolerate a plan which would satisfy the majority, a system which is working well elsewhere, and which would work well here if honestly administered, is not allowed a trial. The action of the minority in pressing this forward shows that they endeavour to guard the rights of their consciences so vigilantly that they appear to be ready to trample upon those of the majority. The minority say that the Church and the parents should undertake the duty of giving religious instruction. I am afraid that the parents, in too many instances, are careless and neglectful, sometimes unable; but, independently of all this, I contend that the State has a paramount right to see that the rising generation are educated in such a way and grounded in such principles that they shall grow up to be good citizens; and I say that the State cannot find any more effective mode of doing that than grounding them in a knowledge of the Scriptures. The State has no interest in any particular denomination; but it desires, for the sake of peaceful government, that the rising generation shall have a knowledge of religion, and thereby gain a sense of moral responsibility. The State consists of individuals, and to individuals religion is one of two things : it is either everything or nothing. There is no middle term. Which it is to us will be shown if we continue to refuse to recognise Divine authority in the teaching at our schools; while, as a community, if we believe the Bible, let it be read in the schools. It is true that there are disbelievers, but the fact of their denying the authority of the Bible does not disprove its authority; nor is it any reason against reading a book that may enlighten doubters, the right tendency of which no one can dispute, and therefore their objection raised to the reading of the Bible is entitled to no weight. What has been said by one of the gentlemen who reported to the Imperial Parliament with reference to the Bible simply as a school book? Mr. Aldis says :—"Good reading-books are sadly wanted, written by great and good people; those who make children's books are of very average goodness. When the Bible was the only book read, children got good English, good sense, good history, and good poetry. The present reading-books are a sad come-down." But let us take a higher authority, that of Professor Duncan, who is known to have been one of the most profound theologians in the United Kingdom. He said :—"The Bible is the best school-book, not only for teaching things belonging to the inner and the future, but also to the outer and present life. There is no school-book in the world containing so many roots of things in so short a compass." I and those who think with me do not dispute for a moment that, so far as regards the Roman Catholics, their objections are offered in good faith and in earnest; but there is another class, very influential though not very numerous, which, under the mask of sympathy for these, of liberality, of liberty, seeks to drive out of the schools not Protestantism only, but also Christianity. I think I have said enough to show the Council why it should affirm that such amendments should be made in the Education Act as will authorise Education Boards to give permission to the various School Committees where they desire to introduce Bible-reading into the schools. If the Council does agree to it, I believe, speaking from personal experience, and from the various petitions which have been laid upon the table, that the concession will be regarded as a great privilege. I trust the Council will give no uncertain voice upon this question. I have been told of an intention to evade the question, but I must express a hope that that will not be so, and that we shall also hear an expression of opinion from the Government upon the subject. Sir, I have shown my colors, let other members of the Council show theirs.

Motion made, and question proposed, "That in the opinion of this Council, the Education Act should be so amended as to provide for permissive power being granted to Education Boards to introduce the reading of the Bible in schools, subject to a timetable and conscience clause."—(Hon. Dr. Menzies.)

After discussion the previous question was put and carried. Dr. Menzies' motion was therefore lost.

## **Speech by Sir Henry Parkes, K.C.M.G., Delivered at the Opening of a Public School at Blayney, N.S.W.**

ON visiting Blayney lately, an address of welcome was presented to Sir Henry Parkes by Mr. William Glasson, chairman of the late local board.

Sir HENRY PARKES, in the course of a lengthened speech in reply, said that in every school that is opened we were, in a manner, planting a new moral fortress, by which to beat down that ignorance which in times past had so frequently enslaved the tender minds of our children—(cheers); and our Legislature had given convincing evidence that its earliest aim was now that every child in the land should be reached. (Cheers.) These public schools had been called seed-plots. (Laughter.) Well, they were assembled there to plant another seed-plot of national life—(cheers)—a seed-plot by which in the future the qualities which will make the nation of the future will be derived, and without those seed-plots the country would most assuredly go to precipitate ruin. He was not there to combat any other man's opinions, or to enter into any controversy. After quoting largely from statistical returns to show the progress of national educational institutions in the Colony, Sir Henry Parkes said we had an army of upwards of 2000 trained teachers, 1200 schools under rigid inspection, with every provision made for the health of the children, as well as for their moral instruction, and we had this placed within the reach, so far as cost was concerned, of the poorest family in the land. (Hear, hear, and cheers.) He for one was in favor of retaining this system of low fees. He thought it a link of sympathy between the parent and the children, that it kept up the responsibility of the parent to educate the child. Trifling as it might be, it would be something for the poor mother to have to collect her threepences on a Monday morning; it would remind her that amongst her responsibilities there was the responsibility of putting aside some small portion of the income of the house to train her boys and girls into respectable men and respectable women. (Cheers.) And he thought that while the retention of these fees was just, it would be healthy in its moral operation upon the minds of parents of the country, and, at the same time, it would add considerably, though not so largely as hitherto, to the revenues applicable to the purpose of education. Provision was made, however, that if there should be any case where a family could not pay these small fees the Minister of Public Instruction or the Public School Board could remit them and admit the child perfectly free. He was aware that objections had been raised to provisions of this kind, on the score that persons would not like to have a privilege which was not extended to all, and that feeling might exist to some extent; but because that feeling existed in a few instances, surely we were not going to release the hundreds and thousands of families who could well afford to pay these small fees. Surely it was only just that those who could pay and were anxious to pay, as he believed the majority of parents were, they, at all events, should pay these small fees for the instruction of their children. The address which was presented him alluded to the facilities for religious teaching. He was one of those who did not believe in children growing up without religious teaching. (Hear, hear.) He believed that a secure and sound and lasting faith was essential to all the higher qualities of humanity and to the performance of all the higher duties of citizenship—(cheers)—to say nothing of the pillar which it afforded to the vast majority of men and women when they came to die. To say nothing of that, he believed that men and woman who did not believe in something were likely to slide away to ruin, and therefore he was not in favour of dispensing with religious teaching; but he was not in favour of religious teaching being mixed with the ordinary curriculum of a school, by which the use of figures, the use of letters, and the use of the pencil were to be taught to the children. (Hear, hear.) It was no more necessary to this kind of instruction than it was to teach a child to be a bricklayer or a carpenter. In teaching a child to cast up figures, or to put letters together so as to spell words, and thus acquire knowledge, or to use the pencil to delineate landscapes, it was no more necessary to teach religion than to teach him the use of chisels, or the hammer, or the spade. Of course, true religion would pervade all our actions and walks of life; but no one would ever dream of tolerating the introduction of religious lessons into the workshop, or the brick yard, or the farmer's field; and for acquiring a sound instruction religion was not more necessary. (Cheers.) But this new law allowed any clergyman or religious teacher to go to the school and call the children aside and teach them for an hour every day in the doctrines of their own faith; and he said fearlessly that there was nothing to prevent any sect of religion whatever from availing itself of this advantage, and teaching its own doctrines if it thought well to do so. (Hear, hear.) If there were persons in the community who objected to the Christian religion—happily there were not many; and he was one of those who believed that the conscience of all men should be respected, whatever their belief might be—but if there were parents who objected to the Christian lesson books or to the introduction of the religious teacher during this hour, they had only to state their objection, and their children would not be subjected to the teaching they objected to. (Cheers.) Well, the new law provided for the abolition of denominational schools. He had shown already that the abolition of denominational schools had been steadily going on throughout the last 13 years, that the Act of

1866 provided effectually for the gradual extinction of denominational schools; for he had shown that during the 13 years one-half of them had fallen away, and, moreover, that though the half which had been retained had been more powerful, better organised, and placed under trained teachers like the public schools, still the aggregate number of pupils had fallen away—that there were not nearly so many pupils attending our denominational schools last year as there were in 1867. He thought that that was a conclusive answer to those who said that the parents of certain religious persuasions would not send their children to the public schools. And what prevented our Roman Catholic fellow citizens from sending their children to these schools? He did not care what might be said by any authority whatever. If the object of our Roman Catholic fellow citizens was to train their children to be good members of society, loyal subjects of the Queen, persons performing the ordinary avocations of life, so as to emulate each other in doing good, if their aim be simply to build a free nation, what objects could they have separate from ourselves? (Cheers.) If they sought salvation, did they not seek it through the same Saviour? (Hear, hear.) If their worship be different from ours in form, was not the great end the same, and what could there be to prevent them sending their children to sit side by side with the Protestant children of the country? (Cheers.) Everybody in this land—every man, be he born in the British Isles, or be he born of this soil—should be something more than sectarian. (Cheers.) He should be an Australian citizen—(loud cheers)—and if his object be to rear his children simply as members of one common society he had a perfect right, which everybody freely granted to him, of training his children in the religious faith he believed in himself; but what possible obstacle would there be in the way of his sending his child to one of these schools to be taught to read, write, and add up figures? (Cheers.) And what was more, he believed that a very large number of the Catholic parents of this country took the same view as he did. (Hear, hear.) If this was not the case how was it that, while the population of this country had increased 60 per cent, in some 13 years, the children attending the denominational schools had decreased, and sensibly decreased? But the vital change that had now been made by which the whole system came under Parliamentary control, could not be viewed without some anxiety; and he ventured to express his sincere hope that Parliament, while exercising a vigorous supervision, would yet be cautious and forbearing in the introduction of the expanded system. He ventured to express a hope that the teachers who hitherto had been, as it were, an independent body, 'would recognise in a large and appreciative spirit their changed position as Civil servants of the Government, and he ventured to express a hope that in the administration of this Act there would be every care and forbearance and precaution used, while the utmost zeal was exercised in carrying out its objects. (Hear, hear.) It was not a work in which we could act rashly, and the more we saw where we were treading before each footstep fell, the better it would be for the solid and enduring establishment of our public schools. (Cheers.) He ventured to think that the Government had placed the administration of this Act in as safe hands as could possibly be selected, when they had placed them in the experienced hands of Sir John Robertson. (Loud cheers.) He was one of the ablest and most experienced administrators we had, and it was not so much a special knowledge of the work of education as the aptitude for the especial knowledge of administering a Government department which was required at the present time; and he trusted that the Act, after a little time, would be administered so as to add largely to the blessings which the law had hitherto conferred, so as to extend the advantages of education wider and wider and wider, until they reached all our children, and at the same time to improve the quality of this education that it should be equal to any and inferior to none in the world. (Cheers.) Sir Henry Parkes then declared the public school to be open.

## **Three Letters by Prophetes.**

### **The Duty of All Parents to Secure a Religious Education for Their Children.**

PROVERBS i. 7—"The fear of the Lord is the beginning (or principal part) of knowledge."

### **To the Editor of the "Otago Daily Times."**

SIR,—A primary duty rests upon every parent who brings a child into the world, of caring for that child, by feeding, clothing, and educating it. With regard to the latter there can be no real education apart from religious instruction, and every parent who has incurred the responsibility of the birth of a child has incurred also a responsibility of bringing up that child in the fear and love of God.

Religion, morality, and knowledge being essential to good government, it is the duty of the State, as it is also to its advantage to encourage this feeling of responsibility in parents, and to assist them, in every possible

way, in promoting the religious instruction of their children.

Parents very generally desire that morality and religion should form a part of the daily instruction of their children; and some provision should be made by law for religious observances, and for moral and religious instruction in all State schools.

It is frequently said that the churches ought to instruct their children in religion; but if they are not allowed to do this during the hours set apart for education in the day-schools under the State system, it is difficult to understand when they could do this.

As a rule, as soon as children are washed and dressed and have had their breakfast, they are sent off to school, and when school is over, and they have had a short time for play, by the time they reached their homes (in many instances having to come considerable distances), it is time for them to have their tea. After tea the younger ones are sent to bed, and the elder ones have their lessons to prepare for the next day's school. It is difficult, then, to see when a minister of religion could get his children together for religious instruction, for it would not of course be expected as even a possibility that he could give any efficient instruction by going to the homes of the children, as from their numbers he probably could not visit each more than once or twice a year.

If he were to try and have a class of his children between school times, or before or after school, there would immediately be an outcry, and a reasonable one, that he was overburdening the children's brains; and, in fact, when grown-up men object to having to work more than eight hours a day, surely five hours daily in school, and one and a-half to two hours at home, is enough to tax the brain power of growing children.

If the clergymen were to take the children on the Saturday's holiday, people would say that they had surely deserved their holiday, and that it was very hard that their only holiday should be curtailed for religious instruction.

The religious teaching of children then becomes confined to one short hour on Sunday, when, perhaps under a young and inexperienced teacher, they spend an hour, but come away little the better for it. And this is considered to be sufficient to instruct immortal souls in the things of eternity, though, as they are not compelled to attend Sunday-school—and many do not—many do not even receive this amount of religious instruction.

It is time that the people of New Zealand looked at this question fairly, and asked themselves whether they are satisfied with this amount of religious instruction for the rising generation—whether, as parents, they believed that they were conscientiously discharging their duty to their children in securing for them a religious education, or whether not only are they willing but desire that the minister of their denomination shall go and take a class of the children of his denomination during the week and give regular religious instruction during a time set apart in school hours.

Anybody who knows New Zealand will feel that churches and Sunday-schools, and other religious agencies, are not sufficient to impart a religious education to the young of the Colony. It is to the interest of the country that they shall receive a religious education.

It means a great danger to the State if a large number of young people grow up, having had little or no religious teaching, and without the checks and safeguards which religion imposes; and yet, unless the Government can see its way to sanction in some way religious teaching in our State schools, this is the inevitable result that will follow.

The argument has long been used that, as long as schools retain their distinctively Protestant tone and spirit, the Roman Catholic population have a just ground of complaint, and will be shut out in large numbers from the benefits of the system. That ground of objection once removed—an objection which men think they can understand and appreciate—then it is superficially believed that Roman Catholics will avail themselves of the common school conducted on the purely secular system.

Large numbers of persons are anxious that the schools shall be made purely secular, on the ground of justice to all sects. But it is a great injustice to most sects—to all, in fact, except infidels. The Roman Catholics declare that they are not satisfied with the State "secular" system, and wherever they have a sufficient number of their own Church in a district they will raise and support their own schools. The secular system does not satisfy them, neither is it that in the main which keeps them away. If religious instruction were given in the schools, those of their children who might be attending the school would not be allowed to be present at it; but for the sake of the others, for the good of the country at large, they prefer a Protestant Bible to none at all, and some species of religious teaching to godlessness.

The experience of New Zealand and Victoria teaches us that we are no nearer getting the Roman Catholics to come into the public school system by making it purely secular than we were before.

When it comes to be felt throughout the country that there is a deep religious principle underlying this question, and when the religious communities awake, as they are beginning to do already, to their responsibilities, and to see the injustice and undesirability of all religious instruction being excluded from our State schools, then the destruction of the secular State school system becomes simply a question of time. Insist upon an absolutely secular instruction, and one sect after another will demand in tones that will be heard and

obeyed, either that religious teaching be sanctioned, or in default of this a division of the funds contributed by the State.

The result will be several systems of schools instead of one; the free common schools will disappear, and each religious sect will have its own schools in their place. This is the result sure, sooner or later, to come about, if all religious instruction be absolutely forbidden to every sect, and the just demand for some religious teaching to be given in State schools be disregarded, and religion excluded.

The important question has been raised, whether the secularization of schools would bring in the Roman Catholics?

It is admitted that their ulterior object is to secure a division of the school fund. The *Tablet* says :—"The School Board of Cincinnati have voted, we see from the papers, to exclude the Bible and all religious instruction from the public schools of the city. If this has been done with a view of reconciling Catholics to the common school system, its purpose will not be realised. It does not meet, or in any degree lessen, our objection to the public school system, and only proves the impracticability of that system in a mixed community of Catholics and Protestants; for it proves that the schools must, to be sustained, become thoroughly godless. But to us godless schools are still less acceptable than sectarian schools; and we object less to the reading of King James' Bible, even in the schools, than we do to the exclusion of all religious instruction American Protestantism of the orthodox stamp is far less evil than German infidelity."

Whether the Roman Catholics, who constitute the main force of the sectarian malcontents, would be reconciled by a secular system or not, is clearly proved by the experience of this country and of Victoria, where the Roman Catholics are not satisfied by a purely secular system, and, wherever possible, support their own schools.

If we say that the teaching of reading, writing, and arithmetic, together with the reading of the Protestant Bible, is a Protestant, and therefore sectarian action, it is intelligible that Roman Catholics should not be willing to send their children to the public schools where this is allowed. But it is also clear that their ground of objection to sending their children to a State school where religious teaching of any sort is given by the schoolmaster, is cut away from them, when that teaching is absolutely prohibited, and the education is wholly secularized.

But this very secularization of the school teaching—the teaching of reading, writing, and arithmetic alone, without any religious instruction at all—satisfies them still less, and not only them, but dissatisfies Protestants as well. In fact, education without any religious instruction whatever is irreligious and infidel, and is therefore sectarian action, and is protecting infidelity with a vengeance, to the injury of both Protestants and Roman Catholics.

A Roman Catholic ought not to be compelled to support a system, the prevailing tone of which is opposed to his religion. Much more, then, Roman Catholics and Protestants ought not to be compelled to support a system which is opposed to every religion by being "entirely secular."

Assuming that public necessity compels the taxation of the whole community for the support of public schools, it still remains the bounden duty of all parents to secure for their children a religious education.

If it be absolutely proved that it is impossible for the State even to sanction any religious instruction whatever, it then becomes the bounden duty of every denomination, and every parent belonging to that denomination, to adopt a system of education, at any sacrifice, which will secure that the children belonging to their denomination shall be brought up in the religion which they deem so important.

If they do not do this, it argues a great indifference to religion which people, and especially parents, ought to be thoroughly ashamed of. If all denominations carried this out thoroughly, there would then remain but few to be educated by the State, and the vast majority belonging to the various denominations could reasonably demand that, whilst they were supporting schools at their own expense for their own children, the education provided by the State for those belonging to no denomination, and for which they were taxed, should be of a simple and economical character.

By almost universal assent, distinctive denominational teaching ought to be prohibited in the public schools to the schoolmaster, but some religious instruction should be, and (D.V.) will yet be, given in the schools. What we contend for is not distinctive denominational teaching, but the teaching of a higher Being than man, of higher duties than mere worldly ones, and of a soul and future state—all which Christians hold to be necessary, but which cannot now legally be taught as part of the curriculum of education in the State schools. Some teaching of this character is absolutely necessary, as of vital importance to the individual souls, and of paramount value in instilling a sense of individual responsibility and high principle into the component parts of the community. We desire religious and moral teaching, as opposed to worldly and secular. The question is, not of one sect against another, but of the worship and knowledge of God, as against the worship and knowledge of this world.—I am, &c.,

PROPHETES.

P.S.—It is not pretended that these letters are original; their sole object is to bring to the notice of the people of New Zealand the fact of the present absence of religious instruction in the free public schools of the Colony, and the necessity that for the good of the whole community some should be provided. With this object in view, any ideas which have been written or spoken, and which seemed to throw light on the subject, have been freely borrowed and adapted for the purpose.

## Secular Education the Worship Ok This World.

*"And Elijah came unto all the people and said, 'How long halt ye between two opinions? If the LORD be GOD, follow Him : but if Baal, then follow him.'"*  
—I. *KINGS xviii. 21.*

## To the Editor of the "Otago Daily Times."

SIR,—I distinctly object to having to contribute either directly or indirectly to the support of a system of education which does not recognize the Supreme Being.

The Education Act of 1877, in laying down the course of instruction which is to be followed in the Public Schools of this Colony, not only makes no provision for the instruction of children in their duty to God,—but says, "and the teaching shall be entirely of a secular character."

Now, what does this mean? Let us look in the dictionary, and see the meaning which the word "secular" bears; and, we find :—

In Walker's : "Secular—not spiritual, relating to the affairs of this present world."

In Maunder's : "Secular—not bound by rules, worldly."

In Ogilvie's : "Secular—pertaining to an age or division of time, coming once in a century, pertaining to this present world, worldly."

In Walker and Webster's dictionary : "Secular—pertaining to this present world, or to things not spiritual or holy."

In Webster's : "Secular—[Lat, *secularis*, from *seculum*, a generation, age, the time, the world]—(1.) coming or observed once, in an age or century; (2.) pertaining to an age, or the progress of ages, or to a long period of time; (3.) pertaining to this present world or to things not spiritual or holy, relating to things not immediately or primarily respecting the soul, worldly."

—"*New foes arise,*

*"Threatening to bind our souls with secular chains."*

—*Milton.*

So then, as a people—a people calling ourselves a Christian nation, and once proud of that name; a people that prints the letters "D. G." upon its coins, admitting that its princes reign "by the Grace of God;" that has the cross of our Lord for the emblem upon its National flag;—we are so emasculated in our religion, that, for the sake of a false peace,—because we cannot agree amongst ourselves as to the exact way in which our children shall be taught the knowledge of the Lord,—we are willing to sacrifice our principle of duty to God, to banish God and the things of God altogether from our schools; and hope in this way to get rid of the difficulty.

It is bad policy. It is even now laying the foundation of future trouble to this Colony, and already it is bearing fruit.

Children attending the State Schools in New Zealand may be taught anything relating to the worship of this world but nothing relating to the immeasurably greater "unseen world," and the Almighty God. Is this carrying out the great moral law enunciated by Moses?—Deut. vi. (4.) "Hear, O Israel! The LORD our GOD is one LORD. (5.) And thou shalt love the LORD thy GOD with all thine heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy might. (6.) And these words which I command thee this day, shall be in thine heart; (7.) and thou shalt teach them diligently to thy children, and shalt talk of them," &c.

No! In these days we have advanced far beyond old fashioned ideas of that sort. Our children may be taught anything about their bodies, this outward material form, they may be taught anything "relating to the ages and divisions of time that pertain to this world,"—they may be taught anything relating to past generations, "the progress of ages, not relating immediately or primarily to the soul." But, about the Maker of the Universe,—about the things relating to eternity and the soul (which, in some ages of the nation's life would have been looked upon as by far the most important things for a child to know), these, and things spiritual, which have been the springs of action in past history, which govern the lives of many in this present age, are to be forbidden, and driven out of sight as needless, or positively dangerous, from the system of education of our own young people. They form no part of the curriculum of education in our highly-civilized public State schools, and must be learnt in private, if they are to be learnt at all, and if the calls of "secular" education leave

any time, opportunity, energy, or inclination, or means of instruction for that which the State evidently regards as superfluous,—if not worse.

"If the LORD be GOD, follow Him; but if Baal, then follow him."

Can it be said that we have sunk so low in our own degradation that we worship the World absolutely to the exclusion of God; and that "knowledge of the world" is so infinitely more important for our children to know than any knowledge of their duty to God and their own souls;—that it is incumbent upon the Government to enforce the one, and absolutely forbid the other?

I trust not. I hope that it is only that people did not know what they were doing; that they passed this clause, without thought, at the desire of a few mere secularists; and they are but few.

If we look at the Report upon the last Census published this year, we find that out of a population of 414,412,402,105 have specified religious beliefs, and 393,690 are either Protestants or Roman Catholics. That is to say, that Protestants and Roman Catholics number 393,690 to 20,722 other persons.

Now, Protestants and Roman Catholics if left absolutely to themselves and to their denominations, would undoubtedly wish their children to be brought up "in the nurture and admonition of the Lord."

Therefore, either—(1.) a small and disunited party of 20,722 persons of whom probably nearly 4,379 are Chinese, are dictating to their Protestant and Catholic fellow-men, that—whether they will or not—they *shall* not have any religious teaching in the State Schools; or else (2.), Roman Catholics and Protestants of the various denominations cannot agree amongst themselves as to the manner in which religious teaching shall be given; and, therefore, for the sake of a false peace, they mutually agree that God the Creator of the Universe, whose worship is the ground of their differences, shall be banished from the State schools altogether.

Now, if the first is the case, then the majority have a right to be heard, and to say:—"We will have God acknowledged and revered in the curriculum of education drawn up for our schools and supported by ourselves. If you do not like your children to come under religious instruction, you may withdraw them during those hours, or they may be put to other work; but we claim the right—being the vast majority of the people of the country—to have religious instruction for our children."

If this is not the case; but the second reason—viz., that Christians cannot agree amongst themselves, is the one: Then, "Shame upon any people that can voluntarily agree to ignore and to insult the Lord of Hosts, by placing upon their statute-book a law which exalts the knowledge of this world, as such, to His entire exclusion!"

The first principle we ought to unite in insisting upon, whether we be Roman Catholics or Protestants (of whatever denomination), is—that God be acknowledged, and our children brought up in His fear and love, under our State Education system; and that this principle be recognised, and made the law.

The adjustment of this principle to practical detail must be worked out, and, if necessary, fought out. Only, let the principle itself be recognised as a first principle—as so vital—that nothing shall make us lose sight of it, and nothing shall rob us of it.

But the principle of putting God out of sight because no agreement could be come to as to how religion should be taught, is a wholly false and illogical conclusion to arrive at; and is one which it may be confidently anticipated the sense of right in the people of New Zealand will correct; and that they will not agree to allow the things of this world only, and the knowledge of this world and things pertaining to it, to be taught to their children, whilst the things of God, the things of eternity, things that concern the soul, shall not only not form part of the curriculum of study, but shall be forbidden so far as the law can forbid them from being taught by those who are able to teach them, and to those who are anxious to be taught them. I am, &c.,

PROPHETES.

## **Education on a Religious Basis the Duty of the State.**

DEUT. xxxii.—"46. Set your hearts unto all the words which I testify among you this day, which ye shall command your children to observe to do, all the words of this law. 47. For it is not a vain thing for you, because it is your life."

## **To the Editor of the "Otago Daily Times."**

SIR,—I endeavoured in a former letter to call attention to that clause in the Education Act of 1877 which governs the instruction to be given by the schoolmaster in the State schools, and enacts that "the teaching shall be entirely of a secular character."

I endeavoured to show that the teaching given under this new clause means instruction in the knowledge of this world, to the absolute exclusion of instruction in the knowledge of God; and that the State, whilst recognizing its duty of seeing that all the children belonging to it are educated, and undertaking to educate all

those children who are not otherwise educated, makes the egregious blunder of giving them a one-sided education, and instructing them only in secular knowledge, leaving altogether out of sight that which is the very complement of a good education, that which is the only sound basis of a thorough education and a healthy moral training—I mean religious Christian teaching.

Answer has been made to this, "that the people of New Zealand are better than their profession," and that, as a matter of fact, much religious teaching is now given in the free State schools, in spite of the clause which directs that the teaching should be "entirely secular."

In reply to this, I would say that if this is so, it is a wholly wrong state of things; and however creditable it may be to the hearts of the people, as showing that they desire that their children shall have some religious teaching, it is anything but creditable to the moral sense of the community, least of all that it should be tacitly assented to by any of those in authority. Such a state of things tends to lower the moral standard of all, and encourages teachers and children to believe that a law which enacts that which is disagreeable may be evaded with impunity, if not even meritoriously.

If the law is a good one it ought to be obeyed; those in authority ought to see that it is carried out, and teachers should feel that they are bound to observe the laws laid down for their direction, so long as they hold office, however disagreeable or oppressive they seem to be.

If the law is not a good one, let it be altered; and I think that it will not be long before people will demand with no uncertain voice that the Education Act of 1877 shall be altered to the extent that some religious teaching shall be allowed in the course of instruction given in the State schools.

Most people will agree that instruction in religion is indispensable for the training of the young, and as the very foundation for the good morals and well-being of the nation. Are we then satisfied, as individuals and as a community, that the rising generation should be watched over and educated by the State in all knowledge relating to this world, but left to pick up their religious teaching as best they can—the State relying for their getting religious instruction upon the very parents whom it cannot trust by themselves to provide secular education for their children, and therefore take the education of the children to a great extent out of their hands, or else throw it upon the Church? Let us consider how far these two agencies upon which the State may be assumed to rely fulfil the duty—expected of them, and desired from them, for the safety and well-being of the State—of imparting religious instruction to the children.

With reference to home teaching, I would ask each individual parent, How much definitive religious teaching do you give regularly to your children? And the answer too often is, "I do not like to interfere in my children's religious belief." Take the families you know; how many parents, if they would, are capable of teaching their children religion; and how many do? Some "have no time"; others do not feel "fit to talk about such things." In many cases the parents are out or at work the whole day, and have little time or energy to spare, when they and the children get home in the evening, to teach the children religion. I am not sure whether, if the parents wished to impart religious instruction themselves, it would be all that could be desired; in some cases rather the other way, where the children see the lives of their parents spent in indifference to religion, and in a self-indulgence sometimes of a gross kind. In these cases any teaching of theirs would be nullified.

In cases where the parents may be too much occupied or not feel able to impart religious instruction, they might be, and I believe in most cases would be, not only willing, but anxious that their children should receive that religious teaching which they themselves do not feel able to give, from the schoolmaster the clergyman of their denominations, or from any other person whose duty it might be to impart it; but if children have to depend for religious instruction upon home teaching, very many, perhaps most, will get none at all.

With reference to Church teaching, I would ask those who are acquainted with Sunday-schools whether they are prepared to allow the children of New Zealand to depend absolutely for their religious training upon the hour, more or less, spent in Sunday-school weekly. In the first place the children, whilst compelled to attend the daily instructions in the public school, are not compelled to attend the Sunday-school and to come under religious instruction at all. In many places there are no Sunday-schools, and where there are Sunday-schools the attendance at them is irregular. Sometimes the parents take the children for a walk on Sundays; frequently they go to visit a neighbour and take the children who are detained and do not come to Sunday-school; occasionally, being late in arriving, they do not like to come in, and consequently play truant. But, taking Sunday-schools as they exist, many children do not attend at all, and many of those who do attend come so irregularly that practically what they learn is very little.

In many cases the Sunday spent by the parents differs but little from ordinary days, except in freedom from work, and church-going forms no part of the day's duties.

In these cases, if children get no religious instruction at the day-schools they will get none at all, and it becomes a serious matter for the country to consider whether it is not desirable that children should receive some religious instruction, and whether, as a matter of policy, the State system of education for the young ought not to include some thorough religious teaching.

Let the education of the community be compulsory and general, but let it be religious and not Godless—religious in the sense of having general Christian teaching, as opposed to sectarianism on the one hand and Godlessness on the other.

Let the instruction given by the State be founded upon a religious basis, as is fitting in a Christian nation, as individuals themselves would mostly desire. Let the schoolmaster be instructed to open school with prayer, and to instill the principles of religion and morality into the children as the foundation of education. Let this instruction be absolutely colourless if you will, as far as denominationalism goes, so as to embrace all Christians. Let the prayer be one agreed to by all religious bodies, or confine it only to the Lord's prayer : only, as Christians in this country are twenty times the number of other people, let us insist on an unsectarian religious Christian teaching being given as the foundation of the course of the State system of education by the schoolmaster, taught, if you will, on the ground of expediency, and allow all who do not wish to receive this instruction to withdraw during the time set apart for this purpose, or have them set to some other work, and, in effect, I believe that the number of these would be extremely few. But in a Christian nation do not let a twentieth part of the whole population who are sectarian in their infidelity, or diversity of religious belief, dictate to the immense majority of Christian people that there shall be no Christian teaching whatever in the State schools. Protect them by all means in their infidelity or diversity of belief if they wish it, and let them decide whether or not their children shall come under religious teaching, but do not let a small number of non-Christians dictate to the community who are, with the exception of a twentieth part, Christians, that in opposition to all their principles of faith, their children shall not be educated on a religious and Christian, but on an "entirely-secular basis."

Let the various denominations have permission to teach their own children at an hour to be agreed upon, when the parents wish it, and let that hour be fixed by agreement between the Board, the schoolmaster, and the minister of the denomination.

Do not let us have upon our Statute-book a law containing a clause positively insulting to the Almighty God, by excluding from our children, so far as the State is concerned, all knowledge of Him, and which exercises a tyranny of the most extreme kind over the parents of New Zealand. The law, as it stands at present, takes possession of children for the greater portion of the time for direct education in their lives, and says that they *shall* be educated, and in a manner in which the State chooses to dictate; that religious teaching shall be forbidden, and the parents *shall not* be permitted to exercise any discretion, or to have any voice in deciding whether their children shall be taught upon a religious basis, or receive any religious teaching whatever.

I believe that the people of New Zealand would desire, if asked, that their children should be educated upon a religious and Christian basis, giving permission to non-Christians, and those who objected, to withdraw their children during the time for religious instruction. And I believe that individuals of every denomination would wish that the minister of their denomination should have the privilege of attending the school and instructing their children during a portion of the school time, if their children and other people's children were protected from being taught without their consent by the minister of any other denomination.

It is the duty of the Parliament of this country to protect every denomination in the free exercise of its own religion; and if, there fore, any denomination desires that its children shall be instructed in religion as well as in secular instruction daily, it is the duty of the Legislature to protect their denomination in the imparting of religious instruction to its young people.

If the State decides to continue the present Education Act, and to exclude the Bible and religious instruction, on the ground of justice to all sects, it then becomes the bounden duty of all Christians, of whatever denomination, to understand the situation and to face it boldly. They ought to say to themselves, the State compels me to educate my children, and to comply with certain regulations as to efficiency, &c., but if I send my children to the State free school I shall send them where they will be brought up upon no religious basis, where there is no regular religious teaching, and where religious teaching is absolutely excluded.

Let them say to themselves, "I will not have this. I value my religion, and I determine that my children shall be brought up in the fear and love of God; and they shall be. I am willing to make any sacrifice to carry this out, but I will not have my children growing up without religious instruction."

Let men be determined on this, and set God before them, and insist on His recognition.

If necessary for this purpose, let them combine and raise schools amongst themselves, which shall be under Government inspection, which shall comply with the requirements of the State, but in which, as being supported by their own voluntary contributions, religious instruction may be given. Let all Christians feel it to be a matter of principle with them to secure religious instruction for their children.

The teaching of reading, writing, and arithmetic alone, without any religion whatever, is sectarian action, and so the State subsidises one sect of infidels to the disadvantage of other sects. This is not fair, and is not the boasted equality amongst sects, for they protect one sect and tyrannise over and persecute other sects, who are forbidden to practise their religious worship during a considerable portion of the day, and are compelled to

contribute to support a system the prevailing tone of which is opposed to their religion.

The State ought to protect religion, and those parents who desire that their children should be taught by the minister of their denomination ought to be enabled to have their wishes carried out.

It is not desired, though it would be for the good of the community generally, that any child should be compelled to come under religious instruction. The fullest liberty should be allowed to all, and parents or guardians allowed to decide whether or not their children should be taught by the minister of the denomination.

If all the denominations felt the responsibility that rests upon them to see that their children do not grow up without any religious teaching, and combined to demand that facilities should be given for each denomination to give religious instruction during school hours to the children of their persuasion, the pressure brought to bear upon the Government would carry all before it, and the present "entirely secular" system would quickly give way to a system in which "knowledge of God" was not only not ignored, but was imparted by direction of the State by those whose duty it is to teach it, and under safeguards imposed by the State itself. "Secular education" is, by its one-sidedness, incomplete, for the exclusion of the knowledge of God, who takes so great a part in the ordering of the world and all things in it, is excluding all instruction upon the great cause, and reasoning only upon the minor effect. "Truth is one, and its harmony must be sought by a collocation of facts in every department of knowledge," and if religious knowledge be excluded, then the harmonious whole cannot be attained to in our State schools, and the education given there will have a vital defect, for "God is truth," and if all knowledge of Him be denied, the key of truth is lost.—I am, &c.,

PROPHETES.

## Sermon by the Rev. Dr. Copeland.

### Is Public Education to Remain Secular?

The Rev. Dr Copland delivered a lecture on the above subject at the North Dunedin Church last evening. He took for his text the ninth verse of the eighth chapter of Amos :—"Behold, the days come, saith the Lord God, that I will send a famine in the land : not a famine of bread, nor a thirst for water, but of hearing the words of the Lord." He had selected this text as suggesting what he feared might prove to be the results of a course of action which the country through its Legislature had recently entered upon by driving out the Bible from the public schools. The system of public education in the Colony was of a purely secular kind. The Act declared "The teaching shall be of an entirely secular character." The practical meaning of this, at the present time, was that the Bible should not be read. The monstrous character of this enactment at once appeared when its effect on the different branches of education was considered. No knowledge of English literature and general history could be attained if the Bible were excluded from the schools, and there would be a total absence of moral training. The expressions and allusions constantly met with in literature of every kind, and even in common conversation would be unintelligible. The most ancient and instructive parts of history would be unknown, and a large part of modern history could not be understood. As to moral training—if the teachers were forbidden to refer to God's law as it is authoritatively declared in the Bible, and to man's responsibility to Him as his judge—it would be merely a system of selfishness and terrorism, effective only while the pupils were within reach of the master's rod. It was of little avail to urge against this view of the system of education that the school-books which were or might be used contained extracts from the Bible and were pre-empted by Christian sentiment. If the interpretation put on the Act was that it excluded the Bible, it would soon be shown by some that the exclusion of the Bible meant the exclusion of all the parts of which it was composed. The more rigid meaning of secularism would be insisted on by some—that it excluded all reference to God and to man's responsibility to Him. This view had already been pressed on public attention, and though it elicited little approval, and nothing was heard of it at the present time, it would again be urged with loudmouthed effrontery whenever the public had become sufficiently off their guard, or indifferent or degraded, to afford the hope of its success. Many of those who assented to the insertion of the secular clause in the Education Act had done so, not from any sympathy with the views of a small party who called themselves secularists or Freethinkers, but from the expectation that instruction in the Bible would be given by ministers and others in the school buildings before or after the statutory four hours of general instruction. They seemed to have been moved also by the hope that they would take away any ground of offence which Romanists might feel, and would preserve the national system, instead of running the risk of its destruction by yielding to many who sought aid for denominational schools. This so-called compromise had utterly failed to satisfy those whom it was intended to appease, and had only given perfect satisfaction to the least considerable body in the community—the

Freethinkers. Although it had not yet quite fulfilled their desires in the practical working of the system, seeing that the school-books contained Bible sentiments, and even extracts, and the teachers still ventured to use the liberty of sometimes confessing directly, or by implication, that there is a God, the Freethinkers were patiently waiting their opportunity to insist on the rigid carrying out of the letter of the law. If the system were continued a few years longer such opportunity might possibly be found. In Victoria it was reported some time ago, by a Government School Inspector of Ballarat, that thousands of the young who had been educated at the public schools were growing up in ignorance of the Bible, and the same result might be expected in New Zealand. Heathenism and Nihilism had never reached such an extent in any nation, either ancient or modern, if the murderous reign of the Red Republic in France was expected. The Legislature, instead of removing the ground of complaint of the Roman Catholics, had furnished them with a stronger grievance than before. The idea of imparting Biblical knowledge to the children by teachers appointed by the various churches had proved to be impracticable. The question, "Is our public education to remain secular?" the speaker would answer in the negative on the following grounds: (1) It was evidently the desire of the large majority of the inhabitants that the Bible should be read in the public schools. When the Bible-in-Schools Association elicited the opinion of the school committees throughout Otago, it was found to be nearly unanimous in support of the Bible-reading in the schools, and a large number of petitions numerously signed were at present on the table of Parliament from nearly every district in the province, and from other portions of the country at large. (2) No injustice would be done to the minority who might object. If parents did not desire their children to be present during the Bible-reading, the conscience clause, which was always formerly in force, permitted them to withdraw their children during that time without prejudice in other things. The Roman Catholics, who had been generally held up as a kind of "bugbear" in the matter, had really nothing to do with it, for they were not satisfied with Bible-reading nor without it. (3) There was little doubt that if the present system was continued, thousands would grow up in ignorance of God's Word. It would be alleged by some that the practical value of whatever amount of knowledge of the Bible might be gained was much less than religious men estimated; that many who had possessed abundant Scriptural knowledge and made a religious profession had sometimes shown as worthless characters as the ignorant and irreligious. That to some extent must be admitted, but it could not be shown that in any case men committed vice or crime in consequence of having become acquainted with the Bible. Universal experience testified to its powerful influence for good. (4) He remarked, lastly, that if the secular system is continued, attempts would be made to give it a more thorough-going secular character than simply requiring the prohibition of Bible-reading. To avert this evil all who valued the Bible, who desired to uphold true morality and seek the highest well-being of the rising generation, ought to demand of the Legislature the reintroduction of the Bible. The present was the most favourable opportunity. Many who were disposed to give the present system a trial had weighed it in the balance and found it wanting, and were joining in the demand for the Bible. Some in the highest positions of authority and influence in the country were known to be in favour of it, and had publicly declared their sentiments. It was only necessary that the people generally should let their representatives in Parliament know that they were resolved to do away with the present ill-conceived and hastily-adopted system of secularism. Only thus could it be expected that the evils which had everywhere appeared where men cast off God's law would be prevented. Only thus would the people escape the national corruption and weakness which followed in their train, and save the inhabitants from such a calamity as the text discussed—"A famine in the land : not a famine of bread, nor a thirst of water, but of hearing the words of the Lord."

## **Extracts From Newspaper Articles.**

### **The "Otago Daily Times" in a Leading Article on 2nd July, 1880, Says :**

"THERE are mutterings that threaten the whole fabric of State education on the score of expense, and it is within the range of possibility that those who take this view of our present system may hereafter be willing to coalesce with those who are dissatisfied because they regard the State system not merely as secular, but as absolutely irreligious and immoral, in bringing about such a modified system of 'payments by results' as we have several times sketched in these columns—a system which would leave greater freedom to all who are anxious to combine religious with secular instruction by making the State the equal distributor of all public grants for secular instruction only, and would allow each separate educational organization to give what religious instruction it pleased. This would be an absolutely impartial system; but, after all, the State schools would be necessary to supplement the imperfect efforts of private enterprise and religious zeal. There is just a

possibility that the expense to the State might be lessened by such a course, but the unsettled point is, would not a large number of children be left without education? We do not know how that is to be answered, except by actual experience. The only advice we have to tender to those who believe our present State system is compatible with a reasonable amount of moral and religious instruction being imparted to the children is, to carefully follow the working of the new regulations in New South Wales. If our neighbours succeed, contrary to our expectations, in solving the difficult problem, it will be worth while to consider the propriety of following in their footsteps. If they fail, as we fear they will, it will be useless for us to imitate their example. In that case there will be, so far as we can see, no practicable alternative between an absolutely and exclusively secular State system, and a system of payment by results."

## **The "Timaru Herald" in a Leading Article on 12th July, 1880, Says :—**

"FOR one who desires to see the children of the colony trained philosophically, there are a hundred who desire them to be brought up religiously. The people of this country, like the parent stock, are governed in their daily life by religious ideas. Their social, and even their political institutions, recognize the existence of religion. So much is this the case, that the exclusion of religious teaching from the education of the young, if carried out as strictly as some would wish it to be, would actually constitute the rising generation a class of foreigners, as far as their habits of thought are concerned.

"It is under these circumstances that Sir William Fox, and those who think with him, are endeavouring to engraft on the noble system of public education now firmly established in New Zealand, a provision which will combine religious teaching with the ordinary secular instruction of schools. They will be met at the outset by a host of difficulties, which have nothing to do with the fundamental question of whether or not it is desirable to educate the people in religious principles. The chief of these is the difficulty of reconciling the differences of the various religious denominations. The most ardent advocates of religion must discern a broad distinction between religious education and sectarian education; and the weightiest task that devolves on those who have taken up this subject, is that of devising a course which will secure the former, and yet avoid the latter."

## **The "Southland Times" of 10th July, 1880, in a Leading Article, Says :—**

"THE constitution of Britain and her Colonies is built on the Bible, and it has never been proposed formally to remove one stone of the foundation. To ask, therefore, that the school should recognize the Bible, was simply to ask that there should be consistency throughout the organizations that were the work of the State. There never had been absolute agreement on the part of members of the body politic in regard to its origin and authority, but in spite of this fact, the Bible had been nationally acknowledged in every branch of legislation. It cannot, therefore, be accepted as an argument for excluding that book from the Common Schools, that all are not agreed as to its claims and character. No argument on this score could be adduced against admission of the Bible to the schools that could not be adduced to overturn the foundations of British jurisprudence and government. If these arguments are correct, they form the best direct constitutional argument for an alteration of the Education Act, and the most conclusive answer to the bulk of objections urged against the use of the Bible in the schools. The evils of the present system are sufficiently patent. It discredits in the eyes of the children what is acknowledged by all Christendom to be the ultimate authority in morals. It deprives many of the only opportunity that can be made sure to them of becoming acquainted with the basis of the legislation of their country, legislation which they are expected to understand and obey. It leaves State teaching without the foundation on which all true education must rest. It withholds from the children much indispensable knowledge of history, and some of the finest specimens of English literature. These are grave indictments, and yet every one of them can be sustained. Beyond them as secular journalists we do not care to go. But it is fair to ask, simply in the interests of the moral and material welfare of the Colony, what harm has ever come of Bible teaching, and what else it is proposed to put in its place. It has been well tried, and wherever it has been tried, has built up the most flourishing nations on the earth. What country, &c.

"We believe that acceptance of the principle of Bible reading in the schools, and its enactment as an obligatory part of the statute, with a conscience clause, is what the country is quite ripe for, and would be the best course to pursue."

## **What Parents Think of Bible Reading in**

# Schools.

## Petition of Otago Board. The Bible-in-Schools Association.

THE following petition from the Council of the above Association has been forwarded to both Houses of the General Assembly:—

1. *That your petitioners have been duly elected as Members of the Council of the Association known as 'The Bible-in-Schools Association.'*

2. *That your petitioners entertain a strong conviction that the exclusion of the Bible from the common schools of the Colony is fraught with consequences alike disastrous to society and to the cause of sound education.*

3. *That your petitioners do humbly submit, that, apart altogether from its religious teaching (which, however, your petitioners hold in the highest estimation) the Bible is recognised and acknowledged in every Christian country to be the best and most reliable text-book in the important departments of morals and of ancient Jewish History, the former of which subjects in particular cannot, in the; opinion of your petitioners, be neglected or overlooked without evil consequences of a most serious character resulting.*

4. *That your petitioners, believing that the opposition to the reading of the Bible in the public schools was confined to but a small section of the community, addressed the following circular to the various School Committees throughout the Provincial District of Otago.—(Here follows the circular.)*

5. *That replies to the said circular were received from 47 Committees, of which number 42 were in favour of the reintroduction of the reading of the Bible, two were against, and three were indifferent or neutral.*

6. *That the following resolution, passed by the Dunedin School Committee, with only two dissentients, may be taken as a specimen of the replies received from the School Committees throughout the Provincial District of Otago :—'That the Dunedin School Committee cordially approve of the efforts of the Bible in Schools Associations to have the Bible reintroduced into our public schools, and will gladly co-operate with them in their efforts to attain so desirable an object.'*

7. *That at a meeting of the Education Board of the Provincial District of Otago, held on the 26th day of June, 1879, the following resolution was passed with only one dissentient:—' That in the opinion of this Board, it is very desirable that the Education Act be amended with the view of allowing the introduction of Bible reading in the public schools.'*

8. *That your petitioners are informed, and believe that the Education Board and School Committees of the Provincial District of Southland are equally strongly in favour of the introduction of Bible-reading in the schools, and they have no reason to doubt that the feeling is general throughout the Colony.*

9. *That your petitioners humbly submit that the School Committees and Education Boards, being elected directly by the people upon the education question alone, their opinions are entitled to great weight upon this important question, it being impossible to gather correctly the opinion of the electors of the Colony at a general election, owing to other political issues of an important character being decided by one vote.*

10. *That your petitioners, holding the conviction referred to, and believing the great majority of the School Committees and of the parents throughout the Colony desire to see the reading of the Bible reintroduced to the public schools, do humbly pray your honourable House to cause such amendments to be made in the Education Act as may provide for such reading being established by law, provided, if needs be, that any School Committee have power to prohibit such reading in any school district if a majority of its members so decide. And your petitioners, as in duty bound, will ever pray.*

(Signed) E. B. CARGILL, President.

"And the other members of the Association."

## Report of Southland Board.

IN the Education Report for 1880 (H.—IA.), presented to Parliament on the 5th June, 1880, by the Hon. the Minister for Education, the following paragraph appears on page 85, in the report of the Southland Education Board for the year ending 31st December, 1879—

\* \* \*

"THE BIBLE-IN-SCHOOLS.—This question was brought before the Board, at a meeting held on the 6th June, and, after considerable discussion, a motion was carried almost unanimously, declaring it to be the opinion of the Board that the Bible should be read daily in the public schools without comment. Copies of this motion

were forwarded to the Government, and also to all the School Committees, accompanied in the latter case by a request that they should give an expression of their opinion on the subject. Of the 55 committees then existing, 37 expressed themselves in favour of the resolution, and 8 against it. The remaining 10 were either neutral or failed to make any return."

## **Letter of Ven. Archdeacon Maunsell.**

### **Napier Bible-in-Schools Association.**

#### **To the Editor of the "New Zealand Herald."**

SIR,—Although you are, I am aware, a strong advocate for the present law on school education, which prohibits any Bible reading or religious teaching during school hours, yet I am sure that you will allow those who think differently to make known their wishes and their plans through your columns. I take the liberty, therefore, to ask you to make known to your readers the accompanying "memo." of the proceedings of a society that has been organised in Napier for promoting the above object—the one, perhaps, to which you referred this morning. The only resource now left to those who wish to remove the present great blot from our school laws is to organise, and to take steps for ascertaining the views of parents on the subject; and I will frankly confess that my object in asking you to make this movement at Napier known, is to stir up those who have leisure and ability to take steps for organizing a similar movement in Auckland.—I am, &c., R. MAUNSELL.

"A meeting of the Bible-in-Schools Committee was held on June 27, in the Council Chamber. The Bishop of Waiapu was in the chair. The secretary, the Rev. J. Spear, read a statement of the result of the canvass for signatures to the Bible petition. In those districts where a canvass was made considerable support was obtained. The total number of signatures to date was 1400. Four instalments of the petition had already been forwarded to Wellington, and were duly presented to the House of Representatives by Sir William Fox and Captain Russell, and by the Hon. Mr. Menzies to the Legislative Council. He thought that the committee ought to resolve themselves into a Bible-in-Schools Association, so as to be on a more permanent footing, and to work with similar associations in other parts of the colony. This would enable them to agree upon a common plan of action, and to institute, if necessary, a general canvass of parents in New Zealand with the view of eliciting their opinion on the subject of Bible-reading in the State schools. He had no fear of the ultimate issue of such an appeal, believing it would result in an overwhelming majority declaring in favour of the proposed measure. Mr. Spear quoted from the recent speech of Sir William Fox before the House, to show that the parents were the proper persons to relegate the question to, and not the mere political theorist, or secularist, or theologian. The result of the late canvass of Napier showed that, in the vast majority of instances, parents, and especially those of the working classes, were extremely desirous that their children should be instructed in the Word of God in the public schools. If the present petition failed to bring about the desired result he would suggest that another be drafted for presentation at the next session of Parliament to be signed by parents only, and to indicate opposite the parents' names the number of children they represent. Such a petition should be signed simultaneously in all parts of the colony, and would represent probably at least 10,000 parents, with an aggregate of about 60,000 children, and if it did not influence the members of the House, it would at least influence the minds of the parents, at the approaching general election."

## **What an Inspector of Schools Thinks of Bible Reading in Schools.**

### **Extract From Report of Inspector Hill, Napier District.**

"MORAL TRAINING.—Before concluding this report, I venture to draw the attention of the Board to what I consider an important omission in the new education system now being introduced. When the Government decides upon a national plan of education, it is absolutely necessary to inquire what subjects should be taught in the schools, and why they should be taught. To be complete, the training of children should be of three kinds—mental, physical, moral. Any system of education which does not recognize these three is necessarily imperfect, and cannot produce the results indispensable to the well-being of a community. The recent system deals with the mental and physical training of children, but I regret to find that direct moral training has been entirely ignored. Why, I am at a loss to understand, for, after many years' experience as a teacher, I am fully convinced that the moral training of children cannot be neglected. In my opinion it is a vicious system to teach children to imagine that the culture of the intelligence is 'the be-all and the end-all' in learning. Because we have a nation of educated men, it does not follow that virtue and integrity will abound, but both these qualities are essential to the well-being of a nation, and moral training is the fountain-head from whence these qualities proceed. Mr. Lancaster, writing upon moral training, says: 'The province of the schools is to train children in the practice of such moral habits as are conducive to the welfare of society, as well as to impart instruction in useful learning.' Now that the Bible has been expunged from the list of school-books as issued by the department, practically there is no standard of morality to be recognized by the teachers, but I sincerely hope that the present educational machinery, good as it is in many points, may be perfected by permitting the introduction of the Bible as a reading-book into the public schools, guarded only by the adoption of a conscience clause, similar to that adopted by the Home Government.—I have, &c.,

"H. HILL, B.A., Inspector of Schools.

J. D. Ormond Esq.,

"Chairman Hawkes Bay Education Board."

## **New Zealand Education Act.**

# **An Act to Make Further Provision for the Education of the People of New Zealand.**

**[29th November, 1877.]**

### **PART I.—DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION.**

#### ***Expenses of administering department to be appropriated by General Assembly.***

8. All moneys required for the administration of this Act by the department shall be defrayed out of the moneys to be from time to time appropriated by the General Assembly for the following purposes :

- In payment of salaries and other expenses of the Department of Education.
- In payment to the Board of every district of a sum of three pounds fifteen shillings for each child in average daily attendance at a public school, such average daily attendance to be computed in manner prescribed by regulations.
- For the establishment and maintenance of normal or training schools, and in grants to Boards for the maintenance of such schools already established and under their control.
- For the erection of school-houses, and any other purpose for which such moneys may be applied or appropriated.

Subject to any such appropriation, regulations may be made prescribing the times and manner at and in which such moneys shall be paid or applied.

### **PART IV.—PUBLIC SCHOOLS AND MANAGEMENT THEREOF.**

## **(1) Course of Instruction in Public Schools.**

### ***"School age" defined.***

83. No child above school age shall be admitted at any public school without the special leave of the Committee, unless such school is a district high school.

"School age" means any age between the years of five and fifteen, reckoned in each case from the last preceding birthday.

### ***Public Schools to be conducted in accordance with regulations.***

84. Every public school shall be conducted in accordance with the following regulations (a copy of which regulations shall be conspicuously put up in every school), namely :—

### ***Course of Instruction in Public Schools.***

The subjects of Instruction shall be as follows :—

- Reading, Writing, Arithmetic, English Grammar and Composition, Geography, History, Elementary Science and Drawing, Object Lessons, Vocal Music, and (in the case of girls) Sewing and Needlework, and the Principles of Domestic Economy. But no child shall be compelled to be present at the teaching of History whose parents or guardians object thereto.
- The school shall be kept open five days in each week for at least four hours, two of which in the forenoon and two in the afternoon shall be consecutive, *and the teaching shall be entirely of a secular character.*
- The school buildings may be used on days and at hours other than those used for public school purposes, upon such terms as the Committee may from time to time prescribe.
- The class books used in the school shall be such only as shall be approved by the Governor in Council.
- The school shall be open at all times to the visits of an Inspector.
- No fees shall be payable at any public school except as hereinbefore provided in the case of district high schools.

## **(2) Compulsory Education, Exemptions.**

### ***Every Child above seven, nor more than thirteen, to attend School.***

89. Subject to the provisions of this Act, the parent or guardian of every child not less than seven, nor more than thirteen, years of age shall, in case such child lives within a school district, send such child to school for at least one-half of the period in each year during which the school is usually open.

### ***Exemptions.***

90. The parent or guardian of any child may apply for and receive a certificate from the Committee in the school district in which such child resides exempting such child from attendance in whole or in part at school, upon satisfying the Committee of the existence of any one of the following grounds, namely :—

- That the child is under efficient or regular instruction otherwise, or is attending some private school or some educational institution not supported by grants from the Board, and which school or institution provides for instruction in reading, writing, and arithmetic on weekdays.
- That the child is prevented from attending school by sickness, danger of infection, temporary or permanent infirmity, or other unavoidable cause.
- That the road between the child's residence and the school is not sufficiently passable for such child.
- That one of the Inspectors or the master of any public school has, by writing under his hand, certified that such child has reached a standard of education prescribed by any regulations under this Act.

And every such certificate of exemption shall state the ground of exemption, and shall be in force for a period of one year or for a shorter period, as may be named in such certificate; and during the period named in such certificate the holder thereof shall be freed from the operation of the provisions of this Act in respect of the

child named therein : Provided always that any parent dissatisfied with the decision of a Committee in refusing to grant an exemption certificate may appeal to the Board against such decision, and the Board may overrule or confirm such decision.

### ***In case Child does not attend School, notice may be given.***

91. In case any Committee ascertains that any child between the ages of seven and thirteen years, and resident within the distance of two miles from a public school within its district, does not attend school, the clerk, or any member of such Committee, may give the parent or guardian of such child notice in writing, in the form or to the effect in the Third Schedule hereto, calling upon such parent or guardian to send such child to school.

### ***Proceedings to compel attendance.***

92. If the parent or guardian of any child, between the ages of seven and thirteen, resident within two miles from a public school, not holding a certificate of exemption as aforesaid in respect of such child, refuses or neglects to send such child to a public school after having been called upon in manner aforesaid to do so, the parent or guardian of such child may be summoned before any two Justices of the Peace, who may order such parent or guardian to send such child to a public school.

## **(3) PENALTIES IN CERTAIN CASES.**

### ***Penalty for non-compliance with order of Justices.***

93. In case any parent or guardian, after having been ordered as aforesaid by any two Justices of the Peace to send any child to a public school, neglects to obey such order, or having obeyed the same for a time, without sufficient cause ceases to do so, such parent or guardian shall be liable to a penalty not exceeding forty shillings, and the same proceedings may be taken week by week in the case of failure by such parent to comply with the order aforesaid.

# **Extracts from the Education Acts of England and Wales, Scotland, N.S. Wales, Victoria, and South Australia.**

## **England and Wales.**

An Act to Provide for Public Elementary Education in England and Wales.  
[9th August, 1870.]

### ***Regulations for conduct of Public Elementary School.***

7. Every elementary school which is conducted in accordance with the following regulations shall be a public elementary school within the meaning of this Act; and every public elementary school shall be conducted in accordance with the following regulations (a copy of which regulations shall be conspicuously put up in every such school,) namely:—

- It shall not be required, as a condition of any child being admitted into or continuing in the school, that he shall attend or abstain from attending any Sunday school, or any place of religious worship, or that he shall attend any religious observance or any instruction in religious subjects in the school or elsewhere, from which observance or instruction he may be withdrawn by his parent, or that he shall, if withdrawn by his parent, attend the school on any day exclusively set apart for religious observance by the religious body to which his parent belongs.
- The time or times during which any religious observance is practised or instruction in religious subjects is given at any meeting of the school shall be either at the beginning or at the end or at the beginning and the end of such meeting, and shall be inserted in a time table to be approved by the Education Department,

and to be kept permanently and conspicuously affixed in every schoolroom; and any scholar may be withdrawn by his parent from such observance or instruction without forfeiting any of the other benefits of the school.

- The school shall be open at all times to the inspection of any of Her Majesty's inspectors, so, however, that it shall be no part of the duties of such inspector to inquire into any instruction in religious subjects given at such school, or to examine any scholar therein in religious knowledge or in any religious subject or book.

## **Management and Maintenance of Schools by School Board.**

### ***Management of School by School Board.***

14. Every school provided by a school board shall be conducted under the control and management of such Board in accordance with the following regulations.

- The school shall be a public elementary school within the meaning of this Act.
- No religious catechism or religious formulary which is distinctive of any particular denomination shall be taught in the school.

### ***Fees of Children.***

17. Every child attending a school provided by any school board shall pay such weekly fee as may be prescribed by the school board, with the consent of the Education Department, but the school board may from time to time, for a renewable period not exceeding six months, remit the whole or any part of such fee in the case of any child when they are of opinion that the parent of such child is unable from poverty to pay the same, but such re-mission shall not be deemed to be parochial relief given to such parent.

## **Miscellaneous Powers of School Board.**

### ***Payment of School Fees.***

25. The school board may, if they think fit, from time to time, for a renewable period not exceeding six months, pay the whole or any part of the school fees payable at any public elementary school by any child resident in their district whose parent is, in their opinion, unable from poverty to pay the same; but no such payment shall be made or refused on condition of the child attending any public elementary school other than such as may be selected by the parent; and such payment shall not be deemed to be parochial relief given to such parent.

## **Attendance at School.**

### ***As to attendance of Children at School.***

74. Every school board may from time to time, with the approval of the Education Department, make bye-laws for all or any of the following purposes :—

- Requiring the parents of children of such age, not less than five, nor more than thirteen, years as may be fixed by the bye-laws, to cause such children (unless there is some reasonable excuse) to attend school.
- Determining the time during which children are so to attend school: Provided that no such bye-law shall prevent the withdrawal of any child from any religious observance or instruction in religious subjects, or shall require any child to attend school on any day exclusively set apart for religious observance by the religious body to which his parent belongs, or shall be contrary to anything contained in any Act for regulating the education of children employed in labour.
- Providing for the remission or payment of the whole or any part of the fees of any child where the parent satisfies the school board that he is unable from poverty to pay the same.

## ***Inspection of Voluntary Schools by Inspector, not one of Her Majesty's Inspectors.***

76. Where the managers of any public elementary school not provided by a school board desire to have their school inspected or the scholars therein examined, as well in respect of religious as of other subjects, by an inspector other than one of Her Majesty's inspectors, such managers may fix a day or days not exceeding two in any one year for such inspection or examination.

The managers shall, not less than fourteen days before any day so fixed, cause public notice of the day to be given in the school, and notice in writing of such day to be conspicuously affixed in the school.

On any such day any religious observance may be practised, and any instruction in religious subjects given at any time during the meeting of the school; but any scholar who has been withdrawn by his parent from any religious observance or instruction in religious subjects shall not be required to attend the school on any such day.

## **(II.) Parliamentary Grant.**

### ***Conditions of Annual Parliamentary Grant.***

97. The conditions required to be fulfilled by an elementary school in order to obtain an annual parliamentary grant shall be those contained in the minutes of the Education Department in force for the time being, and shall amongst other matters provide that after the thirty-first day of March, one thousand eight hundred and seventy-one—

- Such grant shall not be made in respect of any instruction in religious subjects :
- Such grant shall not for any year exceed the income of the school for that year which was derived from voluntary contributions, and from school fees, and from any sources other than the parliamentary grant; but such conditions shall not require that the school shall be in connection with a religious denomination, or that religious instruction shall be given in the school, and shall not give any preference or advantage to any school on the ground that it is or is not provided by a school board:

## **Scotland.**

An Act to Amend and Extend the Provisions of the Law of Scotland on the Subject of Education.  
[6th August, 1872.]

### ***Preamble.***

AND whereas it has been the custom in the public schools of Scotland to give instruction in religion to children whose parents did not object to the instruction so given, but with liberty to parents, without forfeiting any of the other advantages of the schools, to elect that their children should not receive such instruction, and it is expedient that the managers of public schools shall be at liberty to continue the said custom.

### ***Power to Impose Rates.***

44. Any sum required to meet a deficiency in the school fund, whether for satisfying present or future liabilities, shall be provided by means of a local rate within the parish or burgh in the school fund of which the deficiency exists.

### ***School Fees.***

53. The school board shall, subject to the provisions hereinafter contained with respect to higher class public schools, fix the school fees to be paid for attendance at each school under their management, and such fees shall be paid to the treasurer of the Board, and a separate account shall be kept of the amount of the fees derived from each school, and it shall be lawful for the school board, if they see fit, to pay to teachers of a school the fees derived from such school, and to divide the same among them as the school board shall determine.

### ***Conscience Clause.***

68. Every public school, and every school subject to inspection and in receipt of any public money as herein-before provided, shall be open to children of all denominations, and any child may be withdrawn by his parents from any instruction in religious subjects, and from any religious observance in any such school; and no child shall in any such school be placed at any disadvantage with respect to the secular instruction given therein

by reason of the denomination to which such child or his parents belong, or by reason of his being withdrawn from any instruction in religious subjects. The time or times during which any religious observance is practised or instruction in religious subjects is given at any meeting of the school for elementary instruction shall be either at the beginning or at the end or at the beginning and at the end of such meeting, and shall be specified in a table approved of by the Scotch Education Department.

## ***Parents to provide Elementary Education for their Children, and when unable to pay Fees to apply to Parochial Board.***

69. It shall be the duty of every parent to provide elementary education in reading, writing, and arithmetic for his children, between five and thirteen years of age, and if unable from poverty to pay therefor to apply to the parochial board of the parish or burgh in which he resides, and it shall be the duty of the said Board to pay out of the poor fund the ordinary and reasonable fees for the elementary education of every such child, or such part of such fees as the parent shall be unable to pay, in the event of such Board being satisfied of the inability of the parent to pay such fees, and the provisions of this clause shall apply to the education of blind children, but no such payment shall be made or refused on condition of the child attending any school in receipt of the parliamentary grant other than such as may be selected by the parent.

## **New South Wales Education Act.**

WE publish below the most material clauses of the new Education Act of New South Wales, which was assented to on 16th April last. We call the special attention of our readers to clauses 7 and 17 regarding religious education, and clause 11 regarding school fees:—

6. The several classes of schools herein defined may be established and maintained under this Act as fully-organised schools, namely—

- Public schools in which the main object shall be to afford the best primary education to all children without sectarian or class distinction.
- Superior public schools in towns and populous districts in which additional lessons in the higher branches of education may be given under such regulations for the purpose as may be approved by the Governor.
- Evening public schools in which the object shall be to instruct persons who may not have received the advantages of primary education.
- High schools for boys in which the course of instruction shall be of such character as to complete the public school curriculum or to prepare students for the university.
- High schools for girls.

7. In all schools under this Act the teaching shall be strictly non-sectarian but the words "secular instruction" shall be held to include general religious teaching as distinguished from dogmatical or polemical theology and lessons in the history of England and in the history of Australia shall form part of the course of secular instruction.

11. In all public schools the weekly fees shall not exceed threepence for each child up to four children of one family and for four or any larger number of the same family the total amount of fees shall not exceed one shilling. And in every cases the fees shall be payable to the teacher in charge of the school or other person appointed by the Minister to receive them and may be recovered by the person so appointed in a summary way before any Justice of the Peace and under regulations to be made for such purpose shall be remitted to the Colonial Treasurer and shall be paid into the Consolidated Revenue Fund.

12. The fees for the teaching in evening public schools shall be fixed by regulations approved by the Governor and all such fees shall be paid to the teachers performing such special duties and may be recovered by such teacher in a summary way before any Justice of the Peace.

13. The Minister or the Public School Board of the district under regulations to be made for that purpose may relieve parents or guardians from the payment of school fees in any case where their inability to pay such fees is satisfactorily shown.

14. It shall be lawful for any stationmaster on the Government railways to issue a free pass to any child to travel in a suitable railway carriage or van to and from any school establishment or declared to be certified under this Act. Provided that such school if a public school shall be the one nearest to the residence of the parents or guardians of such child.

17. In every public school four hours during each school day shall be devoted to secular instruction exclusively and a portion of each day not more than one hour shall be set apart when the children of any one religious persuasion may be instructed by the clergyman or other religious teachers of such persuasion but in all cases the pupils receiving such religious instruction shall be separated from the other pupils of the school. And

the hour during which such religious instruction may be given shall be fixed by mutual agreement between the Public School Board in consultation with the teacher of such school and the clergyman of the districts or such other persons as may be duly authorised to act in his stead and any classroom of any public school may be used for such religious instruction by like agreement. Provided that if two or more clergyman of different persuasions desire to give religious instruction at any school the children of each such different persuasion shall be so instructed on different days Provided also that the religious instruction to be so given shall in every case be the religious instruction authorised by the Church to which the clergyman or other religious teachers may belong : Provided further that in case of the non-attendance of any clergyman or religious teacher during any portion of the period agreed to be set apart for religious instruction such period shall be devoted to the ordinary secular instruction in such school.

18. Notwithstanding anything to the contrary in the last preceeding section no pupil in a public school shall be required to receive any general or special religious instruction if the parents or guardians of such pupil object to such religious instruction being given.

22. In remote and thinly-populated districts where no public school may exist the Minister may establish schools which shall not be classed as fully organised but as provisional only under regulations for that purpose to be approved by the Govenor Provided that in all such schools the course of such instruction shall be wholly secular and that all such schools shall be subject to the same control and inspection as are prescribed for public schools Provided further that so soon as twenty children shall have been in regular attendance at any school for three months the said school shall be converted into a public school.

## **Victoria.**

An Act to Amend the Law Relating to Education.  
[17th December, 1872.]

### ***Four hours' Secular Instruction to be given.***

12. In every State school secular instruction only shall be given, and no teacher shall give any other than secular instruction in any State school building, and in every school used under this Act not being a training school, night school, rural school, or other special school, four hours at least shall be set apart during each schoolday for secular instruction alone, and of such four hours two shall be before noon, two after noon, which shall in each case be consecutive; but nothing herein contained shall prevent the State school buildings from being used for any purpose on days and at hours other than those used for secular instruction.

### ***Children of School age to be Instructed.***

13. The parents of children of not less than six nor more than fifteen years shall cause such children (unless there is some reasonable excuse) to attend school for a period of sixty days in each half year, &c., &c., &c.

### ***Parents neglecting to send a Child to School to be liable to a Penalty.***

14. The parents of any child who neglects to send such child to school as provided in the last section may be summoned by any person authorized by the Minister or the local Boards of Advice before a Justice, and on conviction of such offence shall forfeit and pay a sum not exceeding five shillings for a first offence and twenty shillings for every succeeding offence, or in default may be imprisoned for a term not exceeding seven days.

### ***Teacher to be paid by salary and fees and payment by way of results. First Schedule.***

17. For the free instruction of all children attending school in the subjects specified in the First Schedule hereto, teachers of State schools shall be paid such salary and remuneration by way of results as shall be fixed by regulations : For instruction in other branches fees shall be charged to the parents in accordance with a scale to be fixed, and the teacher shall be entitled to such fees subject to a percentage to be deducted, which shall be applied as a fund for the payment of the teachers by way of results.

## **First Schedule.**

## **Section 10 and 17.**

Reading; Writing; Arithmetic; Grammar; Geography; Drill, and, where practicable, Gymnastics; and Sewing and Needlework in addition for girls.

## **South Australia.**

IN the South Australian Education Act of 1875 we find the following clauses inserted :—

An Act to Amend the Law Relating to Public Education.

[Assented to 15th October, 1875.]

## **Four and a half hours secular instruction.**

9. In every public school four and a half hours at least shall be set apart during each school day for secular instruction only; and such schools may open in the morning a quarter of an hour at least before the time fixed for such secular instruction to commence, for the purpose of reading portions of the Holy Scriptures in the authorized or Douay version. The attendance of children at such reading shall not be compulsory, and no sectarian or denominational religious teaching shall be allowed in any school.

## **School Fees.**

13. The Council shall authorize a scale of fees to be paid for pupils, and the amount of all fees collected in any school shall be paid to the teacher thereof for his own use, or if there be more than one teacher, then in such proportion between the teachers as the Council may determine : Provided that it shall be in the discretion of the Council to authorize a special or distinct scale of fees in any case in which the general scale may appear to them inapplicable, or to authorize the payment of a special stipend without fees in exceptional cases.

## **Fees when remitted.**

14. Notwithstanding any regulation for the payment of School fees, any child whose parent shall be unable to pay such fees shall not on that account be refused admission into a public school, but shall, on the inability being shown in the prescribed manner, be received and instructed in the same manner as the other pupils attending such school.

## **Child not to be refused admission, but parents to be summoned for fees.**

15. No child shall be refused admission into a public School on account of the refusal or neglect of the parent of such child to pay the fees due for the education of such child; but all fees so due may be recovered from the parent in the name of the Council or of any person authorized by the Council, before any Justice of the Peace, in a summary way, under Act No. 6, of 1850, or any other Act in force for the time being in that behalf.

# **What the Present "Secular System" Will Lead To.**

## **To the Editor of the "Southland Times."**

SIR,—I was very much interested in reading a report which appeared lately in your paper to the effect that a child brought up before the R.M. Court, Christchurch, said that she did not know the nature of an oath, did not know that there was a Bible, and did not know what would become of her if she told lies. I doubt whether the Bench would have been ready with the only rational answer to the question—what would become of them if they told a lie? which is that they would be liable to be brought into Court to be tried for perjury. The Chief Ministers of the State ought to understand the Government system about secular education. They should have enquired of the constables about Schoolmasters and not about Clergyman. If such ignorance is disgraceful

amongst children, why do not the Magistrates report the matter to the proper authorities—the Inspectors of Schools—and require that the children should be properly instructed about the duty of telling the truth, and the consequence of telling lies, according to the present State system? I have heard the term "a mockery and a snare" and I think it could be judiciously applied to any sentiments that are expressed by the servants of the State concerning higher religion, while they are ignorant about the secular system, in which ministers and people in the larger towns seem so quietly acquiescing. The old world which recognizes and establishes religion is consistent, but these young countries are not because they only want it when they can get it for nothing without labour or pains. I would suggest some such catechism as this :—

Question.—What is an oath?

Answer.—A formal promise to the State to tell actual facts.

Question.—What will become of you if you tell a lie?

Answer.—I shall be liable to be tried for perjury.

Question.—Can you be considered guilty if not convicted?

Answer.—No : I could prosecute for libel any one who called me a liar.—I am, &c.,

CONSISTENCY.

Invercargill,

July 13th, 1880.

## **The Demands of the Present "Secular" System.**

### **"No Room for God."**

### **To the Editor of the "Timaru Herald."**

SIR,—“A father of a large family” in citing his own individual case, but re-echoes that of almost every family having children attending the Borough School. In my instance I have children at school, and this is their daily routine of work: They rise at half-past six and practise their music till eight; then breakfast and to school by nine; out at 12 or more generally half-past, home to dinner, and back again by half-past one; about half-past four they are released for the day, though its labours have barely as yet begun. Now follows the real work, in the shape of hard and numerous lessons, to be learnt and perfected after tea, often occupying till long past bed time. This is about as hard a day's work for a child as many a man does, and I am certainly of opinion that where a child is at school all day, it is cruel and useless to compel it to rack its brains in the execution of extra lessons at night.—I am, &c.,

ANOTHER PARENT.

## **The Expense of the Present System.**

### **Local Responsibility, Oversight, and Rates Would Economize Better.**

### **To the Editor of the "New Zealand Herald."**

SIR,—Having just returned from a trip in the northern districts I have had a slight insight into the way our money is spent in the matter of education, and I will now endeavour to give the public an idea of the actual waste that takes place. In this particular locality I refer to, which at present I believe boasts of some 25 or 30 children, there was a school which had been put up at an expense of some £80 or £100, which with a very little

expense might have been made quite adequate for all the wants of the districts for the next five or ten years, but as the School Board thought it was not quite grand enough, it was decided to have it put up to auction, and it was accordingly knocked down for the sum of and a new one erected about half-a-mile from the site of the old one at a cost of some £350, and a house for the master another £300, some land fenced and ploughed carefully and expensively, a knocker on the door, hat pegs in the hall, a scraper at the door, in fact no luxury omitted at our expense. It would altogether total up about £750. And this is only one instance out of many hundreds. It is about time some notice was taken of it. I for one would be quite willing to contribute towards the education of those children whose parents are unable to pay for their schooling, provided the schools were called by their right name—charity schools; but to pay for other people's children and get no thanks for it is rather too much of a good thing for

ONE OF THE TAXED.

## To the Editor of the "Timaru Herald."

SIR,—I assume at starting I am a parvenu or an unknown person no one can take umbrage at my styling myself thusly, and with your permission I would give my crude ideas to the public of New Zealand, so as, if feasible, to strengthen the hands of the present Government, who, I am led to believe, intend to curtail the excessive expenditure on education in this colony. We are, Sir, in my opinion, educated to extremity. It's generally admitted (and I plead guilty to the impeachment) that I have "a goodly heritage" in the way of children, but *I cannot see why those who have not many or any olive branches should contribute to the teaching of mine*. I fail, Sir, to see the grand effects of educating the masses we were once informed would be the outcome of our State schools. Great Britian has made gigantic strides to teach everybody, and what is the result? England proper is anything but comfortable. Her manufactures and various industries languish. Scotland, I grant, produces a number of cannie or shrewd people; they were that always. Ireland the land of modern pre-eminent education, produces a crowd of discontented, disaffected, disloyal folk. To what are we to attribute these results? Why, Sir, I say to education. Our lunatic asylums are filled with educated people, the hospitals have their quota, educated public-house loafers are not altogether uncommon, and I need not inform you that educated obstructionists occupy seats in our Houses of Parliament. Your own pen asserts this fact daily, that some are anything but what they ought to be. Sir, I would have every person pay for the higher culture of their own children. It is monstrous to suppose that the children of some one who, perhaps through accident, gets located in a large town are to have almost a classical education, whilst those of another party, who elects the country, get only a modicum of instruction. Yet the latter contributes equally to the general fund. I have, Sir, the impression on my brain, it may be erroneous, that we are over-educated, spoon fed, in fact, with instruction. For example, an advertisement appears in a paper requiring a clerk, and behold dozens of applicants are forthcoming. I argue, Sir, some one must guide the plough and through that means comes our living by the land, and it only gives us sustenance. Ploughmen are not generally required to decline propositions from Euclid. For goodness sake do try and repress this excessive education mania. We cannot be all clerks, clerymen, doctors, lawyers, etc., some one, I repeat, must steer the plough. The old hackneyed idea that education represses crime is, I say, effete, obsolete, played out in fact. Read the records of our criminal Courts. Who are the people who embezzle, forge, and such like? Certainly the educated. The recent Dewar affair at Dunedin is supposed, and I believe justly, to have been done by an educated scoundrel. Sir, I assert that in the matter of education we are playing with an edged-tool. My advice is, and I give it to the country gratuitously, to *allow the State to teach our children to read and write fairly; then let the parents expend as much as they please in the higher walks of learning*. And as the Government are beset with monetary difficulties, why, let them sell the greater part of the reserves for education, and all the church ones, pay off some of our liabilities, and New Zealand will recover from her nightmare incubus—namely, education and religion—and prosper.—I am, &c.,

A. HENRY HEATLEY.  
Woodbury,

7th July, 1880.

## Custom in America, France, and Germany.

What is Thought About "Bible Reading in Schools" in America,

## U.S.

IN a statement, issued by General Eaton, a United States Commissioner of Education, which he calls "a clear statement of such fundamental principles as all American educators can agree upon," the following passage occurs :—

"24. Sectarian instruction is not given in the public schools. Religious, particularly sectarian training is accomplished mainly in families and by the several denominations in their Sunday-schools or in special classes that recite their catechisms at stated intervals during the week. It is quite a common practice to open or close the public schools with Bible reading and prayer. Singing of religious hymns by the entire school is still more common."

The statement in which this clause appears is signed by Presidents, Principals, State Superintendents, &c., of leading Universities, Colleges, and Schools, in some of the chief towns of about twenty different States of America, and may therefore be accepted as an authoritative declaration on the part of some of the leading educators of the actual practice in America with reference to Bible reading in the Public Schools.

The statement will be found in Appendix I. of a Report by Mr. Edward Combes, C.M.G., M.P., lately presented to Parliament in New South Wales.

## The Custom with Regard to Primary Education in Some of the Continental Nations, Existing at the Present Time.

### France.

#### Report by Edward Combes, C.M.G., M.P.

FRANCE has made considerable progress during the last ten years in developing primary education in its many different forms—infant elementary primary schools, superior primary schools, apprentices schools, and elementary schools for adults. In order to keep her place in the first ranks of civilized nations, she has made and is still making great efforts to improve her machinery for superior and secondary education, while primary education has become almost universal.

In France the law recognizes two kinds of primary schools :—

1st. Schools founded or maintained by the Communes, or the Department of State. These are called Public Schools (*Ecoles publiques*).

2nd. Schools founded or kept by private individuals, companies, or associations. These take the name of Free Schools (*Ecoles libres*).

According to law each Commune must organize and maintain one or more primary schools, and furnish the master with a convenient building for his dwelling, as well as a school house for the purposes of teaching.

Each Communal district of 500 souls, or about that number, if not dispensed with by the Council of the Department, must have at least one school for girls.

Primary instruction comprises: Religious and moral instruction, reading, writing, grammar, arithmetic, and the subjects of weights and measures. Besides these it may also comprise other subjects, which are defined.

### Germany.

FOR many years Germany has held a leading position among all the nations of the world, with respect to her educational institutions and system of instruction. Frederic the Great, at the close of the Seven Years War, published his celebrated regulations of 1763, making education compulsory and free for the poor. Popular instruction in Prussia has always been in the most intimate relation with the Reformed religion. It was considered necessary that every person should be able to read the Four Gospels, within which he should be able to search for himself the principles and rules of his faith. Luther himself occupied himself greatly in educational matters.

## Statistics.

### Education in Europe.

THE following numbers, which have been published in the educational organs of Germany, represent

approximately the present state of the chief European nations in regard to School education.

## Primary Education in New Zealand.

Year. No. of Private Schools. No. of Children on Rolls Private Schools December. Average Attendance. No of Teachers Public and Superior aided Schools. No. of Teachers Private Schools. 1874 \*188 M. 3753 8237 M. 2794 6322 985 449 F. 4484 F. 3528 1875 \*184 M. 3206 7316 M. 2796 6308 1153 452 F. 4110 F. 3512 1876 244 M. 4475 9357 M. 3877 8148 1350 543 F. 4482 F. 4271 1877 252 M. 4479 9992 M. 3725 8604 1442 568 F. 5513 F. 4879 1878 236 M. 4033 9206 M. 3573 8138 1745 526 F. 5173 F. 4565 1879 † ... ... 1817 ... \* Numbers not received. It is believed, that many schools existed in respect of which no returns were received. † Returns for 1879 incomplete and not yet compiled

## The Cost of Primary Education to the Revenue of New Zealand.

EXTRACTS from education reports showing the loss sustained by remitting fees, the excessive expenditure upon school buildings, and the extravagant grants of public money in support of the present system. Can the country afford it?

Date. No. of Population. No. of Children of School Age. No. of Children on Roll Books. No. of Children in Aver-age Daily Attendance. No. of Schools. Amount Paid by Government for Ordinary Expenses. Amount Paid by Government for School Buildings. Total Charge on Revenue, Education on elementary Schools only. Cost of Education to the Country per Child in aver-age Daily Attendance. Charge on Revenue for Elementary Education per head of Population. No. of Children At-tending Sunday School. £ £ £ s. d. s. d. 1874 341,860 72,147 38,215 27,143 ... ... 83,756 3 1 8½ 4 10¾ 38,081 1875 375,856 ... 45,562 31,827 ... ... 111,420 3 10 0¼ 5 11? ... 1876 399,075 ... 51,618 38,146 ... ... 177,212 177,212 4 12 10? 8 10¼ ... 1877 417,622 ... 56,239 40,837 730 204,205 ... 204,205 5 0 0 1/16 3 9½ ... 1878 432,519 105,208 65,366 47,996 748 216,666 101,257 317,023 6 12 5¾ 14 83/8 62,253 1870 463,729 ... 75,556 54,724 812 217,873 150,581 368,454 6 14 7? 15 10½ ...

In the Education Report of 1878 the following passage occurs :—

"The comparatively large sum of £45,944 9s. 4d. was received by the Education Boards, in 1877, from local sources, such as school fees, capitation rates, arrears of household and other rates, &c.; but all or nearly all such sources of revenue have been extinguished by the Act of 1877, and the local receipts were consequently reduced last year to £10,650, 16s. 1d., only about one-half of this amount can be regarded strictly as revenue, the remainder being made up of deposits, refunds, &c. The grants from Government during the past year show an increase of £113,718 3s. 7d. over those of 1877, owing to the maintenance of the public schools being now almost wholly thrown upon the Colonial revenue, and to the large attendance at the schools. The special vote for school buildings has also increased from £50,000 to £100,000."

[N.B.—Districts ought to be rated to supply their own school buildings. They are essentially for the use of the locality in which they exist. Economy would be much more practised when the district was rated for the buildings than can be the case where the expenditure for buildings is thrown upon the Colonial revenue. The revenue will soon be unable to bear the burden, since the larger attendance at schools of some 700 more children caused an increased expenditure in one year upon school buildings of £50,000

The Education Report for 1879, presented to Parliament June 5th, 1880, has the following :—

"INCOME AND EXPENDITURE OF EDUCATION BOARDS.—In addition to the statutory grant of £3 15s. per annum for every child in average daily attendance at the public schools, the General Assembly made provision for the following purposes :—

- For grants to Boards, at the rate of 10s. per annum for every child in average daily attendance for distribution amongst the School Committees for local educational purposes. It is required by Order in Council that the whole amount of such grants shall be paid to the School Committees according to a pre-determined scale based upon the average daily attendance at the schools respectively under their charge, and shall form a portion of the school fund to be disbursed by the Committees in terms of the Act.
- For grants to Boards, at the rate of 1s. 6d. for each child in average daily attendance, for the support of scholarships established by them under the provisions of the Act. These are the only payments from the Consolated Revenue which Boards can make applicable to scholarships.
- For the distribution amongst Boards of the sum of £40,000 by way of subsidy, with a view to aid and encourage them to make sufficient provision for the efficient inspection of the public schools.
- For grants to Boards for the training of teachers. The amount voted for this purpose was £7000.
- For a special grant of, £175,000 for school buildings."

And the question arises, can we afford so much out of the State Treasury for Educational luxuries? Also, perhaps, the Nelson Roman Catholic Orphanage having about 17 males and 5 females, total 22.

## Letters by Prophetes.

### The Responsibility of Educating Children Rests Primarily Upon the Parents, Not Upon the State.

1 TIM. V. 8.—"But if any provide not for his own, and specially for those of his own house, he hath denied the faith, and is worse than an infidel."

SIR,—The duty of caring for a child rests primarily upon its parents or guardians.

The State recognizes this duty of the relations, as regards feeding and clothing, as being for the good of the community, for from the intimate knowledge of the wants, from the sense of the responsibility of the care of the child, those most nearly related to the child are the most likely persons to discharge their duty efficiently of nourishing and clothing the child.

If the child be insufficiently nourished or clothed, it is likely to grow up diseased or stunted, and therefore not so useful a member of society as if better cared for.

This fact is recognized by the State, and if a parent is found to be absolutely neglecting a child, the State compels the parent to contribute to its support, and, if it is still neglected, the State then takes the child into its own care, for its own protection, in order that the child may be enabled if possible to become a useful citizen—but this is only where a child is grossly neglected—where parents are discharging their duty of clothing and feeding their children well, the State leaves them alone, considering that they are more likely to discharge that duty efficiently and economically, and to bring up the children as good and useful citizens than if it interfered. If they are not discharging their duty faithfully, the State does not immediately relieve them of that responsibility, which they wilfully incurred, of the care of their children, but it puts pressure upon them to call their attention to their duty and responsibility, and to make them discharge it if possible,—and it is only as a last resort, that the State takes upon itself the charge of the children. All will allow that this is as it should be, for, if the State were to undertake the care of all the children in the country, to feed them and clothe them, and relieved every parent of all responsibility in the matter, the duty would not be nearly so well performed as it is where natural affection is allowed to have its full sway, and the State could not bear the enormous cost, which would be incurred, having to pay sufficient persons to take charge of all the children in the country.

It is the duty of every parent to care for the bringing up of his children up to maturity, in order to make them good and useful men and women, and their minds want nourishing and feeding and their ideas clothing, just as much as their bodies do, and the responsibility of educating his children in the knowledge of God and in secular instruction rests primarily upon the parent.

Even savage nations recognize this duty, and they instruct the memories of their children in the traditions of their tribes, and train their bodies in active exercises and practising the bow and spear, or else the parents place them under the instruction of some person qualified to teach them; but for the State to undertake the education of the minds of the children of a country as a whole, is undermining the moral sense of responsibility of parents, by relieving them of the duty, and all trouble in connection with it as much as possible, and is undertaking to itself a duty which it cannot perform efficiently or economically.

What the State ought to do is this : To see that every parent recognizes and discharges the duty of educating his children, just as much as of clothing or feeding them, and if he fail to feel his responsibility, or neglect to discharge it, then the State should step in, and compel him to do so, for the well-being of the community; and, if the State is convinced that it is necessary, then, as a last resort, it must take the child out of the parent's hands and send it where it will be educated.

Let the State watch over the education of its youth, let it say to parents you have incurred the responsibility of bringing children into the world, and you must discharge the duty which you have incurred towards the State, as well as to the child, of bringing that child up in such a manner that it will become a good citizen. You may send them to what school you like, but whatever school it is, it must satisfy the requirements of the State as to its construction, that it is properly built, so that the health of children attending it shall not be injuriously affected by attending it,—you may have what schoolmaster you like to teach your children, but in order that the State may be satisfied that the children have a competent teacher, he must pass a State examination, and have a certificate of efficiency,—you may instruct your children in what you like, for as you have the responsibility of educating your children, it rests with you to decide what your children shall learn; but, for the good of the community, we must be satisfied that the children are being properly educated, and the children will be

periodically examined by persons appointed by the State, to see whether the children are getting a sufficient education.

Teach the children what you like, but certain hours must be given to certain subjects, and religious instruction must be given at a stated time, so that all whose parents do not wish them to be present can absent themselves.

But in every district there must be sufficient school accommodation for all the children of a school age in the district that may wish to attend, so that they shall be able to do so.

Subject to the just demands of the State that the education given to the children shall be sufficient, and come up to a certain standard, the parents shall have, as they ought to have, the control as to the education which shall be given, and shall decide upon what, or how much, instruction shall be given to their children, and whether they are to receive religious instruction or not, during school.

The State should interfere as little as possible with the rights and responsibilities of parents, beyond protecting the interests of the children, in seeing that they get a sufficient education under favourable conditions of health, and I think that the present estimate of the State in New Zealand as to what constitutes a sufficient education is a wildly exaggerated one, and one that is neither practical nor economical.

The State should call attention to, and insist upon, and so strengthen, the moral responsibility of parents to secure education for their own children, and place facilities in their way to enable them to do so, and not weaken or destroy this sense of responsibility, by taking the care of the children's education absolutely out of the hands of those with whom it ought to rest, educating them in many instances above their needs for their position in life, and even for their own advantage and the State's, at a greater cost than the country can afford, and not allowing the parents to have any say as to the manner in which their own offspring shall be educated.

Every district should be made to support its own schools, which should be called upon to provide sufficient accommodation for all the children in that district. Parents who send their children to those schools should contribute their quota in the shape of fees towards the cost of the education of their children.

Grants-in-aid for building schools and maintenance, should be made by the State, either by results,—that is to say in proportion to the number of children who pass certain standards of efficiency fixed by the State,—or, as a capitation allowance, in proportion to the average attendance at the school,—or, on the £ for £ system of contributing so much from the State exchequer in proportion to the amount contributed by the district.

But every district ought to be obliged to support its own schools in the same way in which it supports its churches, charitable institutions, hospitals, &c.

Whatever deficiency there might be after adding together the fees and Government Grant at the end of the year, could be made up by a local rate upon the district, and a direct taxation of this kind would quickly bring the attention of the whole community to bear upon the question of education, so that superfluities, either in expense or in excessive education, would be pruned down to the real requirements and most profitable system as regards the State.

Where people have to pay directly, either by fees or local rates, for education, they take a more active interest in the efficiency of the school that they contribute to support than where they do not, and they are more particular about economy in the management of a school, whose working they can watch, when they feel the pressure of a direct call for money.

Being directly taxed for their own school they feel a right to have a voice in the matter, if they see that the school is not so economically managed as it might be, for they see where their own pockets can be spared.

The active interest thus created is good in an economical aspect for the school, and as a matter of fact the parents are more anxious to get their money's worth out of their children's schooling which they pay for directly, than if they pay for it by indirect taxation : hence they feel an interest in seeing that the children attend regularly and punctually, and learn their lessons when at home.

Besides it is obvious that when Education Boards have the spending of money, which is raised by Colonial taxation, and do not feel the healthy pressure of having to raise the money required for the schools under their direction, they lose a direct inducement to economy. However difficult it may be to raise the revenue required for Education, that difficulty does not fall upon the shoulders of those who have to spend it, and whilst they see the requirements of education on one hand, they do not feel the pressure of having to raise the money for those requirements, and so lose the force of a great moral pressure at their back which would enable them to resist successfully the importunities of the various schools for their separate requirements, which are not always absolutely necessary, thought they may be desirable.

The expense of providing education for their children should fall primarily and directly upon the parents of the children and not upon the State through the medium of Education Boards.

Parents with proper self-respect, would take a pleasure and a pride in providing for their children, and would not forfeit their rights by allowing them to be taken from them, and educated through no care or trouble of their own in a manner in which they have directly little or no voice. It is bad policy, it tends to create a

feeling of carelessness and irresponsibility in parents as to the education of their own children, and to lessen the interest taken in educational matters. Parents are satisfied to have the trouble of looking out for a school and having to watch over it, taken off their hands, and they are foolishly weak enough to permit their children to be compulsorily taken out of their hands and educated on a system with the regulation of which, as fixed by statute, they have directly no voice.

If a district is rated for its own school, and the Committee of Management are chosen out of the ratepayers, far more interest will be taken in the school in that district, and it will be more economically managed than at present.

If any person brings children into the world whom he is too poor to educate, and whom he is obliged to hand over to others that they may be educated at all, he has clearly not entered into the responsibility of bringing children into the world, and he is not entitled to dictate how his children should be educated.

The State would then take them out of his hands and educate them as it thought best, and if he throws the whole burden of educating his children off his own shoulders on to the State, he could not complain even if his children were not brought up exactly as he wished. As soon as he is in a position to contribute to the education of his own children, as he ought to be before he incurs the responsibility of having them, and there are very few indeed who are not in this position, then he would have as a right a voice in their education, but so long as he forfeits this right by handing his children over to others to educate, he cannot claim to regulate the system on which they are educated.

But where parents and a district contribute directly to, and support the schools for the education of their children, those parents and that district have a right, and a responsibility, which they ought to claim, and to exercise, as to the instruction which shall be given to their children; and if they agree that their children shall be educated on a religious basis, and also that they shall have religious instruction given to them at certain times, subject to State restrictions, they have a right to do so, and a Government is taking on itself a serious responsibility which weakens the sense of responsibility of parents by forbidding them to have any voice directly in deciding how their children shall be taught, and disregards their just claim to have facilities given them, whereby they can obtain for their children the plain system of education which they wish, or of having some voice in deciding in their own district whether, if the majority of parents in the district wish it, religious instruction shall or shall not be given in the State schools of that district.

Government should rather call upon parents to educate their own children, and see that they do so, giving them facilities for doing so, and supervising, inspecting, and satisfying themselves that the children are getting a sufficient education, but they should interfere as little as possible with the rights and responsibilities of parents.

And Parents should recognize the responsibilities which they have incurred in having children, and discharge their responsibility faithfully, not only in securing a secular education for their children, but in securing education on a religious basis, and in seeing that the souls and the moral sense of their children are attended to and cultivated, as well as their intellectual capacity, and remember that the wisest of men has told us, that the fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom, and to depart from evil is understanding.—I am, &c., PROPHETES.

## Unfinished Letter by Prophetes.

SIR,—I have attempted to show in former letters that the duty of the State with regard to education is to supervise, and insist, and guard, and if necessary supplement, but not absolutely to undertake the carrying out of the educating the young of the nation as a whole. This is a duty which devolves upon the parents primarily, and secondarily upon the neighbourhood in which they live,—it is a duty which the State cannot perform thoroughly, efficiently, or economically, and if the State attempts to do it, it thereby destroys the best kind of work: viz., voluntary effort restrained by wise and firm discipline and regulations, and weakens the sense of moral responsibility in parents and the community, which the State should rather seek to strengthen than to weaken.

If instead of undertaking the primary education of the children of the Colony, the State insisted upon the responsibility of those upon whom the duty naturally devolves, and encouraged them and placed facilities in their way whilst insisting, it would be undertaking its proper duty of Government, and would benefit the community. It would leave greater latitude to parents, who ought to have that latitude, to give the children the education they wished, and would enable parents if they wished it to have religious or any other instruction imparted to their children, under State restrictions, which would guard the rights of conscience of those who differed. The nation would be a gainer, for you do not wish to turn out all the children of the nation as if you were running so much molten metal into a precisely similar mould, and sending them out into the world with exactly the same stamp upon them; on the contrary *Quot homines tot sententiæ*, and if you allow the

intelligences of the different parents and committees some play and latitude, comparison and emulation would both have an effect in improving the system as a whole, different systems would severally be the best adapted to different minds, and, as a whole, would result in advantage to the community.

Besides, and this is the most important of all, it would enable the education of the country, as a whole, to be founded upon a religious basis, and subject to a conscience clause, all children of those who wished it—and these would be by far the greatest majority—could be taught their duty towards God, and be brought up in His fear and love. Without this, any system of education will sooner or later prove a failure, and will end in disaster to the community,—without this education fails with regard to each individual in its most important particular—"For what shall it profit a man if he shall gain the whole world, and lose his own soul? or what shall a man give in exchange for his soul?"

Another point is, and it is one that is most dear to all Englishmen, it would be fair to all classes of the community, and to all denominations, and would do away with the glaring abuse and blot upon the present systems of education in the Colonies, that they are unjust—in most Colonies to the Roman Catholics, in this Colony to all Christians—in taxing them to support a system which they conscientiously object to, and, to be consistent in their principles they are compelled, in addition to supporting a system that they entirely disapprove of, to build and maintain their own schools. It is said constantly, "Well, it is their own fault if they will not come in to the State schools; there they are, other people use them, and they may if they choose; there is nothing to prevent them; why do not they use them?" But there is something to prevent them, a most important something which amongst high principled people will not, and ought not to be silenced. They say that they conscientiously disapprove of the secular schools, that they cannot conscientiously support them, and that they prefer even if they have to be unjustly taxed for their support, and at great sacrifices to themselves, to support their own schools where they can give the education which they think right. This being so, it is not right, it is not justice, it is un-English, to compel a large class of the community to pay for that which they cannot make use of. It is in plain words robbing them. It is just the same as if a man went to a baker and asked for a loaf of bread, and the baker took his money and gave him a loaf which was unfit for food; and when the man remonstrated, the baker said : "There is your loaf, you may take it or leave it,—there it is; it is declared to be good bread by Act of Parliament, and you must pay for it whether you eat it or not and accordingly, the man had to pay for the loaf which was unfit for food, and pay more money for another loaf of good bread to feed himself and his family, because Parliament had declared that the loaf of bad bread was all right; or, at all events, that it was all that he would get, and he must pay for it. This is not English. England is fair and just upon this question, why should not her daughters be?"

Not only is England fair and just, but it answers, for "Honesty is the best policy," and that which is right, and based upon right will, in the long run, triumph over wrong.

*This pamphlet is unfinished on account of the serious illness of the Author.*

## Finis.

ISAIAH xxvi. 4.—Trust ye in the Lord for ever: for in the Lord Jehovah is everlasting strength.

ST. JOHN xvii. 3.—And this is life eternal, that they might know Thee the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent.

ST. JOHN xiv. 15.—If ye love Me, keep my Commandments. 16. And I will pray the Father, and He shall give you another Comforter, that he may abide with you for ever.

REV. xiv. 6.—And I saw another angel fly in the midst of heaven, having the everlasting gospel to preach unto them that dwell on the earth, and to every nation, and kindred, and tongue, and people. 7. Saying with a loud voice, Fear God, and give glory to Him : for the hour of His judgment is come : and worship Him that made heaven, and earth, and the sea, and the fountains of water.

Wellington :

James Hughes, Stram Printer, Lambton Quay.

## No. 7.]

# The Religion of Humanity, or Human Catholicism.

# The Western Republic.

## A Serial.

### Ireland.

LASCIA DIR LE GENTI.

[That dense population in extreme distress inhabited an island where there was an Established Church which was not their Church, and a territorial aristocracy, the richest of whom lived in distant capitals. Thus they had a starving population, an absentee aristocracy, and an alien church; and, in addition, the weakest executive in the world. That was the Irish question. Well then, what would honourable gentlemen say if they were reading of a country in that position? They would say at once, the remedy is revolution. But the Irish could not have a revolution; and why? Because Ireland was connected with another and a more powerful country. Then what was the consequence? The connection with England thus became the cause of the present state of Ireland. If the connection with England prevented a revolution, and a revolution was the only remedy, England logically was in the odious position of being the cause of all the misery in Ireland. What, then, was the duty of an English Minister? To effect by his policy all those changes which a revolution would do by force. That was the Irish question in its integrity. The moment they had *a strong executive, a just administration, and ecclesiastical equality*, they would have order in Ireland, and the improvement of the physical condition of the people would follow.—*Extract from Mr. If Israeli's Speech in 1844, as given in Lord Russell's Letter to Rt. Honble C. Fortescue, M.P.*]

I quote this passage, quoted in a pamphlet entitled *Ireland*, which I published in 1868, as an useful introduction to what follows, as it places us at once in the very heart of the matter. One material change has been effected since the above date; ecclesiastical equality has been given. The grievance of the alien church has been removed. With this exception the words are as applicable now as in 1844, or in 1868.

For, old and yet ever new, the Irish difficulty is again upon us in its full intensity. The disestablishment of the Irish Protestant Church and the Land Act of 1870, which to many seemed a final settlement, are shown to have been ineffectual, as it might have been foreseen, as it was foreseen, that they would be. The gain from the former act is evident. It takes away a complication and so leaves the true issue more distinct. There has been also gain from the land legislation, but the principal advantage derived from it is indirect. More active treatment is proved, by the comparative inefficiency of that legislation, to be necessary.

I may remark that had the treatment of the Irish Church been more drastic, more consonant to principle, a greater progress might have been made in regard to the land. The funds of that intrusive and unjust institution should have been, with due regard to vested interests, applied in aid of a wise handling of the land question, such for instance as that proposed by Mr. Bright.

Be this as it may, the land question is still open, and to its settlement will be directed the efforts of our statesmen. I shall not touch it here in any of its details, for I think, as a whole even, it is subordinate to other considerations. Whilst a wise and bold measure of change might do much as a palliative and procure a healthier atmosphere for the discussion of further advance, I conceive the time to be past, if there ever was such a time since the Revolution of 1688, when any particular measure of reform could satisfy the requirements of the Irish nation. There has been an instinctive consciousness of this fact underlying all the more recent relations of the two countries, betraying itself from time to time in the deliberate as well as in the more impatient utterances of our public men and writers, and forming the ultimate impulsion of the successive leaders of the Irish nation.

The strong political discontent, which now confronts the English Government, derives support and energy, but not its origin, from the physical distress which is recognised as existing. As time passes, that discontent assumes more definite shape, and reveals more plainly its true source. It presents itself under two aspects, the interconnection of which is easily seen. It is at once social and political. It aims, that is, at a very great change in the existing order of society. It aims also at national independence in some adequate form. And as its character and aims, so its origin is twofold. As social, its root is in the hereditary, deepseated, and growing dislike to the exceptional land system of England which has been forced upon Ireland. As political it arises, no doubt, primarily from the patent evils which the dependence on a stronger power has occasioned and occasions, but it is also an outcome of the wholesome craving for a separate state life, which, in spite of existing

counteractions, is the permanent characteristic of European political order, distinctly traceable in all the great Western nations—both historically and actually.

The connection of the two aspects above given, and of the two demands which correspond to them, lies directly herein, that, without a large amount of national independence, the social changes which are desired are unattainable; the efforts made to attain them seem in the immediate future useless; they are a hope ever anew deferred. For a settlement of the land question of Ireland in accordance with the actual demand must react on Great Britain; and the territorial aristocracy of Great Britain is not slow to see that this is so. It is not the Irish only who are a dislanded and "dishorned" nation, but the English, Welsh, and Scotch; and the wiser the scheme propounded for securing the end to be kept in view, viz., "the remarrying the land of Ireland to the people of Ireland," the more certain is it to tell on the other three home constituents of our composite Empire.

Deep in the very constitution—the aristocratical constitution—of the English Government lies then the real Irish difficulty. This is true historically—it is true also in practical politics; and when to enable them to deal with it, the Irish seek for autonomy (the word is manifestly as applicable here as in Bulgaria or in Roumelia), there comes in the one great national prejudice, fundamental and most powerful, that, come what may, Ireland must remain in her present connection with England, an integral part of the Empire, not a self-existent nation. No English Government will venture in face of this prejudice to propose repeal. All Irish statesmen who see the necessity of repeal must use language and avow ends which are open to the charge of sedition.

Hence the relations of the two countries, I might say of the two Governments, the informal Irish and the highly organized central Government, are under these conditions very difficult. For any English ministry with the best intentions—and I do not believe that the responsible statesmen of either party have of late had other than good intentions—and with the clearest insight which can conceivably co-exist with the above-mentioned national prejudice,—will yet possibly find itself unable to carry the measures which it may deem advisable. Whilst the Irish statesmen who see that national self-existence is the ultimate goal of their exertions, must feel that they are face to face with a resistance against which all the ordinary methods of political influence break without effect. On both sides, the greater the insight the less would seem the hope.

Where is the exit from this political blind alley, all violence being set aside, and only such measures advocated as are within the province of peaceful statesmanship, such statesmanship, however, being conceived capable of a revolutionary vigour?

The spirit of coercion is abroad—of violence that is from the side of the established Government. To their honour, the present occupants of power stem as yet the rising exasperation, though unfortunately yielding to it so far as to institute this ill-advised prosecution. Be the result of that act what it may, it is, as force as been justly said to be, no remedy. Have we not seen, each half generation, to say the least, these coarser means applied, and a temporary lull secured; and, the pressure removed, as with our Government it cannot but be, the resurrection of the spirit which had been exorcised, the renewal in louder tones of the previous demands? This has been the political experience of the last half century—the almost exact period during which even the intention of justice on the part of England can be traced. It is this perpetual recurrence of the evil which is the peculiar opprobrium of our statesmanship, and the indication of the true direction for its future efforts.

Less than ever do temporary imperfect remedies hold out any prospect of advantage. For, of late years, there has been introduced an additional complication, many additional complications I might truly say. Three I will name. First, the greater rapidity of communication and consequent increase of publicity. The whole human family has become more highly organic, so that each part's suffering is more instantly felt by the other parts. Secondly, and in part as a consequence, the influence of opinion is more sensitively felt, the opinion of other people as well as home opinion. Europe has sought to make this influence powerful in regard to Turkey—but it is a motor evidently available elsewhere than in Turkey, and the proverbial secular mismanagement of Ireland is brought to the bar of national judgments in the Eastern and the Western world, in Asia, no less than in Europe and America. Thirdly, the Irish famine has left our statesmen a legacy. In shortsighted satisfaction, we exulted over the removal by emigration of a large proportion of the Irish people. So the then Government saw with pleasure the expatriation of the soldiers of Cromwell. But a century later and the recoil came. American independence was in no obscure manner connected with that expatriation. So, but without the slow lapse of a century, comes the punishment in the present case. The Irish in America are a constant stimulus to their nation which will leave it no rest till it stands free and its own mistress, in full possession of itself, at home upon its land.

I write as an Englishman, from the standpoint of our national duty, appealing to the higher conscience of this nation, to its sense of shame for past misdeeds, past neglect, past lukewarmness, to its consciousness that the effects of such a past can only be slowly cancelled, to all the latent nobleness which I believe in, and which duly evoked might issue in a resolution that, cost what it might to its pride or its interest, the true advantage of Ireland, and Ireland only, should be the rule of its action.

I urge no special measures. I confine myself to the more general, comprehensive issue. It is for the Irish

people when made *sui juris*, mistress of its own destinies, to decide on the best mode of its agricultural settlement. It is to the making it *sui juris* that I direct myself—to the gratification of the supremely just demand that Ireland be an independent nation with full self-control.

That for a time there remained a formal dependence on the English Crown, a connection of some kind or other, would be indifferent, if the completeness of independent state existence, the essential object, were secured. All must acknowledge the difficulty of the intermediate steps. But with an avowal of readiness to accept the ulterior end, with an avowal of the determination to work towards such end, the intervening stages would become indefinitely easier. The order, to all so desirable, would be more certainly attainable, disorder having lost its sole temporary justification or palliation. The irritation of ultimate denial removed, temperate discussion of the best form of outward union, or of the best mode of effecting separation becomes possible. Mutual conciliation on the part of two states in such close juxtaposition would equally in the present, and with an eye to the future, be the dictate of good sense, and the furtherance of the interests of both, in the fullest signification of the term, would be the common interest of both.

The task is: to reconstitute a state with whose separate existence and self-growth we have so long interfered, without any success in transforming it into the image of ourselves, as has been desired. It is a task which is being undertaken elsewhere, and with certainly not stronger motives. Its urgency in each several case is matter for consideration. When the actual condition is tolerable, such condition may well endure till the deeper changes have been wrought from which this particular change, viz., the restoration of political independence, will spring as a perfectly natural consequence. In Ireland, the condition is not tolerable. More than half the nation, I take the cautious estimate of a very moderate statesman, idolizes the man who is demanding a new state of things.

In Ireland we have but one choice,—are we not becoming convinced of it,—the choice between a revolution effected peacefully and one accompanied by violence. No doubt we may tide over this particular explosion as we have tided over others, but if we read aright the facts of the case in all their integrity, we may be sure that it will return upon us. The tenacious memory of the Irish people, daily evidenced to the most inattentive, their geographical position, the circumstances of the whole political world in which we are living, all the doctrines which are current, the vague doctrine of nationality co-operating here with the determinate doctrine of the state as conceived by a sound political philosophy, all point to the conclusion, that, sooner or later, the solution I am advocating must be adopted, and if so, why not at once, with all due deliberateness and precaution?

The empire of England is of most composite order, an aggregate of elements which have not been as yet, nor can ever be, welded into one organic whole. This, I feel sure, is a conviction the force of which grows daily, as the result of our dominant philosophical thought, and of the practical experience of our better statesmen. We are, however, appealed to, and the language goes home to the vast majority as yet of both parties, not to be inferior to our fore-fathers who won that empire, to defend it, and to hand it on with all that it involves as a great inheritance to our children. Various interpretations by different minds, this is the general substance of the appeals to which we have been accustomed.

I will enter on no criticism, confine myself to no mere negation of the prevailing form of Imperialism. I put forward quite a different form, one assuredly of not less noble aspiration, nor making less demand on our intellect and morality. Not unmindful of the past, whilst we would rise superior to it, we should bend ourselves to the work of repairing what has been wrong in it, supplying its deficiencies where it has been weak; not exerting a merely defensive energy, but the higher energy of reconstruction, of creation, of organizing within the limits which we have reached a new and better order. Not, then, any longer as the centre of an oppressive system,—oppressive in some cases as regards its parts, in others, as regards other nations,—oppressive, that is, within itself, and in proportion to its success tending to be oppressive without,—but as the free originator of a new life for a number of independent states, should the England of the present and succeeding generations at once atone for, and justify, its glorious but chequered antecedents.

More immediately, and especially, is it desirable that this should be done for Ireland, and the first condition of its doing is that, as a people, we renounce all determination to hold Ireland against her will—a most difficult act of self-renunciation, but one that, if accomplished, is full of promise.

One serious objection will be urged. It is a matter of self-defence to us to hold Ireland. Independent, she is a danger. I should not accept this contingent danger as a sufficient dissuasive. But neither do I think that there is any real danger. Independent of England, and independent on the hypothesis of her being so by the aid of England, why should Ireland be hostile to England? Why should she, in the second place, invite a foreign power to make her the basis of its operations, and if seized against her will what value would there be in her as such basis? What power again is there into which, if her own mistress, she would be willing, given all her past history and character, to incorporate herself? It is impossible to shut out all contingencies, but within the bounds of moderate prevision is there really any sufficient danger to warrant those who accept this ground for

her retention? I add that, if separate from England, there would cease all the motives for other nations interfering with her, which are connected with her dependent position. She would be as little involved in any English concerns as Switzerland; of very far less interest to England as a question of danger, than some of the other minor Continental states. Are we not, in our feelings and reasonings, on this head too much under the influence of older political associations and ideas, which are undergoing, if with extreme slowness, a transformation, and adapting themselves to the new order which is felt to be appearing in the horizon. Prudence may require us not to ignore too soon the old, but political wisdom has ever consisted in a due apprehension of the new which is being brought to the birth. But, as I said above, the possibility of ulterior danger would not weigh with me as an adequate deterrent from the policy I am advocating.

That there are grave difficulties in the state of Ireland itself I am well aware. There have always been such in the way of great changes. The establishment of the Union was not an easy task, nor the means by which it was effected delicate. Bring to the efforts of repeal and consequent reconstruction an equal energy, and the obstacles would not be found insurmountable.

In our government all resolves itself into a determination of the national will to uphold such change as the best deliberative wisdom, be it of one man or many, may think desirable. All resolves itself therefore into a modification of the national feeling and judgment. To this end each in his degree may contribute.

It were no mean result to have done with this festering sore in our national existence, which weighs upon our conscience and enfeebles our action. It were a gain of a high order to Humanity to have restored to its due perfection one of her immediate organs. I say restored, for the time was when to the general welfare of Europe Ireland largely contributed. She was a luminous spot in a darker world. The nation which through its statesmen shall make her the equal of others in a world which has become brighter will need no extrinsic compensation for any sacrifice.

In the complex organism of Humanity, as in the simpler organism of the human body, all members suffer when one suffers. The more perfect each is, the more it contributes to the welfare of its adjacent members and of the whole. In the past the rough processes of state unification have interfered with the unities which have been crowded into one political bond, and there has been a consequent blanching of the parts and diminution of their separate vitality. This may have been necessary. Is it so any longer, or are there not cases in which it is not so, in which the counter-process is indicated? It is my contention that Ireland is precisely a case of this kind, a case for the revision, in the interests of Humanity, of an unwholesome union. If rising above the bias of patriotism, as it is usually understood, we place ourselves at the standpoint of our aims and obligations as men, we shall have little difficulty in arriving at this conclusion, however various may be our judgment as to the immediate means. To the servants of Humanity all will be welcome that enriches and beautifies her continuous existence, and we can hardly question that it would be enriched and beautified by the re-integration of one of her organs, by its recovery of its own life, not, it may be feared, without considerable pain, but with an overbalance of ulterior good. In this spirit the surrender of cherished feelings which her service often involves, the progressive effort which it demands, will equally be accepted. Many have to surrender much in regard to Ireland, and the effort of her reconstitution will be great, but our past imposes both upon us, and in the acceptance of this inherited combination lie at once our duty and our wisdom.

Richard Congreve.

17 Mecklenburgh Square, W.C.

28 *Frederic* 92.

(1 *December*, 1880.)

P.S.—It is clear that repressive measures will be proposed when Parliament meets. All will depend on their character and accompaniments. Order and coercion are different ideas, and the firm maintenance of order, in its due measure, will be easy in proportion as it is kept distinct from all admixture of political compression, in proportion, that is, as it has no taste of the permanence of English rule and Irish dependence; in a word, in proportion as it is order pure that is the aim. It needs no prophetic power to foresee that whilst those other ideas are dominant there will be war between the two countries, not peace; war in one form or another. Whilst the Austrians held Italy we could accept and admire the social interdict enforced against them by the Italians. Why should we not allow for a similar social interdict aimed at our own intolerable supremacy—intolerable to the Irish, I mean. It is the only form of war left to a people held down by superior strength, a tenure of Ireland which would be as repulsive to us as to the Irish were we true to our history and professions. Yet even moderate men like Mr. Shaw-Lefevre tell us that the primary consideration is the upholding of the Queen's Government—which means, can mean, nothing but the absolute denial of the Irish wish for national independence. The outlook must be gloomy with such teaching in the ascendant.

## Materialism. A Paper.

READ BEFORE THE ASSEMBLY OF THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH OF NEW ZEALAND, by the Rev. James Treadwell, Wanganui  
Price, Sixpence.

A. D. Willis, Letter-Press and Lithographic Printer. Wanganui MDCCCLXXXI.

*The following Paper on Materialism was read before the Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of New Zealand during its last Session. It is now published by request of the Assembly.  
Wanganui, April, 1881.*

# Materialism.

Materialism is no new thing. It is on the contrary, and in its essence, old almost as thought itself. But never perhaps in all the past has it had a palmier hour than the present. Said M. Guizot in 1866,—"*Le Sensualisme, dans sa vraie nature de materialisme, est rentré activement en scène, tantôt tacitement admis par des esprits, studieux et sérieux, tantôt hautement professé et proclamé par les enfants terribles de l'école, non-seulement dans son principe, mais dans ses conséquences.*" He spoke of his own country. But Materialism is not a passing feature, or phase of French thought. It may be said to be throughout the civilized world the dominant philosophy of the day. Men of science who in their own special walk, physical or mental, have gained for themselves renown and influence, are its friends and promoters : *some* really whilst not avowedly, as Huxley and Tyndall; *others*, both avowedly and uncompro-misingly, as Büchner and Haeckel, Maudesley and Bain. Others who, like Spencer, claim not to be Scientists, but reasoners only, take the alleged results of science, and seek to enthrone it on a basis of impregnable argumentation. And at the same time, as the water, which rises on the heights, finds a way for itself to the low ground beneath, the conclusions of materialistic workers on the fields of science, and of plausible reasoners, not scientific, have found entrance amongst the many, entrance and acceptance with the multitudes and masses of men. To what has the revival of the Materialism which now prevails been owing? To two causes apparently.

1. Materialism has come upon us by way of reaction from the Idealism, which is its opposite. It is the ebb after the flow of the tide; the swing of the pendulum back in a direction opposite to that in which it had moved. Idealism having over-pressed the truth which is its, having absorbed matter in mind, nay, having, even after such absorption, absorbed all in God, recoil has come in the re-introduction and re-instatement of Materialism. I suppose that there is a "nemesis of thought" as well as of mistaken conduct in unhappy practical consequences thereof, and I can believe that if, as the Pantheistic Idealist, we put aside elementary certainties, if we seek to obliterate the distinctions clearly marked out by intuitional truth, nemesis may come in a recoil, which shall involve the denial of that for which we have so done. At all events, the revival of Materialism has been so explained by one who was at once philosopher and theologian. Looking on to, and predicting the present prevalence of a revived Materialism, Dr. James Buchanan uttered his prediction on the ground of the observation, that in human speculation, the pendulum has ever fallen back from one extreme to another, and that accordingly an over-pressed Idealism would result in a rush to Materialism. His significant words, so amply fulfilled, are these: "In these circumstances there may be a tendency to relapse into the Materialism of the last century, which attempted to explain the whole theory of the Universe by the laws of matter and motion, or, at least, to embrace some modification of the positive philosophy which excludes all causes, whether efficient or final, from the field of human knowledge, and confines our inquiries to the mere phenomena and laws of material nature." But again, and

2. Materialism has come upon us as favoured by, as even directly resulting from, a habit of mind, which is itself engendered by the time and labour bestowed on the examination of material things, by the zeal and enthusiasm wherewith nature, as she lies around men a wondrous physical system, is investigated and studied. The age is scientific—preeminently so, and as no other has ever been. In all departments of the material world, and wherever inquiry is possible, inquiry is made; facts and the relations of facts are sought after and ascertained. It is ever thus. The mind wearies not of the search, being ever rewarded by it. And thus a habit or frame of mind is engendered favourable to Materialism; all other facts and causes than facts and causes physical get thrust out of view, and these, from the very exclusiveness with which the mind is occupied by them, come to be regarded even almost as the only ones. "A man," says Dr. Hodge, "may be so habituated to deal with quantity and number as to become incapable of appreciating beauty or moral truth. In like manner a man may be so devoted to the examination of what his senses reveal as to come to believe that the sensible alone is true and real." We may find an instance of the effect of exclusively physical study in hindering the perception and acknowledgment of aught else than what is physical in the use that has been made of the doctrine of the "correlation of the physical forces." There is, say the men of science—in this very much

reviving, I suppose, substantiating an article of the creed of a very ancient Materialist—there is, they say, only a certain fixed quantum of force in the world, to which no addition can be made, and of which no portion is ever lost. Force, fixed in quantity and one in kind, they teach—force, moreover, which, as fixed in quantity and one in kind, can be made, chameleon-like, to take different forms, as heat, as electricity, as light, and does take them everyday under manipulation by nature or by man, both nature and man having it in their power to make force in one form to pass, in the measure of it, into another. A fine generalization is this doctrine of force, if, as would seem, it has been scientifically established, and forcibly does it impress one with the simplicity and the skill of the procedure of Him who is the God of nature and of man. But it has been no sooner scientifically determined than, under the power of the prejudicial habit of which I speak, it has been made use of to destroy the difference between life-force or mind-force on the one hand and physical force on the other. If, it has been asked, in things outside the sphere of the vital and the mental force is one, convertible from one form to another, may not the vital and the mental forces be but other forms of that same force? And the materialistic conclusion has been hastily drawn that "analogy demands" that they should be so regarded.

But, if the revival of Materialism may be thus explained, we must, I think, if we would fully explain its prevalence, take another cause into account. Materialism is atheistic. Its logical result is atheism, and all along its course it has had atheism as its terrible associate. There have been, indeed, inconsequent Materialists, such as Priestley, who believed in a personal Deity, though they were Materialists. But Materialism was atheistic, as it came from the lips of Lucretius; atheistic, as it was taught and avowed by the Sensationalist Philosophers of France; and atheistic it is to-day. The Positivist by the very terms of positivism is atheistic: so also is the physicist, who, though he disowns positivism, yet denies the distinction between matter and mind, holds that "thought is in such wise the product of the brain, that where there is no brain, there can be no thought;" and who puts force, "inscrutable force," in the place of the Supreme. Materialism being thus indissolubly wedded to the dark negation of God, its anti-religious character must not be forgotten, when we are accounting for it. I believe in the depravity of the human heart, and in a system which pretends to throw the sanction of thought over godlessness, I can see that which the heart will readily and gladly draw to. Atheism under the garb of a philosophy, freedom so from the restraints of theism—than that to the depraved heart, as it lies in the breast untouched and unquickened by the hand of the Spirit of God, nothing could be more welcome. At all events, I cannot help entertaining the idea that, were Materialism not atheistic, common men who are not "thinkers" would show less favour to it. And, says Dr. Buchanan—again,—"*There is also abundant reason to believe that both Atheists and Pantheists have had recourse to the theory of Materialism with the view of excluding the doctrine of a living personal God, and explaining all the phenomena of nature by the eternal laws of matter and motion.*" But my duty now is briefly to put the system before the Assembly. We will consider:—

I. Materialism, taken ontologically, or as a system explanatory of that which is. Materialism, I began by saying, is no new thing, and the varieties of it have been and are many. Running, however, through all its varieties from the system of Lucretius onwards, are there certain principles which are peculiar and essential to it. There are two especially:—

1. There is the principle of the sole existence of matter, its universality as constituting all existences. "Matter is everything," there is nothing but matter. In a condition, coarser or more refined, matter is that of which all things consist. That which we call mind, and have been, and are accustomed to regard as an entity *sui generis* totally distinct from it, is yet and really matter. From man downwards through every organic form to the brute earth, which is without both life and thought, one thing and one thing only prevails, the constituent essence of all, namely,—matter. There has never been anything else, and matter, which is everything, has always been. To quote the words of a Materialist, about the most thorough-going, it should be said, of his class:—"Matter is immortal, indestructible; not a particle of the world can be lost, nothing can perish. Even the atoms are in themselves unalterable, indestructible, existing to-day in one, to-morrow in another combination; they form by their manifold concurrences the innumerable diversified forms in which matter presents itself to our senses, in an eternal and continuous process of change."

2. There is the principle of the necessary, invariable combination of matter with force. "There is no matter without force," they say, and "no force without matter." Whilst matter, eternal matter is everything, there exists, in and along with it, and as an ever-present endowment of it, the further thing,—force. It exists, possessed alike by the atoms of Lucretius, and the molecules of modern scientists; and exists as does its eternal co-temporary in a fixed quantity, of which no part can ever be lost, and to which no increase can come. It exists as that which forms, arranges, and out of the eternal substratum of things, the one sole all-pervading element or component of things, brings "the universally diversified forms in which matter presents itself to our senses." "Matter," say Materialists, "is the principal cause of all existence;" yes, matter with force, the force which is inalienable from it. This out of the womb of matter brings all things, forming and arranging them as we see them to be formed and arranged. This makes life. It makes mind also, for life and mind are only "modes of ordinary force." It is the world's king, inscrutable, indeed, but omnipresent and almighty. Nay, it is God; all that the Materialist will

own as God. "We admit of no creation either in the beginning, or in the course of the world's history; and regard the idea of a self-conscious extra-mundane Creator as ridiculous":—says Vogt, in words both bold and blasphemous.

Thus does this philosophy of the senses take up into its hands two sense-apprehended things, that it may push them explanatorily in all directions, and so give us its rationale of what is. The rationale, however, fails in three respects; it is defective, it is false, and, even were it not defective, it would, through its falsehood, be inadequate. And by a few imperfect sentences would I show this. They will suffice, though few and imperfect.—

1. It is, I say, defective. To be complete, it should, but it does not, explain the things, by which it would explain all things. It speaks to us of matter, but, back of matter, there is the question—Whence matter? which it does not notice, much less answer. It speaks again of force, the invariable accompaniment of matter; but as to this also, there is the same question and the same silence. It speaks of matter and force as ever in inseparable combination, but it has still nothing to say when further it is asked—Whence has the combination come? It is true the Materialist clothes matter with the attributes of Deity, and says it is eternal; so uttering one of the many assumptions which he is in the habit of making, and one which, to say the least, he is not in a position to prove. Even, however, if matter be granted to him, that *rudis indigestaque moles*, that *pondus iners* of the old poet, those fine, indivisible atomic particles, which have never been reached by any experimental test, and are at the most, however probable, only a supposition or hypothesis, the question remains—Whence force? Whence and how the marriage of matter and force? I say marriage. But the question, it may be, is in the first place not of a marriage, but of a birth; Did matter, eternal matter, give birth to force and then marry her own child? Nuts, all these questions, which, hard as the teeth of the Materialist may be, he does not attempt to crack. No, Materialism, as Luthardt says, "which seeks to explain the enigma of existence, begins by two enigmatical, inexplicable quantities." And so does it labour under a defect, itself the sufficient refutation of its claim to be the philosophy of existence. The human mind inevitably runs back to the fontal beginning of things: its great inquiry has ever been—Whence am I, and all that I am in the midst of? It can find rest in no system, which avoids that inquiry. But

2. Materialism is false, whilst it is defective. Its root principle of the sole existence of matter is a falsehood, and diffuses falsity all through the system. I make here the appeal, which is usually made against the Materialist, to the human consciousness, and I say, the contradiction of the fundamental falsehood of Materialism every one carries at every moment within his own breast. In the consciousness of every human being there lies deep and ineradicable the double certainty that he is, and is as possessing qualities and powers which matter never possesses; that, therefore, he is at the centre of his personality other than matter, even a mind, a spirit. This certainty is awaked within a man as soon as consciousness awakes: it is the certainty of early, as well as of mature, life. It exists in, it influences every man; it is proceeded on as well by the rudest, as by the most cultivated. It exists before ever a man turns his thought in on himself to ask any question as to himself; either the question—"Am I?" or the other—"What am I?" Yes, and it exists a certainty which no sophistry avails to displace or overturn. If, then, human consciousness is to be trusted, there is in the world more than matter, a something quite different from matter. It may, indeed, be alleged that consciousness is not to be trusted. It has been. Maudesley makes the allegation, and by means of cases of diseased consciousness, endeavours to show its untrustworthiness. But if it is not, then we can know that matter is, no more than that mind is. All knowledge ceases whether of the Me or the Not Me, the Ego or the Non Ego. It is in reliance on consciousness, the consciousness that the mind operating through the senses has cognosced matter, that we utter the predication—matter is, as much as it is on it that we rely, when we say—mind is. The Materialist who, to strip the tree of knowledge of every branch but that one on which he has confidently perched himself, would have us distrust consciousness, does at the same time bring himself to the ground by lopping *it* off also. But I remark further:—

3. Materialism, even were it not defective, would be, from its falsehood, inadequate.

"I do not think that the Materialist is entitled to say that his molecular grouping and his molecular forces explain everything. In reality they explain nothing. The utmost he can affirm is the association of the two cases of phenomena, of whose real bond of union he is in absolute ignorance. The problem of the connection of soul and body is as inscrutable in its modern form as it was in the pre-scientific ages." Such are Tyndall's words. We may name them Tyndall's confession—the confession that the rationale of Materialism, viewed in one special respect, has failed, and a confession made under the force of scientific thought by one who, if he is not to be, as he would not be, called a Materialist, is yet influenced by a strongly materialistic bias. But it is not in respect only of the problem of the union of the soul and the body within our individual personality that it fails. Three things there are which the Materialist, with his two principles of matter and force, cannot reason away; the gulf between which and matter, even force-endowed matter, has yet to be bridged. They are three common things. They are :

(a) Life, of whose spontaneous up-springing (*generatio equivoca*) out of dead matter no trace is to be found either now, or in all past geologic times, and which never originates but from previously existing life. This even Materialists (Virchow and Huxley) admit—an admission which, as has been said, is fatal to their philosophy, for "if dead matter can only be made alive by previous living matter there must be a source of life outside of matter, or life never could have begun."

(b) Organism, again, which being the embodiment of an idea and a purpose, implies *mind*; which is so often fashioned and made in circumstances anticipatory of its own employment, as the eye, which, though made for light, "is formed in darkness," and the ear, which, though made for sound, "is formed in silence;" which organism, however, immediately on its coming into the circumstances for which it was intended, shews itself to be in the nicest way adapted to them. And

(c) Mind. But that it may be seen how Materialism fails to make mind out of, or to resolve it into matter—fails to reason it out of existence as a distinct entity, and that it may be seen also how organism, which implies mind, stands in its way a fact it cannot reduce, let me ask the Assembly to take

II. Materialism, as a psychology—the application which it makes of its principles to mental phenomena.

We come here to what is the real battle-ground between the Materialist and those who cannot subscribe his dark and lowering creed. The contest, here, howsoever or in whose favour soever it may end, is decisive of the whole question tying between him and his antagonists. Evidently if, when each side draws in its forces from wider ground, and unites them in conflict over the narrower issue—what is man? is he matter only, or matter and something more, a soul as well as a body, a soul distinct in all its qualities from, however mysteriously linked to, and depending upon, the body in which it dwells?—evidently, I say, if the Materialist cannot, in relation to man, establish his position of the sole existence of matter, and man is left not one, or matter only, but twofold, the Materialist loses all. Mind, left to man, must be taken as a refutation of the fundamental principles of Materialism. Other mind, too, there may be if, spite the Materialist, mind remains in man, even the Great Eternal Mind, the Creator alike of matter and mind; the glory of whose limitless power shines out through and over all things created by Him; and whose presence—a real presence, indeed, in the midst of His works, is necessary to their continuance as His creative Fiat was necessary in order to their existing at all. And mind left to man, death need not be, as, on the principles of the Materialist, it must be taken to be, the end-all of the human personality. Room remains for, a possibility at least remains of, immortality after physical disintegration—room, too, in which to entertain and consider the proper and conclusive evidence of man's immortality : not that pitiable thing which Positivists, by way of tribute to the indelible hope of a hereafter dwelling in every breast, are, I suppose, obliged to preach, but which can have no power whatever, either to influence men as they live, or to gladden them when they die; not a man's living on, after having personally quite passed away, in the effects which have come of his own life and action, and which, taken up into the current of the development of the race, are perpetuated in it: not that, but the immortality, so worthy at once of man and God's grace to man, which has been brought to light through the Gospel. Yes, if the Materialist loses the fight when he posts his forces out on the field of psychology, he loses everywhere, and he loses his all.

That psychology is the decisive battle ground I represent it to be, Materialists seem to feel. They have, at all events, bent their efforts to the work of winning victory on this ground, and theory after theory has been offered all with the view of doing away with mind. These theories, of course, do not quite agree. Nay, excepting as to the common intention of them, they very much disagree. And, with the difference in view, it seems to me that it would be no very unfair thing to say to the propounders of them : "It is, gentlemen, a priori likely, even certain that if mind be, after all which has been believed to the contrary, not mind but matter, force-endowed matter, its materialistic explanation must be single, if not simple. You cannot all of you be right. We venture even to think that some of you are very obviously wrong. So, take the advice which we, with our differences, have so often had given to us, and first settle it amongst yourselves what the genuine materialistic credo upon this question—man and the constitution of man, is. And do not be displeased if, until you have done that, and then done a little more, we gently refuse, in the interest of the dignity of our kind, to believe that even a Materialist is not something more and higher than clay, even though the finest of the fine." These divergent theories are, as I may name them, the secretion-theory, the cell-theory, the force-theory, the two-sided theory, the "I don't know," or the agnostic theory (Huxley), and in fact others still, for, as I have said, psychological Materialism is as unfixed a thing as well can be. I would ask you in your patience and on the principle, "*ex uno disce omnes*," to look at one or two of them. Take

1. The secretion-theory. There are in the body glands, and other organs, of various form and structure, by which special substances are provided—in a word, secreted, such as bile, saliva, and the tear wherewith we pity folly, or lament distress. It is a purely physical process, there being, on the one hand, the operation of the material organ, howsoever set in action, and, on the other, a corresponding material result. And like to it is the process by which thought gets into existence, by which all kinds or qualities of thought, higher or lower, common or grand, are originated. A physical process, the organ of which is the brain, results in the physical

effect—thought. Says the coarse Materialism, of which Büchner, Moleschott, and Vogt are the expounders, "Thought, stands in the same relation to the brain as bile to the liver.' Again, "The brain secretes thought as the liver secretes bile." Again, "Mental activity is a function of the cerebral substance." Once more, "Thought is emitted by the brain as sounds are by the mouth, as music is by an organ." These men have still more to say. They speak of the soul, that thinker whose existence Descartes saw, and in his "Cogito ergo sum" said, when he was laying the foundations of his philosophy, was implied by thought, and they tell us that it is "the product of a peculiar combination of matter," and again in grandiose terms "that in the same manner as the steam engine produces motion, so does the organic complication of force-endowed materials produce in the animal body, a sum of effects so interwoven as to become a unit, and is then by us called spirit." But we may put this aside, let it mean anything, or nothing. After that secretion of their materialistic brains which tells of the parental relation, through secretory exudation, of the brain and thought, it is difficult to see what need there is for a soul, a thinker at all, or why the very name should not be blotted out of every vocabulary of all the many tongues, in which it has so universally had a place. Thought is a brain-secretion: in and out of the soft cellular matter, lying convoluted within the cranium, are prepared and given forth or discharged thoughts, hard and tender, good and bad! *There*, is a short and happy phrase, which is fully explanatory of all mental phenomena, which each of us can easily remember and bring up in removal of any psychological difficulty, provided, that is, that in the mechanical process of thought-secretion, as it goes on within ourselves, any such difficulty should be secreted, and the explanation secreted along with it. But if thought is just a brain secretion, then this secretory cerebral substance operates differently from other organs of secretion. Others give out only what they have had in them—the physical, the material. In the case of brain-secretions, however, we have more in the product than in the producer, a something generically different from all in it. And so, seeing that the cause must ever be like its effect, and the effect like its cause, there is what we are not quite able to understand. Surely there is a secret somewhere about these secretions, which should have been more fully explained. But

2. There is the force-theory to which I, a little ago, alluded, and which, as we saw, makes use of an alleged scientific discovery, or that of the fixedness of the quantity of force, of the oneness of force in all its physical manifestations, mechanical, chemical, or other, and of the convertibility of force in one form into force in another, in order to the explaining away, as of vitality, so of mind. Mind (thought), like vitality, is force; and it differs from other forces, or other manifestations of the one force, only in being a special manifestation of it. And this it is sought to make out by arguments such as these :—

(a) It is not philosophical to think otherwise. "As there is no reason for assuming a specific force for light and another for heat, therefore it is unnecessary and unphilosophical to assume a specific force for vital and mental phenomena." In other words, philosophy forbids the introduction into the explanation of any set of phenomena of more causes than would suffice, and here one cause—force, the same throughout the spheres both of the mental and physical, is enough. An argument this, which is very like a begging of the question!

(b) It is against analogy to think otherwise. Combine, says Huxley, hydrogen and oxygen, and you get a tertium quid, or water, which in its properties is different from both. But it never strikes you to allege that an occult something, to be called "aquosity," or what you will, has presided over the mixture or combination, and that to it is to be ascribed the difference between the compound and its parts. And why should it be held that thought, appearing through or with the action of the brain, has required for its production the something called mind. If water, so very different from its components, results from the interaction of the chemical forces of its components, why may not thought be just the transmuted form of the forces, or force, supplied to the brain by its alimentation. An argument, this, again, which, with all the reason there is for not believing in Materialism in any form, we may answer by asking—Why should it?

(c) Use has been made of certain familiar facts. It has, for instance, been urged that "every exercise of thought or feeling is attended by an evolution of heat," and that that shows that "thought is resolved into heat." I suppose the fact of the concurrence of thought and heat no one of us Preachers will deny. Times, I fancy, we have all known, when, with an expectant audience before us, we have looked into vast depths of vacuity, and our minds have been most painfully exercised over a troublesome absence of thought, and, accompanying that condition of the consciousness, there has been not a little of the evolution of heat. The conclusion from the fact, however, is another thing. Concomitancy is not exactly to be taken as identity, as Dr Hodge wittily shows, who, remarking that we express our sorrow by tears, further remarks that sorrow and salt water are not therefore to be regarded as the same thing.

Now, whatever estimate is to be taken of these arguments as by them the force-theory is supported, one thing seems clear. If mind (thought) is one of the correlated forces, men of science should be able to do with it what they can do with others of them. They can weigh or measure others. They give us *e.g.* 772 foot pounds as the mechanical equivalent of heat; and that on the ground that Mr Joule found that 772 lbs. falling through one foot produces heat enough to raise 1 lb of water 1 deg. F. Similarly they should be able to measure the mental so that it shall be quite a proper thing, and in no wise ridiculous, to speak in such terms as a lb of argument, or a

cwt of disputation. And no doubt it will be in no small degree for the general convenience when they have done so, and shown the way of doing so, for then men will escape the danger they have ever hitherto run of attaching weight to thoughts and arguments, even perhaps a Huxley's or a Tyndall's, which have very little weight in them. As yet, however, thought has never been weighed in any scales but those which mind supplies. And until it is, we may surely treat this force-theory as powerless against the conviction that mind and matter are two very different substances which, whilst they coexist in man, and readily affect the one the other, yet are never to be confounded with one another.

Further still :—

3. There is the two-sided theory, according to which matter and mind are but two sides of one and the same substance, like the obverse and reverse faces of a coin. The theory is not new. It is substantially that one-substance theory which was favoured and adopted by Priestley, which was favoured also and advocated by French Sensationalists, by D'Holbach in his "Système de la Nature." It has found an earnest and a confident advocate in Professor Bain, who says—"The arguments for the two substances have, we believe, now entirely lost their force"; and again—"The one substance with two sets of properties, two sides, the physical side and the mental, a double-faced unity, would appear to comply with all the exigencies of the case." But, confident as he is, it would be difficult to take sides with him. It is simply an impossibility that such antithetic and irreconcilable qualities as feeling and thought on the one side, and extension, inertia, impenetrability on the other, should coinhere in one and the same substance. Were a coin presented to us bearing on its obverse the head of Antiochus Epiphanes, that bitter enemy of the Jews and their religion, and on the reverse the representation which stood out on the medal struck by the Dutch Republic—ships, a fleet breasting the deep in all the gaiety of its pride and power—and surrounding them the legend,—"*Flavit Jehovah et dissipati sunt*,"—we should not hesitate at once to pronounce it a forgery, and that however beautifully executed. We should know it to be from the occurrence in the legend of the one word Jehovah. Nor can we hesitate to put aside this theory of the two in one, however plausibly, and by whatever pen it may be argued, that qualities mental and qualities physical may in one substance and together inhere.

Thus far, we have considered Materialism as it presents to us its rationale, first, of existence generally, and second, of man. Turning unsatisfied from both, I would still for a few minutes occupy the attention of the Assembly with

III. Materialism taken sociologically.

"Sociology," it has been said, "is the most complex of all the sciences." It is, from its very complexity, hard to define. The science of collective human life, it has for its subject man as he is, and as he shews himself, under his relations to his fellow-men : its problem is to show how social man has come to be what he is; how social phenomena spring from the laws regulating "the thoughts, feelings, and actions of men united together in the social state;" how "one state of society results from and takes the place of another" in endless progression and advancement. It had Comte for its father; and materialistic in its origin, it is still in the fostering hands of Materialists. When brought into being it seemed to its author complete and unimprovable, like the goddess who sprang in her maidenly martial perfectness from the capacious skull of Jove. Forgetting that it is not given to one man to make a science, and especially one necessitating such width of observation as sociology, Comte said, in the egregious egotism which Guizot tells us characterised him, "I will venture to say that sociological science, though only established by this book, already rivals mathematical science itself, not in precision and fecundity, but in positivity and rationality";—an outburst of vanity on which we have a significant comment in the fact that Materialistic workers are still labouring to construct a sociology. The question which I would here ask is this :—"Supposing such a science possible, is it possible that a true sociology can come from the hands of Materialists?" And to that I answer, "No, for Materialism has no place in itself for factors which have played, and still play, the very chiefest part in human life, in the life and the state of collective humanity.

1. It has no place in it for God, for the Hand, and for the Providence of God. With Comte, God was a matter of the past. He, and all supernatural Existences, and all supernatural interposition belonged to the infancy of the race—illusions, once fondly believed in, but outgrown and left behind at last and forever. Spencer, too, has no God, or none but one, which is the negation of God—impersonal inscrutable force.

2. It has no place either for human freedom. Take it either generally with its principles of matter and force, or specially as an offered explanation of mind and thought, and a glance is enough to show that it has not. If mind be matter, and its operation or thought be force, then you have the necessary always and cannot have the free. "In referring all mental action to physical forces, Materialism cannot but exclude all freedom of action. There is no spontaneity in chemical affinity, in light, heat, or electricity; yet to these forces all vital and mental phenomena are referred. If thought be a certain kind of molecular motion of the brain, it is no more free than any other kind of molecular motion called heat. And this is the more obviously true if they are correlative, the one thing being changed into the other." Human freedom must ever be a difficulty in the construction of a sociology, into whose hand soever that task may fall, even as the extreme variableness of the atmosphere is a

difficulty in the way of another Science,—freedom with its waywardness, its impulsiveness, its uncertain wilfulness. But constructors who, from prepossessing error, leave it out of account, do no better than children who build the card castle a breath overthrows. Again :—

3. It has no place in it for those high beliefs which have so largely determined the action, and the social results of the action of men. It is historically certain that men have believed in God. Nay, the Assembly will remember that it was the universality of the belief which was to Cicero evidence of the Divine existence. It is as certain that men still do, and they not merely the *profanum vulgus*. Yes, God, the personal, extramundane Creator and Ruler, is not dead. Nor is the belief in Him dead. As the many have faith in God, so also have men of mind and mark, occupying every walk of science, and philosophy, and eminent in it, eminent certainly as any philosopher decked in the gloomy mantle of Materialism, for power of thought, for capacity of judgment, for care and conscientiousness of enquiry and research. And along with this highest of all beliefs go the sense of responsibility and the hope of life beyond the grave with God. In vain do Materialists, with the inordinate pride of a Comte, seek to talk down these beliefs. They obtain, and they will obtain, influencing many, the very many, amongst whom are not a few of the eminent. Spite the prevalence of materialistic atheism, decay has not overtaken these old beliefs; they are still the hinge on which the vast world moves. Again, and—

4. Lastly, Materialism has no room for motives which, springing from those realities of religion it denies, have affected, and are affecting, the social condition of men all the world over. With its denial of God and a Hereafter, it necessarily makes itself one with a utilitarian selfishness, hard and unyielding. The question and the motive, which it puts forward, are simply "how to make the best of this world." We may see evidence of this on one page and another of Mr Spencer's Sociology. We may see it, I think, in the sentences :—"For if the unworthy are helped to increase by shielding them from that mortality which their unworthiness would naturally entail, the effect is to produce, generation after generation, a greater unworthiness." "How far the mentally-superior may with a balance of benefit to society, shield the mentally-inferior from the evil results of their infirmity, is a question too involved to be here discussed at length." Thank God, other motives, influential and ever-operating there are—even love and pity, a pitying love. In heaven it is, in the great Heart of the Almighty. On earth, too, it is, in human hearts innumerable which He has blessed. Pure and meek it has, as a very angel from God's presence, travelled down the ages, throwing the shelter of its kindness over the weak and the needy, presenting its cup of healing to the lips of the criminal, the outcast, the wretched. It, too, far from wearying or desisting, is, by the very largeness and multifariousness of its benevolence, making ours the most distinguished of the centuries. Materialism may ignore it. Before its hand can be stayed, however, Materialism will need to destroy not only God, but with him all sense, dwelling in man, and leading to the admiration and the practice, of the things that are "honest, and pure, and lovely, and of good report." Truly a hard task, its!

Vignette

## Appendix.

- Sensationalism, in its true character as Materialism, has again entered actively on the scene, now tacitly admitted by thoughtful earnest minds, and again boldly professed and proclaimed by the Enfants terribles of the school, not only in its principle, but in its consequences."
- Materialism has been named by Mr Carlyle "the grand idolatry by which at all times the true worship, that of the invisible, has been polluted and withstood." He so speaks of all forms of it.
- Another confession of Tyndall's runs thus :—"I have noticed during years of self-observation that it is not in hours of clearness and vigour that the doctrine (of Materialistic Atheism) commends itself to my mind, and that, in the presence of stronger and healthier thought, it ever dissolves and disappears as offering no solution of the mystery in which we dwell, and of which we form part." See Belfast Address Additions.
- President Barnard (see Hodge's S. Theology vol. 1., pp. 201-2) thus reasons :—"Thought cannot be a physical force, because thought admits of no measure. I think it will be conceded without controversy that there is no form of Material substance, and no known force of a physical nature (and there are no other forces), of which we cannot, in some form, definitely express the quantity by reference to some conventional measuring unit. No such means of measuring mental action has been suggested. No such means can be conceived. Now I maintain that a thing, which is unsusceptible of measurement, cannot be a quantity, and that a thing that is not even a quantity, cannot be a force."
- The "Système de la Nature" was first published in 1780 by Condillac. Its authorship seems to be somewhat doubtful. It is usually quoted as by D'Holbach. But it has also been ascribed to Mirabeau.
- Guizot's words are :—"Modeste en apparence, quoique, au fond, prodigieusement orgueilleux." Meditations, Vol. ii., p. 250.
- Dr. Hodge, in his enumeration of the principles of Comtism puts the sixth thus :—"As everything is included in the department of physics, everything is controlled by physical laws, and there is no more

freedom in human acts than in the motions of the stars; and, therefore, the one can be predicted with the same certainty as the other." See Hodge, S. Theology, Vol, i., p 255.  
A. D. Willis, *Victoria Avenue, Wanganui.*

## The Transvaal.

A rising in the Transvaal has recently imposed upon me the duty of taking military measures with a view to the prompt vindication of my authority, and has of necessity set aside for the time any plan for securing to the European settlers that full control over their own local affairs without prejudice to the interest of the natives which I had been desirous to confer.—*Extract from the Queen's Speech of Thursday, January 6th, 1881.*

So speak our Ministers through the Queen.

More than one of the chief of those Ministers—some of their subordinates have condemned the annexation of the Transvaal. Yet if they mean anything, they mean to crush by war the independence, the withdrawal of which they have openly reprehended.

And this in the name of duty. What imposes the duty? Can it be a duty to persist in an act which is in itself incapable of defence—and there is a general feeling, which those who have studied the subject know to be well grounded, that the annexation of the Transvaal is indefensible, that there we are clearly and wholly wrong.

What then, I repeat, imposes the duty? Our national pride and obstinacy. We have not the courage to retire from a position which is morally untenable—to reverse an acknowledged injustice—acknowledged, I mean, to be definite, by some at least of the Ministers who are sanctioning its maintenance, and generally by those even who support their action.

A war conducted against a free people—whom for our purposes we unblushingly call rebels—to whose freedom we stood pledged—from whom we took their freedom quite unnecessarily—for certain evils and dangers attendant on it might have been otherwise remedied—for such a war there is no justification. The blood shed in such a war must stand to the account of the Ministry which sanctions it, in such glaring contrast with all their professions.

In the name of Humanity we raise our voice against any re-conquest of the Transvaal—we demand its restoration as a free State.

Signed on behalf of my co-religionists,  
Richard Congreve.

17, MECKLENBURGH SQUARE, W.C.

*7 Moses 93.*

*(7 January, 1881.)*

NOTE.—It is now some time since the Transvaal was seized by the criminal act of Sir Theophilus Shepstone. In the beginning of 1879 we protested against it. Has there been any thing done during the two years or more since its seizure to manifest the desire which the Queen is made to feel. Is it a desire which has been expressed and in any way acted on, for if not, its expression now is but a sorry device to colour our odious exertion of force—a latent desire is of no value. This is a point on which we need information.

The Gods.

BY ROBERT G. INGERSOLL.

GIVE ME THE STORM AND TEMPEST OF THOUGHT AND ACTION, RATHER THAN THE DEAD CALM OF IGNORANCE AND FAITH. BANISH ME FROM EDEN WHEN YOU WILL; BUT FIRST LET ME EAT OF THE FRUIT OF THE TREE OF KNOWLEDGE.

Joseph Braithwaite Dunedin Bookseller and Stationer. MDCCCLXXX.

## The Gods.

## An Honest God is the Noblest Work of Man.

EACH nation has created a god, and the god has always resembled his creators. He hated and loved what they hated and loved, and he was invariably found on the side of those in power. Each god was intensely patriotic, and detested all nations but his own. All these gods demanded praise, flattery, and worship. Most of them were pleased with sacrifice, and the smell of innocent blood has ever been considered a divine perfume. All these gods have insisted upon having a vast number of priests, and the priests have always insisted upon being supported by the people, and the principal business of these priests has been to boast about their god, and to insist that he could easily vanquish all the other gods put together.

These gods have been manufactured after numberless models, and according to the most grotesque fashions. Some have a thousand arms, some a hundred heads, some are adorned with necklaces of living snakes, some are armed with clubs, some with sword and shield, some with bucklers, and some have wings as a cherub; some were invisible, some would show themselves entire, and some would only show their backs; some were jealous, some were foolish, some turned themselves into men, some into swans, some into bulls, some into doves, and some into Holy Ghosts, and made love to the beautiful daughters of men. Some were married—all ought to have been—and some were considered as old bachelors from all eternity. Some had children, and the children were turned into gods and worshiped as their fathers had been. Most of these gods were revengeful, savage, lustful, and ignorant. As they generally depended upon their priests for information, their ignorance can hardly excite our astonishment.

These gods did not even know the shape of the worlds they had created, but supposed them perfectly flat. Some thought the day could be lengthened by stopping the sun, that the blowing of horns could throw down the walls of a city, and all knew so little of the real nature of the people they had created, that they commanded the people to love them. Some were so ignorant as to suppose that man could believe just as he might desire, or as they might command, and that to be governed by observation, reason, and experience was a most foul and damning sin. None of these gods could give a true account of the creation of this little earth. All were woefully deficient in geology and astronomy. As a rule, they were most miserable legislators, and as executives, they were far inferior to the average of American presidents.

These deities have demanded the most abject and degrading obedience. In order to please them, man must lay his very face in the dust. Of course, they have always been partial to the people who created them, and have generally shown their partiality by assisting those people to rob and destroy others, and to ravish their wives and daughters.

Nothing is so pleasing to these gods as the butchery of unbelievers. Nothing so enrages them even now, as to have some one deny their existence.

Few nations have been so poor as to have but one god. Gods were made so easily, and the raw material cost so little, that generally the god market was fairly glutted, and heaven crammed with these phantoms. These gods not only attended to the skies, but were supposed to interfere in all the affairs of men. They presided over everybody and everything. They attended to every department. All was supposed to be under their immediate control. Nothing was too small—nothing too large; the falling of sparrows and the motions of the planets were alike attended to by these industrious and observing deities. From their starry thrones they frequently came to the earth for the purpose of imparting information to man. It is related of one that he came amid thunderings and lightnings in order to tell the people that they should not cook a kid in its mother's milk. Some left their shining abodes to tell women that they should, or should not, have children, to inform a priest how to cut and wear his apron, and to give directions as to the proper manner of cleaning the intestines of a bird.

When the people failed to worship one of these gods, or failed to feed and clothe his priest (which was much the same thing), he generally visited them with pestilence and famine. Sometimes he allowed some other nation to drag them into slavery—to sell their wives and children; but generally he glutted his vengeance by murdering their first-born. The priests always did their whole duty, not only in predicting these calamities but in proving, when they did happen, that they were brought upon the people because they had not given quite enough to them.

These gods differed just as the nations differed; the greatest and most powerful had the most powerful gods, while the weaker ones were obliged to content themselves with the very off-scourings of the heavens. Each of these gods promised happiness here and hereafter to all his slaves, and threatened to eternally punish all who either disbelieved in his existence or suspected that some other god might be his superior; but to deny the existence of all gods was, and is, the crime of crimes. Redden your hands with human blood; blast by slander the fair fame of the innocent; strangle the smiling child upon its mother's knees; deceive, ruin and desert the beautiful girl who loves and trusts you, and your case is not hopeless. For all this, and for all these you may be forgiven. For ail this, and for all these, that bankrupt court established by the gospel, will give you a discharge; but deny the existence of these divine ghosts, of these gods, and the sweet and tearful face of Mercy becomes livid with eternal hate. Heaven's golden gates are shut, and you, with an infinite curse ringing in your ears, with the brand of infamy upon your brow, commence your endless wanderings in the lurid gloom of hell—an

immortal vagrant—an eternal outcast—a deathless convict.

One of these gods, and one who demands our love, our admiration and our worship, and one who is worshiped, if mere heartless ceremony is worship, gave to his chosen people for their guidance, the following laws of war : "When thou comest nigh unto a city to fight against it, *then proclaim peace unto it*. And it shall be if it make thee answer of peace, and open unto thee, then it shall be that all the people that is found therein shall be tributaries unto thee, and they shall serve thee. And if it will make no peace with thee, but will make war against thee, then thou shalt besiege it. And when the Lord thy God hath delivered it into thy hands, thou shalt smite every male thereof with the edge of the sword. But the women and the little ones, and the cattle, and all that is in the city, even all the spoil thereof, shalt thou take unto thyself, and thou shalt eat the spoil of thine enemies which the Lord thy God hath given thee. Thus shalt thou do unto all the cities which are very far off from thee, which are not of the cities of these nations. But of the cities of these people which the Lord thy God doth give thee for an inheritance, *thou shalt save alive nothing that breatheth*."

Is it possible for man to conceive of anything more perfectly infamous? Can you believe that such directions were given by any being except an infinite fiend? Remember that the army receiving these instructions was one of invasion. Peace was offered upon condition that the people submitting should be the slaves of the invader; but if any should have the courage to defend their homes, to fight for the love of wife and child, then the sword was to spare none—not even the prattling, dimpled babe.

And we are called upon to worship such a god; to get upon our knees and tell him that he is good, that he is merciful, that he is just, that he is love. We are asked to stifle every noble sentiment of the soul, and to trample under foot all the sweet charities of the heart. Because we refuse to stultify ourselves—refuse to become liars—we are denounced, hated, traduced, and ostracized here, and this same god threatens to torment us in eternal fire the moment death allows him to fiercely clutch our naked helpless souls. Let the people hate, let the god threaten—we will educate them and, and we will despise and defy him.

The book, called the bible, is filled with passages equally horrible, unjust, and atrocious. This is the book to be read in schools in order to make our children loving, kind, and gentle! This is the book to be recognised in our Constitution as the source of all authority and justice!

Strange! that no one has ever been persecuted by the church for believing God bad, while hundreds of millions have been destroyed for thinking him good. The orthodox church never will forgive the Universalist for saying "God is love." It has always been considered as one of the very highest evidences of true and undefiled religion to insist that all men, women, and children deserve eternal damnation. It has always been heresy to say, "God will at last save all."

We are asked to justify these frightful passages, these infamous laws of war, because the bible is the word of God. As a matter of fact, there never was, and there never can be, an argument, even tending to prove the inspiration of any book whatever. In the absence of positive evidence, analogy and experience, argument is simply impossible, and at the very best, can amount only to a useless agitation of the air. The instant we admit that a book is too sacred to be doubted, or even reasoned about, we are mental serfs. It is infinitely absurd to suppose that a god would address a communication to intelligent beings, and yet make it a crime, to be punished in eternal flames, for them to use their intelligence for the purpose of understanding his communication. If we have the right to use our reason, we certainly have the right to act in accordance with it, and no god can have the right to punish us for such action.

The doctrine that future happiness depends upon belief is monstrous. It is the infamy of infamies. The notion that faith in Christ is to be rewarded by an eternity of bliss, while a dependence upon reason, observation, and experience merits everlasting pain, is too absurd for refutation, and can be relieved only by that unhappy mixture of insanity and ignorance, called "faith." What man, who ever thinks, can believe that blood can appease God? And yet, our entire system of religion is based upon that belief. The Jews pacified Jehovah with the blood of animals, and according to the Christian system, the blood of Jesus softened the heart of God a little, and rendered possible the salvation of a fortunate few. It is hard to conceive how the human mind can give assent to such terrible ideas, or how any sane man can read the bible and still believe in the doctrine of inspiration.

Whether the bible is true or false, is of no consequence in comparison with the mental freedom of the race. Salvation through slavery is worthless. Salvation from slavery is inestimable.

As long as man believes the bible to be infallible, that book is his master. The civilization of this century is not the child of faith, but of unbelief—the result of free thought.

All that is necessary, as it seems to me, to convince any reasonable person that the bible is simply and purely of human invention—of barbarian invention—is to read it. Read it as you would any other book; think of it as you would of any other; get the bandage of reverence from your eyes; drive from your heart the phantom of fear; push from the throne of your brain the cowed form of superstition—then read the holy bible, and you will be amazed that you ever, for one moment supposed a being of infinite wisdom, goodness and purity, to be

the author of such ignorance and of such atrocity.

Our ancestors not only had their god-factories, but they made devils as well. These devils were generally disgraced and fallen gods. Some had headed unsuccessful revolts; some had been caught sweetly reclining in the shadowy folds of some fleecy cloud, kissing the wife of the god of gods. These devils generally sympathized with man. There is in regard to them a most wonderful fact: In nearly all the theologies, mythologies and religions, the devils have been much more humane and merciful than the gods. No devil ever gave one of his generals an order to kill children and to rip open the bodies of pregnant women. Such barbarities were always ordered by the good gods. The pestilences were sent by the most merciful gods. The frightful famine, during which the dying child with pallid lips sucked the withered bosom of a dead mother, was sent by the loving gods. No devil was ever charged with such fiendish brutality.

One of these gods, according to the account, drowned an entire world, with the exception of eight persons. The old, the young, the beautiful and the helpless were remorsefully devoured by the shoreless sea. This, the most fearful tragedy that the imagination of ignorant priests ever conceived, was the act, not of a devil, but of a god, so-called, whom men ignorantly worship unto this day. What a stain such an act would leave upon the character of a devil! One of the prophets of one of these gods, having in his power a captured king, hewed him in pieces in the sight of all the people. Was ever any imp of any devil guilty of such savagery?

One of these gods is reported to have given the following directions concerning human slavery : "If thou buy a Hebrew servant, six years shall he serve, and in the seventh he shall go out free for nothing. If he came in by himself, he shall go out by himself; if he were married, then his wife shall go out with him. If his master have given him a wife, and she have borne him sons or daughters, the wife and her children shall be her master's, and he shall go out by himself. And if the servant shall plainly say, I love my master, my wife and my children; I will not go out free. Then his master shall bring him unto the judges; he shall also bring him unto the door, or unto the door-post; and his master shall bore his ear through with an awl; and he shall serve him forever."

According to this, a man was given liberty upon condition that he would desert forever his wife and children. Did any devil ever force upon a husband, upon a father, so cruel and so heartless an alternative? Who can worship such a god? Who can bend the knee to such a monster? Who can pray to such a fiend?

All these gods threatened to torment forever the souls of their enemies. Did any devil ever make so infamous a threat? The basest thing recorded of the devil, is what he did concerning Job and his family, and that was done by the express permission of one of these gods, and to decide a little difference of opinion between their serene highnesses as to the character of "my servant Job."

The first account we have of the devil is found in that purely scientific book called Genesis, and is as follows : "Now that the serpent was more subtle than any beast of the field which the Lord God had made, and he said unto the woman, Yea, hath God said, Ye shall not eat of the fruit of the trees of the garden? And the woman said unto the serpent, We may eat of the fruit of the trees of the garden; but of the fruit of the tree which is in the midst of the garden God hath said, Ye shall not eat of it, neither shall ye touch it, lest ye die. And the serpent said unto the woman, Ye shall not surely die. For God doth know that in the day ye eat thereof, then your eyes shall be opened and ye shall be as gods, knowing good and evil. And when the woman saw that the tree was good for food, and that it was pleasant to the eyes, and a tree to be desired to make one wise, she took of the fruit thereof and did eat, and gave also unto her husband with her, and he did eat. And the Lord God said, Behold the man is become as one of us, to know good and evil; and now, lest he put forth his hand, and take also of the tree of life and eat, and live forever. Therefore the Lord God sent him forth from the garden of Eden to till the ground from which he was taken. So he drove out the man, and he placed at the east of the garden of Eden cherubim and a flaming sword, which turned every way to keep the way of the tree of life."

According to this account the promise of the devil was fulfilled to the very letter. Adam and Eve did not die, and they did become as gods, knowing good and evil.

The account shows, however, that the gods dreaded education and knowledge then just as they do now. The church still faithfully guards the dangerous tree of knowledge, and has exerted in all ages her utmost power to keep mankind from eating the fruit thereof. The priests have never ceased repeating the old falsehood and the old threat: "Ye shall not eat of it, neither shall ye touch it, lest ye die." From every pulpit comes the same cry, born of the same fear : "Lest they eat and become as gods, knowing good and evil." For this reason, religion hates science, faith detests reason, theology is the sworn enemy of philosophy, and the church with its flaming sword still guards the hated tree, and like its supposed founder, curses to the lowest depths the brave thinkers who eat and become as gods.

If the account given in Genesis is really true, ought we not, after all, to thank this serpent? He was the first schoolmaster, the first advocate of learning, the first enemy of ignorance, the first to whisper in human ears the sacred word liberty the creator of ambition, the author of modesty, of inquiry, of doubt, of investigation, of progress, and of civilization.

Give me the storm and tempest of thought and action, rather than the dead calm of ignorance and faith! Banish me from Eden when you will; but first let me eat of the fruit of the tree of knowledge!

Some nations have borrowed their gods; of this number, we are compelled to say, is our own. The Jews having ceased to exist as a nation, and having no further use for a god, our ancestors appropriated him and adopted their devil at the same time. This borrowed god is still an object of some adoration, and this adopted devil still excites the apprehensions of our people. He is still supposed to be setting his traps and snares for the purpose of catching our unwary souls, and is still, with reasonable success, waging the old war against our god.

To me, it seems easy to account for these ideas concerning gods and devils. They are a perfectly natural production. Man has created them all, and under the same circumstances would create them again. Man has not only created all these gods, but he has created them out of the materials by which he has been surrounded. Generally he has modeled them after himself, and has given them hands, heads, feet, eyes, ears, and organs of speech. Each nation made its gods and devils speak its language not only, but put in their mouths the same mistakes in history, geography, astronomy, and in all matters of fact, generally made by the people. No god was ever in advance of the nation that created him. The negroes represented their deities with black skin and curly hair. The Mongolia! gave to his a yellow complexion and dark almond-shaped eyes. The Jews were not allowed to paint theirs, or we should have seen Jehovah with a full beard, an oval face, and an aquiline nose. Zeus was a perfect Greek, and Jove looked as though a member of the Roman senate. The gods of Egypt had the patient face and placid look of the loving people who made them. The gods of northern countries were represented warmly clad in robes of fur; those of the tropics were naked. The gods of India were often mounted upon elephants; those of some islanders were great swimmers, and the deities of the Arctic zone were passionately fond of whale's blubber. Nearly all people have carved or painted representations of their gods, and these representations were, by the lower classes, generally treated as the real gods, and to these images and idols they addressed prayers and offered sacrifice.

"In some countries, even at this day, if the people after long praying do not obtain their desires, they turn their images off as impotent gods, or upbraid them in a most reproachful manner, loading them with blows and curses. 'How now, dog of a spirit,' they say, 'we give you lodging in a magnificent temple, we gild you with gold, feed you with the choicest food, and offer incense to you; yet, after all this care, you are so ungrateful as to refuse us what we ask.' Hereupon they will pull the god down and drag him through the filth of the street. If, in the meantime, it happens that they obtain their request, then, with a great deal of ceremony, they wash him clean, carry him back and place him in his temple again, where they fall down and make excuses for what they have done. 'Of a truth,' they say, 'we were a little too hasty, and you were a little too long in your grant. Why should you bring this beating on yourself. But what is done cannot be undone. Let us not think of it any more. If you will forget what is past, we will gild you over brighter again than before.'"

Man has never been at a loss for gods. He has worshipped almost everything, including the vilest and most disgusting beasts. He has worshipped fire, earth, air, water, light, stars, and for hundreds of ages prostrated himself before enormous snakes. Savage tribes often make gods of articles they get from civilised people. The Todas worship a cow-bell. The Kotas worship two silver plates, which they regard as husband and wife, and another tribe manufactured a god out of a king of hearts.

Man, having always been the physical superior of woman, accounts for the fact that most of the high gods have been males. Had woman been the physical superior, the powers supposed to be the rules of Nature would have been women, and instead of being represented in the apparel of man, they would have luxuriated in trains, low-necked dresses, laces and back-hair.

Nothing can be plainer than that each nation gives to its god its peculiar characteristics, and that every individual gives to his god his personal peculiarities.

Man has no ideas, and can have none, except those suggested by his surroundings. He cannot conceive of anything utterly unlike what he has seen or felt. He can exaggerate, diminish, combine, separate, deform, beautify, improve, multiply and compare what he sees, what he feels, what he hears, and all of which he takes cognizance through the medium of the senses; but he cannot create. Having seen exhibitions of power, he can say, omnipotent. Having lived, he can say, immortality. Knowing something of time, he can say, eternity. Conceiving something of intelligence, he can say, God. Having seen exhibitions of malice, he can say, devil. A few gleams of happiness having fallen athwart the gloom of his life, he can say, heaven. Pain, in its numberless forms, having been experienced, he can say, hell. Yet all these ideas have a foundation in fact, and only a foundation. The superstructure has been reared by exaggerating, diminishing, combining, separating, deforming, beautifying, improving, or multiplying realities, so that the edifice or fabric is but the incongruous grouping of what man has perceived through the medium of the senses. It is as though we should give to a lion the wings of an eagle, the hoofs of a bison, the tail of a horse, the pouch of a kangaroo, and the trunk of an elephant. We have in imagination created an impossible monster. And yet the various parts of this monster really exist. So it is with all the gods that man has made.

Beyond nature man cannot go even in thought—above nature he cannot rise—below nature he cannot fall.

Man, in his ignorance, supposed that all phenomena were produced by some intelligent powers, and with direct reference to him. To preserve friendly relations with these powers was, and still is, the object of all religions. Man knelt through fear and to implore assistance, or through gratitude for some favor which he supposed had been rendered. He endeavoured by supplication to appease some being who, for some reason, had, as he believed, become enraged. The lightning and thunder terrified him. In the presence of the volcano he sank upon his knees. The great forests filled with wild and ferocious beasts, the monstrous serpents crawling in mysterious depths, boundless sea, the flaming comets, the sinister eclipses, the awful calmness of the stars, and, more than all, the perpetual presence of death, convinced him that he was the sport and prey of unseen and malignant powers. The strange and frightful diseases to which he was subject, the freezings and burnings of fever, the contortions of epilepsy, the sudden palsies, the darkness of night, and the wild, terrible and fantastic dreams that filled his brain, satisfied him that he was haunted and pursued by countless spirits of evil. For some reason he supposed that these spirits differed in power—that they were not all alike malevolent—that the higher controlled the lower, and that his very existence depended upon gaining the assistance of the more powerful. For this purpose he resorted to prayer, to flattery, to worship and to sacrifice. These ideas appear to have been almost universal in the savage man.

For ages all nations supposed that the sick and insane were possessed by evil spirits. For thousands of years the practice of medicine consisted in frightening these spirits away. Usually the priests would make the loudest and most discordant noises possible. They would blow horns, beat upon rude drums, clash cymbals, and in the meantime utter the most unearthly yells. If the noise-remedy failed, they would implore the aid of some more powerful spirit.

To pacify these spirits was considered of infinite importance. The poor barbarian, knowing that the men could be softened by gifts, gave to these spirits that which to him seemed of the most value. With bursting heart he would offer the blood of his dearest child. It was impossible for him to conceive of a god utterly unlike himself, and he naturally supposed that these powers of the air would be affected a little at the sight of so great and so deep a sorrow. It was with the barbarian then as with the civilized now—one class lived upon and made merchandise of the fears of another. Certain persons took it upon themselves to appease the gods, and to instruct the people in their duties to these unseen powers. This was the origin of the priesthood. The priest pretended to stand between the wrath of the gods and the helplessness of man. He was man's attorney at the court of heaven. He carried to the invisible world a flag of truce, a protest and a request. He came back with a command, with authority and with power. Man fell upon his knees before his own servant, and the priest, taking advantage of the awe inspired by his supposed influence with the gods, made of his fellow-man a cringing hypocrite and slave. Even Christ, the supposed son of God, taught that persons were possessed of evil spirits, and frequently, according to the account, gave proof of his divine origin and mission by frightening droves of devils out of his unfortunate countrymen. Casting out devils was his principal employment, and the devils thus banished generally took occasion to acknowledge him as the true Messiah; which was not only very kind of them, but quite fortunate for him. The religious people have always regarded the testimony of these devils as perfectly conclusive, and the writers of the New Testament quote the words of these imps of darkness with great satisfaction.

The fact that Christ could withstand the temptations of the devil was considered as conclusive evidence that he was assisted by some god, or at least by some being superior to man. St. Matthew gives an account of an attempt made by the devil to tempt the supposed son of God; and it has always excited the wonder of Christians that the temptation was so nobly and heroically withstood. The account to which I refer is as follows :

"Then was Jesus led up of the spirit into the wilderness to be tempted of the devil. And when the tempter came to him, he said : 'If thou be the son of God, command that these stones be made bread.' But he answered, and said: 'It is written : man shall not live by bread alone, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God.' Then the devil taketh him up into the holy city and setteth him upon a pinnacle of the temple and saith unto him : 'If thou be the son of God, cast thyself down, for it is written, He shall give his angels charge concerning thee, lest at any time thou shalt dash thy foot against a stone.' Jesus said unto him : It is written again, thou shalt not tempt the Lord thy God.' Again the devil taketh him up into an exceeding high mountain and sheweth him all the kingdoms of the world and the glory of them, and saith unto him : 'All these will I give thee if thou wilt fall down and worship me.'"

The Christians now claim that Jesus was God. If he was God, of course the devil knew that fact, and yet, according to this account, the devil took the omnipotent God and placed him upon a pinnacle of the temple, and endeavoured to induce him to dash himself against the earth. Falling in that, he took the creator, owner and governor of the universe up into an exceeding high mountain, and offered him this world—this grain of sand—if he, the God of all the worlds, would fall down and worship him, a poor devil, without even a tax title to one foot of dirt! Is it possible the devil was such an idiot? Should any great credit be given to this deity for

not being caught with such chaff? Think of it! The devil—the prince of sharpers—The king of cunning—the master of finesse, trying to bribe God with a grain of sand that belonged to God!

Is there in all the religious literature of the world anything more grossly absurd than this?

These devils, according to the bible, were of various kinds—some could speak and hear, others were deaf and dumb. All could not be cast out in the same way. The deaf and dumb spirits were quite difficult to deal with. St. Mark tells of a gentleman who brought his son to Christ. The boy, it seems, was possessed of a dumb spirit, over which the disciples had no control. "Jesus said unto the spirit: "Thou dumb and deaf spirit, I charge thee come out of him, and enter no more into him." Whereupon, the deaf spirit (having heard what was said) cried out (being dumb) and immediately vacated the premises. The case with which Christ controlled this deaf and dumb spirit excited the wonder of his disciples, and they asked him privately why they could not cast that spirit out. To whom he replied : "This kind can come forth by nothing but prayer and fasting." Is there a Christian in the whole world who would believe such a story if found in any other book? The trouble is, these pious people shut up their reason, and then open their bible.

In the olden times the existence of devils was universally admitted. The people had no doubt upon that subject, and from such belief it followed as a matter of course, that a person in order to vanquish these devils had either to be a god, or to be assisted by one. All founders of religions have established their claims to divine origin by controlling evil spirits and suspending the laws of nature. Casting out devils was a certificate of divinity. A prophet, unable to cope with the powers of darkness was regarded with contempt. The utterance of the highest and noblest sentiments, the most blameless and holy life, commanded but little respect, unless accompanied by power to work miracles and command spirits.

This belief in good and evil powers had its origin in the fact that man was surrounded by what he was pleased to call good and evil phenomena. Phenomena affecting man pleasantly were ascribed to good spirits, while those affecting him unpleasantly or injuriously, were ascribed to evil spirits. It being admitted that all phenomena were produced by spirits, the spirits were divided according to the phenomena, and the phenomena were good or bad as they affected man. Good spirits were supposed to be the authors of good phenomena, and evil spirits of the evil—so that the idea of a devil has been as universal as the idea of a god.

Many writers maintain that an idea to become universal must be true; that all universal ideas are innate, and that innate ideas cannot be false. If the fact that an idea has been universal proves that it is innate, and if the fact that an idea is innate proves that it is correct, then the believers in innate ideas must admit that the evidence of a god superior to nature, and of a devil superior to nature, is exactly the same, and that the existence of such a devil must be as self-evident as the existence of such a god. The truth is, a god was inferred from good, and a devil from bad phenomena. And it is just as natural and logical to suppose that a devil would cause happiness as to suppose that a god would produce misery. Consequently, if an intelligence, infinite and supreme, is the immediate author of all phenomena, it is difficult to determine whether such intelligence is the friend or enemy of man. If phenomena were all good, we might say they were all produced by a perfectly beneficent being. If they were all bad, we might say they were produced by a perfectly malevolent power; but, as phenomena are, as they affect man both good and bad, they must be produced by different and antagonistic spirits; by one who is sometimes actuated by kindness and sometimes by malice; or all must be produced of necessity, and without reference to their consequences upon man.

The foolish doctrine that all phenomena can be traced to the interference of good and evil spirits, has been, and still is, almost universal. That most people still believe in some spirit that can change the natural order of events, is proven by the fact that nearly all resort to prayer. Thousands, at this very moment, are probably imploring some supposed power to interfere in their behalf. Some want health restored; some ask that the loved and absent be watched over and protected, some pray for riches, some for rain, some want diseases stayed, some vainly ask for food, some ask for revivals, a few ask for more wisdom, and now and then one tells the Lord to do as he may think best. Thousands ask to be protected from the devil; some, like David, pray for revenge, and some implore, even God, not to lead them into temptation. All these prayers rest upon and are produced by the idea that some power not only can, but probably will, change the order of the universe This belief has been among the great majority of tribes and nations. All sacred books are filled with the accounts of such interferences, and our own bible is no exception to this rule.

If we believe in a power superior to nature, it is perfectly natural to suppose that such power can and will interfere in the affairs of this world. If there is no interference, of what practical use can such power be? The scriptures give us the most wonderful accounts of divine interference : Animals talk like men; springs gurgle from dry bones; the sun and the moon stop in the heavens in order that General Joshua might have more time to murder; the shadow on a dial goes back ten degrees to convince a petty king of a barbarous people that he is not going to die of a boil; fire refuses to burn; water positively declines to seek its level, but stands up like a wall; grains of sand become lice; common walking-sticks, to gratify a mere freak, twist themselves into serpents, and then swallow each other by way of exercise; murmuring streams, laughing at the attraction of gravitation, run

up hill for years, following wandering tribes, from a pure love of frolic; prophecy becomes altogether easier than history; the sons of God become enamoured of the world's girls; women are changed into salt for the purpose of keeping a great event fresh in the minds of men; an excellent article of brimstone is imported from heaven free of duty; clothes refuse to wear out for forty years; birds keep restaurants and feed wandering prophets free of expense; bears tear children in pieces for laughing at old men without wigs; muscular development depends upon the length of one's hair; dead people come to life, simply to get a joke on their enemies and heirs; witches and wizards converse freely with the souls of the departed, and God himself becomes a stone-cutter and engraver, after having been a tailor and dressmaker.

The veil between heaven and earth was always rent or lifted. The shadows of this world, the radiance of heaven, and the glare of hell mixed and mingled until man became uncertain as to which country he really inhabited. Man dwelt in an unreal world. He mistook his ideas, his dreams for real things. His fears became terrible and malicious monsters. He lived in the midst of furies and fairies, nymphs and naiads, goblins and ghosts, witches and wizards, sprites and spooks, dieties and devils. The obscure and gloomy depths were filled with claw and wing—with beak and hoof—with leering looks and sneering mouths—with the malice of deformity—with the cunning of hatred, and with all the slimy forms that fear can draw and paint upon the shadowy canvas of the dark.

It is enough to make one almost insane with pity to think what man in the long night has suffered; of the tortures he has endured, surrounded, as he supposed, by malignant powers and clutched by the fierce phantoms of the air. No wonder that he fell upon his trembling knees—that he built altars and reddened them even with his own blood. No wonder that he implored ignorant priests and impudent magicians for aid. No wonder that he crawled groveling in the dust to the temple's door, and there, in the insanity of despair, besought the deaf gods to hear his bitter cry of agony and fear.

The savage as he emerges from a state of barbarism, gradually loses faith in his idols of wood and stone, and in their place puts a multitude of spirits. As he advances in knowledge, he generally discards the petty spirits, and in their stead believes in one, whom he supposes to be infinite and supreme. Supposing this great spirit to be superior to nature, he offers worship or flattery in exchange for assistance. At last, finding that he obtains no aid from this supposed deity—finding that every search after the absolute must of necessity end in failure—finding that man cannot by any possibility conceive of the conditionless—he begins to investigate the facts by which he is surrounded, and to depend upon himself.

The people are beginning to think, to reason, and to investigate. Slowly, painfully, but surely, the gods are being driven from the earth. Only upon rare occasions are they, even by the most religious, supposed to interfere in the affairs of men. In most matters we are at last supposed to be free. Since the invention of steamships and railways, so that the products of all countries can be easily interchanged, the gods have quit the business of producing famine. Now and then they kill a child because it is idolized by its parents. As a rule they have given up causing accidents on railroads, exploding boilers, and bursting kerosene lamps. Cholera, yellow fever and small-pox are still considered heavenly weapons; but measles, itch, and ague, are now attributed to natural causes. As a general thing, the gods have stopped drowning children, except as a punishment for violating the Sabbath. They still pay some attention to the affairs of kings, men of genius, and persons of great wealth; but ordinary people are left to shirk for themselves as best they may. In wars between great nations the gods still interfere; but in prize fights, the best man with an honest referee, is almost sure to win.

The church cannot abandon the idea of special providence. To give up that doctrine is to give up all. The church must insist that prayer is answered—that some power superior to nature hears and grants the request of the sincere and humble Christian, and that this same power in some mysterious way provides for all.

A devout clergyman sought every opportunity to impress upon the mind of his son the fact that God takes care of all his creatures; that the falling sparrow attracts his attention, and that his loving kindness is over all his works. Happening one day to see a crane wading in quest of food, the good man pointed out to his son the perfect adaptation of the crane to get his living in that manner. "See," said he, "how his legs are formed for wading! What a long slender bill he has! Observe how nicely he folds his feet when putting them in or drawing them out of the water! He does not cause the slightest ripple. He is thus enabled to approach the fish without giving them any notice of his arrival." "My son," said he, "it is impossible to look at that bird without recognising the design, as well as the goodness of God, in thus providing the means of subsistence." "Yes," replied the boy, "I think I see the goodness of God, at least so far as the crane is concerned; but after all, father, don't you think the arrangement a little tough on the fish?"

Even the advanced religionist, although disbelieving in any great amount of interference by the gods in this age of the world, still thinks, that in the beginning, some god made the laws governing the universe. He believes that in consequence of these laws a man can lift a greater weight with, than without, a lever; that this god so made matter, and so established the order of things, that two bodies cannot occupy the same space at the same time; so that a body once put in motion will keep moving until it is stopped; so that it is a greater distance

around, than across a circle; so that a perfect square has four equal sides, instead of five or seven. He insists that it took a direct interposition of providence to make the whole greater than a part, and that had it not been for this power superior to nature, twice one might have been more than twice two, and sticks and strings might have only had one end apiece. Like the old Scotch divine, he thanks God that Sunday comes at the end instead of in the middle of the week, and that death comes at the close instead of at the commencement of life, thereby giving us time to prepare for that holy day and that most solemn event. These religious people see nothing but design everywhere, and personal intelligent interference in everything. They insist that the universe has been created, and that the adaptation of means to ends is perfectly apparent. They point us to the sunshine, to the flowers, to the April rain, and to all there is of beauty and of use in the world. Did it ever occur to them that a cancer is as beautiful in its development as is the reddest rose? That what they are pleased to call the adaptation of means to ends, is as apparent in the cancer as in the April rain? How beautiful the process of digestion! By what ingenious methods the blood is poisoned so that the cancer shall have food! By what wonderful contrivances the entire system of man is made to pay tribute to this divine and charming cancer! See by what admirable instrumentalities it feeds itself from the surrounding quivering, dainty flesh! See how it gradually but surely expands and grows! By what marvelous mechanism is it supplied with long and slender roots that reach out to the most secret nerves of pain for sustenance and life? What beautiful colors it presents! Seen through the microscope it is a miracle of order and beauty. All the ingenuity of man cannot stop its growth. Think of the amount of thought it must have required to invent a way by which the life of one man might be given to produce one cancer? Is it possible to look upon it and doubt that there is design in the universe, and that the inventor of this wonderful cancer must be infinitely powerful, ingenious and good?

We are told that the universe was designed and created, and that it is absurd to suppose that matter has existed from eternity, but that it is perfectly self-evident that a god has.

If a god created the universe, then there must have been a time when he commenced to create. Back of that time there must have been an eternity, during which there had existed nothing—absolutely nothing—except this supposed god. According to this theory, this god spent an eternity, so to speak, in an infinite vacuum, and in perfect idleness.

Admitting that a god did create the universe, the question then arises, of what did he create it? It certainly was not made of nothing. Nothing, considered in the light of a raw material, is a most decided failure. It follows then that the god must have made the universe out of himself, he being the only existence. The universe is material, and if it was made of god, the god must have been material. With this very thought in his mind Anaximander of Miletus said: "Creation is the decomposition of the infinite."

It has been demonstrated that the earth would fall to the sun only for the fact that it is attracted by other worlds, and those worlds must be attracted by other worlds still beyond them, and so on without end. This proves the material universe to be infinite. If an infinite universe has been made out of an infinite god, how much of the god is left?

The idea of a creative deity is gradually being abandoned, and nearly all truly scientific minds admit that matter must have existed from eternity. It is indestructible, and the indestructible cannot be created. It is the crowning glory of our century to have demonstrated the indestructibility and the eternal persistence of force. Neither matter or force can be increased nor diminished. Force cannot exist apart from matter. Matter exists only in connection with force, and consequently a force apart from matter and superior to nature, is a demonstrated impossibility.

Force then must have also existed from eternity, and could not have been created. Matter in its countless forms, from dead earth to the eyes of those we love, and force, in all its manifestations, from simple motion to the grandest thought, deny creation and defy control.

Thought is a form of force. We walk with the same force with which we think. Man is an organism, that changes several forms of force into thought-force. Man is a machine into which we put what we call food, and produce what we call thought. Think of that wonderful chemistry by which bread was changed into the divine tragedy of Hamlet!

A god must not only be material, but he must be an organism, capable of changing other forms of force into thought-force. This is what we call eating. Therefore, if the god thinks, he must eat, that is to say, he must of necessity have some means of supplying the force with which to think. It is impossible to conceive of a being who can eternally impart force to matter, and yet have no means of supplying the force thus imparted.

If neither matter nor force were created, what evidence have we, then, of the existence of a power superior to nature? The theologian will probably reply, "We have law and order, cause and effect, and besides all this, matter could not have put itself in motion."

Suppose, for the sake of the argument, that there is no being superior to nature, and that matter and force have existed from eternity. Now suppose that two atoms should come together, would there be an effect? Yes. Suppose they came in exactly opposite directions with equal force, they would be stopped, to say the least. This

would be an effect. If this is so, then you have matter, force, and effect, without a being superior to nature. Now suppose that two other atoms, just like the first two, should come together under precisely the same circumstances, would not the effect be exactly the same? Yes. Like causes producing like effects is what we mean by law and order. Then we have matter, force, effect, law, and order without a being superior to nature. Now we know that every effect must also be a cause, and that every cause must be an effect. The atoms coming together did produce an effect, and as every effect must also be a cause, the effect produced by the collision of the atoms, must as to something else have been a cause. Then we have matter, force, law, order, cause, and effect, without a being superior to nature. Nothing is left for the supernatural but empty space. His throne is a void, and his boasted realm is without matter, without force, without law, without cause, and without effect.

But what put all this matter in motion? If matter and force have existed from eternity, then matter must have always been in motion. There can be no force without motion. Force is forever active, and there is, and there can be no cessation. If, therefore, matter and force have existed from eternity, so has motion. In the whole universe there is not even one atom in a state of rest.

A deity outside of nature exists in nothing, and is nothing. Nature embraces with infinite arms all matter and all force. That which is beyond her grasp is destitute of both, and can hardly be worth the worship and adoration even of a man.

There is but one way to demonstrate the existence of a power independent of and superior to nature, and that is by breaking, if only for one moment, the continuity of cause and effect. Pluck from the endless chain of existence one little link; stop for one instant the grand procession, and you have shown beyond all contradiction that nature has a master. Change the fact, just for one second, that matter attracts matter, and a god appears.

The rudest savage has always known this fact, and for that reason always demanded the evidence of miracle. The founder of a religion must be able to turn water into wine—cure with a word the blind and lame, and raise with a simple touch the dead to life. It was necessary for him to demonstrate to the satisfaction of his barbarian disciple, that he was superior to nature. In times of ignorance this was easy to do. The credulity of the savage was almost boundless. To him the marvelous was the beautiful, the mysterious was the sublime. Consequently, every religion has for its foundation a miracle—that is to say, a violation of nature—that is to say, a falsehood.

No one, in the world's whole history, ever attempted to substantiate a truth by a miracle. Truth scorns the assistance of miracle. Nothing but falsehood ever attested itself by signs and wonders. No miracle ever was performed, and no sane man ever thought he had performed one, and until one is performed, there can be no evidence of the existence of any power superior to, and independent of nature.

The church wishes us to believe. Let the church, or one of its intellectual saints, perform a miracle, and we will believe. We are told that nature has a superior. Let this superior, for one single instant, control nature, and we will admit the truth of your assertions.

We have had talk enough. We have listened to all the drowsy, idealess, vapid sermons that we wish to hear. We have read your bible and the works of your best minds. We have heard your prayers, your solemn groans and your reverential amens. All these amount to less than nothing. We want one fact. We beg at the doors of your churches for just one little fact. We pass our hats along your pews and under your pulpits and implore you for just one fact. We know all about your mouldy wonders and your stale miracles. We want a this year's fact. We ask only one. Give us one fact for charity. Your miracles are too ancient. The witnesses have been dead for nearly two thousand years. Their reputation for "truth and veracity" in the neighborhood where they resided is wholly unknown to us. Give us a new miracle, and substantiate it by witnesses who still have the cheerful habit of living in this world. Do not send us to Jericho to hear the winding horns, nor put us in the fire with Shadrach, Meshech, and Abednego. Do not compel us to navigate the sea with Captain Jonah, nor dine with Mr. Ezekiel. There is no sort of use in sending us fox-hunting with Samson. We have positively lost all interest in that little speech so eloquently delivered by Balaam's inspired donkey. It is worse than useless to show us fishes with money in their mouths, and call our attention to vast multitudes stuffing themselves with five crackers and two sardines. We demand a new miracle, and we demand it now. Let the church furnish at least one, or forever after hold her peace.

In the olden time, the church, by violating the order of nature, proved the existence of her God. At that time miracles were performed with the most astonishing ease. They became so common that the church ordered her priests to desist. And now this same church—the people having found some little sense—admits, not only, that she cannot perform a miracle, but insists that the absence of miracle—the steady, unbroken march of cause and effect, proves the existence of a power superior to nature. The fact is, however, that the indissoluble chain of cause and effect proves exactly the contrary.

Sir William Hamilton, one of the pillars of modern theology, in discussing this very subject, uses the following language : "The phenomena of matter taken by themselves, so far from warranting any inference to the existence of a god, would on the contrary ground even an argument, to his negation. The phenomena of the

material world are subjected to immutable laws; are produced and reproduced in the same invariable succession, and manifest only the blind force of a mechanical necessity."

Nature is but an endless series of efficient causes. She cannot create, but she eternally transforms. There was no beginning, and there can be no end.

The best minds, even in the religious world, admit that in material nature there is no evidence of what they are pleased to call a god. They find their evidence in the phenomena of intelligence, and very innocently assert that intelligence is above, and in fact, opposed to nature. They insist that man, at least, is a special creation; that he has somewhere in his brain a divine spark, a little portion of the "Great First Cause." They say that matter cannot produce thought; but that thought can produce matter. They tell us that man has intelligence, and therefore there must be an intelligence greater than his. Why not say, God has intelligence, and therefore there must be an intelligence greater than his? So far as we know, there is no intelligence apart from matter. We cannot conceive of thought, except as produced within a brain.

The science, by means of which they demonstrate the existence of an impossible intelligence, and an incomprehensible power is called, metaphysics or theology. The theologians admit that the phenomena of matter tend, at least, to disprove the existence of any power superior to nature, because in such phenomena we see nothing but an endless chain of efficient causes—nothing but the force of a mechanical necessity. They therefore appeal to what they denominate the phenomena of mind to establish this superior power.

The trouble is, that in the phenomena of mind we find the same endless chain of efficient causes; the same mechanical necessity. Every thought must have had an efficient cause. Every motive, every desire, every fear, hope and dream must have been necessarily produced, There is no room in the mind of man for providence or chance. The facts and forces governing thought are as absolute as those governing the motions of the planets. A poem is produced by the forces of nature, and is as necessarily and naturally produced as mountains and seas. You will seek in vain for a thought in man's brain without its efficient cause. Every mental operation is the necessary result of certain facts and conditions. Mental phenomena are considered more complicated than those of matter, and consequently more mysterious. Being more mysterious, they are considered better evidence of the existence of a god. No one infers a god from the simple, from the known, from what is understood, but from the complex, from the unknown, and incomprehensible. Our ignorance is God; what we know is science.

When we abandon the doctrine that some infinite being created matter and force, and enacted a code of laws for their government, the idea of interference will be lost. The real priest will then be, not the mouth-piece of some pretended deity, but the interpreter of nature. From that moment the church ceases to exist. The tapers will die out upon the dusty altar; the moths will eat the fading velvet of pulpit and pew; the Bible will take its place with the Shastras, Puranas, Vedas, Eddas, Sagas, and Korans, and the fetters of a degrading faith will fall from the minds of men.

"But," says the religionist, "you cannot explain everything; you cannot understand everything; and that which you cannot explain, that which you do not comprehend, is my God."

We are explaining more every day. We are understanding more every day; consequently your God is growing smaller every day.

Nothing daunted, the religionist then insists that nothing can exist without a cause, except cause, and that this uncaused cause is God.

To this we again reply : Every cause must produce an effect, because until it does produce an effect, it is not a cause. Every effect must in its turn become a cause. Therefore, in the nature of things, there cannot be a last cause, for the reason that a so-called last cause would necessarily produce an effect, and that effect must of necessity become a cause. The converse of these propositions must be true. Every effect must have had a cause, and every cause must have been an effect. Therefore, there could have been no first cause. A first cause is just as impossible as a last effect.

Beyond the universe there is nothing, and within the universe the supernatural does not and cannot exist.

The moment these great truths are understood and admitted, a belief in general or special providence becomes impossible. From that instant men will cease their vain efforts to please an imaginary being, and will give their time and attention to the affairs of this world. They will abandon the idea of attaining any object by prayer and supplication. The element of uncertainty will, in a great measure, be removed from the domain of the future, and man, gathering courage from a succession of victories over the obstructions of nature, will attain a serene grandeur unknown to the disciples of any superstition. The plans of mankind will no longer be interfered with by the finger of a supposed omnipotence, and no one will believe that nations or individuals are protected or destroyed by any deity whatever. Science, freed from the chains of pious custom and evangelical prejudice, will, within her sphere, be supreme. The mind will investigate without reverence, and publish its conclusions without fear. Agassiz will no longer hesitate to declare the Mosaic cosmogony utterly inconsistent with the demonstrated truths of geology, and will cease pretending any reverence for the Jewish scriptures. The moment science succeeds in rendering the church powerless for evil, the real thinkers will be outspoken. The

little flags of truce carried by timid philosophers will disappear, and the cowardly parley will give place to victory—lasting and universal.

If we admit that some infinite being has controlled the destinies of persons and peoples, history becomes a most cruel and bloody farce. Age after age, the strong have trampled upon the weak; the crafty and heartless have ensnared and enslaved the simple and innocent, and nowhere, in all the annals of mankind, has any god succored the oppressed.

Man should cease to expect aid from on high. By this time he should know that heaven has no ear to hear, and no hand to help. The present is the necessary child of all the past. There has been no chance, and there can be no interference.

If abuses are destroyed, man must destroy them. If slaves are freed, man must free them. If new truths are discovered, man must discover them. If the naked are clothed; if the hungry are fed; if justice is done; if labor is rewarded; if superstition is driven from the mind; if the defenceless are protected, and if the right finally triumphs, all must be the work of man. The grand victories of the future must be won by man, and by man alone.

Nature, so far as we can discern, without passion and without intention, forms, transforms, and retransforms forever. She neither weeps nor rejoices. She produces man without purpose and obliterates him without regret. She knows no distinction between the beneficial and the hurtful. Poison and nutrition, pain and joy, life and death, smiles and tears are alike to her. She is neither merciful nor cruel. She cannot be flattered by worship nor melted by tears. She does not know even the attitude of prayer. She appreciates no difference between poison in the fangs of snakes and mercy in the hearts of men. Only through man does nature take cognizance of the good, the true, and the beautiful; and, so far as we know, man is the highest intelligence.

And yet man continues to believe that there is some power independent of and superior to nature, and still endeavours, by form, ceremony, supplication, hypocrisy, and sacrifice, to obtain its aid. His best energies have been wasted in the service of this phantom. The horrors of witchcraft were all born of an ignorant belief in the existence of a totally depraved being superior to nature, acting in perfect independence of her laws; and all religious superstition has had for its basis a belief in at least two beings, one good and the other bad, both of whom could arbitrarily change the order of the universe. The history of religion is simply the story of man's efforts in all ages to avoid one of these powers, and to pacify the other. Both powers have inspired little else than abject fear. The cold, calculating sneer of the devil, and the frown of God, were equally terrible. In any event, man's fate was to be arbitrarily fixed for ever by an unknown power superior to all law, and to all fact. Until this belief is thrown aside, man must consider himself the slave of phantom masters—neither of whom promise liberty in this world nor in the next.

Man must learn to rely upon himself. Reading bibles will not protect him from the blasts of winter; but houses, fires, and clothing will. To prevent famine, one plough is worth a million sermons, and even patent medicines will cure more diseases than all the prayers uttered since the beginning of the world.

Although many eminent men have endeavored to harmonise necessity and free will, the existence of evil, and the infinite power and goodness of God, they have succeeded only in producing learned and ingenious failures. Immense efforts have been made to reconcile ideas utterly inconsistent with the facts by which we are surrounded, and all persons who have failed to perceive the pretended reconciliation, have been denounced as infidels, atheists and scoffers. The whole power of the church has been brought to bear against philosophers and scientists in order to compel a denial of the authority of demonstration, and to induce some Judas to betray Reason, one of the saviours of mankind.

During that frightful period known as the "Dark Ages," Faith reigned, with scarcely a rebellious subject. Her temples were "carpeted with knees," and the wealth of nations adorned her countless shrines. The great painters prostituted their genius to immortalize her vagaries, while the poets enshrined them in song. At her bidding, man covered the earth with blood. The scales of Justice were turned with her gold, and for her use were invented all the cunning instruments of pain. She built cathedrals for God, and dungeons for men. She peopled the clouds with angels, and the earth with slaves. For centuries the world was retracing its steps—going steadily back towards barbaric night. A few infidels—a few heretics cried, "Halt!" to the great rabble of ignorant devotion, and made it possible for the genius of the nineteenth century to revolutionise the cruel creeds and superstitions of mankind.

The thoughts of man, in order to be of any real worth, must be free. Under the influence of fear the brain is paralysed, and instead of bravely solving a problem for itself, tremblingly adopts the solution of another. As long as a majority of men will cringe to the very earth before some petty prince or king, what must be the infinite abjectness of their little souls in the presence of their supposed creator and God? Under such circumstances, what can their thoughts be worth?

The originality of repetition, and the mental vigor of acquiescence, are all that we have any right to expect from the Christian world. As long as every question is answered by the word "god," scientific inquiry is simply

impossible. As fast as phenomena are satisfactorily explained the domain of the power, supposed to be superior to nature must decrease, while the horizon of the known must as constantly continue to enlarge.

It is no longer satisfactory to account for the fall and rise of nations by saying, "It is the will of God." Such an explanation puts ignorance and education upon an exact equality, and does away with the idea of really accounting for anything whatever.

Will the religionist pretend that the real end of science is to ascertain how and why God acts? Science, from such a standpoint would consist in investigating the law of arbitrary action, and in a grand endeavour to ascertain the rules necessarily obeyed by infinite caprice.

From a philosophical point of view, science is knowledge of the laws of life; of the conditions of happiness; of the facts by which we are surrounded, and the relations we sustain to men and things—by means of which, man, so to speak, subjugates nature and bends the elemental powers to his will, making blind force the servant of his brain.

A belief in special providence does away with the spirit of investigation, and is inconsistent with personal effort. Why should man endeavor to thwart the designs of God? Which of you, by taking thought, can add one cubit to his stature? Under the influence of this belief, man, basking in the sunshine of a delusion, considers the lilies of the field and refuses to take any thought for the morrow. Believing himself in the power of an infinite being, who can at any moment, dash him to the lowest hell or raise him to the highest heaven, he necessarily abandons the idea of accomplishing anything by his own efforts. As long as this belief was general, the world was filled with ignorance, superstition and misery. The energies of man were wasted in a vain effort to obtain the aid of this power, supposed to be superior to nature. For countless ages, even men were sacrificed upon the altar of this impossible god. To please him, mothers have shed the blood of their own babes; martyrs have chanted triumphant songs in the midst of flame; priests have gorged themselves with blood, nuns have forsworn the ecstasies of love; old men have tremblingly implored; women have sobbed and entreated; every pain has been endured, and every horror has been perpetrated.

Through the dim long years that have fled, humanity has suffered more than can be conceived. Most of the misery has been endured by the weak, the loving and the innocent. Women have been treated like poisonous beasts, and little children trampled upon as though they had been vermin. Numberless altars have been reddened, even with the blood of babes; beautiful girls have been given to slimy serpents; whole races of men doomed to centuries of slavery, and everywhere these has been outrage beyond the power of genius to express. During all these years the suffering have supplicated; the withered lips of famine have prayed; the pale victims have implored, and Heaven has been deaf and blind.

Of what use have the gods been to man?

It is no answer to say that some god created the world, established certain laws, and then turned his attention to other matters, leaving his children weak, ignorant and unaided, to fight the battle of life alone. It is no solution to declare that in some other world this god will render a few, or even all, his subjects happy. What right have we to expect that a perfectly wise, good and powerful being will ever do better than he has done, and is doing? The world is filled with imperfections. If it was made by an infinite being, what reason have we for saying that he will render it nearer perfect than it now is? If the infinite "Father" allows a majority of his children to live in ignorance and wretchedness now, what evidence is there that he will ever improve their condition? Will God have more power? Will he become more merciful? Will his love for his poor creatures increase? Can the conduct of infinite wisdom, power and love ever change? Is the infinite capable of any improvement whatever?

We are informed by the clergy that this world is a kind of school; that the evils by which we are surrounded are for the purpose of developing our souls, and that only by suffering can men become pure, strong, virtuous and grand.

Supposing this to be true, what is to become of those who die in infancy? The little children, according to this philosophy, can never be developed. They were so unfortunate as to escape the ennobling influences of pain and misery, and as a consequence are doomed to an eternity of mental inferiority. If the clergy are right on this question, none are so unfortunate as the happy, and we should envy only the suffering and distressed. If evil is necessary to the development of man, in this life, how is it possible for the soul to improve in the perfect joy of paradise?

Since Paley found his watch, the argument of "design" has been relied upon as unanswerable. The Church teaches that this world, and all that it contains, were created substantially as we now see them; that the grasses, the flowers, the trees, and all animals, including man, were special creations, and that they sustain no necessary relation to each other. The most orthodox will admit that some earth has been washed into the sea; that the sea has encroached a little upon the land, and that some mountains may be a trifle lower than in the morning of creation. The theory of gradual development was unknown to our fathers; the idea of evolution did not occur to them. Our fathers looked upon the then arrangement of things as the primal arrangement. The earth appeared to

them fresh from the hands of a deity. They knew nothing of the slow evolutions of countless years, but supposed that the almost infinite variety of vegetable and animal forms had existed from the first.

Suppose that upon some island we should find a man a million years of age, and suppose that we should find him in the possession of a most beautiful carriage, constructed upon the most perfect model. And suppose further, that he should tell us that it was the result of several hundred thousand years of labor and of thought; that for fifty thousand years he used as flat a log as he could find, before it occurred to him, that by splitting the log, he could have the same surface with only half the weight; that it took him many thousand years to invent wheels for this log; that the wheels he first used were solid, and that fifty thousand years of thought suggested the use of spokes and tire; that for many centuries he used the wheels without linchpins; that it took a hundred thousand years more to think of using four wheels, instead of two; that for ages he walked behind the carriage, when going down hill, in order to hold it back, and that only by a lucky chance he invented the tongue; would we conclude that this man, from the very first, had been an infinitely ingenious and perfect mechanic? Suppose we found him living in an elegant mansion, and he should inform us that he lived in that house for five hundred thousand years before he thought of putting on a roof, and that he had but recently invented window's and doors; would we say that from the beginning he had been an infinitely accomplished and scientific architect?

Does not an improvement in the things created, show a corresponding improvement in the creator?

Would an infinitely wise, good and powerful God, intending to produce man, commence with the lowest possible forms of life; with the simplest organism that can be imagined, and during immeasurable periods of time, slowly and almost imperceptibly improve upon the rude beginning, until man was evolved? Would countless ages thus be wasted in the production of awkward forms, afterwards abandoned? Can the intelligence of man discover the least wisdom in covering the earth with crawling, creeping horrors, that live only upon the agony and pangs of others? Can we see the propriety of so constructing the earth, that only an insignificant portion of its surface is capable of producing an intelligent man? Who can appreciate the mercy of so making the world that all animals devour animals; so that every mouth is a slaughter-house, and every stomach a tomb? Is it possible to discover infinite intelligence and love in universal and eternal carnage.

What would we think of a father, who should give a farm to his children, and before giving them possession should plant upon it thousands of deadly shrubs and vines; should stock it with ferocious beasts, and poisonous reptiles; should take pains to put a few swamps in the neighborhood to breed malaria; should so arrange matters, that the ground would occasionally open and swallow a few of his darlings, and besides all this, should establish a few volcanoes in the immediate vicinity, that might at any moment overwhelm his children with rivers of fire? Suppose that this father neglected to tell his children which of the plants were deadly; that the reptiles were poisonous; failed to say anything about the earthquakes, and kept the volcano business a profound secret; would we pronounce him angel or fiend?

And yet this is exactly what the orthodox God has done.

According to the theologians, God prepared this globe expressly for the habitation of his loved children, and yet he filled the forests with ferocious beasts; placed serpents in every path; stuffed the world with earthquakes, and adorned its surface with mountains of flame.

Notwithstanding all this, we are told that the world is perfect; that it was created by a perfect being, and is therefore necessarily perfect. The next moment, these same persons will tell us that the world was cursed; covered with brambles, thistles and thorns, and that man was doomed to disease and death, simply because our poor, dear mother ate an apple contrary to the commands of an arbitrary God.

A very pious friend of mine, having heard that I had said the world was full of imperfections, asked me if the report was true. Upon being informed that it was, he expressed great surprise that any one could be guilty of such presumption. He said that, in his judgment, it was impossible to point out an imperfection. "Be kind enough," said he, "to name even one improvement that you could make, if you had the power." "Well," said I, "I would make good health catching instead of disease." The truth is, it is impossible to harmonize all the ills, and pains, and agonies of this world with the idea that we were created by, and are watched over and protected by an infinitely wise, powerful and beneficent God, who is superior to and independent of nature.

The clergy, however, balance all the real ills of this life with the expected joys of the next. We are assured that all is perfection in heaven—there the skies are cloudless—there all is serenity and peace. Here empires may be overthrown; dynasties may be extinguished in blood; millions of slaves may toil 'neath the fierce rays of the sun, and the cruel strokes of the lash; yet all is happiness in heaven. Pestilences may strew the earth with corpses of the loved; the survivors may bend above them in agony—yet the placid bosom of heaven is unruffled. Children may expire vainly asking for bread; babes may be devoured by serpents, while the gods sit smiling in the clouds. The innocent may languish unto death in the obscurity of dungeons; brave men and heroic women may be changed to ashes at the bigot's stake, while heaven is filled with song and joy. Out on the wide sea, in darkness and in storm, the shipwrecked struggle with the cruel waves while the angels play upon their golden harps. The streets of the world are filled with the diseased, the deformed and the helpless; the

chambers of pain are crowded with the pale forms of the suffering, while the angels float and fly in the happy realms of day. In heaven they are too happy to have sympathy; too busy singing to aid the imploring and distressed. Their eyes are blinded; their ears are stopped and their hearts are turned to stone by the infinite selfishness of joy. The saved mariner is too happy when he touches the shore to give a moment's thought to his drowning brothers. With the indifference of happiness, with the contempt of bliss, heaven barely glances at the miseries of earth. Cities are devoured by the rushing lava; the earth opens and thousands perish; women raise their clasped hands towards heaven, but the gods are too happy to aid their children. The smiles of the deities are unacquainted with the tears of men. The shouts of heaven drown the sobs of earth,

Having shown how man created gods, and how he became the trembling slave of his own creation, the questions naturally arise : How did he free himself even a little, from these monarchs of the sky, from these despots of the clouds, from this aristocracy of the air? How did he, even to the extent that he has, outgrow his ignorant, abject terror, and throw off the yoke of superstition?

Probably, the first thing that tended to disabuse his mind was the discovery of order, of regularity, of periodicity in the universe. From this he began to suspect that everything did not happen purely with reference to him. He noticed, that whatever he might do, the motions of the planets were always the same; that eclipses were periodical, and that even comets came at certain intervals. This convinced him that eclipses and comets had nothing to do with him, and that his conduct had nothing to do with them. He perceived that they were not caused for his benefit or injury. He thus learned to regard them with admiration instead of fear. He began to suspect that famine was not sent by some enraged and revengeful deity, but resulted often from the neglect and ignorance of man. He learned that diseases were not produced by evil spirits. He found that sickness was occasioned by natural causes, and could be cured by natural means. He demonstrated, to his own satisfaction at least, that prayer is not a medicine. He found by sad experience that his gods were of no practical use, as they never assisted him, except when he was perfectly able to help himself. At last, he began to discover that his individual action had nothing whatever to do with strange appearances in the heavens; that it was impossible for him to be bad enough to cause a whirlwind, or good enough to stop one. After many centuries of thought, he about half concluded that making mouths at a priest would not necessarily cause an earthquake. He noticed, and no doubt with considerable astonishment, that very good men were occasionally struck by lightning, while very bad ones escaped. He was frequently forced to the painful conclusion (and it is the most painful to which any human being ever was forced) that the right did not always prevail. He noticed that the gods did not interfere in behalf of the weak and innocent. He was now and then astonished by seeing an unbeliever in the enjoyment of most excellent health. He finally ascertained that there could be no possible connection between an unusually severe winter and his failure to give a sheep to a priest. He began to suspect that the order of the universe was not constantly being changed to assist him because he repeated a creed. He observed that some children would steal after having been regularly baptized. He noticed a vast difference between religion and justice, and that the worshippers of the same God, took delight in cutting each other's throats. He saw that these religious disputes filled the world with hatred and slavery. At last he had the courage to suspect, that no God at any time interferes with the order of events. He learned a few facts, and these facts positively refused to harmonize with the ignorant superstitions of his fathers. Finding his sacred books incorrect and false in some particulars, his faith in their authenticity began to be shaken; finding his priests ignorant upon some points, he began to lose respect for the cloth. This was the commencement of intellectual freedom.

The civilization of man has increased just to the same extent that religious power has decreased. The intellectual advancement of man depends upon how often he can exchange an old superstition for a new truth. The Church never enabled a human being to make even one of these exchanges; on the contrary, all her power has been used to prevent them. In spite, however, of the Church, man found that some of his religious conceptions were wrong. By reading his bible, he found that the ideas of his God were more cruel and brutal than those of the most depraved savage. He also discovered that this holy book was filled with ignorance, and that it must have been written by persons wholly unacquainted with the nature of the phenomena by which we are surrounded; and now and then, some man had the goodness and courage to speak his honest thoughts. In every age some thinker, some doubter, some investigator, some hater of hypocrisy, some despiser of sham, some brave lover of the right, has gladly, proudly and heroically braved the ignorant fury of superstition for the sake of man and truth. These divine men were generally torn in pieces by the worshipers of the gods. Socrates was poisoned because he lacked reverence for some of the deities. Christ was crucified by a religious rabble for the crime of blasphemy. Nothing is more gratifying to a religionist than to destroy his enemies at the command of God. Religious persecution springs from a due admixture of love towards God and hatred towards man.

The terrible religious wars that inundated the world with blood tended at least to bring all religion into disgrace and hatred. Thoughtful people began to question the divine origin of a religion that made its believers hold the rights of others in absolute contempt. A few began to compare Christianity with the religion of heathen people, and were forced to admit that the difference was hardly worth dying for. They also found that other

nations were even happier and more prosperous than their own. They began to suspect that their religion, after all, was not of much real value.

For three hundred years the Christian world endeavoured to rescue from the "Infidel" the empty sepulchre of Christ. For three hundred years the armies of the cross were baffled and beaten by the victorious hosts of an impudent impostor. This immense fact sowed the seeds of distrust throughout all Christendom, and millions began to lose confidence in a God who had been vanquished by Mohammed. The people also found that commerce made friends where religion made enemies, and that religious zeal was utterly incompatible with peace between nations or individuals. They discovered that those who loved the gods most were apt to love men least; that the arrogance of universal forgiveness was amazing; that the most malicious had the effrontery to pray for their enemies, and that humility and tyranny were the fruit of the same tree.

For ages a deadly conflict has been waged between a few brave men and women of thought and genius upon the one side, and the great ignorant religious mass on the other. This is the war between Science and Faith. The few have appealed to reason, to honor, to law, to freedom, to the known, and to happiness here in this world. The many have appealed to prejudice, to fear, to miracle, to slavery, to the unknown, and to misery hereafter. The few have said, "Think!" The many have said, "Believe!"

The first doubt was the womb and cradle of progress, and from the first doubt, man has continued to advance. Men began to investigate, and the church began to oppose. The astronomer scanned the heavens, while the church branded his grand forehead with the word, "Infidel;" and now, not a glittering star in all the vast expanse bears a Christian name. In spite of, all religion, the geologist penetrated the earth, read her history in books of stone, and found, hidden within her bosom, souvenirs of all the ages. Old ideas perished in the retort of the chemist, and useful truths took their places. One by one religious conceptions have been placed in the crucible of science, and thus far, nothing but dross has been found. A new world has been discovered by the microscope; everywhere has been found the infinite; in every direction man has investigated and explored, and nowhere, in earth or stars, has been found the footstep of any being superior to or independent of nature. Nowhere has been discovered the slightest evidence of any interference from without.

These are the sublime truths that enabled man to throw off the yoke of superstition. These are the splendid facts that snatched the sceptre of authority from the hands of priests.

In that vast cemetery, called the past, are most of the religions of men, and there, too, are nearly all their gods. The sacred temples of India were ruins long ago. Over column and cornice; over the painted and pictured walls, cling and creep the trailing vines. Brahma, the golden, with four heads and four arms; Vishnu, the sombre, the punisher of the wicked, with his three eyes, his crescent, and his necklace of skulls; Siva, the destroyer, red with seas of blood; Kali, the goddess; Draupadi, the white-armed, and Krishna, the Christ, all passed away and left the thrones of heaven desolate. Along the banks of the sacred Nile, Isis no longer wandering weeps, searching for the dead Osiris. The shadow of Typhon's scowl falls no more upon the waves. The sun rises as of yore, and his golden beams still smite the lips of Memnon, but Memnon is as voiceless as the Sphinx. The sacred fanes are lost in desert sands; the dusty mummies are still waiting for the resurrection promised by their priests, and the old beliefs, wrought in curiously sculptured stone, sleep in the mystery of a language lost and dead. Odin, the author of life and soul, Vili and Ve, and the mighty giant Ymir, strode long ago from the icy hall of the North; and Thor, with iron glove and glittering hammer, dashes mountains to the earth no more. Broken are the circles and cromlechs of the ancient Druids; fallen upon the summits of the hills, and covered with the centuries' moss are the sacred cairns. The divine fires of Persia and of the Aztecs, have died out in the ashes of the past, and there is none to rekindle, and none to feed the holy flames. The harp of Orpheus is still; the drained cup of Bacchus has been thrown aside; Venus lies dead in stone, and her white bosom heaves no more with love. The streams still murmur, but no naiads bathe; the trees still wave, but in the forest aisles no dryads dance. The gods have flown from high Olympus. Not even the beautiful woman can lure them back, and Danæ lies unnoticed, naked to the stars. Hushed forever are the thunders of Sinai; lost are the voices of the prophets, and the land once flowing with milk and honey, is but a desert waste. One by one, the myths have faded from the clouds; one by one, the phantom host has disappeared, and one by one, facts, truths and realities have taken their places. The supernatural has almost gone, but the natural remains. The gods have fled, but man is here.

Nations, like individuals, have their period of youth, of manhood and decay. Religions are the same. The same inexorable destiny awaits their all. The gods created by the nations must perish with their creators. They were created by men, and like men, they must pass away. The deities of one age are the by-words of the next. The religion of our day, and country, is no more exempt from the sneer of the future than the others have been. When India was supreme, Brahma sat upon the world's throne. When the sceptre passed to Egypt, Isis and Osiris received the homage of mankind. Greece, with her fierce valor, swept to empire, and Zeus put on the purple of authority. The earth trembled with the tread of Rome's intrepid sons, and Jove grasped with mailed hand the thunderbolts of heaven. Rome fell, and Christians from her territory, with the red sword of war, carved

out the ruling nations of the world, and now Christ sits upon the old throne. Who will be his successor?

Day by day, religious conceptions grow less and less intense. Day by day the old spirit dies out of book and creed. The burning enthusiasm, the quenchless zeal of the early church have gone, never, never to return. The ceremonies remain, but the ancient faith is fading out of the human heart. The worn-out arguments fail to convince, and denunciations that once blanched the faces of a race, excite in us only derision and disgust. As time rolls on, the miracles grow mean and small, and the evidences our fathers thought conclusive utterly fail to satisfy us. There is an "irrepressible conflict" between religion and science, and they cannot peaceably occupy the same brain nor the same world.

While utterly discarding all creeds, and denying the truth of all religions' there is neither in my heart nor upon my lips a sneer for the hopeful, loving and tender souls who believe that from all this discord will result a perfect harmony; that every evil will in some mysterious way become a good, and that above and over all there is a being who, in some way, will reclaim and glorify every one of the children of men; but for those who heartlessly try to prove that salvation is almost impossible; that damnation is almost certain; that the highway of the universe leads to hell; who fill life with fear and death with horror; who curse the cradle and mock the tomb, it is impossible to entertain other than feelings of pity, contempt and scorn.

Reason, Observation and Experience—the Holy Trinity of Science—have taught us that happiness is the only good; that the time to be happy is now, and the way to be happy is to make others so. This is enough for us. In this belief we are content to live and die. If by any possibility the existence of a power superior to, and independent of, nature shall be demonstrated, there will then be time enough to kneel. Until then, let us stand erect.

Notwithstanding the fact that infidels in all ages have battled for the rights of man, and have at all times been the fearless advocates of liberty and justice, we are constantly charged by the Church with tearing down without building again. The Church should by this time know that it is utterly impossible to rob men of their opinions. The history of religious persecution fully establishes the fact that the mind necessarily resists and defies every attempt to control it by violence. The mind necessarily clings to old ideas until prepared for the new. The moment we comprehend the truth, all erroneous ideas are of necessity cast aside.

A surgeon once called upon a poor cripple and kindly offered to render him any assistance in his power. The surgeon began to discourse very learnedly upon the nature and origin of disease; of the curative properties of certain medicines; of the advantages of exercise, air and light, and of the various ways in which health and strength could be restored. These remarks were so full of good sense, and discovered so much profound thought and accurate knowledge, that the cripple, becoming thoroughly alarmed, cried out, "Do not, I pray you, take away my crutches. They are my only support, and without them I should be miserable indeed!" "I am not going," said the surgeon, "to take away your crutches. I am going to cure you, and then you will throw the crutches away yourself."

For the vagaries of the clouds the infidels propose to substitute the realities of earth; for superstition, the splendid demonstrations and achievements of science; and for theological tyranny, the chainless liberty of thought.

We do not say that we have discovered all; that our doctrines are the all in all of truth. We know of no end to the development of man. We cannot unravel the infinite complications of matter and force. The history of one monad is as unknown as that of the universe; one drop of water is as wonderful as all the seas; one leaf, as all the forests; and one grain of sand, as all the stars.

We are not endeavouring to chain the future, but to free the present. We are not forging fetters for our children, but we are breaking those our fathers made for us. We are the advocates of inquiry, of investigation and thought. This of itself, is an admission that we are not perfectly satisfied with all our conclusions. Philosophy has not the egotism of faith. While superstition builds walls and creates obstructions, science opens all the highways of thought. We do not pretend to have circumnavigated everything, and to have solved all difficulties, but we do believe that it is better to love men than to fear gods; that it is grander and nobler to think and investigate for yourself than to repeat a creed. We are satisfied that there can be but little liberty on earth while men worship a tyrant in heaven. We do not expect to accomplish everything on our day; but we want to do what good we can, and to render all the service possible in the holy cause of human progress. We know that doing away with gods and supernatural persons and powers is not an end. It is a means to an end : the real end being the happiness of man.

Felling forests is not the end of agriculture. Driving pirates from the sea is not all there is of commerce.

We are laying the foundations of the grand temple of the future—not the temple of all the gods, but of all the people—wherein, with appropriate rites, will be celebrated the religion of Humanity. We are doing what little we can to hasten the coming of the day when society shall cease producing millionaires and mendicants—gorged indolence and famished industry—truth in rags, and superstition robed and crowned. We are looking for the time when the useful shall be the honorable; when the true shall be the beautiful, and when

REASON, throned upon the world's brain, shall be the King of Kings and God of Gods.  
Adam, the Figure of Him that was to Come; Or, Christ, the prince of the Rings of the Earth: With an  
Application to Present Controversies and Present Duty.  
By the Rev. Daniel Fraser, A.M.  
(Lately of the Free Church, Now of the Church of Scotland),  
Author of 'the Bible and the Family.'  
Lyon & Gemmell Edinburgh George IV. Bridge 1875

## General Summary of Contents.

A nation, and a company of nations, comprehended in the constitution, or constituency, of the First Adam, and God dealt in Him supremely with a view to nations.

Terms on which the nations were to reign, and Adam to be their Prince.

Nations comprehended in the constitution, or constituency, of Christ, the Second Adam, and God's purpose in Christ to be accomplished in the appearance of saved nations on the earth. Bringing His purpose to pass, it is with nations supremely that God deals in His providence; His Word is a national word; His Law a national law; His Gospel is a gospel supremely for nations and their kings; the final effusions of the Spirit to be national.

Christ's work is supremely a work for nations and their kings. He lived for nations, and died for them; the result being that He is possessed of a fulness, and grace, equal to all a nation's need.

Christ Prince of the kings of the earth, and the relations in which nations and their kings must stand to Him.

Adam figured Christ as King of saints.

He figured Him also in this respect, that He became a King of nations that He might become a King of saints.

## Conclusion.

Antichrist's imitation of Christ and His nations.

The duty of kings and nations to Christ and His church.

The duty of the church to the nations and their kings.

Application to present controversies and present duty. Can we be Voluntaries?

Can we be Free Churchmen, as that Church is now dominated and characterized?

It is not lawful for any church to rest satisfied in a disestablished condition, all must seek national establishment and endowment.

The duty of the churches as regards the presently existing Established Church of Scotland.

## Preface.

AFTER leaving the Free Church, the author of this treatise had little occasion to trouble himself with the Union, or Voluntary controversies. Just recently, however, his interest in them has been revived, and, perhaps, at the last hour, and somewhat hurriedly, he has been led to put down some of his thoughts on the vitally important subject which they involve. He is painfully conscious, indeed, of his inability to treat this subject with any measure of sufficiency, but not being aware of anything coming at all up to what he conceives to be the truth of Scripture regarding it, and, at the same time, seeing the churches and the country in course of being led away into unscriptural and highly pernicious courses, he feels that he cannot keep silence, but that, however inadequately, and at whatever sacrifice of personal feeling, he must endeavour to communicate that truth by which, as he believes, present controversies and present duty must be determined. His treatise might have been entitled 'The Bible and The Nation;' but as there is no proper access to the subject, except through that of the text which he quotes, and as it is in connection with this text that he seeks to draw out the truth which he is anxious to exhibit, he has given his work its name from the text from which it takes its rise. He has earnestly sought to commit it to God, leaving it with Him to make what use of it He pleases; and he humbly submits it now to the candid consideration of his Christian fellow-countrymen in all the churches, being fully assured that, if the views propounded are recognised as scriptural, the many imperfections of his manner will be overlooked in the importance of his matter.

# ***Nevertheless death reigned from Adam to Moses, even over them that had not sinned after the similitude of Adam's transgression, who is the figure of Him that was to come.—ROM. v. 14.***

ADAM was a figure, or type, of Him who was to come; and of all the Old Testament figures in which we are given to behold, as in a glass, the glory of the Lord, there is none fuller, or more remarkable, than that which Adam constitutes. Here, however, we do not speak of all the respects in which Adam figured Christ. He figured Him in the manner of his creation, in the original purity and perfection of his nature, in the remarkable constitution of his person as a spiritual being incarnate, in the offices with which he was invested, and for which by the constitution of his person he was so remarkably qualified, and in the woman and marriage that were conferred upon him. But besides and beyond all this, Adam was to be the father and head of a house and family, he was to possess a rich and wide extending inheritance, and so also he was to be a glorious king, crowned with a very remarkable royalty. Thus, farther, was Adam to be manifested, but in these respects also he figured Christ; and it is to the remarkable and instructive figure which he constituted of Christ in these respects, that we wish here to call attention.

For this purpose we first observe the Figure; and here, if we enter into some details that may seem at first sight strange, I hope that the reader will bear with them for a little, for the sake of what follows, and until he reads the whole.

## **The Type.**

First, then, we say that Adam was to be the father and head of a house and family. This was already included in that image of God which he was intended to constitute; it was also the obvious design of marriage, and accordingly it was conferred upon him in the promise and command, 'Be fruitful, and multiply, and replenish the earth.' But what a family was to be his, and what a father was Adam to constitute! The promise of it anticipated, but far exceeded that given to Abraham, as when God brought him forth abroad, and said, 'Look now toward heaven, and tell the stars, if thou be able to number them: and He said unto him, So shall thy seed be'—(Gen. xv. 5); or, again, when he said, 'In multiplying I will multiply thy seed as the stars of the heaven, and as the sand which is upon the sea shore'—(Gen. xxii. 17). Adam was to be the father not of a family only, but of a race, nor of a race only, but of mankind down to the end of time.

But He who made him such a father, conferred in him also an inheritance, a magnificent and wide extending principality, out of which he and his might be supported, and in which they might reign as kings, in the fulness of all things. 'Replenish the earth,' it was said to him, 'and subdue it; and have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over every living thing that moveth upon the earth'—(Gen. i. 28). Making a corresponding provision for Abraham, God said to him, 'Arise, walk through the land in the length of it and in the breadth of it; for I will give it unto thee'—(Gen. xiii. 17). But Adam's inheritance was not a mere province, but the world at large, subjected to him in its heaven, earth, and sea, throughout and in all its parts, and elements, constrained to work together for his good, while, at the same time, possession was given him of every necessary key whether of knowledge, authority, or power, with which to unlock its varied and exhaustless stores, and to turn them to his service and enjoyment.

But constituted the father of such a family, and lord of such an inheritance, Adam comes farther to be manifested as a very remarkable king. Royalty indeed was another essential feature in that image of God which he was designed to constitute. It had also been already virtually conferred in the grant of a dominion. But farther, increasing, as he was intended to do, into a great nation, and company of nations, the father of necessity becomes the king of the race, and what a king, far exceeding Solomon in all his glory, was Adam thus to be constituted!

1. First, see the wide extent of his dominion, reaching, not in name only, but in glorious reality, from sea to sea, and from the river to the ends of the earth.

2. Then the number of his subjects, the glory of a king, was to comprehend not the ten thousands of Israel, but the myriads of Adam's children, the multitudinous hosts of all the tribes of men.

3. But, farther, there was to be something remarkable in the manner of his rule, and in the supremacy to attach to him. To him first, surely, that promise belonged, which next belonging to Noah, came afterwards to be addressed to Abraham : 'For a father of many nations have I made thee. And I will make thee exceeding fruitful, and I will make nations of thee, and kings shall come out of thee'—(Gen. xvii. 5, 6). Hence, the promise and command having been, 'Replenish the earth and subdue it, and have dominion,' it is obvious how all this was to be fulfilled. This we see in that partial restoration of what was lost, that comes to be exhibited in Noah, that new head and king of the race, and in his three sons; for as it came to be in Noah, and his three sons, Shem, Ham, and Japheth, so it was to have been in Adam, and his three sons, Cain, Abel, and Seth. Under Adam they were to become the heads of three distinct races, each with its own portion of the earth's territory divided out to it, and these again spreading out into a variety of tribes were to be constituted farther into a variety of nations, each under its own tribal father as its head and king. Thus was the earth to be replenished, and subdued, and reigned upon; and hence, as to the manner of Adam's rule, he was not to rule over his subjects and his earth immediately, but his posterity increasing, and coming to be constituted in a variety of tribes into a variety of nations, each with its own local head and king, the nations were to be ruled immediately by their own kings, while supremacy over all was to attach to Adam. He was to be their Prince; and thus, they ruling over the people, and he ruling over them, and having not the people only, but their kings under him, Adam was to be manifested a king of kings, and lord of lords, the prince of the kings of the earth.

4. But, once more, in connection with this, the glory of Adam's kingdom, and the figure which he constituted of Christ, we must observe how dependent all were to be on Adam, the righteous and well-earned character of his ride, the glad and grateful homage to accrue to him from his subject kings and nations, and so the exceeding glory in which he was to be manifested, as thrice over crowned their Prince, first by his own well-earned title, next by the promise and anointing of God, and then by the glad and grateful consent of the nations themselves and their kings.

For here, let us ask, on what this whole glorious super-structure of regnant nations inheriting the earth, and of Adam's supremacy over them, was to rest? On what nail to be fastened in a sure place, was all the glory, the offspring and the issue, to hang? This, it was for God to determine, and it is to be observed that presently existing kings and nations are vitally interested in the determination then given to it.

Hence, here, first, we take occasion to notice with, or on behalf of whom, supremely, God dealt in Adam. It was not surely on behalf of mere individuals, seeing that it was not mere individuals whom He created, or that came to be before Him in the creation of Adam. In creating Adam, God created principalities and powers, He created nations; for as the tree is seminally in the seed, so were these nations seminally in Adam; and as we do not see what God has created in the bare seed, as we do not see this until the seed has taken root in the earth, and has become a tree, its branches spread, and its beauty as the olive tree, so we do not see what God has created in Adam, till he, in like manner, has taken root, and has branched out into his nations. Hence, therefore, as in Adam God had now before Him not individuals merely, but nations, as He had before Him the great nation which Adam was to become, and the nations which were to be, in the first instance, its exalted constituency, it was supremely with, and on behalf of, nations that God is to be regarded as having dealt in Adam. Seeing, moreover, that it is only in the nation that the creative *fiat* reaches its last and highest result, and that, therefore, the nation must be regarded as the highest style of man, that in which man, as a creature, is exhibited in his best estate, and in which, therefore, he is most in circumstances to show forth the wisdom, power, and goodness of his great Creator, it could not but be that it was with a view to this, the highest style of man, that God had dealings with Adam. But, farther, it is to be observed, that as mere individuals, man cannot fulfil the purpose of God in his creation. He could not, for instance, subdue the earth, and exercise dominion over it; in order to this he must be a nation, and as we find, farther, that it is only in a national condition that man can fulfil his chief end, whether as regards God, or God's Son, or man himself, hence it is of necessity that he was contemplated as a nation when God dealt with Adam on his behalf. Farther, still, seeing that it is only in the nation that man enjoys his fullest measure of liberty, has his greatest independence of action, and that, at the same time, he has most in his power, it is therefore only in a national condition that he comes to be invested with his highest responsibility, and so also that he falls necessarily most to be dealt with, and made amenable to law. In creation, therefore, just as subsequently in Noah, and in Abraham, it was as a nation, and company of nations, that man stood before God. He dealt, indeed, with a view to the individual man, and with a view to the individual family, but His dealings with these were but a part of, and belonged to the national dealing, and the national dealing ruling that of the individual, hence it appears most certain that it was supremely with a view to a great nation, whose constituency should be a company of nations, that God must be regarded as having had dealings with our great progenitor.

But having noticed how God contemplated man in Adam, next we take occasion to notice the manner of

His dealing with him.

In the first instance, He addresses Himself to Adam on behalf of the rest; but, in so far as He can be regarded as addressing, and communicating His will to, the others, He must be regarded as, next, addressing the kings on behalf of their nations, and then the fathers and heads of families on behalf of their family constituencies; His dealing with the whole in Adam, anticipating and regulating His manner of dealing with its subordinate parts, and, as appears from the parties addressed in the fourth commandment, the heads of the several constituencies being throughout the supreme objects of address.

In addressing Himself to Adam, He addressed him as the natural Head and representative of the all comprehending great nation, as its leader and guide, whom it would follow and obey, to whom, therefore, was entrusted the safe keeping of his nation, and on whom therefore also it devolved, as the captain of its salvation, to fight the battle necessary to its safety, and to provide for it, and to build it on, the foundation prescribed by God, and on which the glorious superstructure must be upheld. But, similarly, in addressing Adam, He is to be regarded as addressing the heads of the subordinate, national, and family constituencies, constituting them their leaders and guides, committing the safe keeping of their constituencies to them, and devolving it on them, by abiding in Adam, at once to fight the battle necessary to the safety of their several constituencies, and to build themselves, and them, on the foundation which Adam has already laid.

But, in the third place, in view of Adam already raised up into that provisional enjoyment of his kingdom which he had in the garden of Eden, and where in his begun enjoyment of all things he began his reign, and in view of the prospect farther to be realised of the earth replenished and subdued under regnant nations, and of Adam himself gloriously manifested as their Prince, is it now asked on what the glorious superstructure must rest, and short of which it must pass away like a vision of the night? We answer that its realisation depends on three things, and

(1.) First, it depends on Adam, and his nations in him, being constituted Churches. In these regnant nations we see man on one only of his sides, we see man in the enjoyment only of his promised and intended relations downwards, his relations in respect of the earth as his inheritance, and of those civil relations among themselves which are necessary to it. But man cannot be rightly constituted in respect of, or enjoy, his downward relations, except on the due constitution of his relations upwards, his relations to God; his relations, in particular, to the Son of God, and his relations to the Father. In creation, as in redemption, God had it in view to make a marriage for His Son, and it is in his fulfilling the requirements of these relations that man must fulfil the chief end of man. He must be espoused as a chaste virgin to the Son, and stand related to Him as his spiritual Bride, and, thus related to the Divine Son, he must be received as a son of God, as the sons and daughters of God most high. Hence he must first be a church before he can be a state, he must first be a priest before he can be a king, and all that is enjoyed by him as a king is only the more to qualify him for being a priest unto God.

Accordingly, Adam having been created into union with the Son, in whom it pleased the Father that all the fulness should dwell, and in whom all things consist, and so into a condition immediately fitting him for his upward relations, there was no long suspense as to the chief end of man in the nations whom the Lord hath made. This was immediately made plain in the proposals and commands of the first table of the law, with its five precepts,—the fourth, with its necessary appendage the fifth, revealing to him his heavenly Bridegroom, proposing marriage to him, and inviting him into rest as in the house of a husband, in fellowship with the Son of God; while the first three revealed to him the Father, and showed him the name and sonship which it was proposed to confer on him. And as Adam, on his own behalf, and on behalf of his constituency, the nations, could not but yield a ready assent, hence there and then was he espoused a chaste virgin to the Son, and there and then did he become in himself and his nations the national sons of God. And so becoming a church, he was also constituted a nation, and having been rightly constituted upwards, he was hereupon also rightly constituted downwards.

(2.) But, in the second place, not only must he be conformed with the first table of the law in respect of the actual constitution of his upward relations, he must be conformed also with the second table of the law, and, in particular, with its last, but first and great commandment, 'Thou shalt not covet,' in respect of the continuance of these relations. He must abide in them, and for this end they must be carefully maintained, and maintained in opposition to whatever inducement or temptation to the contrary. Let Adam prove faithless in these his upward relations, let him on any consideration apostatise, then, as he ceases to be a church, he will cease also to be the nation, and instead of being planted as a tree of life upon the earth, according to the promise of the first table of the law, he will come to be planted, instead, according to the threatening of the second table of the law, a fair and specious, but poisonous tree of death, his grapes the grapes of Sodom, his clusters the clusters of Gomorrah, and whose end will be utter destruction. On the other hand, let Adam fight that good fight to which he is called, let his obedience be found unto praise, and honour, and glory, and then will the whole promise be fulfilled; he will abide as a church, and so also as a nation reigning gloriously on the earth.

(3.) Still, however, in order to this, the means must be used, and the promise, though now sure, will only be fulfilled in connection with a third great duty devolving on Adam in connection with his nations. His nations will require instruction as to the chief end of man in the nations whom the Lord has made, and as to the foundation of all their standing. They must not be left to set up on some independent footing of their own, but must be taught the necessity of abiding in him, and on the ground of that righteousness which he has wrought out for them, and thus of expecting all their continuance, and all their glory, in him, and through him. But who shall be their teacher? Who shall minister to them the truth by obedience to which their safety must be secured? Under the fourth commandment the duty devolved on Adam himself. He must instruct the kings, and, through them, the nations his children, as to what the nations must be as churches in order that also they may be nations, and as to the foundation on which they must be built in both these respects. He must show the kings the means which they must employ in order that nationally, and in their several families, they may be thus built and maintained; and, charging them with their responsibilities as having the safety of their nations committed to them, he must stir them up to the faithful use of these means, that so in themselves, in their nations, and in the several families of the national constituency, they may reign gloriously on the earth. But consequent on his own obedience, Adam would have been specially anointed for the work of this ministry, nor would he have laboured in it in vain. On the contrary, the heart of the fathers being dutifully turned to the children, the hearts of the children would have been, in terms of the fifth commandment, turned to the fathers, and, obediently abiding in Adam, the nations would have been maintained in all their promised happiness and glory, at once as churches and as nations.

And supposing that Adam's obedience had been thus found unto praise and honour and glory, what then would have been the result as regards the dependance of the nations upon him? They would have depended on him as branches do on the tree to which they belong. They would have had all their standing in him, and on his finished and accepted righteousness, and, according to the promise, they would have had their life through him, or from him. And they would have had thus in Adam the standing and life by which, first of all, to be maintained as churches. They themselves would continue to be the spouse of the Son, and the children of God, while their own literal children, already taken to be the children of the divine Son's kingdom, and from the Son, and through their instrumentality born again, would, in due time, be raised up into all their parents' spiritual relationships and privilege. But, so also they would have had in Adam the standing and life by which to be maintained as nations, and in all the glory of the promise.

But thus, and to such an extent deriving from, and dependant on, Adam; how righteous and well earned his sovereignty over them; how clear his title as prince of the kings of the earth; how glad and grateful must he the homage and subjection accruing to him from the earth's nations and kings; and how great his glory as so magnificently a king of kings, and prince of the kings of the earth!

In all this, however, Adam proved to be but a figure, an unsubstantial transitory representation of Him that was to come. We have now, therefore, to consider, in the second place, how this remarkable figure has come to be realised in Christ.

Previous to this, however, it will be observed, that even as regards creation, the figure had a present and introspective reference, and that in all that Adam was to be literally, we have the outward representation of what, the first creation standing, the Son of God was at the same time to have been spiritually, and of the spiritual house, kingdom, and royalty which were to have accrued to Him. For, as we have said, in creation as in redemption, the design was to make a marriage for the Son of God, and, in connection with this, to give Him a spiritual house and family, over which to reign as a king of saints—(Matt. xxii. 2; Heb. ii. 13). And hence, in Adam's marriage; in Adam's fatherhood by his wife; in his progeny innumerable as the sand on the sea shore; in his rich inheritance for their support; in his benign sway over them; and in all the glory in which he was to have been manifested as king, we have what was to have been a divinely constituted outward representation of the Son's marriage with Adam and Eve conjoined, and prepared as a bride adorned for her husband; of His spiritual fatherhood, by this His spiritual wife; and of His resulting progeny; of the riches with which He was provided with a view to their support; of His benign sway over this His spiritual house and family, and of all the glory in which, the first creation standing, He was to have been manifested as a King of saints.

But Adam did not stand. He forgot or slighted his upward relations, and all their joy. He even became dissatisfied with what he had, in respect of them, in connection with his downward relations. He wished for more than was allowed him under the promise, and he would take it otherwise than by promise, and so, coveting, he took and ate of the forbidden tree: thus, at once, becoming guilty of a great apostacy, frustrating all God's design in relation to His Son in connection with the first creation, and forfeiting for himself and his nation all the privileges, both as a church and a nation, which would have followed on his stedfastness in his upward relations. Not only did he forfeit, instead of the blessing he brought on himself the curse. In the day that the staff of beauty was cut asunder, the staff of bands was also broken—(Zech. xii. 10-14)—and falling, at once spiritually and outwardly, at once ecclesiastically and civilly, given over to the power of sin and corruption,

made subject to all the misery which all things now working together, not for good, but for evil, might inflict, he became the prey of that kingdom of darkness, which, as having suffered himself to be prevailed over by the devil, the devil had now righteously acquired over himself, and over his earth.

Civil government, it is said, is founded in nature, and the Church is founded in grace. This distinction, however, I humbly submit, is calculated to be as pernicious as it is certainly unfounded. Naturally and originally man was created to be at once a Church and a nation. He was invested with his upward and his downward relations simultaneously, and the one being necessary to the other, the one being the divinely constituted complement of the other, the Church without the state is like the soul without the body, the state without the Church is like the body without the soul, only in the union of both do we see the creature which God created man to be, and which it is in the purpose of God that he shall yet become. Hence, if, since the fall, civil government is to be regarded as founded in nature and not in grace, it is not founded in nature in the sense of having any of that standing before God, or excellence originally intended to attach to it; but only in the sense of being fallen, and under the curse, of being animated by the Prince of the power of the air, of being dominated by him in the interests of the kingdom of darkness in opposition to God and His Son, and so of being exposed to wrath and extermination. In consequence, however, of the inter-position of the promise, and the coming of the Saviour, there has been a large modification or suspension of the curse to which man in his outward kingdom is naturally subject; and hence, although he must still have lived his appointed time on the earth, it is difficult for us to conceive what, if unalleviated, his condition of wretchedness in the world would have been in respect of his downward relations, or of his state physically, socially, and civilly, and with his earth, too, under the curse, and refusing to yield up to him its strength. And yet, Israel having sinned after the similitude of Adam's transgression, and having thus fallen from his kingdom, something of what man's physical condition might have been, may be learned from the curse threatened on the bodies of the Jews—(Deut xxviii. 59-61). Something too of what man becomes socially consequent on the disruption of his relations Godward, is set forth at large in Rom. i. 24-32. While again, we see what his condition civilly, or in respect of any happy reign on, and enjoyment of the earth, might have been, from the anarchy and violence which prevailed before the flood, or from the civil despotisms that came to be established afterwards, and the oppressions, the wars, the captivities, and bloodshed, by which nations rising up against nations, have brought on each other, the consequences of their ceasing to be churches, the consequence of the disruption of their upward relations, and of their apostacy as nations from God and His Son.

Happily, however, God has been pleased not to suffer His purpose as regards His Son to be frustrated even by the sin of man. He will still make a marriage for His Son, He will raise Him up a bride and give Him a spiritual house and family out of the rubbish and stones of the fallen nations. He will make Him sons of God out of those who are by nature children of the Wicked One, and so, men restored to their upward relations shall be restored also to their relations downward, and in the nations of the saved, man shall yet enjoy, in preparation for a yet higher rest, all that inheritance of the earth, and royalty on it, from which Adam by transgression fell.

In order to this, however, a second Adam had to be constituted, willing and able to take on him all the obligations of the first, and these now as including even subjection to the curse.

Accordingly, it is such a Second Adam that we have in Christ, the Lord from heaven, in whom, promised as the seed of the woman, and constituted the Coming One, we have God, at length, sending His own Son into the world, made of a woman, made under the law, to redeem them that were under the law, that we might receive the adoption of sons; and hence, there being now in Christ all the requirements and all the fulness of the second Adam, everything necessary for the accomplishment of God's high purpose as regards Himself, His Son, and man, we are called on to see in the first Adam, the figure of the second, and in what was found to be so unsubstantial and transitory in the one, what has come to be so glorious and abiding a reality in the other.

## THE ANTITYPE.

We proceed now, therefore, to observe more particularly—

I

That Adam figured Christ, and was intended to hold Him forth in respect of the supreme regard that God has to nations in His great work of redemption; comprehending men as nations in the constitution or constituency of the Second Adam; causing final effect to be given to His original purpose in Christ on their behalf, by their appearance as saved nations on the earth, and with this end in view, throughout the ages, making the nations supremely the objects of all His dealings with man.

This was clearly the importance attaching to nations in connection with the first Adam. In him, God comprehended, not individuals merely, but nations. Nations being comprehended in Adam, as the tree is in the

seed, it was only in the appearance of the nations that God's purpose, and the creative fiat, could reach their last and highest result; and so also in dealing with Adam, and with the race in him, His dealings were supremely national, or such as had kings and their nations supremely in view. Hence we observed that under creation, the nation is to be regarded as the highest style of man. Only then does he reach the condition in which he is most capable of showing forth the wisdom, power, and goodness of his great Creator. Only then too, is he in circumstances to serve the divine purposes in his creation, whether as regards God, His Son, or man himself. And as it is only in a national condition, that he rises to the full measure of the responsibility of which he is capable, so it is only as a nation that he can manifest whether man's highest obedience, or contract his greatest amount of guilt, and so be, whether most gloriously saved, or most miserably lost. But if redemption restores creation, and if Adam figured Christ, then as it was in creation, so must it be in redemption, and from first to last, in creation and in redemption, the nation is the supreme object of divine consideration.

First, then, we have to observe that man, not merely as individuals, but as nations were comprehended in the constitution, or constituency, given to the Second Adam, then when He was set up from everlasting; and God's purpose in redemption comes to be fully manifested only in the appearance of saved nations on the earth. We do not say that all the nations foreseen as to fall in Adam, were thus comprehended in Christ; and, therefore, those comprehended in Him must be regarded as elect nations, chosen in Christ before the world began. Here, however, we are so much in the way of attaching all importance to the individual, and so little of the divine purpose as regards the nations has been as yet evolved, that we have difficulty in rising to the conception of elect nations, and in the language of the prophet, we are ready to ask in surprise, 'Who hath heard such a thing? Who hath seen such things? Shall the earth be made to bring forth in one day? or, shall a nation be born at once?'—(Isa. lxvi. 8). But we must not so limit God, neither must we suffer our-selves lightly to set aside all that discovery of the divine counsels in the past, and all that prophecy of the future, which God's appointed figure set up, at the very beginning, in Adam, of Him who was to come, was intended to make. At the same time, we have the same truth otherwise expressly taught us.

Thus, 'Blessed is the nation whose God is the Lord; and the people whom He hath chosen for His own inheritance'—(Ps. xxxiii. 12). Then, in the birth of Jacob and Esau, we have certainly the birth, not of two individuals only, but of two nations. 'Two nations are in thy womb, and two manner of people shall be separated from thy bowels'—(Gen. xxv. 23); and yet, what do we read of these infant nations? 'The children being not yet born, neither having done any good or evil, that the purpose of God according to election might stand, not of works, but of Him who calleth, it was said unto her, 'The elder shall serve the younger.' As it is written, 'Jacob have I loved, but Esau have I hated'—(Rom. ix. 11-13). Moreover, as regards the accomplishment of the divine purpose in the appearance of saved nations on the earth, the promise to Abraham being, 'I have made thee a father of many nations'—(Rom. iv. 17).—Whence are these saved nations to come, or how is this promise to be fulfilled? It is fulfilled in the way of Abraham becoming the father of Him in whom as nations to be saved, these nations already were, from whom all their new being as such nations is to proceed, to whom rising as a branch from Jesse's root, and set up as an ensign for the nations, the gathering nations shall come, and for whose full development as the Good Olive Tree,—the engrafted nations participating with national Israel in his root and fatness'—(Isa. xix. 24, 25)—we must wait to see all that was comprehended in the Second Adam as a seed, or root, or branch.

But, secondly, we have to observe that, giving effect to His purpose in Christ, and showing how supremely He contemplates men as nations, we have Him throughout the ages making them the grand subjects of all His dealings, in His Providence, and by His Word, in both the Law and Gospel, and by His Spirit.

1. This is very clearly the case as regards the Providence of God, or in His providential government of mankind. It was with a view to nations that God dealt with Adam. It was with a view to nations that He dealt with Noah. The covenant established with Noah on the ground of that sacrifice which he offered after coming out of the ark, and when the dominion of the earth was of new conferred on man, was a covenant for the nations, in which they were called on to abide, and in connection with which, as the national sons and children of God, they might have become great and happy nations on the earth. They apostatized, however, from Noah's covenant, and hence the calling of Abraham, and God's dealing with him with a view to nations; just as subsequently, consequent on Israel's apostacy, God threatened to cast them off, and make of Moses a greater nation, and mightier than they—(Num. xiv. 11, 12). As for Abraham, not only was he to be made a great nation, but 'a father of many nations have I made thee;' and so, from first to last, in the New Testament, as well as in the Old, in Scripture history, and in Scripture prophecy, God is found walking among the nations, and dealing supremely with them.

And observe how absolute is the dependence of the nations upon Him, and in what respects He has to do with them. They are 'the nations whom He has made'—(Ps. lxxxvi. 9). 'He divides to the nations their inheritance, and hath determined the times before appointed, and the bounds of their habitation'—(Deut. xxxii. 8; Acts xvii. 26). 'He is the king of nations'—(Jer. x. 7). 'Their governor'—(Ps. xxii. 28). 'The most high that

ruleth in the kingdom of man, and giveth it to whomsoever He will'—(Dan. iv. 25). 'His eyes behold the nations'—(Ps. lxxvi. 7), and, He observes them, that He may deal with them according to their deserts. In the exercise of His sovereignty, He distinguishes between them, as regards the communication, or withholding of His word and truth. 'The sun, and the moon, and the stars, even all the hosts of heaven, which the Lord thy God hath divided unto all nations under the whole heaven'—(Deut. iv. 19). 'He showeth His word unto Jacob,' 'He hath not dealt so with any people'—(Ps. cxxvii. 19, 20). 'The kingdom of God shall be taken from you, and given to a nation bringing forth the fruits thereof'—(Matt. xxi. 43). He is the immediate source of the peace, temporal prosperity, and good government of nations, and He gives or withholds them at His pleasure. 'Except the Lord keep the city, the watchman waketh but in vain'—(Ps. cxxvii. 1). 'There is no king saved by the multitude of an host'—(Ps. xxxiii. 16). It is 'He that giveth salvation unto kings'—(Ps. cxliv. 10). 'That our sons may be as plants grown up in their youth; that our daughters may be as corner stones, polished after the similitude of a palace; that our garners may be full, affording all manner of store; that our sheep may bring forth thousands, and ten thousands in our streets; that our oxen may be strong to labour; that there be no breaking in, or going out; that there be no complaining in our streets. Happy is that people, that is in such a case; yea, happy is that people whose God is the Lord'—(Ps. cxliv. 12-15). 'And for a spirit of judgment to him that sitteth in judgment, and for strength to them that turn the battle to the gate'—(Isa. xxviii. 6). On the other hand, 'Why are thy valiant men swept away? they stood not because the Lord did drive them'—(Jer. xliv. 15). 'Surely the princes of Zoan are fools, the counsel of the wise counsellors of Pharaoh is become brutish'—(Isa. xix. 11). 'For, behold, the Lord, the Lord of hosts doth take away from Jerusalem the stay and the staff, the whole stay of bread, and the whole stay of water, the mighty man, and the man of war, the judge, and the prophet, and the prudent, and the ancient, the captain of fifty, and the honourable man, and the counsellor, and the cunning artificer, and the eloquent orator. 'And I will give children to be their princes, and babes shall rule over them'—(Isa. iii. 1-4). He employs the nations for the accomplishment of His purposes of judgment or mercy. 'O Assyrian, the rod of mine anger, I will send him against an hypocritical nation'—(Isa. x. 6). 'That saith of Cyrus, He is my shepherd, and shall perform all my pleasure; even saying to Jerusalem, thou shalt be built; and to the temple Thy foundation shall be laid'—(Isa. xliv. 28). 'He chastises the nations'—(Ps. xciv. 10). 'Shall I not visit them for these things, shall not my soul be avenged on such a nation as this?'—(Jer. ix. 9). 'For thus saith the Lord God of Israel unto me, take the wine cup of my fury at my hand, and cause all the nations to whom I send thee to drink it'—(Jer. xxv. 15, 28, 29). He pours out the curse on the nations, and destroys them, such as sin without law perishing without law, and such as sin with the law being judged by it. So he dealt with Sodom and Gomorrah, with the nations of Canaan, with the Jews themselves, and with the surrounding nations; the Jews coming under the curse for their apostacy from God and His covenant; surrounding nations suffering because they learned so little from the Jews, and because they took pleasure in their calamities—(Jer. xii. 14-17), Amos, chaps. i and ii; and then, in succession, the great monarchies of Babylon, Persia, Greece and Rome, perishing because of their idolatry, pride, and cruelty. On the other hand, there is mercy for the nations, as in the assurance 'It shall come, that I will gather all nations and tongues; and they shall come and see my glory'—(Isa. lxvi. 18). It is commonly said that nations are capable of judgment and punishment only in this world. I suspect that this opinion has been too lightly formed. How is it possible for those who have been one in sin to be otherwise than one in their judgment and punishment for it? 'The Lord knoweth how to reserve the unjust unto the day of judgment to be punished.' 'When the son of man shall sit on the throne of His glory, before Him shall be gathered all nations'—(Matt. xxv. 31, 32). 'The wicked shall be turned into hell, and all the nations that forget God'—(Ps. ix. 17). And, already, 'Sodom and Gomorrah, and the cities about them, are set forth for an example suffering the vengeance of eternal fire'—(Jude 7). On the other hand, 'The city had no need of the sun, neither of the moon, to shine in it, for the glory of God did lighten it, and the Lamb is the light thereof, and the nations of them which are saved shall walk in the light of it'—(Rev. xxi. 23, 24).

2. But, having thus observed the supremely national manner in which God deals with men in His providence, let us now observe how He addresses them in His Word. Here, too, it will be found that, while it is subordinately with the family, it is supremely with the nations that He is dealing,—His word being primarily addressed to kings, subordinately to heads of families; and being thus addressed to them, because they are regarded as entrusted with the safety of their several constituencies, and the duty devolves on them of taking the steps by which this safety must be secured.

That, supremely, God's Word, throughout, is thus addressed to nations and their kings, may be made abundantly plain.

This already appears from the commission given to Jeremiah; for the whole Word of God having a common object of address, and a common end to serve, What was the commission given to Jeremiah? 'See, I have this day set thee over the nations, and over the kingdoms, to root out, and to pull down, and to destroy, and to throw down, and to build, and to plant'—(Jer. i. 10).

But we proceed to observe more particularly:

(1.) That this was clearly the case as regards the Decalogue, itself a summary of the Word of God, addressed supremely to the nation, the address, at the same time, having a prime respect to the nation's king, or rulers, and calling for national action. So it surely was as addressed to Adam and his nation; but so also it was as addressed to the nation of the Jews. 'I am the Lord thy God, which have brought thee—the nation—out of the land of Egypt, out of the house of bondage. Thou—the nation—shalt have no other gods before me.' Again, inclusive of nation and family, but addressed supremely to the nation in its rulers, 'Remember the Sabbath day to keep it holy, in it thou shalt not do any work, thou, nor thy son, nor thy daughter, nor thy manservant, nor thy maid-servant, nor thy cattle, nor thy stranger that is within thy gates'—(Ex. xx. 1-9). Accordingly, it was in terms of this law that, throughout, God dealt with the children of Israel, whether in showing them mercy, or in visiting them with wrath, and their kings are good or bad, and the nation is prosperous, or the reverse, just according to the conduct of their kings in relation to the Decalogue, and the manner in which the nation, as led and influenced by their kings and rulers, whether they departed from the Decalogue, or adhered to it. Thus, as regards the Sabbath in particular: 'Then I contended with the nobles of Judah, and said unto them, What evil thing is this that ye do, and profane the Sabbath day? Did not your fathers thus, and did not our God bring all this evil upon us, and upon this city? Yet ye bring down wrath upon Israel by profaning the Sabbath'—(Neh. xiii. 17, 18); see also Jer. xvii 19-25. Nor let it be for one moment supposed that what was God's law for the Jewish nation, is not His law, universally, for all nations. For 'Is He the God of the Jews only? is He not also of the Gentiles? Yes, of the Gentiles also'—(Rom. iii. 29). Accordingly, the Decalogue being the rule of duty for all, 'At what instant I shall speak concerning a nation, and concerning a kingdom, to pluck up, and to pull down, and to destroy it; if that nation, against whom I have pronounced, turn from their evil, I will repent of the evil that I thought to do unto them. And at what instant I shall speak concerning a nation, and concerning a kingdom, to build and to plant it; if it do evil in my sight, that it obey not my voice, then I will repent of the good wherewith I said I would benefit them'—(Jer. xviii. 7-10).

(2.) But as with the Law, so precisely, and necessarily so, with the Gospel.

Thus the gospel as preached throughout the Old Testament is entirely of this description, a national gospel, a gospel for the nations, and primarily addressed to rulers and kings; although now this Old Testament gospel is so exclusively applied only to the individual. 'O Israel, thou hast destroyed thyself; but in me is thine help'—(Hos. xiii. 9)—is precious gospel, but it is gospel for the nations. So also the nation and its rulers being addressed under the words, 'Hear the word of the Lord, ye rulers of Sodom; give ear unto the law of our God, ye people of Gomorrah'—(Isa. i. 10); and purity being demanded of them, this call for purity being an Old Testament call for the faith by which only it was attainable, ver. 16, 17, following on this call for faith, a precious gospel assurance is added, but it is an assurance for the nation and its rulers: 'Come now, and let us reason together, saith the Lord; though your sins be as scarlet, they shall be as white as snow; though they be red like crimson, they shall be as wool;' the certification being added, 'If ye be willing and obedient ye shall eat the good of the land, but if ye refuse and rebel, ye shall be devoured with the sword: for the mouth of the Lord hath spoken it'—(Isa. i. 18-20). The whole passage preaches to the nation, although in Old Testament language, the very gospel of the words, 'He that believeth shall be saved; he that believeth not shall be damned.' Then again we have the words, 'Behold I lay in Zion for a foundation, a stone, a tried stone, a precious corner stone, a sure foundation; he that believeth shall not make haste'—(Isa. xxviii. 16). Here again we have the gospel, a gospel ordinarily preached to the individual, but which is the gospel which God Himself preaches to the nation, and, primarily, to its rulers, who are therefore addressed in the words of ver. 14, 'Wherefore hear the Word of the Lord ye scornful men that rule this people which is in Jerusalem.' These being the national builders were, according to the words of the next verse, building it on 'a covenant with death.' God therefore is pleased to submit to them the only but sure foundation on which to build the nation; the awful warning being added, in prospect of this foundation being rejected by the national Builders. Compare Acts iv. 8-11: 'Judgment also will I lay to the line—the hail shall sweep away the refuge of lies—your covenant with death shall be disannulled—when the overflowing scourge shall pass through then ye shall be trodden down by it'—(Isa. xxviii. 14-18). We need not multiply passages, but the gospel of the Old Testament is thus national throughout, a gospel for the nation, supremely addressed to its king and rulers. So in like manner are its warnings and exhortations, and all the aspirations and prayers which are formed under it, and which, as in the Psalms, rising high above mere individual units, are all grandly national. 'God be merciful to us, and bless us, and cause His face to shine on us, that thy way may be known on the earth, thy saving health among all nations. O let the nations be glad, and sing for joy; for thou shalt judge the people righteously, and govern the nations upon the earth'—(Ps. lxxvii. 1-4). 'Yea, all kings shall fall down before Him; all nations shall serve Him'—(Ps. lxxii. 11). 'O praise the Lord, all ye nations: praise Him all ye people'—(Ps. cxvii. 1). 'Arise, O God, judge the earth, for thou shalt inherit all nations'—(Ps. lxxxii. 8). 'That men may bring unto thee the forces of the nations, and that their kings may be brought'—(Isa. lx. 11). 'And the nations shall see thy righteousness, and all kings thy glory'—(Isa. lxii. 2). Such passages, all indicative of the Old Testament view of the gospel, as supremely a

gospel for nations and their kings, meet us everywhere in the Psalms and Prophets.

Before passing on to the New Testament, we may just refer to Jonah. In him we have God, for the provocation of His people, making transference of Israel's national ministry to Nineveh; but, as this ministry was not brought to bear on Nineveh until after Jonah was three days and nights in the whale's belly, it is evident that we are to see in it a clear presage of that final transference of Israel's national ministry to Gentile nations which was to take place subsequent to the resurrection of Christ from the dead. As was then the word of Jonah to Nineveh and her king, such must we expect to be the word of the gospel,—a national word, a word to be preached in the capitals of the different nations, and primarily to be addressed to their kings and rulers, and this with a view to their taking dutiful national action in connection with it. Compare Jon. iii. 5-10.

Accordingly, coming now to the New Testament, what do we find? We find just what was to have been expected. It is the same national and family gospel of the Old Testament, and with its address primarily directed to rulers and kings, and to the heads of families respectively, that at once is preached in, and must be preached from the New Testament, and with the same expectations and prayers formed under it. We pass over, in the meantime, Christ's own ministry to the Jews, with all its supreme application to the nation, and come at once to the words of the great commission to preach the gospel, as given to the apostles.

'Go ye therefore, and teach all nations, baptising them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you'—(Matt, xxviii. 19, 20.) We cannot dwell at length on the words, but we observe that, seeing that Christ's word will not return to Him void, they contain (1.) an intimation or virtual prophecy of what shall be—the nations of the world shall be taught, that is, they shall be discipled—they shall be baptised, so, in outward sign and seal of an inward and effectual baptism, shall—'He sprinkle many nations'—(Isa. lii. 15)—and they shall observe all things whatsoever He has commanded. (2) They appoint and call into operation the agency and means by which these great results as regards all nations shall be effected. These means are in general the preaching of the word of the gospel to the nations, and so the application to the nations and their kings of the sharp two-edged sword of the Spirit. Under the ministry of the Letter, which is a ministry of death, the heathen nations of Canaan were literally exterminated by the literal sword; but under the ministry of the Spirit, which is a ministry of righteousness and life, the heathen nations will be exterminated by the sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God, ministering to them the curse under which they lie, not so as to be borne by themselves, but as already borne for them by Christ, and to the effect of heathen nations ceasing to be, not by their literal ex-termination but by their conversion, and becoming churches, walking in the fear of the Lord and comfort of the Holy Ghost. Hence, with reference to what should be the continual attitude and expectation of the Church as regards the nations and their kings : 'Let the saints be joyful in glory, let them sing aloud upon their beds. Let the high praises of God be in their mouth, and a two-edged sword in their hand, to execute vengeance upon the nations, and punishments upon the people; to bind their kings with chains and their nobles with fetters of iron, to execute on them the judgment written'—(Ps. cxlix. 5-9).

But let us take the great commission as given in another form: 'Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature'—(Mark xvi. 15.) How are we to understand it? Of course the creature, or creation, here spoken of, is a human creature, but is the gospel therefore to be preached as a gospel for and to individual men merely? The individual man is, indeed, a creation, but so also is the family, and so also, most of all, is the nation, and the gospel is not therefore preached to every creature unless it is preached subordinately to families and their heads, but supremely to nations and their kings. It is to be observed, that the word here translated creature is decidedly striking, as if intended, as no doubt it was, to call attention to the sort of creature supremely in view. It is expressive of a kind of creature which has many parts wisely put together, and whose parts, thus put together, work together, under a guiding head, in order to an organised existence; and while applicable enough to the individual man, it is not the word that would be naturally used if that was the only creature that was intended; the word being more applicable to the family, organised under its head, but, supremely, and directly applicable to the nation organised under its rulers and kings. Accordingly, not to refer to other passages, the proper meaning of the word is to be learned from 1 Peter ii. 13. 'Submit yourselves to every ordinance of man for the Lord's sake: whether it be to the king as supreme.' The words here translated 'every ordinance,' are the same as the one translated in the commission, by the words, 'every creature,' and should have been translated, 'submit yourselves to every creature,' or creation of man. The creation of man referred to, however, is not a creation of man's making, but a creation which is made of him; or, in other words, the direction is, 'Submit yourselves to every divinely constituted organisation of man;' and the organisation of man referred to in Peter being clearly that of the nation, to whose king therefore we have to submit ourselves for the Lord's sake, hence it is so in the commission also, and that the gospel may be preached to every creature, it must not only be preached to the individual, and family, but supremely to the nation and its king. Great wrath lies on all these national creatures; in particular, 'Thus saith the Lord concerning the Ammonites, shall I cause the sword to return into its sheath? I will judge thee in the place where thou wast *created*, in the land of thy

nativity, and I will pour out mine indignation upon thee'—(Ezekiel xxi. 28-31.) A gospel for such a creature is therefore all the more acceptable, and if the gospel is to be preached to every creature, it must certainly be preached supremely to the nation and its king.

But we pass on to another form of the commission, that under which it is given in Luke. 'And he said unto them, and that repentance and remission of sins should be preached in His name among, or, more correctly, Script (possibly Hebrew).—to all nations, beginning at Jerusalem'—(Luke xxiv. 44-47.) We are aware of the happy turn given by Bunyan in favour of 'Jerusalem sinners,' to the words, 'beginning at Jerusalem.' But the gospel must be preached, 'beginning at Jerusalem,' for the same reason that a prophet 'cannot perish out of Jerusalem'—(Luke xiii. 33). Jerusalem is the seat of national authority, where the nation's rulers reside, and where its government is administered; and a prophet cannot perish out of Jerusalem, because his message being for the nation, he must present himself there in order that his message being submitted to the national authorities, he may, through their action, be nationally received, or, his message being rejected, he may, through them, and so by the nation, be put to death. Accordingly, Christ's words coming to be fulfilled, 'Thine own nation and the chief priests,' said Pilate, 'have delivered thee to me'—(John xviii. 35). But so it is as regards the gospel; the gospel message is for the nation, and it must be preached, beginning at Jerusalem, with a view to national action, whether in its reception or in its rejection, on the part of its national authorities. Hence, beginning at Jerusalem, and being filled with the Holy Ghost, Peter comes to say to these authorities: 'Ye rulers of the people and elders of Israel, be it known unto you all, and unto all the people of Israel, that by the name of Jesus Christ of Nazareth, whom ye crucified, whom God raised from the dead, even by Him, doth this man stand here before you whole. This is the stone which was set at nought by *you builders*, which is become the head of the corner'—(Acts iv. 8-11). Such then was to be, and such was the beginning of the gospel. It was first of all preached to a nation and its rulers, with a view to national action, whether in its national reception or national rejection; and as it was thus that under the commission the gospel began, in the same way must it be preached continuously, and to the end. It must be preached to all nations, beginning at their Jerusalems.

But, once more, a special dispensation of the gospel having been given to the Apostle Paul, let us glance at the manner in which he is found understanding his commission, and giving effect to it. The time, indeed, had not yet come, whether for the restoration of the kingdom to Israel, or for the kingdoms generally to be the Lord's. As yet, therefore, the gospel is to be preached to all nations only for a testimony, and to the effect only of saving a remnant; but, at the same time, also of educating and manifesting in the nations the same character and malignant opposition to Christ and His gospel as had already been manifested by the Jews; the design being to conclude all the nations in unbelief, that, at length, He may have mercy on all—(Rom. xi. 32); or, to lay a foundation for that humiliation and repentance which the retrospect of the character manifested by them will be the means of producing, when, at length, the Spirit of grace and supplication shall be poured out on them, as upon the Jews, and 'The land shall mourn, every family apart'—(Zech. xii. 12). Still, though only preached for a witness, we have the opportunity of observing how Paul understood the commission, and for whom he regarded the gospel as supremely intended. This we may observe—

1. In the expectations which we are taught to entertain regarding him in connection with his call and designation to the office of a preacher, 'He is a chosen vessel unto Me to bear My name before the nations and kings, and the children of Israel'—(Acts ix. 15). Such are the words. He is to preach the gospel to every creature; but the objects of Paul's mission were supremely the nations and their kings, inclusive of his own nation, the children of Israel.

2. Or, secondly, we may understand how Paul understood his commission from his own express explanation of it. 'By whom we have received grace and apostleship for obedience to the faith among, or by, all nations, for His name'—(Rom. i. 5). 'Now to Him that is of power to establish you according to my gospel, and the preaching of Jesus Christ according to the revelation of the mystery which was kept secret since the world began, but now is made manifest, and by the Scriptures of the prophets, according to the commandment of the everlasting God, made known to all nations for the obedience of faith'—(Rom. xvi. 25, 26).

3. But once more, Paul's understanding of his commission, and the meaning of God Himself in it, may be learned from the effect which, under God, we find him giving at once to our expectations regarding him, and his own express explanation of the objects of his mission. We do not dwell on previous appearances before magistrates and rulers, nor on his remarkable appearance when brought unto Areopagus at Athens, and with the nation's senators before him, gathered on purpose to hear from him of his new doctrine, he preached to them that 'God hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth, and hath determined the times before appointed, and the bounds of their habitation, that they should seek the Lord, if haply they might feel after Him, and find Him'—(Acts xvii. 26, 27). We come to his arrest and imprisonment at Jerusalem, resulting in his being carried so remarkably to Rome. We are naturally surprised at this arrest. We regret such an interruption of his important labours, and we wonder that the Lord should have permitted it to take place. But 'He is wonderful in counsel, and excellent in working.' Christianity had not then the credit and

standing in the world which might entitle it, as now, to seek the presence and claim the audience of kings; and the arrest was suffered to take place, not to interrupt his labours, but to give him the opportunity, then not otherwise to be obtained, of rising to the height of his mission, and of bearing the name of Christ before the nations and kings, and the children of Israel; and here,—

*First*—Beginning with his own nation, what a remarkable opportunity did his arrest at once give him of fulfilling what was expected of him in relation to the children of Israel, in that last grand application of the gospel which he made to the nation and its rulers at Jerusalem; when, from the castle stairs, and protected by Roman soldiers, he was permitted to address that vast assemblage of them which his arrest had drawn together; when, too, there was made a great silence; when, also, because he spake in the Hebrew tongue, they kept the more silence; and when, addressing the 'men, fathers and brethren' of his nation, he showed them what an enemy he himself had once been of the gospel, gave an account of his remarkable conversion to the faith, and proceeded to warn them of the danger which they had already incurred of God's utterly casting them off as a nation, in consequence of their past rejection of the gospel. It was, however, all in vain. The Jewish nation finally and passionately rejected Christ and His gospel, leaving the Apostle to his great sorrow and continual heaviness of heart because of them.

*Secondly*,—However, the night following, 'the Lord stood by him, and said, Be of good cheer, Paul: for as thou hast testified of me in Jerusalem, so must thou bear witness also at Rome'—(Acts xxiii. 11). The Jews and Romans were then the two great national candidates for the dominion of the earth. It was first offered to the Jews, but they rejected the only terms on which the kingdom can be enjoyed under Christ. Now, therefore, the Apostle is called on to turn to the Romans, that testifying to them nationally, as he had just done to the Jews, he might make a like offer of Christ, and of the kingdom to them. And, now, what remarkable opportunities did the arrest of the Apostle give him of preaching the gospel, and that in most favourable circumstances, in succession, to Felix, who trembled as Paul preached to him of righteousness, temperance, and judgment to come,—to Festus, who said, 'Paul, thou art beside thyself, much learning doth make thee mad,'—to King Herod Agrippa, who said to Paul, 'Almost thou persuadest me to be a Christian,'—and last of all before the Caesar, the notorious Nero himself, there at Rome, in his palace, seated on his throne, in his magnificent hall of judgment, surrounded by his twenty assessors, and these the men of highest rank and influence in the empire (see Howson and Conybear's Account of Paul's Trial). Twice also, with this august audience before him, had the Apostle the opportunity of preaching the gospel, and 'The Lord,' he says, 'stood with me and strengthened me, that by me the preaching might be fully known (or might be fulfilled to the utmost), and that all the Gentile nations might hear'—(2 Tim. iv. 17). Here, also, when he had risen to the height of his commission, and had given supreme effect to it by preaching the gospel to the king and princes of the greatest then existing nation, it was, that he finished his course, and fulfilled the ministry which he had received of the Lord Jesus.

We need not pursue the proof further. The gospel is not merely an individual gospel, it is a national gospel, which must be preached for their reception to every creature, and supremely to nations and their kings. And thus, from first to last, in the Old Testament and in the New, in the law and also in the gospel, it is with nations and kings supremely that God has to do.

*Third*,—In fine, in connection with the supreme consideration with which, throughout, God contemplates men as nations, we come to observe that they are the grand subjects of His promised outpouring of the Spirit. Christ, indeed, has been glorified, the Spirit has been given, and we now live in the days of the Spirit. Hitherto, however, God has been making proof of the nations; has been concluding them all in unbelief, that, at last, He may have mercy on them all. But He will yet pour out His spirit upon all flesh, the glory of the Lord shall be revealed, and all flesh will see it together. But will He pour out His spirit irrespective of, or so as to cause to cease, all national distinctions? Will He not rather pour out His Spirit so as to give each nation its own special dispensation, affecting at once its rulers and its people, in terms of a national gospel bringing them back to God, and effecting great and glorious national conversions? It is thus that the Jews are to be restored, and that, as a nation, they are to be 'born in a day.' It is the dry bones of that now spiritually dead nation—very many and very dry—that Ezekiel saw in the valley of vision, and of which we are told that, being simultaneously quickened by the Spirit, 'they lived and stood upon their feet, an exceeding great army'—(Ezek. xxxvii. 1-17).

But similarly are other nations to be blessed—their kings and rulers taking the lead, and the nations, with one consent, and in their national capacity, yielding themselves to the Lord. Hence 'the kings shall shut their mouths at him'—(Isa. lii. 15). 'To him whom the nation abhorreth, to a servant of rulers, kings shall see and arise, princes also shall worship'—(Isa. xlix. 7). 'And the nations shall see thy righteousness, and all kings thy glory'—(Isa. lxii. 2). Hence, 'Glorious things are spoken of thee, O city of God.' She has yet to embrace and reckon among her sons, her sons by virtue of a new birth, the worst of the nations. 'I will make mention of Rahab and Babylon among them that know me, behold Philistia and Tyre, with Ethiopia; this was born there. The Lord shall count when he writeth up the nations, this was born there'—(Ps. lxxxvii.). And so the glory attaching to Sion, the city of God, consists not in its being the birthplace of mere individuals, but in this, that it

is to be the birthplace of nations—(see Hengstenberg on the Psalm).

Thus, then, by His providence, by His word in both the law and the gospel, and by His Spirit, dealing with men, throughout the ages, supremely as nations, will God, at length, bring His purpose in Christ to pass, and the earth will be occupied and inherited by saved nations. 'In that day shall Israel be the third with Egypt, and with Assyria, even a blessing in the midst of the land, whom the Lord of hosts shall bless, saying, Blessed be Egypt My people, and Assyria the work of My hands, and Israel Mine inheritance'—(Isa. xix. 24, 25).

In fine, therefore, since God's purpose in Christ comes to be realised only in saved nations, we see that the same supreme importance attaches to the nation under redemption as under creation. If, under creation, the nation was exhibited as the highest style of man, if only then was man come to his best estate, much more must this be so in redemption, so that it is only in the redeemed nation that redemption's joy comes to be complete, or that we are to expect to see exhibited the height at once of the wisdom, and of the saving grace and power of the Most High. Again, if in creation, mere individuals could not answer the divine purpose in the creation of man, so it is, and must be in redemption. Man was created, and man is redeemed that he may be a Church, and Christ's Church must be a nation, in order that in what it is as a nation, His Church may have existence on, yea, and may inherit the earth. His Church must be a nation in order that the Son may have in the nation such a full grown, stately, and prolific Bride as God's purpose and grace call for—(Ezek. xvi. 6—14). Christ's Church must be a nation, in order that in the children of a nation, taken to be the children of Christ's spiritual kingdom, and born again into it out of the nation's marriage fellowship with Christ, His spiritual house and family may be adequately replenished, adequately built up to all its destined fulness. And, once more, His Church must be a nation in order that, by all a nation's influence and resources, His cause and kingdom may be maintained and propagated on the earth—(Ps. lxxvii). But, again, if it is in a national condition that man comes to be invested with his highest responsibility, and so, therefore, that he has contracted his highest guilt, and is most exposed to wrath, we see how suitably and how seasonably the grace of God interposes to the saving of a nation, in order that where sin hath abounded, as in national Israel, grace might much more abound.—(Rom. v. 20).

## II.

In the second place, Adam figured Christ in the kingly part which it behoved him to act on behalf of the nations of his constituency. Such a part Adam had to act, God dealing with him as the head and representative of his constituency, committing their safety to him, devolving it on him as their captain to fight the battle necessary to their safety, to provide for them, and then to build them on a sure foundation, and so also to constitute himself a root, or stock, whence his nations might issue, and in which they should be upheld, flourishing like palm trees, growing like cedars of Lebanon. In this, however, he was but a figure of Christ, and hence God is to be regarded as dealing with him also as the head and representative of His nations, committing to him not only their safety, but their redemption and salvation, devolving on him, as the captain of their salvation, the fight by which that salvation must be won; as their builder, to provide for them, and then to build them on a sure foundation, and so also to constitute himself such a good olive tree as that, a new being and life issuing from him to His fallen nations, and they coming to be engrafted in him, His branches may spread, His beauty become as the olive tree, and His smell as Lebanon.

Accordingly, Christ the Lord from heaven, having come as the Second Adam, and such a charge and work devolving on Him, this will be found to be the very work accomplished by Him, as made of a woman, made under the law, to redeem them that are under the law. His work is a work for the individual, it is still more a work for the family, laying a foundation for the gospel of salvation for a man and his house; but comprehensively and supremely Christ's work is the work of a king on behalf of a constituency of kings and their nations, as the result of which Christ has become just such an olive tree as the fallen nations require, and on the ground of which there is a gospel of salvation for every creature, and supremely for the nation. This, too, is the work that Christ is to be seen discharging, in what He does as King of the Jews, for what He is and does as King of the Jews, is but a particular manifestation of what He is as the Second Adam in relation to the nations at large, and of what He does, once for all, for all the nations of His constituency.

What then as to the kingly part which Christ is found acting on behalf of the Jewish nation, and in which He discharges the work devolving on Him as the Second Adam?

1. First of all, He is born to them for a king: 'Unto us a child is born, unto us a son is given, and the government shall be on His shoulders'—(Isa. ix. 6, 7). 'Where is He that is born King of the Jews?'—(Mat. ii. 2). And already indicating that this is the righteous Branch to be raised up to David, who as a king should reign and prosper, and under whom Judah should be saved, and Israel should dwell safely,—(Isa. xxiii. 5, 6) His birth is immediately announced to the shepherds of Bethlehem, who find it necessary, in view of present danger, to keep watch over their flocks by night. 'Fear not, for behold I bring you good tidings of great joy which shall be to all people—every people—for unto you is born this day, in the city of David, a Saviour which is Christ the

Lord'—(Luke ii. 9, 10). Already showing, however, that being born to be king of the Jews, He has other obligations resting on Him than those of conformity with the precept of the law, as if she had given birth to something defiled and defiling, His mother had her days of purification to accomplish, while, at the same time, His birth is surrounded with every circumstance of poverty and meanness. Indicating also, we may add, that He is called on to act on behalf of a nation once already brought up out of Egypt, but under guilt calling for their being sent down thither again, even from Bethlehem, and while yet an infant, He is sent forcibly back into Egypt, fleeing from before Herod, the king, who is in present possession of His land.

2. Having grown in wisdom, grace, and stature, through all the upward stages, to the perfected manhood of about thirty years of age, and having manifested, as He did at twelve years of age—(Luke ii. 42-52)—that conformity with the law which was appropriate to the several stages of His progress, we have Him coming to the Jordan to John to be baptized of him. And what did He come here to do? He came here at once as a perfected Second Adam, and as King of the Jews, to lay hold of the promise of the kingdom; of that promise, in particular, which was made to, but forfeited in, Adam: 'Replenish the earth and subdue it, and have dominion'—(Gen. i. 28); and of that promise also of the land which was restored to Abraham and his nation the Jews—(Gen. xii. 1, 2)—this being a particular restored manifestation of Adam's promise; and He came to lay hold of this promise, that coming under its obligations, He might have conferred on Him such a provisional standing in the kingdom as Adam had in Paradise; and as, again, the children of Israel were restored to in the wilderness, when God rained bread from heaven upon them, giving them a present foretaste and pledge of the fulness of their kingdom; or, more especially, at Sinai, when, consequent on laying hold of God's promise and covenant, and coming under its obligations, Moses, Aaron, Nadab, and Abihu, and seventy of the elders of Israel, as the representatives of the nation, went up into the Mount, 'and they saw the God of Israel: and there was under His feet as it were a paved work of a sapphire stone . . . and upon the nobles of the children of Israel He laid not His hand: also they saw God and did eat and drink'—(Exod. xxiv. 9-11). Such a restoration of the promise, or of standing in the kingdom, could not have been but in anticipation of Christ. And Christ, as the second Adam, lays hold of the promise, comes under its obligations, and attains to a provisional standing in the kingdom, in order retrospectively to justify the past, and to justify prospectively all future restorations of the promise and kingdom to the nation. In order to this (1) He had to come under the provisional cleansing of John's baptism from that guilt whose imputation to Him had already been so clearly indicated at His birth, and which came to be imputed to Him more and more as the years rolled on, and from which He must be exhibited as provisionally cleansed, and this in pledge of His being at length actually cleansed from it, in order that now He might be presented perfect as the second Adam. (2.) He had to pray—(Luke iii. 21)—He had to pray, in particular, for the restoration to Him as the Second Adam of the promise and kingdom which had been lost by the first Adam, and whose restoration to the Jews would not have been possible but for His interposition. (3.) Consequent on His baptism and His praying, the promise, and with it a provisional standing in the kingdom, were imparted to Him; for the heavens—the heavens of this earth—were opened; they 'were rent asunder' (Mark i. 10) at His call, and to give Him admission into His kingdom—(Ps. xxiv. 7-10); and the Holy Spirit descended as a dove upon Him, at once sealing His authority, and anointing Him with every kingly qualification and power called for in this His provisional standing in His kingdom. Accordingly, it is of this power, in the subjection to Him of man's heaven, earth, and sea, that we see Him making such display afterwards in His miracles; in them controlling earth's winds—(Matt. viii. 26)—treading on its waves—(Matt. xiv. 25)—making the fish of the sea and the beasts of the field to serve Him—(Matt. xvii. 27; Mark xi. 2-7); in providing food for His people; and giving them some tokens of the abundance with which He will supply them when His 'hour' and the fulness of His kingdom are come—(John ii. 2-7; Matt. xiv. 15-21)—and healing all manner of sickness, and all manner of disease, and thereby restoring His fallen people to something of the health, strength, and joy, that were originally to have been connected with, and which will yet again belong to, man's reign in, and inheritance of the earth. At His baptism, moreover, Christ was anointed not only with power, but as Teacher and Preacher for His nation. 'The Spirit of the Lord God is upon me'—(Luke iv. 18)—and it was under the anointing now received that all bare Him witness, and wondered at the gracious words which proceeded out of His mouth. 4. In the last place, in connection with His baptism, a voice from heaven declared of Him: 'This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased;' the Father accepting of Him as His Son in His kingdom, in the place of the first Adam, and claiming all subjection to Him as such.

3. As yet, however, His standing in His kingdom is only provisional, and that it may be confirmed in Him, and for His nations, He must be tried. Having already, and in connection with His baptism, been duly constituted under the first table of the law, He must maintain His standing in opposition to whatever temptation, and so be duly constituted under the second table; in this, as the Captain of their salvation, fighting that battle which was necessary in order to the continued maintenance of the kingdom in Him, and for His nations.

Accordingly, this is what we have Christ proceeding to do when, immediately after His baptism, He was 'driven of the Spirit,' and hastened to the wilderness, as if moved in view of what His nation had been found to

be, and of their present perilous condition. Fallen as a nation in Adam, yet they had been graciously restored to the kingdom, and even into some lengthened enjoyment of it; but, sinning after the similitude of Adam's transgression, they were fallen again, were under utter forfeiture of their kingdom, and were ready to perish as a nation. They had thus fallen in the wilderness immediately after their restoration to a standing in the kingdom, and when, coming up from that distance from its enjoyment into which Adam had brought them, they were again on the way to it, falling here by their unbelief and impatience—(Num. xiv. 1-4). Again, they had fallen *in* their kingdom, and when, notwithstanding of having fallen in the wilderness, they had been raised up into a good enjoyment of it under Solomon,—falling here by their pride, by sinfully presuming on their temple, on God's presence with them, and on the relation in which they stood to Him as His people. They expected safety, no matter for their unwarrantable and sinful courses, and thus mounting to the pinnacle of their temple, they cast themselves down, thinking that God would give His angels charge over them—(Jer. vii. 4-15). But, once more, they had fallen; they were fallen in Christ's day, and were ready to perish as a nation,—falling here again in connection with the chastisements that had come on them as a nation for their sins, particularly in the Babylonish captivity, and in all the oppressions to which they had been subjected as a nation since. In view, on the one hand, of all the suffering to which they had been subjected as a nation, notwithstanding of their being the Lord's people, and, on the other hand, of all the prosperity and glory manifested in heathen kingdoms notwithstanding their idolatry and wickedness, refusing to accept the chastisement of their iniquity, they suffered themselves to envy at the prosperity of the wicked, and sought that prosperity in the way and from the hands from which heathen kingdoms were seen to obtain it, that is, by a worship of the devil—(Hos. ii. 5; Jer. xlv. 15-19). Thus weak had His nation shown itself to be, and thus being in honour it abode not. Hence the task devolving on Christ now is to stand where they fell, and so, on their behalf, to maintain His standing in the kingdom, as, while constituting Himself retrospectively the cause of all their past restorations and maintenance in it, prospectively to justify the future, and procure the grace for a final and permanent restoration of the kingdom to Israel. Such, accordingly, is the very battle which Christ is found fighting in the wilderness to which He hastened. However, it included what was necessary for the individual, or for the family, the battle is here clearly and supremely that of a king for his nation, and of Christ as King of the Jews on behalf of the Jewish nation.

After fasting forty days in the wilderness, the first temptation by which He was assailed was precisely that temptation to unbelief and impatience by which, first of all, the Jews had been assailed in the wilderness. He was called on, if He was the Son of God, and in possession of the kingdom, as He had been declared to be, not to wait longer on His Father, who seemed to have neglected or forgotten Him, and unbelievably and impatiently to make bread for Himself. But where the Jews fell, He stood, meeting and resisting the temptation out of the law, and with the words, 'Man liveth not by bread alone, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of the Lord'—(Deut. viii. 2, 3). The second temptation with which He was assailed, was again precisely that by which the Jews were assailed in connection with their temple and privileges as the people of God, the temptation to presumption, and unwarrantable confidence. But, again, wherein they fell, Christ stood; carried to the pinnacle of the temple, and called on to cast Himself down, in a vain expectation of safety, repelling the temptation with the words, 'Thou shalt not tempt the Lord thy God.' But once more Christ was assailed, and with the third grand temptation of the Jews, that of envying at the prosperity of the wicked, and of seeking a short road to their kingdom by a worship of the devil. For, 'taking Him up into an exceeding high mountain, and showing Him all the kingdoms of the world, and the glory of them,' he said to Him, 'All these things will I give Thee if Thou wilt fall down and worship me.' But, again, standing where the Jews, and, indeed, all His nations fell, and willing to have the kingdoms of the world and their glory only in terms of His Father's promise, He made short work with this temptation, bidding the tempter begone, and overwhelming him with the words, 'Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and Him only shalt thou serve'—(Matt. iv. 10). Thus, then, did Christ, as the Second Adam, and as the King of the Jews, fight the battle of His nations, and, at least, in respect of the precept of the law, 'Thou shalt not covet,' exhibit the meritorious foundation of all the past grace enjoyed by His nation in connection with their kingdom, and of the yet greater grace to be enjoyed by them in the time to come.

4. But yet more devolves on Christ as the Second Adam, and King of the Jews, in order to the saving of His nation; for having by His work in maintaining His standing in the kingdom thus far provided the foundation on which the kingdom must rest, He must now build His nation on it; to this end bringing His nation into that faith in Him, and so into that union with Him, which is necessary to His work becoming available for them. This is the duty called for in the fourth commandment, on the part of the kings and rulers of nations, and on the part of fathers and heads of families, on behalf of their respective constituencies. Having been rightly constituted in their relations upwards themselves, and the promise being a promise for themselves and their constituencies, they are called on to make believing and diligent use of the means by which, as appointed and blessed by God, their constituencies shall come with themselves to be built on the foundation of the promise, that so God may be, at once, the God of the king and nation, or of the father and his family, and this to the effect, in terms of the

fifth commandment, of binding both up in a common enjoyment of the promise. This accordingly is the work in which it would have been incumbent on Adam to have engaged, consequent on his maintenance of his standing, and in view of which, immediately, the promise, being a promise of the kingdom for himself and his great nation, would have been fulfilled in him and them. But Adam never came the length of fulfilling this duty to the nations; he fell, and not only lost the anointing necessary to it, he lost the promise itself, involving himself and his nations in a common ruin. But the duty that would thus have devolved on Adam, came again in connection with Christ and a new foundation laid in Sion, as revealed to them, to devolve on the kings and rulers of the Jews, restored to a standing in the kingdom. But here also the hearts of the fathers were not dutifully turned to the children, so, therefore, the hearts of the children were not turned to the fathers, nor the disobedient to the wisdom of the just, and hence, even now, in themselves, in their nation, and in their land, they were ready to be smitten with the curse—(Mal. iv. 6).

Here then, farther, must Christ, the Second Adam, and King of the Jews, interpose. He must fulfil this other essential part of the righteousness necessary to the saving of His kings and nations. He must diligently teach His nation. He must labour to build the rulers, and so the nation on the foundation of the promise, to this end bringing them into faith and union with Himself, and constituting them such branches as, while having standing in Him, to have, at the same time, life from Him, and so all the fruits of the promise.

That Christ has accomplished this work, and the importance attaching to it, we see already from the way in which He pleads it before His Father in Ps. xl. 8-11. But that we may look at the actual manner of its accomplishment, this being the work on which Christ, as King of the Jews, entered so immediately and so zealously after His victory in temptation :

First, it will be observed, that although the temple was about to pass away, yet that its worship was still valid, and that hence—the brazen altar typifying Christ as the foundation laid in Sion, on which the nation must be built, and by which it was necessary for it, entering into the temple there, first, to have that fellowship with Christ in His kingdom, for whose representation and enjoyment the holy place, with its table of shewbread and its golden candlestick, was constituted, and then, next, that enjoyment of God as in Christ their God and Father, in order to which God revealed Himself on the mercy-seat in the Holiest of all—it was necessary, or it was to have been expected, that some part of that work in which Christ has now to engage, would be exhibited in connection with the subsisting temple and altar.

Accordingly, what in this connection do we find? Or how, here, does Christ act the necessary part as King of the Jews?

1. First then, at the very commencement of His ministry, and again at its close, in connection with the remarkable entry into Jerusalem as King of the Jews, which He then made, we have Him cleansing the temple—(John ii. 13-17; Matt. xxi. 12, 13; Mark xi. 17). In view of it the disciples remembered that it was written of Him, 'The zeal of thine house hath eaten me up;' and we see Him using all kingly authority, as well as severity and force; driving out the buyers and sellers with a whip of cords, overthrowing the tables of the money-changers and the seats of them who sold doves, and purging the temple to the effect, not only of expelling literal thieves and robbers, but of driving out such spiritual thieves also as thought to make money and enjoy the riches of His kingdom, not in the way of building themselves on the altar, and so in faith and union with Him as their King, but on grounds of self-righteousness before God, as well as of extortion and deceit among themselves. In thus acting Christ doubtless condemned an unfaithful ministry and priesthood, and an unfaithful magistracy who permitted it. At the same time, He justified all the purgations of the temple, and reformations effected of old by such kings as Hezekiah and Josiah; and while He shows what the duty is of the kings of all ages and of all nations, as regards God's temple, which He declares to be a house of prayer for all nations, He discovers, at the same time, the source whence they may, and shall, receive the necessary grace and zeal to the saving of themselves and their nations.

2. But we have Christ making another manifestation of Himself as king of the Jews in connection with the temple. This we have in Matthew xvii. 24-27; and in His payment of the tribute money. This tribute money was the annual half shekel, payable by every Jew in support of the tabernacle and temple service, as appointed of God, and commanded by Moses of old—(Exod. xxx. 11-16), and as we see it again authoritatively called for in the days of Joash—(2 Chron. xxiv. 9). This tribute was really paid, and payable to Christ Himself as king of the land, in acknowledgment of His supremacy, and of the nation's dependence on Him. In the meantime, however, that He may not offend them, and that also acting as an ordinary Israelite under law He may by His example at once sanction and enforce the duty, and this in the case of the poorest, He foregoes His claim and pays the tribute. But how does He do it? Fifteenpence would suffice, but having become poor, that we through His poverty might become rich, He is not at present possessed even of this small amount. He pays it, therefore, by drawing magnificently on the resources of His kingdom. As the Second Adam He has dominion over the fowl of the air, and over the fish of the sea, and 'go thou,' he says to Peter, 'and cast an hook, and take up the fish that first cometh up, and when thou hast opened his mouth, thou shall find a piece of money, that take, and

give unto them for me and thee.' Thus He demonstrates the truth of His claim. At the same time, at once by His authority and example, He confirmed the obligation of a national establishment of His worship, and the universal obligation of its support; while He indicates to whom the poorest may look in faith for the necessary amount, and that indeed they may on no occasion appear before the Lord empty—(Deut. xvi. 16; Mark xii. 41, 42). But while, in connection with the subsisting temple, Christ seeks thus to build the nation on the foundation which He has provided for it, the nation must now be led to look more directly to Himself, and it is here, and in this connection especially, that we are to see how, as King of the Jews, He fulfilled the part now devolving on Him.

It was to this end that we have Him now assuming the functions of a minister and preacher of the glad tidings of His kingdom; in this making Himself as King of the Jews, subservient to what He is as the Head of a spiritual house and family, and King of saints, assuming office under what He is as King of saints, and becoming a Pastor, yea, and the Chief Pastor and Bishop of souls. These two offices are also combined in the family, the father of the family being at once its king and minister. But in the nation, a separation of the two offices has been established, for, in His Church, as King of Saints Christ has established a government in the hands of church officers, distinct from the civil magistrate; nor may the civil magistrate, or outward king, in any way invade that spiritual kingdom which the Church constitutes, whether by assuming its government, or exercising the functions of its ministers. Christ, however, the King, assumed the functions of a minister under the spiritual kingdom, doing so that He might fulfil His duty under law as a king on behalf of His nation, that He may show other kings their duty in the use they are to make of the ministry constituted under the spiritual kingdom, and that by the anointing and grace imparted to Him in this capacity, He may be the source to the Church and the nation of such an anointed ministry as kings may, and ought, to employ on behalf of their nations.

This being the function which Christ assumed, it is already evident to what great end it is to be directed, while we see what He thinks of the use and end of a nation, and what it must be, and do, that it may be saved. It must be wooed and won as a bride, and as a bride it must become a son of God, and to this end it must receive Him as its King, in order that in faith and union with Him it may be built on the necessary foundation, and finding in Him all the necessary redemption, righteousness, and life, may be restored and maintained as a Church, and so also be restored and maintained as a nation. Hence, in order to receive Him as her King, it was not enough that they were simply taken with His gracious words, or that they admired His wonderful works, or that, expecting temporal riches, or the restoration of the kingdom to Israel under Him, they were willing to make Him their King, or even that, with Nicodemus, they came the length of acknowledging Him to be a teacher come from God. No, except a man be born again he cannot see the kingdom of God. He Himself enters the kingdom, not only through righteousness, but through suffering, and it is only in faith and union with Him as thus not only a righteous but a suffering King, that they can enter in, and have fellowship with Him in His kingdom. But blessed are the poor in spirit for theirs is the kingdom of heaven, and blessed are the meek for they shall inherit the earth. Becoming first a Church, they shall thus become a nation, nor until Israel thus becomes a Church will the kingdom ever be restored to it.

But this being the grand end to which his ministry was directed, how do we find him carrying it on?

He went forth everywhere preaching the glad tidings of His kingdom, holding Himself forth as King, proclaiming liberty to the captive, and opening the prison to the bound—(Luke iv. 18); but demanding faith as the necessary pre-requisite to any enjoyment of Him—(John i. 12, viii. 24; Mark ix. 23); and showing at the same time, that a spiritual redemption must precede an outward one, or that there must first be the forgiveness of sin, and so redemption from the spiritual curse, in order to redemption from that which is outward and physical; granting therefore the first that there may be the second, pointing to the second as the proof of His power to give the first—(Mark ii. 5-10)—and by His possession of both, abundantly proving Himself to be the King of Israel, and a Captain of salvation in every way, able to save them out of the hands of all their enemies, and to give them to serve God without fear in holiness and righteousness before Him all the days of their lives.

Then His ministry having been thus a ministry of Himself as King of the Jews, His ministry was farther characterised by the continuous and remarkable prayerfulness with which it was accompanied, and by the untiring assiduity, the self-sacrificing toil, and the consuming zeal with which it was prosecuted, His followers once and again seeking to restrain Him, saying among themselves, that 'He is beside Himself'—(Mark iii. 20, 21; John iv. 31, 32).

Thus characterised by its earnestness and zeal, it was farther evidently characterised by its nationality. His was a national ministry, and which had the nation continually and supremely in view. True, He received individuals, nor did any apply to Him in vain; but that the nation was the grand object of His ministry, and that it was on the nation that He desired to bestow Himself as King, is manifest at the very commencement of His ministry by His appearance at Jerusalem at the Passover, by His repeatedly returning to Jerusalem, and remaining there as long as He could do so with safety, and by the intended and actual effect of His work in

Galilee and elsewhere, which was to attract the attention to Him of the rulers in Jerusalem. The supremely national character of His ministry appears farther from His own saying, that a 'Prophet cannot perish out of Jerusalem'—(Luke xiii. 33), indicating that, as a minister, He was a Prophet to the nation, and that, by His offer of Himself to its builders and rulers at Jerusalem, there must be, whether a grand national rejection or a grand national reception of Him. It is clearly manifest also from His coming to Jerusalem, with this express end in view, in that remarkable offer which he made of Himself to the nation as its King, when, clothing Himself in the royal insignia of Zeehariah's prophecy, He rode into Jerusalem on an ass's colt; the prophecy which He exhibited Himself as fulfilling going before Him, and as with sound of trumpet pro-claiming, 'Rejoice greatly O daughter of Sion, shout O daughter of Jerusalem, behold thy King cometh unto thee'—(Zech. ix. 9). Finally, the supremely national character of Christ's ministry, and the intensity of its earnestness as such, appear from the way in which, knowing now what His reception would be, and the ruin to the nation to follow, He was moved, on His approach to the city on this last grand occasion, for 'when He was come near He beheld the city and wept over it'—(Luke xix. 41-44); from the whole style of His preaching on this occasion, as in His parable of the vineyard, and in His reference to the stone which the builders were rejecting, although it was the foundation and corner-stone of the nation—(Matt. xxi. 33-45); and, once more from that pathetic outburst, 'O Jerusalem, Jerusalem, thou that killest the prophets, and stonest them which are sent unto thee, how often would I have gathered thy children together even as a hen gathereth her chickens under her wings, and ye would not! Behold your house is left unto you desolate'—(Matt. xxiii. 37).

Finally, Christ's ministry having been thus a ministry of Himself, and having been thus intensely earnest, and intensely national, we find that it was finished and crowned by His dying the death of a martyr, witnessing to that fundamental truth which had been the great subject of His ministry, that He was in very deed the King of the Jews.

It was in connection with this claim, so publicly made and so remarkably sustained at Jerusalem, that the rulers were so sore displeased, that they questioned His authority, that they sought to lay hands on Him, and that gathering the Sanhedrim they took counsel to take Him by subtlety and kill Him—(Matt. xxi. 15, 23, 46, xxvi. 3). It was on this charge that, brought before the council, and being blindfolded and buffeted, He was called on: 'Prophecy unto us, Thou Christ, who is he that smote Thee'—(Matt. xxvi. 28). It was on the same charge that He stood before the Governor, the Governor asking Him, 'Art Thou the King of the Jews'—(Matt. xxvii. 11; John xviii. 37). It was the same before Herod. Herod and his men of war, in derision of the claim, clothing Him in a gorgeous robe'—(Luke xxiii. 11). It was under the same accusation and character that He was, again and again, brought forth and exhibited by Pilate, till at length the chief priest answering, 'We have no king but Cæsar,' He was delivered for crucifixion; the inscription on His cross which gave public intimation of the accusation under which He died, and which was written in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, being also, 'This is Jesus of Nazareth, King of the Jews.'

But such having been the charge, how did Christ reply to it? In view of the hostility and peril which it occasioned, might He not have hidden or withdrawn the claim? But He came as a minister and witness of the truth; and so, before the Sanhedrim being asked, 'Art Thou the Christ, the Son of the Blessed?' Jesus said, 'I am'—(Mark xiv. 61, 62). Again, before Pilate, being asked, 'Art Thou the King of the Jews?' Jesus said unto him, 'Thou sayest'—(Matt. xxvii. 11). And again, 'Thou sayest I am a King. To this end was I born and for this cause came I into the world that I should hear witness unto the truth'—(John xviii. 37). Thus did He 'witness a good confession before Pontius Pilate'—(1 Tim. vi. 12, 13). The rage of His enemies, however, resulted only in grander attestations of the truth of the inscription on His cross, in giving it a wider range of application than to the nation of the Jews, and in Christ's full manifestation as Prince of the kings of the earth; for having by His confession constituted Himself 'the faithful witness,' thus did He come to be 'the first begotten from the dead,' and so also to be fully installed and manifested as 'Prince of the kings of the earth'—(Rev. i. 5).

We are surprised, however, that Christ's ministry should issue in such a result, and that instead of being a savour of life, it should have been to such an extent a savour of death. But, apart from its truly spiritual and saving results, we are not to think of Christ's ministry as having failed; on the contrary, it is in its apparent failure that we are to see its success. We must remember that the Spirit was not yet given, because Christ was not yet glorified, and that His ministry was still a ministry of the law and of the letter, the effect and design of which were to discover sin, to make it even abound, and so to be a ministry of death. For these ends Christ's ministry was entirely successful, so that, as never before was the ministry that was made glorious more gloriously manifested than in Christ, so never under it has there been such a discovery made of man's need of the Spirit, of the weakness of the most magnificent and likely Letter, of the extent and intensity of man's enmity against God, and so, instead of life under the Letter, such an aggravation of sin, condemnation, and wrath. 'If I had not come and spoken to them they had not had sin; but now they have no cloak for their sin.' 'He that hateth Me hateth My Father also. If I had not done among them the works which none other man did, they had not had sin, but now have they both seen and hated both Me and My Father.' And to such a height was the enmity

carried, that, after having killed God's prophets, and stoned His messengers, last of all they slew His Son; bringing on themselves, on their children, and on their land, dreadful exposure to the fullest infliction of the curse.

5. Happily, however, Christ's work as the King of the Jews, did not end with His ministry, and its dire results, and we now proceed to observe, in the fifth place, in connection with the kingly part He is found acting on behalf of the nations of His constituency, that He died for them.

The necessity for this is already implied in the comprehension of the nations in His original constituency as the Second Adam, it is also implied in the gospel as being supremely a gospel for kings and their nations, and that there may be a foundation for such a gospel. Moreover, if the nations, as such, are to be blessed in Christ, they can be blessed only in virtue of His blood having been shed for their redemption as nations. And was it not as dying for the nation of the Jews, that he was of old typified in such national offerings as the two lambs offered daily on the altar, and which were to be offered day by day continually, and again very expressly in the scape-goat? In connection with this last, the express appointment is, 'And Aaron shall lay both his hands upon the head of the live goat, and confess over him all the iniquities of the children of Israel, and all their transgressions in all their sins, putting them upon the head of the goat, and shall send him away by the hand of a fit man into the wilderness. And the goat shall bear upon him all their iniquities unto a land not inhabited'—(Lev. xvi. 21, 22). Was not this in anticipation of Zechariah's prophecy, 'And I will remove the iniquity of that land in one day'—(Zech. iii. 9). And do not both the type and the prophecy unite in holding forth Christ as dying, as He had lived, supremely for nations.

But apart from these considerations, which make the fact of the national character of Christ's death so certain and so obvious, we have it expressly stated. For this is the very truth whose expediency and necessity Caiaphas was so remarkably employed, and overruled at once to counsel and declare, 'Ye know nothing at all,' he says, 'nor consider, that it is expedient for us that one man should die for the people, and that the whole nation perish not the evangelist adding, 'and this spake he not of himself; hut being high priest that year he prophesied that Jesus should die for that nation, and not for that nation only, but that also He should gather together in one the children of God that were scattered abroad'—(John xi. 49-52). When he says, 'Not for that nation only,' it is evident that he means to add, 'but for other nations also,' and so that, 'the children scattered abroad,' must be national children, to be in due time constituted with Israel national sons of God; as we know they shall be, in terms of the prophecy: 'In that day shall Israel be the third with Egypt, and with Assyria, even a blessing in the midst of the land: whom the Lord of hosts shall bless, saying, 'Blessed be Egypt my people, and Assyria the work of my hands, and Israel mine inheritance'—(Isa. xix. 24, 25). 'But I said, How shall I put thee among the children, and give thee a pleasant land, a goodly heritage of the hosts of nations?'—(Jer. iii. 19). In giving His Son to die for the Jewish nation, God remembered His covenant made on their behalf with their patriarchal kings, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and had it in view to give them that full exodus from under the kingdom and power of darkness, of which their exodus from Egypt, and their baptism in the Bed Sea, was the sign and seal. At the same time, however, He remembered His covenant with Noah on behalf of His nations, and had it in view to restore them also from their long apostacy. Hence Christ died not for that nation only, but for the scattered nations, scattered because of their apostacy from Noah's covenant, and scattered so as not only to be driven forth from the tower of Babel, but so as to be driven forth from God, and to be scattered and divided among themselves. In fact, He had been in type exhibited as already dying for these scattered nations, and already they had participation in the redeeming virtue of His blood. He had been thus exhibited in that sacrifice of Noah which was laid as the foundation of the covenant made with him—(Gen. viii. 20-22). It is to Christ's sacrifice there represented that we owe the earth's continued preservation from a second deluge; it is to its virtue that we must ascribe the continued maintenance of the ordinances of heaven, and that, under all the apostacy of the nations, God has continued to give them rain from heaven and fruitful seasons, filling their hearts with food and gladness—(Acts xiv. 17). But He who died for them in type, and to the effect of procuring for them such temporal blessings as these, has died for them in reality, and to the effect not only of withholding a deluge of wrath, but of procuring for them a deluge of blessing. 'For it will come to pass afterwards, that I will pour out my spirit upon all flesh'—(Joel ii. 28),—and 'The earth shall be filled with the knowledge of the glory of the Lord as the waters cover the sea'—(Hab. ii. 14).

Adam had but to live to secure the safety of his nations. A harder task devolved on Christ in order to the safety of His. His nations are under guilt; and not only are they under the guilt of Adam's fall, but, besides everything else, under all that guilt that must be implied in such a rejection of Christ as is consummated in His crucifixion. This guilt the Jewish nation had brought on itself; but it is to be observed that, in this respect, the Gentile nations are not less, but more guilty, than the Jews. They, in terms of the fourteenth Psalm, where in contradistinction to the foolish nation and unwise, they are spoken of as the sons of Adam—(compare Deut. xxxii. 6-8)—have come to be searched and tried, and repeating over again, in circumstances of greater knowledge, the sin of the Jews in their slaughter of Christ's two witnesses—(Rev. xi. 7-9)—they have certainly

brought on themselves a measure of guilt far transcending that of the Jews. Thus, therefore, in their earth, in their persons, in body and in soul, and in all their relationships, whether as regards God, or among themselves, the nations are fallen, and under an aggravated curse; and in their earth, in their persons, and in all their relationships, they require to be redeemed. Hence there must be not only the exhibition of an adequate righteousness, but the shedding of adequate blood. Christ, therefore, must not only live for His nations, He must die for them; and, accordingly, when Christ,—who, at His birth as King, and again at His baptism, and all through, had been so clearly manifested as labouring under an imputation of guilt, not His own, but that of His nations, and which must all yet he duly and fully expiated—came at length to die on the accursed tree, what must He be regarded as then doing? Then by one offering of Himself He made an end of sin, once for all He expiated the guilt with which He had been burdened; and then, too, while even dying by the guilty hands of His nations, He took occasion so to die for them, as even to bear and expiate the very guilt of His crucifixion. Hence, to go no farther, as indicating the already effected redemption of the Jewish nation, and the certainty of their restoration to their own land, there to rest and reign a holy and a happy people, we have Jerusalem, Jerusalem the city of the crucifixion, and immediately after that event, still carefully designated 'the Holy City;' and which now, purged from guilt and redeemed by blood, we are to regard as worthier of the name than ever before—(Matt. xxvii. 50-53). But, to the same effect also, as regards the nations and their restoration to a holy and happy reign upon the earth, we have God laying claim to the world at large, and already designating it as 'my holy mountain,' on which, therefore, when the time comes for giving effect to its redemption, 'they shall no more hurt nor destroy' (Isa. xi. 9).

Thus, then, did Christ finish the work given Him to do. Thus did He act out to the uttermost the kingly part devolving on Him on behalf of His nations. His redemption is supremely, like His gospel, a national redemption, a redemption of nations; and having thus also ratified the covenant of their salvation, and there being now in Him a fulness of redeeming blood, and of all the righteousness and life required for their restoration, we see not only how all nations and families of the earth may, but how they shall, be blessed in Him. Hence we come.

### III.

To observe, in the third place, in connection with Adam as a figure, that he figured Christ as, consequent on the kingly part He has acted on their behalf, He is now the Prince of the kings of the earth. 'Jesus Christ who is the faithful witness, and the first begotten of the dead, and the Prince of the kings of the earth'—(Rev. i. 5). This Adam was to have been, but the prospect was never realised. It passed away like a vision of the night, and he proved to be but the unsubstantial figure of Him who was to come. But how are we to think of Christ as Prince of the kings of the earth? Is He their Prince only in the sense in which He is made Head over all things to His Church, having angels, principalities, and powers put under Him, and to be made ministering spirits to His Church; or, in the sense in which the very devils are subject to Him, even in their malice overruled and constrained, with everything else, to work together for their good? Or, is it only in some general legislative sense that He is Head over the nations? Surely it is on other terms, and to a very different effect, that Christ is Prince of the kings of the earth; nor will they be found to have fulfilled their duty to Him as their Prince, when they come the length of giving gracious toleration to His cause among other things that are tolerated, or even when they render some problematical, some distant, some well considered, and duly guarded 'act of homage to Christ,' by expending, 'when necessary and expedient,' some portion of the national resources for ecclesiastical purposes. Aright to see how Christ is Prince of the kings of the earth, and their duty in relation to Him, we must consider that figure of Him which we have in Adam, and

1. We observe that the title was to accrue to Adam, because to him first and primarily, were the possession and dominion of the earth promised, and on him would supreme possession and dominion have been conferred, had the righteousness necessary to it been exhibited. But precisely thus, first, do the title and claims of the Prince of the kings of the earth belong now to Christ. The promise forfeited by Adam, and whose forfeiture not only lost the dominion for Adam, but brought the earth under a curse, requiring the shedding of blood in order to its redemption, was renewed to Christ, and He having exhibited all the necessary blood and righteousness, hence His now is the promise, and His now is the earth in all its extent, as His blood bought possession—(Eph. i. 14). He is the Proprietor of the soil, His the supreme dominion; in its heaven, earth, and sea, the world is made subject to Him, and to Him now belong all earth's riches and exhaustless stores—(Ps. viii. 5-8; Heb. ii. 8, 9). Hence, such as would occupy the earth must occupy from Him. He, indeed, is not unwilling to give back its occupation to those who have sold themselves out of it by sin; but they must occupy on His terms, and one of the first demands which He makes is, that a portion of the produce should be consecrated to His service, and that this should be done first, and before applying it to whatever other necessary use. 'Honour the Lord with thy substance, and with the first-fruits of all thine increase'—(Prov. iii. 9, 10). 'The first of the first-fruits of thy land

thou shalt bring into the house of the Lord thy God'—(Exod. xxiii. 19). Supremely addressing kings and nations in His Word, and calling for His national tribute—(Matt. xvii. 24). 'On the first day of the week let every one of you lay by him in store as God has prospered him'—(1 Cor. xvi. 2). His tribute, too, must show at once acquaintance with the redeemed character of the possession which He gives, and dependance on the law-magnifying blood and righteousness by which He has redeemed it for them. Hence, His portion must be in the form of tithes or tenths. Abraham, the king, having been enabled to expel invaders out of his land, and having had, at the same time, the fatness of the land brought forth for his use and enjoyment, paid Melchizedek, that king of righteousness and peace, at whose hands he received it, tithes of all. Joseph having, in the famine, bought up from the people the whole land for Pharaoh, gave it back to them on the terms, 'And it shall come to pass in the increase, that ye shall give the fifth part unto Pharaoh, and four parts shall be your own, for seed of the field, and for your food, and for them of your households, and for food for your little ones'—(Gen. xlvii. 24). On like terms of receiving back a fifth, or two-tenths, does Christ give back possession to earth's nations and kings, of that earth which He has bought up, and of which He has the supreme dominion. They were the terms, accordingly, on which the Jewish nation held their kingdom of Canaan; and although the kingdoms are not yet the Lord's, yet: 'Thou shalt beat in pieces many people; and I will consecrate their gain unto the Lord, and their substance unto the Lord of the whole earth.'—(Mic. iv. 13).

2. But, in the next place, in that idea which we have in Adam of the Prince of the kings of the earth, this glorious supremacy was to have been his; because, while having supreme possession, and exercising supreme dominion on the earth, it was not to be ruled over immediately by himself, but, to the exclusion of all besides, was to be dominated by nations who, first, in their kings, and next, throughout their entire constituencies, being sprung from him as his children, and so having federal union with him, should thus come to have in him all their standing and all their life; and the standing and life by which, first, to be maintained in their upward relations as churches, and so, next, in their relations downwards, as happy nations inheriting the earth. But thus precisely, and not in idea but in reality, is Christ to be re-garded as now the Prince of the kings of the earth. While having supreme possession, and exercising supreme dominion over the earth, He does not rule it immediately, or from Himself. He gives it to be immediately possessed and ruled over by the nations of the earth, and their kings. But, what the character, and how related to Him must be the nations to whom He gives it? They must have their standing in Him, and in His blood and righteousness, and they must have their life from Him; and the standing and life by which first to be restored and maintained as churches, and so, next, by which to be restored and maintained as nations. That also, they may have this standing and life in Him, they must be in federal union with Him as their Head and Representative, that so His blood and righteousness may be imputed to them, and the grace of this life both for Church and nation imparted; they coming into this federal union by a national faith upon Him, through the action of the national Builders; and this a national faith that will evince its genuineness, not only by a national reception of Christ and His gospel, but by a consistent national profession of it. But, once more, that they may thus, as a nation, have federal union with Him, they must be born of Him, they must become His children; for, as in order to have federal union with Adam, it was necessary to be literally born of him, so to have federal union with Christ, they must be spiritually born of Him; saved, that is by grace, through faith, under the Spirit's effectual call. It was only to nations born of him, in federal union with him, and so having their standing and life in him as nations, that under the first Adam the earth was to be inherited; and it is only, therefore, to nations correspondingly related to Christ that the earth is given now, or will be given. The relation of the Jewish nation to Christ, in their standing in their kingdom, was represented of old, in that of the branches of the good olive tree of the golden candlestick in the tabernacle, and it was as thus related that they became a vineyard planted in a very fruitful hill—(Isa. v. 1). To be a nation again, the Jews must be restored to this their old relation to Christ; and, to be nations under Christ inheriting the earth, the other nations must be grafted in along with them, and similarly partake of the root and fatness of the good Olive Tree. But 'Who hath heard such a thing, who hath seen such things? Shall the earth be made to bring forth in one day, or shall a nation be born at once?' Yes, 'glorious things are spoken of thee, O city of God.' And the glorious things spoken of consist, as we have seen, in this, that Sion is the destined birthplace of nations—(Ps. lxxxvii). And thus, and thus only, shall 'the nations be blessed in Him,' that is, in union with Him, 'and all nations shall call Him blessed'—(Ps. lxxii. 17).

But, on the other hand, what as to the nations not thus related to Christ? None but Adam's national sons were to have part in His earth. All besides were strictly excluded. Could we imagine others coming in and taking possession, they must have been thrust forth as usurping possession of what was only Adam's. If we could suppose that even one of Adam's national sons should withdraw himself from union with Adam, and build himself, and take possession on some footing of his own, in this case too, as having forfeited his right, and as having fallen from his standing in his kingdom, he must be driven from it. But so also under Christ, and that supreme possession and dominion of the earth which are now truly His. All but such as are His national sons fall to be excluded. Let even a nation, once brought into union with Him, and having in Him standing in

their kingdom, withdraw themselves from this union, and build themselves on some other foundation, at once their kingdom is forfeited, and they too fall to be excluded, as we see it has come to pass in the Jews. Not only do all such nations as have no part in Christ, no standing in Him, fall to be excluded, but, as rejecting Him, their King of righteousness and their King of peace, and as having their part therefore only in the devil, receiving their kingdom at his hands, ruling in the interests of the kingdom of darkness, and in a condition of malignant rebellion against the Righteous King of all the earth, they expose themselves to wrath and utter extermination; and although He indeed is long-suffering, and not willing that such nations should perish, yet sooner or later will the wrath of the Prince of the kings of the earth fall upon them, and sooner or later will He destroy them that, by their abuse of it, destroy His earth. 'If ye be willing and obedient, ye shall eat of the good of the land, but if ye refuse and rebel, ye shall be devoured with the sword, for the mouth of the Lord hath spoken it'—(Isa. i. 19, 20). 'Yea, the wicked shall be turned into hell, and all the nations that forget God'—(Ps. ix. 17). 'Be wise now, therefore, O ye kings; be instructed, ye judges of the earth. Serve the Lord with fear, and rejoice with trembling. Kiss the Son, lest He be angry, and ye perish from the way, when His wrath is kindled but a little'—(Ps. ii. 10-12).

3. But, once more, Adam was to be prince of the kings of the earth, because to such an extent deriving from, and dependent on him, his sovereignty was to be of such a well-earned description, because his title was to be so clear, because of the glad and grateful homage that was to accrue to him from earth's nations and kings, and because of the surpassing glory in which he was thus to be manifested as prince of the kings of the earth.

But, thus, and on like grounds, is Christ now, and will He yet be manifested and recognised as Prince of the kings of the earth; crowned their Prince thrice over by His own well-earned title, by His Father's gift, and by the glad and grateful acclaim of nations. For all nations shall call Him blessed, and their kings, casting their crowns at His feet, shall, with one consent, crown Him Lord of all.

## IV.

But farther, in connection with Adam as a figure of Christ, we have to observe that he figured him as Christ is now, and is more and more to be, in connection with His ransomed nations, the Head of a spiritual family and King of saints. That is what, in connection with the first Adam, the Son was intended to be, but that is what He has now become. For, 'behold,' he says, 'I and the children which God hath given me'—(Heb. ii. 13). And again, 'Christ as a Son over His own house; whose house are we'—(Heb. iii. 6). But how shall we conceive of Christ, and of this His house and family? Look at Adam. He was the figure of Him that was to come. In Adam's bride, who issued so remarkably from his own pierced side, we have a figure of that Church of which it is said, 'Christ also loved the Church, and gave Himself for it; that He might sanctify and cleanse it with the washing of water by the word, that He might present it to Himself a glorious Church, not having spot, or wrinkle, or any such thing'—(Eph. v. 25-27). Then in Adam's literal marriage we have the figure of Christ's spiritual marriage with a believing people, with believing nations—(Eph. v. 32; Jer. iii. 14). In Adam's fatherhood by his wife, of a natural progeny, we have the figure of Christ's fatherhood by His Church of a spiritual progeny—(Isa. lxvi. 8); while in the number numberless of the one, we have represented the number numberless of the other. Again, in the rich inheritance conferred on Adam with a view to his natural offspring, we have represented the unsearchable riches of Christ; the literal land flowing with milk and honey, representing a better land; and the bread and wine of the one, the bread and wine of the kingdom of God, and that abundance of life with which Christ is endowed in order to His spiritual offspring. Again, in what was to have been Adam's benign sway over the tribes of earth, we have represented Christ's spiritual rule over the spiritual tribes and nations of redeemed men, their happiness under Him, and their reign in life with Christ now and for ever. And as we see all those things figured in Adam, so, farther surely, in all the willing homage with which, had the end in view been realised, Adam's family, throughout its tribes and nations, would have honoured him, we see figured that heartier homage, that more grateful subjection, with which 'the nations of the saved' will cast their spiritual crowns at Christ's feet, and ascribe all the salvation and all the glory to Him that sitteth on the throne and to the Lamb for ever and ever.—(Rev. vii. 9, 10, and xxi. 24).

## V.

In connection with that view which we are taking of Adam as a figure of Christ, we only observe farther, that Adam figured Him in this respect, that He became a King of nations in order that He might be a King of saints.

It was with a view to the Son's becoming a King of saints that the first Adam was constituted; it is with the same end in view that the Son Himself has come, and that, as the Second Adam, He has been constituted King of nations, Prince of the kings of the earth. The Father would make a marriage for His Son, He would have Him

manifested as the Lord of a House and Family. To this end it was indispensably necessary for Him to be a King, and to be King not of individuals merely, but of nations, yea, and to be Prince of the kings of the earth, and hence His constitution as such. Nor need we dwell on the grounds of this necessity. It was necessary that there might be a redeemed people at all. It was necessary, that on a redeemed and purchased earth, His Church might have a place of habitation. It was necessary that He might be in circumstances to protect them from the dangers to which they are exposed under the very elements of nature, as well as at the hands of wicked men, both stirred up against them by the prince of the power of the air; and that delivering them out of the hands of all their enemies, supplying them and their little ones with food convenient for them, and making all things work together for their good, He might give them to serve God without fear in holiness and righteousness before Him all the days of their lives. It was necessary that in the nation He might have a suitable Bride, one full grown, stately, and prolific, such as that which He prepared for Himself in the nation of Israel—(Ezek. xvi. 3-14). It was necessary that under a promise of salvation to the nation and their offspring; and their offspring under this promise being taken for the children of the spiritual kingdom, and being through the nation as Christ's Bride born again into the kingdom, Christ's house and family might be filled up and reach its number numberless. It was necessary that in the nation His Church and children might have wherewith not only to support themselves, but wherewith to serve and honour Him, and that the gain of the whole earth might be consecrated to the Lord. And, in fine, it was necessary that in all the peace, plenty, riches, numbers, and glory, which, as Prince of the kings of the earth, he imparts to His nations, and in their happy inheritance of the earth He may provide some suitable outward representation, such as national Israel constituted of old, of His own inward spiritual glory as King of saints, reigning over the tribes and nations of the saved, giving them fellowship with Him in His spiritual fulness, causing them to reign in life together with Him, and to eat the bread and drink the wine of His kingdom. But if on such grounds as these it became necessary for Christ to become a King of nations, if it was necessary for Him to become a King of nations that He might be a King of saints, hence His title and claims as Prince of the kings of the earth are absolutely fundamental. They were the grand subjects of His own ministry on the earth; and so important did He regard them, that in maintaining them He became a faithful witness unto death. Nor is there a title for which His people are called on more zealously to witness, to urge on the attention and faith of kings and nations, and in the faithful maintenance of which they should be more willing to suffer, and, if need be, to die.

We see, then, what a remarkable figure Adam constituted. It would even appear that he was formed on a pattern already existing, that he was never meant to be anything else than a figure, and that, in fact, the work and the burden of glory intended for him were too heavy for a creature's shoulders to bear. He was set up, therefore, to show the creature's weakness in his best estate, and thus for ever to hide pride from man; but to give occasion, at the same time, for the manifestation of the righteousness, and mercy, and all-sufficiency of God, of the grace and condescension of His Son, and of the glory with which the Father would have Him crowned.

And how remarkably has the Figure been substantiated and realised in Jesus, the Lord from heaven, in the constituency given Him as the Second Adam, in all that kingly part which He has acted on behalf of His kings and nations, in His grace, qualifications, and claims as the Prince of the kings of the earth, and in the certain realisation now of all God's high purposes in connection with man! In Him there is a fulness equal to the wants, not of mere individual units only, but of nations, and in Him all nations shall be blessed. So, then, provision is made that the Son shall have a spiritual house and family adequately built up, and that He shall reign gloriously as a King of saints, and while the Son obtains a family and becomes the lord of a house; the Father finds in the House of the Son such a temple as He desires; of which He can say, 'This is My rest for ever, here will I dwell, for I have desired it;' to which His fulness and glory will be imparted, where His praises shall be adequately shown forth, and He will be worshipped, served, and glorified to all eternity.

We might now proceed to that application of the truth, which we have endeavoured to educe, to present controversies and duty, which we have had in view. Previous to this, however, there are two or three other matters, rising out of the subject, to which we must refer. And here,

## I.

*First*, We refer to the profound insight into the Christian system manifested in the mystery of iniquity, and to the remarkable manner in which everything peculiar to Christ has been grasped, in order to be so awfully parodied in the papal antichrist.

He is the great preacher, teacher, and minister of the kingdom of God, Christ's vicar, Christ Himself, with whom are all the mysteries of the kingdom, to whom exclusively it belongs authoritatively and infallibly to declare them; the Chief Pastor and Bishop of Souls, from whom all subordinate ministers receive their authority and qualifications for office, and whom all are bound to believe and obey at peril of their salvation. His, too, is

every kingly power of forgiving sin, of binding and loosing, and He has the keys of heaven and of hell. He holds Himself forth, moreover, as the Church's Bridegroom, at His installation, in token of His marriage with the Church, having the ring of marriage put on His finger. He is the head of the Church, which is His body, and He is the King of saints.

His, too, are no modest or whispered claims, nor is he satisfied with mere individuals as His prey. Boldly, and in a very special manner, he claims the obedience and subjection of kings and nations, and even boasts of it as one of the evidences of his truth, and conformity with Scripture, that there is no other Church but that of Rome that does so.

'The history surely of the Church in all past times, ancient as well as mediaeval, is the very embodiment of that tradition of apostolical independence and freedom of speech, which, in the eyes of man, is her great offence now. Nay, that independence, I may say, is one of her notes and credentials, for where shall we find it except in the Roman Catholic Church. "I spoke of Thy testimonies," says the Psalmist, "before kings, and I was not ashamed." This verse, I think, Dr Arnold used to say, rose up in judgment against the Anglican Church in spite of its real excellencies. As to the Oriental churches, every one knows in what bondage they lie, whether they are under the rule of the Czar, or of the Sultan. Such is the actual fact, that whereas it is the very mission of Christianity to bear witness to the Creed and the Ten Commandments in a world that is averse to them, Rome is now the one faithful representative, and thereby is heir and successor of that free-spoken, dauntless, church of old, whose traditions, Mr Gladstone says, the said Rome has repudiated,' etc.—*Newman's Letter in reply to Mr Gladstone's Expostulation*, p. 20.

He not only rules over kings and nations in the Church, or, viewed as its members, but he claims rule over them in their outward temporal kingdoms, making himself their Prince, claiming the power of the two swords, and making it obligatory on kings to carry out his commands by their temporal resources and the force of arms. Yea, with one foot on the sea and another on the land, he lays claim to the earth at large, and, in the exercise of his supreme authority, he deposes kings, gives away kingdoms, disposes of unexplored and unknown regions of the globe, and asserts that his kingdom is 'from sea to sea, and from the river (Tiber) to the ends of the earth.'

Nor has he spoken these 'great things and blasphemies' in vain. For not to speak of 'all the world wondering after the beast,' and of power being given him over 'all kindreds, and tongues, and nations'—(Rev. xiii. 3,7)—of the ten kings of the Roman earth it is said, and the prophecy has been amply fulfilled, 'These have one mind, and shall give their power and strength to the beast'—(Rev. xvii. 13); doing so as be-lieving him to be the lord of their salvation, able to give them the forgiveness of sin, and the crown of eternal life. As thus yielding themselves up to the papal antichrist, they have been received and reckoned as national sons of the church—France the eldest,—they have done his will, with their secular arm implementing his commands, and have attempted, and for a time with seeming success, the extirpation of heretics so called; the result of the remarkable union of the nations with him and his church being, as stated by a Romish writer quoted by Manning in his reply to Mr Gladstone, 'Thus the Holy Roman Church and the Holy Roman Empire are one and the same thing in two aspects,' pp. 68, 69. See below for more to the same effect.

'The civil society of Catholics is distinguished from others by this—that it consists of the same assemblage of men as the Church of Christ, that is the Catholic Church consists of; so that it in no way constitutes a real body diverse and separate from the Church; but both societies together have the character of a two-fold federative association and obligation inhering in the same multitude of men, whereby the civil society, under the government of the civil magistrate, exerts its powers to secure the temporal happiness of man, and under the government of the Church to secure eternal life; and in such wise, that eternal life be acknowledged to be the last and supreme end to which temporal happiness and the whole temporal life is subordinate, because, if any man do not acknowledge this, he neither belongs to the Catholic Church nor may call himself Catholic.'—*Manning's reply to Mr Gladstone*, p. 69.

And thus, in connection with Rome, we have had already a papal and antichristian anticipation, and imitation, of the result of that true restoration of the nations which Christ has it in view to effect; when the nation under one of its aspects shall be a Church, and under its other aspect a nation; when the kingdoms universally shall be the Lord's, and shall bring their honour and glory into His Church; and when His truth and grace shall so prevail, as that what was once Rome's proud boast, 'Jam nemo reclamat, nullus obsistit,' shall have its true accomplishment under Christ, the alone Prince of the kings of the earth—(Zech. xiii. 2,3).

## II.

But such being the manner and extent in which antichrist has attempted to parody Christ and His nations, in connection with what we have seen to be Christ's claim over them, we next take occasion to refer to the true duty and safety of nations and their kings.

In the sight of God nations are individual beings to whom He has given existence on His earth, moral

creatures, but guilty, fallen, exposed to wrath; and, in view of the greater advantages under which modern nations live, their case calling for a more dreadful destruction than even that which came upon the cities of the Plain, or on the nations of Canaan. This is no exaggerated picture of the true condition of the nations, and hence, entrusted as they are with the safety of their nations, under supreme obligation in every way to provide for that safety, and, happily, so sure of success in the use of God's graciously appointed means:

The first duty of kings and rulers is to realise and truly to feel for themselves, and to endeavour to get their nations with them to realise, this their first and greatest danger, and cause of all else that they have to fear. 'Come near ye nations to hear; and hearken ye people: let the earth hear, and all that is therein; the world and all things that come forth of it. For the indignation of the Lord is upon all nations, and His fury upon all their armies'—(Isa. xxxiv. 1, 2). 'At His wrath,' too, 'the earth shall tremble, and the nations shall not be able to abide His indignation'—(Jer. x. 10). It was, therefore, no idle alarm with which Josiah was seized in his day, when on the discovery of the book it was read to him, and he rent his clothes, and sent Hilkiah and the rest, saying, 'Go ye, enquire of the Lord for me, and for the people, and for all Judah concerning the words of this book that is found; for great is the wrath of the Lord that is kindled against us because our fathers have not hearkened unto the words of this book, to do according unto all that which is written concerning us'—(2 Kings xxii. 13). On the contrary, we see exemplified in him the wisdom, and the very first duty of kings and rulers on behalf of their nations, in which, however, alas, they have been so little instructed, and to which, therefore, as yet, they have been so little brought; to which they may be brought only as the result of some tremendous experience, or exemplification of the indignation lying upon the nations, but to which they shall surely be brought at last, in fulfilment of the gracious promise, 'The kings shall shut their mouths at him: for that which had not been told them shall they see; and that which they had not heard shall they consider'—(Isa. lii. 15).

But there is a gospel for kings and nations, a gospel for every creature, and 'Which is now made manifest, and by the Scriptures of the prophets, according to the commandment of the everlasting God, to be made known to all nations for the obedience of faith'—(Rom. xvi. 26); and if it is the first duty of kings and their nations to fear in view of the indignation which lies upon them, their next duty is to hear, to consider, to receive, and in every way faithfully to act upon the gospel, that by the commandment of the everlasting God is preached to them for the obedience of faith.

This gospel for the nation, and the duty lying on kings and rulers in relation to it, may be illustrated by the gospel for the family and the duty in connection with it, incumbent on parents and heads of families; for just as, although supremely for the nation, the law was primarily for the family, its language to Adam being, 'Do this, and thou shalt live, thou and thy house,' so, although supremely for the nation, the gospel also is primarily for the family, its language addressed to the head of the house being, 'Believe on the Lord Jesus Christ and thou shalt be saved, thou and thy house'—(Acts xvi. 31). This gospel, accordingly, the head of the house must receive, and in outward profession of his faith in it, and that it may be signified and sealed to him in all its family extent, he must be baptised, 'he and all his straightway.' But it must not only be received, it must be believingly acted on, in the believing, diligent persevering, agonizing use of the means to which a fulfilment of the promise will be given. With Noah, being warned of God of things not seen as yet, and moved with fear, he must prepare an ark to the saving of his house—(Heb. xi. 7). He must exercise his parental authority carefully to separate himself and his house, and to keep them separate, from idolatry, false worship, profanity, and all that is inconsistent with his professed faith in the promise. He must remember the Sabbath day to keep it holy, exercising his authority so as to secure that in it, 'Thou shalt not do any work, thou, nor thy son, nor thy daughter, nor thy man servant, nor thy maid servant, nor thy cattle.' And in connection with this, he must 'honour the Lord with his substance, and with the first-fruits of all his increase.' But, farther, he must evangelise his family, ministering to them himself, as well as bringing them under the public ministry of the word—(Gen. xviii. 19). He must pray with and for his house, keeping no silence, and refusing to let God go until the family blessing and salvation comes—(Gen. xxxii. 22-28). He must go before them in a Christian example, and exercise also his parental authority for the correction, or suppression, of uprisings of evil. To faith thus patiently manifesting itself is the promise given, and to such faith will it be fulfilled. Already there is a pledge, or a channel for success to run in, in that natural authority and influence of the parent on his child, which is the gift of God, and in the natural subjection of the child to his parent, and readiness to be influenced by him, which is also the gift of God, but enforced and sanctified as these come to be under the promise, success is certain. 'The hearts of the fathers being turned to the children, then the hearts of the children shall be turned to the fathers, and the disobedient to the wisdom of the just'—(Mal. iv. 6; Luke i. 17). The outward sprinkling in baptism, by which the family promise was sealed to the parents' faith, has in due time its inward and saving counterpart, and to every such believing parent, when the deluge of wrath is ready to be poured out on others, it will be said, 'Come thou, and all thy house into the ark; for thee have I seen righteous before me in this generation'—(Gen. vii. 1).

But precisely corresponding to the faith, and believing action called for on the part of the head of the house

under the family promise, is the faith and believing action called for on the part of kings and rulers under the gospel for the nations. They must receive this gospel, and Christ Himself as the nation's redeeming Prince and King, and His blood and righteousness must be recognised as the only but adequate foundation of the nations' safety. Union with Him must be sought for themselves and their nation, and all that believing action must be taken, which as appointed and blessed of God, shall result in the nation's being actually found in Him, built on Him as the tried and sure foundation, and maintained in a true, a consistent, a fruitful, and glorious national profession of the faith.

The duty thus incumbent on kings and rulers has already been prescribed for them in the Decalogue as of old imparted to the Jews; for this is God's law for all nations, primarily addressed to their kings, and holding forth the terms of a gracious covenant between God and the nations.

'I am the Lord thy God'—the nation's God, He says to the Jews—which have brought thee—the nation, out of the land of Egypt, out of the house of bondage'—(Ex. xx. 2). It was Christ their Prince that brought them out, and we see how He effected it. 'Zion shall be redeemed with judgment, and her converts with righteousness;' and He did it, on the one hand, by applying His blood and righteousness to the Egyptians in the form of the ten plagues, and to the effect of destroying them; and He did it, on the other, by the gracious application of the same blood and righteousness to the Jews, in their baptism in the Red Sea, and to the effect of giving them a dry passage through, and into a condition of national emancipation and liberty. And is any other nation saved from oppression, delivered from its enemies, and placed in a position of liberty and independence? Most assuredly they have to ascribe it not to their own merit or prowess, but to the hand and power of the same gracious King, and to the virtue of the same blood thus far extended to them; and the language in which the gracious dealing addresses them is just this, 'I am the Lord thy God, which have brought thee out of the land of Egypt, and out of the house of bondage.' More especially must this be held to be the case in such an exodus from the land of Egypt and house of bondage as Scotland got at the time of the Reformation from Popery.

But God confers this liberty for a purpose. He sets them free from their enemies, and gives them national independence, not that they may occupy themselves merely or chiefly in matters secular and outward, or in promoting their own national aggrandisement. He has something much better for the occupation of national thought, and energy and resources than that, and something, without which, even as regards that, they will spend their strength for nought and in vain. He sets them free, that they may, as a nation, serve Him, and that they may be His people, and that He may be their God, and hence, now, 'I am the Lord thy God which have brought thee out,' and this prescription to the nations of the terms and way of a gracious covenant to be instituted between Him and them.

In order to this, however, and before adverting to the duty incumbent under the Decalogue on kings and nations, and especially on such as God has blessed with liberty and independence, we must observe how, as they are seen to be reproduced in the Tabernacle, God the Father, and Christ His Son, are to be regarded as revealed in the Decalogue, the great and gracious promises of the covenant which He comes to make, and the foundation on which they rest, and are to be enjoyed.

See note on the Decalogue appended at the end.

Here, first, then, in the fourth commandment, just as is to be seen in the corresponding Holy Place of the Tabernacle, God holds forth His Son Christ Jesus, invested with the riches at once of a spiritual kingdom, and of a supreme possession and dominion of the earth, as a spiritual Bridegroom for the nation, and calls the nation into marriage fellowship with His Son, first in His spiritual kingdom, and then in that which is outward, there, and in this fellowship, to find rest as in the house of a husband, sitting at his table, eating the bread and drinking the wine of His kingdom. At the same time He takes the nation's literal children to be the children of the spiritual kingdom, and promises that, through the nation in its marriage fellowship with His Son, and discharging that duty on behalf of their children, which the fourth commandment makes incumbent on them, their children shall be born again into it; and that thus, also, in terms of the fifth commandment, He will give such continuance and perpetuation to the nation in children's children, as is implied in the promise, 'Instead of thy fathers shall be thy children, whom thou mayst make princes in all the earth'—(Ps. xlv. 16).

Then, next, in the first three commandments, as again is to be seen in the corresponding Most Holy Place in the Tabernacle, the Father reveals Himself, through His Son, and by His Spirit, showing Himself ready to bestow Himself on the nation in union and fellowship with His Son, and on the nation's children, as their God and Father, and receiving them as a national Son, to put His name as such upon it; yea, under the grace and baptism of His Spirit to make them a Son indeed, and so to qualify them for a worthy profession and bearing of His name, in terms of the third commandment.

But what the foundation on which such proposals and promises, so great and precious, are made to the nation, and in which alone they can be communicated or enjoyed. This is what we see in the law's rigid exaction of righteousness, under penalty of death for any shortcoming, which the law makes, and which the Jewish conscience was made to feel; but which, though made of the nation, is rendered by Christ for it, and

which is made of the nation to shut it up to the faith of Christ as at once the righteousness and life of the covenant, the end of the law for righteousness to every one who believes. As such, therefore, and in order to any fellowship with the Son and enjoyment of the Father, Christ comes to be revealed for the nation's faith, in the Tabernacle's place of public ministry, corresponding with the fifth commandment, first, in the brazen altar, as the foundation laid in Sion, and then in the laver, as the source of the nation's cleansing and life; and it is as such that He is to be ministered from the fourth commandment, and submitted to the listening children in the fifth, that, received and built upon by them, believing they may be saved, and their days be long in the land which the Lord their God gives them.

But such being the grace, character, and promises, in which, in His gospel, He offers Himself to the nations, the duty of nations, and that of their kings and rulers under the Decalogue, is obvious.

1. In view of what God reveals Himself to be in the first three precepts of the Decalogue, through His Son, and by His Spirit, in the Inspired Word, one of the first duties incumbent on kings and rulers is, with all authority and zeal, if need be, to purge the national temple and the land of all idolatry and false worship—especially of papal and antichristian worship—of profanity, and of whatever is openly opposed to, or inconsistent with, the truth of God. It is to the nation, and primarily to its rulers, that God says, 'Thou shalt have no other gods before me;' and on whom He makes incumbent the duty of the other two precepts of this part of the Decalogue; and these things they must do, not only to the extent of giving no countenance whatever to idolatry, false worship, heresy, and profanity, but by nationally discountenancing them, and using every legitimate means for their suppression. It was in the fear of God, and under the duty laid on them in these commandments, that such kings as Jehoshaphat, Hezekiah, and Josiah, acted in their days, God countenancing their zeal, making the people themselves willing, and accompanying it with protection and blessing to the land. It is prophesied of a time yet to come, that God 'will cut off the names of the idols out of the land, and they shall no more be remembered; and also, I will cause the prophets and the unclean spirit to pass out of the land'—(Zech. xiii. 2); but, doubtless, this is to be done through the action of the kings and rulers of the land, under the call of these precepts of the Decalogue; and let unpatriotic latitudinarians say what they please, John Knox had the best of reasons for saying, that he was more afraid of the saying of one mass in the kingdom, with the countenance and favour of its rulers, than he was of the invasion of ten thousand men.

2. Another thing called for in the Decalogue on the part of kings and rulers, is authoritatively to institute the outward rest of the Sabbath, in terms of the fourth commandment, and to provide for its being observed, not only by the nation in its several families, but by 'the stranger within thy gates.' 'Thus said the Lord unto me: Go and stand in the gate of the children of the people, whereby the kings of Judah come in, and by the which they go out, and in all the gates of Jerusalem : and say unto them, hear ye the word of the Lord, ye kings of Judah, and all Judah, and all the inhabitants of Jerusalem, that enter in by these gates : Thus saith the Lord: Take heed to yourselves, and bear no burden on the Sabbath day, neither do ye any work, but hallow ye the Sabbath day, as I commanded your fathers—and it shall come to pass, if ye diligently hearken unto me, saith the Lord, to bring in no burden through the gates of this city on the Sabbath day, but hallow the Sabbath day, to do no work therein; then shall there enter into the gates of this city kings and princes sitting on the throne of David, riding in chariots and on horses, they and their princes, the men of Judah and the inhabitants of Jerusalem: and this city shall remain forever—(Jer. xvii. 19-25; see also Nehemiah xiii. 15-21). The Sabbath is Christ's own marriage ring, given to the nation, and which she must not only wear, but keep bright and clean, that she may give notice to the world of her engagement to Christ, and of her marriage fellowship with Him; nor is there anything by which a nation can, with more of provocation, indicate its apostacy, than by its casting off the Sabbath.

3. But under the fourth and fifth commandments, other duties, besides that of instituting the outward Sabbath rest, are incumbent on kings and rulers. The nation must build for God 'a Sanctuary, that He may dwell among them'—(Exod. xxv. 8). The civil magistrate, indeed, may not assume to himself the administration of the word and sacraments, or the power of the keys of the kingdom of heaven; yet he hath authority, and it is his duty, most earnestly and zealously, to take order, that all the ordinances of God be duly settled, administered, and observed. He must take order that the nation be adequately provided with ecclesiastical edifices, calling for and employing national resources for the purpose. He must see to it that a gospel ministry be provided for the nation, such a ministry as will minister, in the spirit, Christ and God's promises in Him, as of old they were exhibited and ministered to the nation in the letter; and he must take order also with a view to the national maintenance of this ministry.

Then, entering into Christ's Church, thus nationally established and endowed, by the door of the fifth commandment, which is the *first* commandment with promise, and whose obedience is the very obedience of faith, and placing themselves under the ministry of the fourth commandment, kings and rulers are called on, in the faith of Christ here submitted to them, as the foundation of all God's promises, to lay hold of these promises at once for themselves and their nation, believing in God, trusting in His faithfulness, and determined to wait

patiently on Him, in the use of all the appointed means, for their full accomplishment.

Having thus entered in themselves, and continuing to go before their people in a reverent and assiduous use of all God's ordinances, they are farther earnestly to concern themselves in the evangelization of their people; in order to it, making liberal use of the nation's material wealth, praying with and for the nation, making every legitimate use of their authority in procuring a due and universal observance of all divine ordinances, and in maintaining the Church in the exercise of her spiritual worship and discipline; and finally, in connection with a national assumption and profession of the name of God, under the third commandment, pledging the nation in solemn covenant to be the Lord's people. 'If thou wilt return, O Israel, saith the Lord, return unto me; and if thou wilt put away thine abominations out of my sight, then shalt thou not remove. And thou shalt swear the Lord liveth, in truth, in judgment, and in righteousness; and the nations shall bless themselves in Him, and in Him shall they glory—(Jer. iv. 1, 2).

Once more, the promise being a promise, not only for the nation, but for the nation's children, the God of the fathers of the fourth commandment giving Himself to be the God of their children in the fifth, and so providing for a God given perpetuation of the nation, kings and rulers have to take an earnest interest in the education of the young, more especially in their religious education; providing the necessary means, taking care that their teachers are first of all men of piety, and of whom the Church approves, charging the Church with a special superintendence of the education of the young, and earnestly looking for the expected fruits in the up-rising of a God-fearing, and so king-honouring generation.

But, again, the nations having thus far sought first the kingdom of God and His righteousness, and been, in terms of the first table of the law, duly constituted in her relations upwards, farther duty devolves on kings and rulers in connection with the second table of the law, and with a view to her stedfast maintenance in these relations. They must provide against the incoming of insidious and dangerous error, they must guard against any apostacy from Christ or from His truth, they must beware of yielding to evil under any of the great national temptations by which it may be assailed, and, according to circumstances, it is their duty to appoint days for national humiliation and thanksgiving.

In fine, it is as incumbent on nations as on individuals, to care not alone for their own things, but for those also of others; and under the name imparted to them under the third commandment, and which they must be careful profitably to bear, it is a nation's duty to arise and shine, to be as a city set on a hill; and not only by her national example, but by active efforts, and the employment of her ships and resources, to propagate the gospel, and to communicate it especially to kings and their nations, sending even ambassages to them on the business of the gospel, and taking the steps by which it may be solemnly, and with all the weight and authority of a nation, submitted to them. A nation itself blessed in Christ cannot but feel such a communication of the gospel to other kings and nations, as not only its incumbent duty, but its highest privilege; and, assuredly, the day is coming when there shall be such national communications of the gospel from one nation to another. 'Surely the isles shall wait for me, and the ships of Tarshish first, to bring thy sons—thy national sons—from far, their silver and their gold with them, unto the name of the Lord thy God, and to the Holy One of Israel, because He hath glorified thee'—(Isa. lx. 9). Such is some general view of the duty incumbent, under the Decalogue, on kings and rulers on behalf of their nations.

But, in connection with all this national duty, we must now farther observe how it has all been confirmed in Christ. As King of the Jews, He, with authority and force, purged the temple. As King of the Jews and the Second Adam, He employed His national resources for the support of the national worship and temple; and for the same purpose He gave out of His national resources to others. As King of the Jews, and to discharge His duty to His nation, He assumed the functions of a minister, fulfilling this ministry to His nation with consuming zeal, and with faithfulness unto death; and thus did Christ not only fulfil the righteousness required of Him as King of the Jews, He authoritatively exemplified the duty devolving on all kings on behalf of their nations, provided for them the grace in which they shall be enabled duly to perform this duty, and at the same time constituted Himself a Fountain-head of that anointed ministry of which they must avail themselves, and which it is their duty not only to employ, but to maintain.

The builders of the Jewish nation rejected Christ. They would not come into union with Him themselves, nor would they build their nation on Him; but thus the very thing that they feared came upon them. The Romans came and took away their place and nation. Similarly, 'the nation and kingdom that will not serve Thee shall perish; yea, those nations shall be utterly wasted.' On the other hand, let kings and rulers conscientiously and dutifully labour to provide for the true safety of their nations, and they shall not do so in vain. Already, in the authority and natural influence which, with this very end in view, God has given them over their subjects, and again in the natural subjection to and readiness to follow their national leaders and guides, which God has imparted to their people, there is a virtual promise and pledge of success, but there is superadded now the blessing of God's promise. He who gives them grace to do their duty for their nation, will give their nation grace to do its duty to them, and to the gospel that has been so earnestly and influentially

imparted; for the assurance is primarily applicable to the nation, that let the heart of the national fathers be turned to the national children, then also will the hearts of the children be turned to the fathers, and the disobedient to the wisdom of the just, in a true, universal, and national reception of the gospel, and walking in its truth.

Of the way in which God fulfils this promise, and prospers the efforts of pious and reforming kings, we have striking instances in Jehoshaphat and Hezekiah—(2 Chron. xvii. 3-9, and xxix. 3-11, 36; and xxx. 1-12, 27. In these instances, also, we see how marvellously, along with inward reformation, there came to be outward national deliverance and blessing. As having a special bearing on New Testament times, we may also observe the success of the national action taken by the king of Nineveh and his princes under the preaching of Jonah—(Jon. iii. 5-10).

### III.

But having taken occasion to refer to the duty of kings and nations to Christ and His Church, we must also take occasion to refer to the duty devolving on the Church in relation to the nations and their kings. For this purpose, the Church falls to be considered under a threefold aspect.

1. The Church is the heir of the world. 'The promise that He should be heir of the world was not to Abraham, or to his seed, through the law, but through the righteousness of faith'—(Rom. iv. 13). 'Blessed are the meek, for they shall inherit the earth'—(Matt. v. 5). 'But the meek shall inherit the earth, and delight themselves in the abundance of peace'—(Ps. xxxvii. 11). The earth at large is the Church's appointed inheritance. She alone has any legal standing in it, and here is she to enjoy a millennial rest and reign in fulfilment of the pledge given in Israel's rest and reign in Canaan, and in necessary preparation for a final rest and reign in glory. But to inherit the earth is to enjoy the promise as originally given to Adam. It is to subdue the earth, and have dominion over it—(Gen. i. 28). It is to be in circumstances in which to draw forth its material riches and resources, that she may at once serve God with them, and turn them to her own use and enjoyment. But how can the Church, as a Church, thus subdue the earth, and reign upon it? Evidently this is the work, not of a church, but of a nation, and in order to it the Church must be in a national condition. She must be while a Church, at the same time a nation reigning on the earth. But, in the meantime, other nations are found in occupation and enjoyment of her earth, and what is to be done with them, or how, in view of them, is it necessary for her to come into possession of her inheritance? These nations, then, are not to be destroyed before her, as were the nations of Canaan before Israel. On the contrary, they are to be saved. Hence the Church must come to her reign through the conversion of these nations, through their becoming the Churches of the living God; and so it is in these nations themselves, thus converted, that 'the saints of the Most High shall take the kingdom'—(Dan. vii. 18); and that 'the kingdom, and dominion, and greatness of the kingdom under the whole heaven shall be given to the people of the saints of the Most High, whose kingdom is an everlasting kingdom, and all dominions shall serve and obey Him'—(Dan. vii. 27).

But the Church being thus the heir of the world, and coming in this manner to her kingdom, important duties must presently be devolving on her, at once in relation to the earth, and the nations now in occupation of it; and we observe—

*First*, That she must obey the call addressed to Abraham of old, 'Arise, walk through the land in the length of it, and in the breadth of it, for I will give it unto thee'—(Gen. xiii. 17). She is to survey the good land which God has given to her; she is to mark it well in all its wide extent, in its riches, and in all its beauty of hill, and dale, and flowing plain; and although, as yet, she may not have a foot breadth on it which she may call her own, she must, under this faithful promise, 'I will give it unto thee,' take firm, believing possession of it, as the inheritance which Christ has purchased for her with His blood, which He has firmly settled on her, and with which it is His purpose, as the Prince of the kings of the earth, right royally to establish and endow her.

*Secondly*, she must not only take believing possession, her faith in the promise must become the substance, the foundation of things hoped for; and she must be found looking for it, abounding in the hope of it, actively and continually expecting the time when she shall be given to enter on her inheritance. It was in view, first of all, of the rest of Canaan that it was necessary for Abraham to confess himself a stranger and a pilgrim, and that he lived in tabernacles with Isaac and Jacob, the heirs with him of the same promise; and, in respect of the Church now, it is as true of her nearer millennial rest as of her final rest, that she should confess herself a stranger and a pilgrim, that she should feel herself in a condition of unrest, that she should be looking for the city that hath foundations, and continually expecting the time when 'thine eyes shall see Jerusalem a quiet habitation, a tabernacle that shall not be taken down, but there the glorious Lord shall be unto us a place of broad rivers and streams, wherein shall go no galley with oars, neither shall gallant ships pass thereby'—(Isa. xxxiii. 20-21). This hope is necessary that she may not be found despising the pleasant land, that she may be stimulated to the efforts necessary to its acquisition, and that under all the poverty and meanness of her present

condition, she may comfort herself in the Church's glorious prospects. 'Rejoice ye with Jerusalem and be glad with her all ye that love her; rejoice for joy with her all ye that mourn for her, that ye may suck and be satisfied with the breasts of her consolations, that ye may milk out and be delighted with the abundance of her glory'—(Isa. lx. 10-12).

But, *thirdly*, she must pray for it with all prayer and supplication, she must seek for every thing necessary, and that she may be given a speedy entrance into her inheritance; waiting, indeed, patiently, yet so as to be impatient, being ceaseless and importunate in her prayers for the fulfilment of the promise. 'Our Father which art in heaven, hallowed be Thy name; Thy kingdom come; Thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven.' 'For Sion's sake I will not hold my peace, and for Jerusalem's sake I will not rest, until the righteousness thereof go forth as brightness, and the salvation thereof as a lamp that burneth. And the nations shall see Thy righteousness, and all kings Thy glory.—I have set watchmen on thy walls, O Jerusalem, which shall never hold their peace day nor night. Ye that make mention of the Lord keep not silence, and give Him no rest till He establish, and till He make Jerusalem a praise upon the earth'—(Isa. lxii. 1, 2, 6, 7).

In the *fourth place*, she must fear lest a promise being left her of entering into this her rest, in herself or in any of her members she should seem to come short of it.

She must beware of hiding or of denying her promise, or her claims to the earth, to avoid the inconvenience or danger to which they may expose her; doing what Abraham virtually did when he denied his wife. She must be aware of anticipating her promise, by grasping at it by unwarrantable courses, trying to win it by force, or hastening to invest herself with its riches by unlawful compromise or compliance, instead of waiting on God and His promise for it, as David patiently did. More especially must she beware of unbelief, of any staggering in view of difficulties or of the Jerichos that must be overcome, of any questioning of the possibility or certainty of the promise having a full accomplishment; for so she will withdraw herself from the necessary conflict, be turned aside from the onward and upward course by which, in the converted nations, she must reign, and by her unbelief greatly provoke the Lord. At the same time she must beware of false views, of false doctrine regarding her promise, under whose speciousness her promise and the hope of it may be stolen from her; she must beware, too, of sloth, of a love of ease, of saying the time is not yet, or under any present abundance and comfort extended to her, such as Abraham had in the days of his pilgrimage, of suffering her faith and hope of the promise, or any duty devolving on her in order to its realization, to fall into abeyance or to slacken. On the contrary, continuing to live in tabernacles, with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, the heirs with her of the same promise, and regarding herself as not yet come to her rest, she must ever be looking for the promise, in patient, yet impatient, expectation of the time when God will destroy them who corrupt the earth, rescue the earth's riches from its servitude under sin, consecrate the gain of the whole earth to himself, and give her the kingdom.

2. But again, in connection with the Church's duty to the nations and their kings, she must be considered not only as the heir of the world, but, with a view to this her inheritance, as also constituted the pillar and ground of the truth, Christ's witness, Christ's ambassador to the nations. The commission primarily given to the apostles, and devolving on them, is Christ's commission to His Church at large, the duty of which she is bound to fulfil. But Christ's own ministry was a ministry to the nation, and the ministry committed to the Church is also supremely a national ministry, having the nations, as such, in view. 'Go ye and teach all nations.' 'Preach the gospel to every creature,' to every divinely constituted organisation of man, first of all to the nation. Christ's gospel also is supremely a word for kings. 'Be wise now therefore, O ye kings.' Preach the gospel, 'beginning at Jerusalem,' and thus 'according to the commandment of the everlasting God is the gospel, by the scriptures of the prophets, to be made known to all nations for the obedience of faith.'

While, therefore, the Church does well in going out to the highways and byways, and gathering in stragglers, all as many as she can find, she has a grander mission to fulfil, and to the height of it she is under every obligation to rise. She is the ambassador of the Prince of the kings of the earth, she bears His message for the nations, and her business is supremely with kings. She must warn not individuals only, but nations of their sinful and wrathful condition. She must bring forth for the nations the unsearchable riches of Christ. Fulfilling her mission of love, she must woo and win the nations as a bride for Christ, and gather into one the scattered nations, nor rest until they are, one and all, restored and constituted the national sons of God. In discharging this mission, she must speak of His testimonies before kings, and not be ashamed, and following Christ's own example, she must be a faithful witness unto death. At the same time, let kings and rulers be brought over to the side of the truth, let them be brought to accept and act on the gospel as a gospel for the nation, and such a wide door and effectual would that open, that the nation would be virtually gained.

It is only gradually, however, that the Church of modern times has awakened to the responsibilities of her high function as thus Christ's ambassador to the nations, and His spokesman with kings, and it may well be questioned whether, hampered and held down by a wretched individualism, as well as by false views as to state action in matters of religion, she has even yet risen to any just conception of the height and importance of her

function. How else could there be occasion for Dr Arnold's concern for the Church of England, or for Rome's proud boast, that she alone has understood the Church's mission, and has alone fulfilled it; or, for the reproach and taunt under which, with such effect, she seeks to place the Churches of the Reformation? Nor is it to be denied, whether we look to Church action at home, or in sending out missions to the heathen, that the Churches have been too much in the way of beginning, not at the top, but at the bottom, with the fringes and borders of the countries, and not in their Jerusalems, and therefore with a lack of the power and influence which God was offering to them, and so also with a lack of wide-spreading success. God, in His marvellous providence, procured the arrest of the great apostle of the nations, that thus He might gain him access, then not otherwise procurable, for bearing Christ's name before the nations and their kings. There is no need of arrests now for such a purpose. Christianity has now a different credit and standing in the world, and surely ways could be devised for making high and solemn submission to the kings of the claims and grace of the Prince of the kings of the earth. The indignation of the Lord is upon all nations, but there is redeeming blood by which the nations may be sprinkled and saved. The nations are festering in their sins, but the leaves of the Tree are for the healing of the nations. The whole head is sick, and the whole heart faint, and the nation groans under its wounds and bruises, but there is balm in Gilead, and a Physician there, equal to the nation's need; and let the Church fulfil her mission, and preach the gospel to every creature, beginning at Jerusalem, and surely soon must Christ become in fact, what, as yet, He is only by anticipation and in prospect, 'The desire of all nations'—(Hag. ii. 7). The word that so prevailed over Nineveh, her king and people, of old, has lost none of its power. On the contrary, in these days of the Spirit it is more powerful than ever, and mighty to the pulling down of strongholds.

3. But again, in connection with the Church's duty to the nations, she has to be considered not only as the Heir, not only as Christ's witness and ambassador, but as His 'battle-axe and weapons of war,' every member of His Church a good soldier of the cross, and the Church at large His grand army, His sacramental Host, on whom it devolves, under Christ as their Captain and King, to go up for Him, and with Him to the conquest of the nations. 'Arise and thresh, O daughter of Zion: for I will make thine horn iron, and I will make thy hoofs brass; and thou shalt beat in pieces many people; and I will consecrate their gain unto the Lord, and their substance unto the Lord of the whole earth'—(Mic. iv. 13). 'And they shall be as mighty men which tread down their enemies in the mire of the streets in the battle, and they shall fight because the Lord is with them, and the riders on horses shall be confounded'—(Zech. x. 5).

Here, therefore, the Church must war a good warfare. But here, too, her business is with the nations, and supremely with kings, her policy in the war being that indicated of old, 'Fight neither with small nor great, save only with the king of Israel,' as knowing that in the conquest of the king, there is virtual conquest of all. 'Let the saints be joyful in glory; let them sing aloud upon their beds. Let the high praises of God be in their mouth, and a two-edged sword in their hand; to execute vengeance on the nations, and punishments upon the people; to bind their kings with chains, and their nobles with fetters of iron, to execute upon them the judgment written'—(Ps. cxlix. 6-9).

In Israel's relation, of old, to the nations of Canaan, we see anticipated the Church's relations to the nations of the world now, and, at the same time, the good warfare which she must wage in order to their conquest. The captain who appeared to Joshua with his sword drawn in his hand, and who came to go before him as captain of the host of the Lord—(Josh. v. 13-15)—is the same who has said, 'Lo, I am with you alway,' and under whose guidance and command the Church must go up and take possession. No tribe could refuse to take part in this war, but all must go up together, until the land was overcome; and so no Church may hold itself back from this conflict with the nations and their kings, without bringing on itself the curse of Meroz. 'Curse ye Meroz, said the angel of the Lord, curse ye bitterly the inhabitants thereof, because they came not to the help of the Lord, to the help of the Lord against the mighty judges'—(Judges v. 23). The war of old was a war not with individuals but with nations, and occasion was taken for special triumph in the subjugation and death of their kings. 'And it came to pass, when they brought out those kings unto Joshua, that Joshua called for all the men of Israel, and said unto the captains of the men of war that went with him, Come near, put your feet on the necks of these kings. And they came near, and put their feet on the necks of them. And Joshua said unto them, Fear not, nor be dismayed; be strong and of good courage: for thus shall the Lord do to all your enemies against whom ye fight'—(Josh. x. 24, 25). But, in a similar manner, must the Church assail the nations now, triumph over their kings and be encouraged. The war of old, under the ministry of the Letter, was a war of extermination, nor man, nor woman, nor child, being left alive; but just such must be that of the Church with her ministry of the Spirit, and her sharp two-edged sword. The kingdom of darkness must be utterly expelled before her, nor can she rest until all nations, in all their families, and this in all their individuals of men, women, and little children, are blessed in Christ.

The New Testament Church was manifestly, at the very beginning, constituted with a view to this war with, and conquest of the nations and their kings; not only so, at once, and vigorously, it entered on the conflict, and,

moreover, we see her gaining a grand preliminary victory, in pledge of the better victory to come.

For what purpose the Church was constituted we see already indicated in the apostolic company under their Pentecostal baptism of the Spirit—(Acts ii. 4). For as thus baptized on the day of Pentecost, the day of the first-fruits, and presented before God, they are to be regarded as the first-fruits of the earth's harvest. But as such, how do they express themselves as they magnify God? They spake with other tongues, in the languages of the several nations, so that every one who heard them magnifying God, heard them speak in his own tongue wherein he was born. As then is the first fruits, such must be the harvest. The harvest of the earth is the harvest of the nations; and it is to the reaping of this harvest that the Church is now summoned.

But again, that from the first the Church understood her mission, was animated with the hope of the conquest of the nations, and immediately commenced the conflict necessary to it, is evident:—from the action of the apostles, in preparation for the Spirit, in filling up the vacancy that had occurred, so that there might still be the twelve heads for the expected twelve tribes of the New Testament Israel, and so Christ's army for the conquest of the nations;—from the hosts of the Lord, as they come up from their New Testament baptism, being so manifestly seen defiling away into the wilderness; where, therefore, they are supported, as of old, by such a distribution of substance, as that he who gathered much had nothing over, and he who gathered little had no lack;—and from the course which we find them taking, which is steadily westward toward Rome. Then we have the apostle, like Joshua before Jericho, viewing the embattled walls of Rome, and, in answer to its proud defiance, sending back the undaunted reply, 'So, as much as in me is, I am ready to preach the gospel to you that are at Rome also; for I am not ashamed of the gospel of Christ, for it is the power of God unto salvation'—(Rom. i. 15, 16). Throughout the Epistles we have the din of battle, the clash of arms, and the shouts of direction and cheer addressed to the soldiers of the cross. 'Watch ye, stand fast in the faith, quit you like men, be strong'—(1 Cor. xvi. 13). 'Stand fast in one spirit, with one mind, striving together for the faith of the gospel, and in nothing terrified by your adversaries'—(Phil. i. 27, 28). 'Be strong in the Lord, and in the power of His might. Put on the whole armour of God, that ye may be able to stand. We wrestle not against flesh and blood principalities and powers merely, but with these as animated and led on by the principalities and powers, the rulers of the darkness of this world'—(Eph. vi. 10). 'The God of peace will bruise Satan under your feet shortly'—(Rom. xvi. 20). Then the means of victory being the blood of the Lamb, and the word of their testimony, and the conflict becoming sharper and bloodier, we have Christ afresh revealed to them as 'the faithful witness, and the first-begotten from the dead, and the Prince of the kings of the earth'—(Rev. i. 5). Thus showing them, at once, what must be the grand subject of their testimony, their high example in witness-bearing, the source of the special grace which their case called for, and assuring them of the victory which, under Him, they would achieve. And so, at last, the mighty empire of Rome fell. Idolatry was repudiated, Christ was received as its King, the New Testament twelve tribes are found in possession of the Roman earth—(Rev. vii. 1-8). 'And they overcame by the blood of the Lamb, and by the word of their testimony; and they loved not their lives unto the death'—(Rev. xii. 11). True it was but as it were an outer wall of circumvallation which was then taken, and expecting to be driven from it the devil was, meanwhile, raising up an inner wall, higher and stronger far than the first, behind which, when the first wall was captured, to betake himself. Still the name of Christ prevailed, the banner of the cross floated high over the walls of Rome, and over the Roman earth, former idolatries were repudiated, Christianity as Christianity ceased to be persecuted, the victory was great, so that 'I heard a loud voice saying in heaven, Now is come salvation, and strength, and the kingdom of our God, and the power of His Christ'—(Rev. xii. 10)—and a sure pledge was given of the more ample and completer victory yet to be achieved. Accordingly, Christ being about to give His Church this victory, and to cause her to enter into full possession of her earth in the ransomed nations,—'I saw heaven opened, and behold a white horse: and he that sat upon him was called Faithful and True; and in righteousness he doth judge and make war. His eyes were as a flame of fire, and on his head were many crowns; and he had a name written that no man knew but he himself: and he was clothed with a vesture dipped in blood: and his name is called the Word of God. And the armies which were in heaven followed him upon white horses, clothed in fine linen, white and clean. And out of his mouth goeth a sharp sword, that with it he should smite the nations: and he shall rule them with a rod of iron: and he treadeth the wine-press of the fierceness and wrath of Almighty God. And he hath on his vesture and on his thigh a name written, King of kings, and Lord of lords'—(Rev. xix. 11-16). 'And the remnant were slain with the sword of him that sat upon the horse, which sword proceeded out of his mouth'—(ver. 21). 'And there were great voices in heaven, saying, The kingdoms of this world are become the kingdoms of our Lord, and of His Christ, and He shall reign for ever and ever'—(Rev. xi. 15).

Thus then, at once as heir of the world, as Christ's ambassador to the nations, and as His army by which the nations must be vanquished and won has the Church to do with the nations. It is supremely with the nations and their kings that God and Christ have to do, and it is supremely to them that all her efforts must be directed; and woe unto her, woe unto any of her individual branches, if they rise not up to this the height of the Church's

mission, and come to the help of the Lord against the mighty.

4. There is one remark more that falls to be made in connection with the Church's duty to the nations. Seeing that it is only in the conversion, and so in the God-given reign on the earth, of that particular nation under which particular Churches and individual believers live, that they, as having part in the promise, can come to their reign, and inheritance of the earth; hence, while joining with the universal Church in all the duty incumbent on her with a view to the conquest of the nations, and the saints taking the kingdom, in a particular manner, is all this duty to be discharged by these Churches and individual believers on behalf of their own particular nation. This first, surely, is the land in view of which they must arise, and walk through it, in the length of it, and in the breadth of it; and of which, under the promise, 'I will give it thee,' they must take firm believing possession. It is for the conversion of their own nation, that so in it, and with it, they may rise to their reign, that they must abound in hope, eagerly looking for it, actively, earnestly, expecting it. This too, is first of all, the land and nation for which they have to pray, keeping no silence, and giving God no rest, until Sion's righteousness, going forth as brightness, and the salvation thereof as a lamp that burneth, this nation of theirs shall see her righteousness, and its king her glory; and it is in view of the promise given them regarding it that they must first of all fear, with all that carefulness to which we have referred, against unbelief, misbelief, sloth, and satisfaction with any present sufficiency of support, lest they should come short of it. And surely, if the Church is the ambassador of the Prince of the kings of the earth to the kings and their nations, particular Churches cannot but feel themselves to be charged with a special mission to their own nation, and its king; and here, first, surely, are Christ's claims and grace to be exhibited and urged with all earnestness, constancy, and faithfulness. And if no Church or individuals may withhold themselves from Christ's war with the nations, surely it must be first of all in connection with their own nation that their fidelity must be shown, and their readiness manifested to respond to the call of Christ's trumpet, which, with no uncertain sound, and so loudly, is mustering His hosts and calling them too, to the battle.

With reference to this, the duty of the Church and of individual believers to that particular nation to which they belong, look at Christ and to His fidelity and love for His nation; Himself a Jew, preaching to His nation, and living and dying for it, that, being converted, the kingdom might be restored to Israel. See also the Apostle Paul, walking in Christ's steps, and given to partake of His Spirit, praying, and labouring, and willing to die, with the same ends in view as regards his nation. Paul's nation is never out of his mind, he continually identifies himself with it, and how often, and how affectionately does he speak of it as 'my nation.' 'I came to bring alms to my nation and offerings'—(Acts xxvi. 17). 'My life was at the first among mine own nation'—(Acts xxvi. 4). And, as it were, apologizing for the nation that would have taken his life, 'Not that I had ought to accuse my nation of'—(Acts xxviii. 19). But, farther, 'Brethren my heart's desire, and prayer to God for Israel is, that they might be saved.' Yea, he had great sorrow and continual heaviness of heart, because of his nation's unbelief, and the consequent ruin to come on it; and if it could have availed for their conversion, and the restoration of the kingdom to Israel, he would willingly have been offered as a sacrifice on their behalf. The poor afflicted saints, whom the apostle continually addresses in his Epistles, are all of them heirs without their inheritance, kings without their kingdom; but as surely as they had the promise of the earth, so surely must we think of them as each in his own place, and on behalf of his own nation in particular, looking for it. Accordingly, showing how they had been taught, and what the common expectation,—speaking to the Corinthians, out of his own deep affliction, so unlike the kingdom, and the outward kingdom being suggested by the spiritual reign which he had just ascribed to them,—how does he address them? 'And I would to God,' he says, 'that ye did reign, that we also might reign with you. For I think that God hath set forth us the apostles last, as it were appointed to death: for we are made a spectacle unto the world, and to angels, and to men'—(1 Cor. iv. 8-9). And what the meaning of all that bitter conflict with Rome, on which the Church entered, and in which they loved not their lives to the death, but just this, that this reign in, and with, their own nation, might be realised? And then, what of our own reforming and covenanting forefathers in Scotland? Walked they not in the same spirit? Walked they not in the same steps, praying, labouring, agonizing, dying, all for Scotland's kirk and kingdom? To like action on behalf of their own nation, are the Churches and individual believers in every nation called by every obligation of duty to Christ, the Prince of the kings of the earth, by every feeling of sanctified patriotism and love of kindred, as well as by every obligation of faith, and of faith's duty in order to the promise.

## IV.

We now endeavour to make some application of the truths to which we have attempted to give expression, with a view to the determination of existing controversies, and our duty in connection with them.

1. And, in the first place, I take leave to ask, Is it possible for any man, with the Bible in his hands, and with the fear of God in his heart, to be, or continue to be, a Voluntary.

It is a fine name, and, if it expressed what some may think to be understood by it, the principle or duty

incumbent on all of honouring the Lord with their substance, and of doing so cheerfully and bountifully, it would also be an excellent thing, and the more of it the better. But that is not Voluntaryism. Those who assume the name of Voluntaries do so in opposition to others whom they nickname Compulsories; Compulsories being those who assert the duty incumbent, not only on individuals, but on nations and their kings, to receive, profess, and, with all a nation's influence and resources, to promote the gospel and kingdom of Christ; they, on the other hand, calling themselves Voluntaries, in opposition to all such national action, to intimate the refusal of their individual wills and consciences to submit to, or be influenced by it, and to proclaim the principle that 'the power competent to worldly kingdoms is wholly temporal, respecting only the secular interests of society,' or that 'civil legislation ought not to extend beyond the outward and secular affairs of communities.' They profess, indeed, to hold the doctrine of Christ's headship over the nations, but it is only to the extent of holding the general doctrine that the Bible is the Word of God, and the religion of Protestants, that religion is a personal or individual matter, and that a nation, as such, has nothing to do with religion but to let it alone.

In maintaining this principle they make a great outcry about individual rights, political justice, religious equality, and the monopoly of the nation's favour enjoyed by those joining with the nation in its profession of the faith; as if the national will and conscience must be put under bondage to those of the individual, as if, in order to the individual's religion, the nation must have no religion at all, or as if a share in the monopoly was not open to all, and it was not their own self-interposed Voluntaryism that prevents their enjoyment of it equally with others. At the same time, being tolerated, where is the compulsion? Or, is it one sword only that is competent for the civil ruler? Offering them to Christ, it was said to Him, 'Here are two swords'—(Luke xxii. 38). He said, 'they were enough,' but He did not refuse them, because both of them, the spiritual and the civil sword, are competent for Him, and as King of the Jews He employed them both. But so also both of them are competent for the nation's king and civil ruler. Not only are both competent, He is under incumbent obligation to employ them both; employing the one, the civil sword, directly, employing the other indirectly, in the provision of a gospel ministry for His nation, and in taking order that all the ordinances of God he duly settled, administered, and observed. When, then, a national ministry goes forth and does its work, where is the compulsion other than that legitimate compulsion of 'compelling them to come in?' Or, in what way is the individual conscience more injuriously affected under it than under a Voluntary ministry? and this more especially when, except in this one matter of Voluntaryism, the national confession and the national gospel are identically the same as those of the Voluntary? Paul could say, 'Notwithstanding every way, whether in pretence or in truth, Christ is preached; and I therein do rejoice, yea, and will rejoice'—(Phil. i. 18). Not so with the Voluntary. Every way does not rejoice him; on the contrary, he is grieved that the gospel should be preached by the way of a national ministry.

Apart, however, from these considerations, the great question here is, has Voluntaryism any foundation in the Word of God? Confessedly it has none in the Old Testament; none in the Law, none in the Prophets, none in the Psalms. But it may now be seen that it has none in the New; none in the Gospels, none in the Acts, none in the Epistles, none in the Book of Revelation. True, 'Christ's kingdom is not of this world,' and yet it is. It is not of this world, else would His servants fight. Christ does not come into His possession of the earth, and into royalty over it, neither does His Church, by force of arms, but by virtue of His blood, and of the Father's faithful promise and donation. There is one solitary text founded on by Voluntaryism, which is held forth as Christ's law for New Testament times, and which is alleged to prohibit the employment of national resources for the support and propagation of the gospel, and to devolve this duty immediately on the individual members of a church or congregation. Here it is, 'Let him that is taught in the word communicate to him that teacheth in all good things'—(Gal. vi. 6). But, besides the consideration that, according to the style of Scripture, what is applicable to the nation, is applicable also to the individual; while, on the other hand, what is applicable to the individual is to be regarded as alike applicable to the nation, it will be observed that, as truly as this command relates to money and goods, and so to a matter under Cæsar's jurisdiction, so truly, in making this invasion into Cæsar's province, and in laying this command on Cæsar's subject as to money and its use, is Christ to be regarded, in His capacity of Prince of the kings of the earth, as, at the same time, laying a command on Cæsar himself, giving him to know what he must permit, yea, and what he is to promote, and that, in fact, his nation being the great subject of this teaching by Christ's Word, he is to establish and endow His Church. They point triumphantly to the early Christian Church living in a condition of separation from the state, and of self-support for three hundred years; but they do not observe that the early Church, throughout that period, was in the strenuous maintenance of the Establishment principle, was in its several members true churchmen, was pursuing the wilderness course, and fighting the battle with the nation, by which she must attain to her kingdom, and that, accordingly, she finally did overcome by the blood of the Lamb, and by the word of her testimony.

It is, however, little to say of Voluntaryism, that it has no foundation in the Word of God, and is unscriptural; it is anti-scriptural, and that to an extent truly appalling. It contradicts the Decalogue, God's law

for the nations, and interposing between Him and them, what God commands as incumbent duty, it prohibits as crying sin; and what He makes necessary for the nations' safety, it teaches the nations to regard as that which will bring on them national ruin. It awfully contradicts and denies the work, grace, and fulness of Christ for the nations, and His precious and blood bought claims on them and their kings, as the Prince of the kings of the earth; and although there is blessing in Christ equal to all a nation's need, and although this blessing can be enjoyed only in a national reception of His gospel, and a national union with Him, and although the nation and kingdom that will not serve Him will perish, yet 'the power competent to worldly kingdoms is wholly temporal, respecting only the secular interests of society,' is the Christ denying, nation destroying doctrine, with which Voluntaryism, full of airs and conceit, comes in between Christ and the suffering and perishing nations. As it contradicts God's law, and Christ's grace and fulness, so it contradicts His gospel for the nations, telling them that there is no such gospel, or that, if they should ever hear of such a gospel, they must not receive it, that civil justice demands that they put all religions on a level, and that their only province as regards religion is to let it wholly alone. Here, it may be observed, that Voluntaries and Baptists draw together to a certain extent. Voluntaries deny the national promise in which God addresses kings and rulers. Baptists deny, or ignore, the subordinate family promise addressed to its father and head, and refuse to a father's faith in this promise, its outward sign and seal in the baptism of his children. But there is this great difference between Baptists and Voluntaries, that Baptists do not prohibit parents from evangelising their houses; on the contrary, I suppose that they are as faithful in the use of the means to which the promise has respect as others, and hence, though so unhappily ignoring the promise, the blessing may come. But it is quite otherwise with Voluntaries. They absolutely prohibit the use of the national means. Kings and rulers may do what else they please, but they must not provide for the necessary evangelisation of their people. Thus, God's appointed channel for communicating the blessing which the nation needs is taken away, and if Voluntaryism continues to prevail, the nation must ultimately perish. God's purpose in Christ as regards man can be accomplished only in the appearance of saved nations on the earth; and bringing His purpose to pass, He is in course of dealing with men supremely as nations, and this, not only in His providence, but by His Word in its law and in its gospel, and by His Spirit. Voluntaryism, however, ignores God's purpose as regards the nations, and sets itself with all its might to oppose what God, nevertheless, is thus accomplishing, and will accomplish. In short, although the obligation lies on the nation to seek first the kingdom of God and His righteousness, that other things may be added, and although the chief end of man, especially in the nation, the highest style of man, is to glorify and enjoy God, yet Voluntaryism teaches them that they must seek first no such thing, that the chief end of man in the highest style of man is wholly temporal, and that in his national capacity he is to concern himself only with what is outward and secular.

How then can we have anything to do with Voluntaryism, except in the way of opposing it with all our might? Must not the many excellent and able men who have suffered themselves to be deceived by it cast it from them with abhorrence? And as so clearly a plant not of God's planting, must not all unite in plucking it up, and in making it to become, what it deserves to be, a universal anathema.

In respect of their Voluntaryism, its advocates are in a state of schism as regards the whole Old Testament Church, as regards the whole New Testament Church, as well as all the Churches of the Reformation, and the Historic Church of Scotland. It was not heard of in Scotland till about 1795, the period of the French Revolution, and its origin is immediately connected with the circulation in Scotland of Paine's 'Rights of Man,' and the dissemination of the same infidel and revolutionary principles as gave to the United States of America that godless constitution, according to which, 'in some of their treaties with foreign nations, they are declared to be a nation in no sense founded on the Christian religion, and to be formally, not unlike Mahometans;' a constitution under which the American nation, notwithstanding so many admirable Christian appliances, is even now festering in its sins, and begins to stink among the nations. Hence, as having had such an origin, Voluntaryism's lofty talk of compulsion, its impatience of state influence or control, its assertion of individual rights, and its outcry for political justice and religious equality. It entered the Churches, of which it has taken possession, under the disguise of professed adherence to the former principles of these Churches, keeping up the disguise until it could declare itself more boldly, and, at the same time, secure the Church's property for its own maintenance; and its history hitherto has been, on the one hand, one of astute clerical management and double dealing, such as would be utterly scouted among honest men of the world, and, on the other, of division, strife, and heart-breaks. The bitter enemy of the established Church, it has, alike before the Disruption as after it, misrepresented its good, magnified its evil, rejoiced in and helped on its calamity, and been grieved, and, beyond measure, irritated at any appearances of revival and prosperity. Joining in its demands with Popery, it has paralysed national action in opposition to Popery, has thrown open the door, and has very conspicuously aided in elevating Popery to its present alarming ascendancy. By its incessant deputations and dunning of its principles and demands into the ears of government, it has, to a large extent, corrupted the mind of the nation, and has already succeeded in barring out the Church's most just and necessary superintendence of the education

of the young, has procured the withdrawal of all state inspection, concern, or pay for a religious education, has all but excluded the Bible from the national schools, and, if it could, it would have excluded it altogether. 'The results of the labours of fifteen years are now before the Synod,' says the gentleman who submits the report on royal proclamations, and here is the magnificent result of fifteen years of persistent dunning. 'The substance of the changes secured is as follows :—The words, 'as they tender the favour of Almighty God,' and 'that none pretend ignorance' are deleted, 'proclaim' or 'declare' is substituted for 'appoint,' and 'earnestly exhort' for 'command.' Even 'exhort' is found too strong for the feelings of some of the Voluntary 'brethren,' and negotiations have been renewed with the view of getting it altered to 'invite,' or some other clearly unauthoritative term. The king of Nineveh, then, it would seem, did something very wrong in his day, when he rose from his throne, covered himself with sackcloth, and caused it to be proclaimed and published through Nineveh, by the decree of the king and his nobles, that there should be an absolute and universal fast, that they should cry mightily to God, and that they should turn every one from the evil of his ways; and yet, the surprising thing is, that not only was God not displeased with the action of the king and his nobles, but, first, He graciously gave it a happy success in the consent of a willing people, and then He crowned it by extending mercy and favour to the king, his people, and his land. Talk of the mischief which the poor abused, and deluded state has done to the Church, and of the danger to religion from state connection. The state has never done the mischief to the Church, which false and erring Churches have done to the state. The Lord took Amos of old, saying to him, 'Go prophecy unto my people Israel;' and who was it that sent to the king of Israel, saying, 'Amos hath conspired against thee in the midst of the house of Israel, and the land is not able to bear all his words'—(Amos vii. 10-13). So again, who arrested Jeremiah, and delivered him to the princes, saying, 'This man is worthy of death'—(Jer. xxvi. 11). Yea, and who were they who delivered up Christ, and denied Him in the presence of Pontius Pilate when *he* was determined to let Him go? We need not follow the sad history of the Church's pernicious influence on the state. In fact, drawn hither and thither, it has been very much what the Church has taught and made it to be. And now, in our own day, we have men like Mr Spurgeon, not rebuking, but encouraging the government, and rejoicing in its Erastian and Popish action, while reserving all his invective and all his thunder for an oppressed Church? While here again also we have an erring Church, after releasing the state from all its high responsibilities before God, inducing it to denude itself yet further of its God-given and most legitimate authority, and this an authority whose exercise God is found so signally to bless and crown with favour. Does it not remind us of Elymas withstanding Paul before Sergius Paulus, and seeking to turn away the deputy of the country from the faith? Or, rather, is the spirit of Voluntarism that of one of the three ceaselessly croaking frogs that go forth to the kings of the earth to gather them to the battle and destruction of Armageddon? How long will others stand by unconcerned and see the national mind thus corrupted? Or, how long will good and able men be found suffering themselves to be carried away with so antisciptural and disastrous a principle, and even glorifying themselves as being in the 'very front rank' of a good and holy cause?

2. But, in the second place, in connection with present controversies and present duty, I proceed to ask, with all deference, Can we be Free Churchmen, as that Church is now dominated and characterized, and in view of all its resolute, and still onward tendencies?

Once, indeed, the Free Church occupied a scriptural, a noble position, the very position of the early Church, without her kingdom, indeed, but claiming it, pledging herself to urge her claim, and calling on all her people to unite in supplication to Almighty God, that He would be pleased to turn the hearts of the rulers of this kingdom to grant it. Then, too, warned by the experience of preceding secessions from the Established Church, of the danger connected with a disestablished condition of lapsing into Voluntarism, from the first she fortified herself in every way possible against the danger: providing that all her ministers and office-bearers should be thoroughly instructed in her principles, and before admission to office should be taken bound, and pledged as by solemn oath, firmly and constantly to adhere to, and in their station, and to the utmost of their power, to assist, maintain, and defend them; and also providing that from her pulpits, and by catechisms specially prepared, her people, old and young, should become intelligently acquainted with, and should also faithfully hold and maintain her distinctive principles. Farther, by public authoritative declarations, made over and over again, the whole Church, has been pledged, as with hand lifted up to heaven, to a stedfast adherence to her principles, and to the strenuous maintenance of them, as in the solemn words: 'Holding firmly to the last, as she holds still, and through God's grace will ever hold, that it is the duty of civil rulers to recognise the truth of God according to His word, and to promote and support the kingdom of Christ,' etc. Finally, the utmost care was taken that no minister or probationer joining her communion from other churches, or other churches seeking to enter her communion, should be permitted to do so, until thorough satisfaction was given as to their understanding and holding in their integrity the distinctive principles of the Free Church. Nor was she without many tokens of God's favour while seeking thus zealously to maintain her own peculiar testimony, and, in the providence of God, she came at length to occupy a position so commanding that, by the blessing of God on the

faithful endeavour, there was every prospect of her being able to unite the whole Presbyterianism of Scotland in one united Free Established Church, looking forth on the surrounding kingdom of darkness, fair as the moon, clear as the sun, and terrible as an army with banners. But all at once a change came over the spirit of her dream. She had been on her trial, she had been raised to the very position in which to fulfil her mission; how did she acquit herself? In an evil hour she suffered herself to be turned aside from her upward course and her conflict with the nations, and descended into negotiations for union with Voluntaries, here find her rest among the tribes of the desert. On the occasion of his visit to Shetland, Dr Guthrie expressed to the writer his regret that these negotiations had ever been entered into, and told him, at the same time, that they never would have been entered into, but for the wishes and influence of certain influential elders; and it is notorious, that the unhappy project was all planned and resolved on by a few gentlemen met together round a dinner-table somewhere in Edinburgh. At the same time, no doubt, the circumstances were favourable. Many were already only too ready to enter into the proposal, some with political ends in view, some under mistaken views of the good to be accomplished by such a union, and some from sheer love of diplomacy, discussion, and of having some great and high-sounding undertaking on hand. It was never supposed, or proposed that Voluntaries should change their principles, nor could Free Church people be boldly asked to change theirs; union, therefore, could only be effected by making the difference between them an open question; and it was with the end in view of this open question from the very first, that,—labouring to invest the already privately pre-*pared* plan with a grave and solemn momentousness, that is apt to strike one now as having been hypocritical and ridiculous, and to bind the Church under the most awful sanctions not to resile from this good work, but to prosecute it to a successful issue—the scheme of this union came at length to be proposed to a too confiding and unwary Church, on one of her Assembly's high days. Accordingly, the open question was all already duly provided for in the 'due regard' to Free Church principles, which the leaders of the movement were so careful to make to be the Church's instructions to them, on their being appointed a Committee to confer with the United Presbyterian Church. Then, in due course, came an Assembly's resolution that there was no bar to union on the first head of programme, that is, on the distinctive principles respectively, of the Free and United Presbyterian Churches on national duty to Christ. Then came the two-faced articles of agreement, so dexterously worded and contrived as that, while the Free Church might easily read them in a Free Church sense, Voluntaries might read them with equal ease in a Voluntary sense. At length the open question came to be boldly submitted, and successfully carried by the voice of a majority of Presbyteries, affirmed by a sweeping majority in the Assembly, in the public and authoritative declaration of the Church, that there was no bar in principle to a union between the Churches on the basis of the Confession of Faith as received by the respective Churches—the Free Church receiving it entire, with its twenty-third chapter, asserting the right and duty of the state to receive, establish, and endow Christ's truth—the United Presbyterian Church receiving it with that chapter, and all its assertion of national duty, and everything else in the Confession of the same nature, as if 'excised' out of the Confession 'with a scissors.' Thus, at length, was the Free Church reduced to the United Presbyterian platform; both Churches now stood on a level, and nothing more remained but that they should pass into each other with all convenient speed. Accordingly, an act soon followed, also agreed to by a majority of Presbyteries, and passed by the Assembly, making the ministers of the two Churches mutually eligible by the congregations of the one Church and of the other; and there and thus related the two Churches now stand.

True, strenuous opposition to all this was made by a minority; and in the eye of the law of the land the original constitution of the Free Church Association so far remains, as that, possibly, if the full and open incorporation of both Churches were immediately to take place, it might adjudge property destined for original Free Church purposes to the minority; but it is to that effect, and to nothing more that it remains. The original principles of the Free Church have ceased to be the profession of that Church. The Church, as a Church, has made an open question of national duty to Christ, and, in doing so, even as to her proud claim, to have her spiritual independence as the Church of Christ recognised and acted on by the State, it has subsided into the Voluntary one of being let alone, or for mere toleration among other tolerated sects. What then is the use of a constitution repudiated by three-fourths of the Free Church membership? Or of a constitution, notwithstanding of which Voluntaries of almost any shade may enter by the wide door and effectual that has been so skilfully constructed for their admission, in the altered language, in conformity with the United Presbyterian view, in which she has come to give expression to her principles, by the new meaning which she has come to give to her formula of subscription, and even to its preamble, by her denial now that national duty, as hitherto understood by the Church, is in the Confession of Faith at all, by her giving her people to understand that they have liberty to question whether it be even in the Bible, and that they may be Voluntaries if they choose, and by her virtually intimating to United Presbyterian ministers called by a Free Church congregation under the Mutual Eligibility Act, that they need have no difficulty now in accepting of the Free Church definition of national duty, and in subscribing her formula, and bidding them quietly to make no difficulty, seeing that provision has been made that no questions shall be asked as to how they understand them? In fine, therefore, what is the use

of a constitution, notwithstanding of which an incorporating union in order to a common profession of their open question is not abandoned, but only suspended, or rather is still in course of prosecution by every means likely to bring it about; its opponents becoming continually fewer, and their opposition weaker, the Free Church, as a whole, becoming continually riper for it, and unless God Himself in some remarkable manner interpose to prevent it, the union as certain to take place at no very distant day, as that the sun will rise to-morrow, or that after ebbing the tide will flow.

The goal has been reached, the original purpose has been consummated, although under loud protestations of having been 'beaten,' which the diplomatic victors could well afford to make; the insulted and down-trodden minority, that accepted of an empty concession, and lost both its opportunity of escape, and its power, is in course of being helplessly borne along; while over all, instead of the old blue banner for Christ's Crown and Covenant, there floats now that of the open question that has been made of national duty to Christ.

But can we have part with, or can we give place to the Free Church, even for an hour, in such an open question as this, and to which too she has come, not in the way of rising up in an honest search for truth, but in the way of coming down by an apostacy from truth already attained, and from her solemnly pledged profession of it? Consider what this open question implies, or what it is that has been made an open question of.

She has made an open question of the terms on which Christ, the Prince of the kings of the earth, permits that earth of which He is the Proprietor and Lord to be occupied by the nations. They must occupy under Him, they must occupy on the footing of the blood by which it has been redeemed for their occupation, and thus occupying it they must at once duly acknowledge His superiority, and at the same time, give attestation of their dependence on the blood, by rendering to Him His tenths. Failing this, most assuredly they fall to be dispossessed, and His indignation lies on the nation. Nor, in order to this, is it enough that individuals, in greater or less number, make the due acknowledgment for themselves. Individuals are but as sub-tenants, occupying under the nation. The nation supremely is the occupier of the soil, and it is to the nation supremely that Christ looks for His tenths. And yet it is of this, of Christ's proprietorship of the earth, of the necessity of the nations occupying under Him, and of making due acknowledgment of it, that the Free Church has come to make an open question.

Then she has made an open question of the nation's need of the grace of Christ for healing the plagues and miseries of the body politic, of His grace as the sole but sufficient remedy for the cure of all its maladies, and so also an open question is made of that national union with Christ in which alone this grace can be enjoyed, and so national cure, and health, and joy attained to, 'The whole head is sick, and the whole heart faint. From the sole of the foot to the crown of the head there is no soundness in it; but wounds, and bruises, and putrifying sores'—(Isa. i. 5, 6). 'For the hurt of the daughter of my people am I hurt; I am black; astonishment hath taken hold upon me. Is there no balm in Gilead, is there no physician there? why then is not the hurt of the daughter of my people recovered'—(Jer. viii. 21, 22). Otherwise than by the balm of Gilead, and the Physician who is there, there is no cure for the plagues of the body politic; thus, however, may the nation be restored to perfect health and joy; and yet of this precious balm, of this gracious and mighty Physician of the nations, the Free Church has come to make an open question.

But, farther, to make an open question of national duty to Christ, as the Free Church has done, is to make an open question of the chief end of man, and of this in the highest style of man. The chief end of the nation, and that alone in which it can find its happiness and glory, is to be a Bride for Christ, and in marriage fellowship with Him, to be a national son of God. 'How shall I put thee among the children, and give thee a goodly heritage of the hosts of nations? And I said Thou shall call me, My Father; and thou shall not turn away from me'—(Jer. iii. 19). 'Be wise, now, therefore, O ye kings.' They listen, they look for counsel. What answer shall we give them? Shall we go on in the words of the second Psalm? 'Serve the Lord with fear. Kiss the Son, lest He be angry.' At the least, with the Apostle Paul, shall we show them that God made and settled even the heathen nation, 'that they might seek the Lord, if haply they might feel after Him, and find Him'—(Acts xvii.). No, says the Voluntary, pompously, and with a great show of wisdom, 'The power competent to worldly kingdoms is wholly temporal, respecting only the secular interests of society.' 'I could, at one time, give you a very decided answer,' says the Free Churchman, 'and perhaps I may do so again, if we exist as a Church at the millennium, but, in the meantime, I am in for union with Voluntaries, in whose company I have passed many delightful hours, and whose 'great principle' many of us have adopted, and you may go about your business just now, and do as you please for me.'

Then, to make an open question of national duty to Christ, is to make an open question of that principle of headship and trust according to which, throughout, God deals with men, supremely and fundamentally in the two Adams, subordinately and in respect of union with these, in the nation and family; and so it is seditiously and disastrously to interpose between the Head and that which God has put under and committed to it, releasing the Head from its duty, or disallowing and annulling the faith and believing conduct on the part of the Head, by which the safety of the great trust committed to it must be secured. For the sake of union with Baptists, the Free

Church will not make an open question of the family promise, nor yet of faith and duty in order to it, as exhibited, for instance, in Abraham: 'Abraham shall surely become a great and mighty nation, and all the nations of the earth shall be blessed in him. For I know him, that he will command his children and his household after him, and they shall keep the way of the Lord to do justice and judgment; that the Lord may bring upon Abraham that which He hath spoken of him'—(Gen. xviii. 18, 19). And yet, although in that duty Abraham is to be regarded as acting not only as the father of a family, but as a king, doing now for the incipient nation what its kings must continue to do when the nation has multiplied, the Free Church makes an open question of the national promise, and of all the duty incumbent on rulers and kings in order to it.

But what need I say more? To make an open question of national duty to Christ is to make an open question of the Decalogue. It is to make an open question of Christ's work, and of all His fulness for the nations, as the Good Olive Tree. It is to make an open question of the gospel, which must be preached to every creature, and supremely to the nation and its king. It is to make an open question of the national conversion of the Jews. It is to make an open question of the conversion of the nations. It is, moreover, to make an open question of Christ's spiritual kingdom, house and family, and of the manner in which it must be replenished with children; the open question cutting off the nation from its promise, duty, and dependence as Christ's intended Bride, and so from that subservience to Christ's spiritual kingdom in which the nation is designed to stand, in respect of its 'material resources, in respect of its populousness, and in respect of its being a suitably glorious outward representation of it. And, in fine, in so far as man can do it, it is to make an open question, yea it is to deprive God, of the glorious temple which Christ's spiritual family duly built up is to constitute for Him, and of all the glory also to accrue to Him from Christ's spiritual kingdom, and from man's outward kingdom brought into its due subservience to it—man being intended to rule the earth for Christ, Christ to rule man for God, and God to be glorified over all and in all.

These are the things of which men make open questions, in making open question of national duty to Christ. It is by this open question that the Free Church, by a majority of her Presbyteries and the affirmation of her Assembly, has now come to be dominated and characterised. Apart from the assertion of national duty, the claim to spiritual independence loses its meaning, or resolves itself into one for liberty to a majority to do as it pleases. National duty to Christ was the Church's primary and fundamental principle, the assertion of spiritual independence coming in as a necessary consequence, or, in connection with the negotiations to which the performance of national duty leads; but she has come to give herself over to that 'detestable indifference or neutrality' regarding it which our forefathers abhorred. 'I would thou wert cold or hot. So then because thou art lukewarm, and neither cold nor hot, I will spue thee out of my mouth'—(Rev. iii. 15, 16).

Can we then have part with the Free Church in her open question? Is not the Free Church herself bound to retrace her steps? The writer may be allowed to take occasion here, in all humility but in all sincerity, to witness that this open question of national duty to Christ, so contrary to vital Bible truth, and to the Church's own sworn principles, and so un-righteously imposed on her by what he conceived to be an apostatizing and tyrannical majority, compelled him to resign his ministry in, and to withdraw himself from, the Church which he loved, and for which, in his own remote sphere, he had laboured and sacrificed as much as any of the majority themselves, and that in compelling him to resign his ministry, it also drove him and his family out of house and home.

Once and again he had occasion earnestly to assure the brethren of his late Presbytery that by every vote which they gave for the kind of union that was proposed, they were certainly driving him, for one, out of the Church. In the Presbytery also, when the proposal of the open question came to be plainly made, he did his best to oppose it on the grounds stated above. When it came up for discussion afterwards in the Assembly, although well aware how little capable he was of influencing it, and shrinking most painfully from the task of attempting to do so, yet, under the pressure of the occasion, he put himself forward for a whole day, trying to get an opportunity of giving some expression to his views and convictions. Once he nearly succeeded. Dr Adam, who had risen, kindly offered to give way; but he was on the wrong side of the House, besides he was but a country minister, and the Moderator, Dr Elder, ruled that he was out of order, and put him down. That day the open question that had been agreed to by a majority of Presbyteries, was, in due course, affirmed by the Assembly and a triumphant majority there; but from that day the Free Church ceased to be the Free Church for him. Next day, with his views and convictions, he found himself in the painful position of being unable even to return to the Assembly. He held on, however, for another year. Then there were defections from the anti-union ranks. They came also to be divided among themselves as to what should be a cause of separation, and when separation should take place. He thought that that cause had already been sufficiently given, and he came to be thoroughly satisfied, either that the whole matter would end in a compromise to which he could not agree, which has actually come to pass, or that a separation would be postponed to a point much beyond that to which it would be possible for him to go. Then with this there came the Free Church's action, in conjunction with Voluntaries, in procuring the passing in Parliament of an Education Bill for Scotland, which needlessly handed

over to the heritors about a million of money hitherto available for the education of the country, the rate-payers coming to be burdened with the maintenance of schools; but which, more than this, has separated between the Church and the education of the young, has disestablished and disendowed religion in the schools, which all but succeeded in expelling the very Bible, and which, as it is, limits and shuts it up in a corner, where it lies outside all government inspection, pay, or care, and which has handed over so sacred a thing as the education of the young to men of any religion, or of no religion, as the case may be; Papists, as the writer has reason to know, coming now to exercise a preponderating and evil influence in some Boards; and having at the same time power, under the Bill, for procuring government grants for strictly Romish schools, and so for the support and propagation of Popery. Then, once more, that union screw, to whose increasing pressure the Church had been subjected from year to year, was put afresh into motion, and got that new and violent turn which it received in the Mutual Eligibility Overture. The pressure now became intolerable. He found, for himself, though humble as an individual, that he could have no connection with an open question of so disastrous a description, and which was advancing to such issues. In much distress, but calmly and deliberately, he resigned his ministry in the Free Church, he offered himself to the Church of Scotland, and was kindly received, and having first cast himself and his family on God, he then had to cast himself, solitary and alone, on the cold and supercilious regards of an ignorant and unsympathising world.

3. In fine, in connection with present controversies and present duty, I come now to ask whether it is not the duty of the Free Church, of the United Presbyterian Church, and of all the other Presbyterian Churches in Scotland, to seek establishment in connection with the presently existing Established Church, and to unite in the formation of a United, Free, Established, National Church of Scotland.

One thing is certain, that it is a prime duty incumbent on every Church to seek establishment, and that it is not allowable, it is not lawful for any Church to rest content in a disestablished condition. This, indeed, is what Voluntaryism leads its followers to do on principle. In their view, the state is regarded as an unclean thing. It can touch religion only to defile and injure it. The Church is then only in its right place when it is disestablished; and their only claim for it is toleration on equal terms with all else that may be tolerated. But this also is what the Free Church has come to propose for herself. There is no hope of bringing the nation to do its duty in relation to Christ and His Church, and it would be idle to make the attempt. There is danger in state connection, and she would think twice about it before returning to the best establishment that could be offered to her. She has made a position for herself, and she is very comfortable as she is, at least her leaders are; and releasing the nation from its duty, and taking the nation's work, and for which only the nation is competent, into her own hands, she makes the vain profession that she is able, out of her own private resources, to overtake all the destitution of the land. Thus she means to have nothing to do with the state, she will continue disestablished, and her ministers are even now calling this, and are labouring to sanctify it to themselves, and to an ignorant people, by calling it a 'standing fast in the liberty with which Christ has made them free!'

But is this lawful? Is it allowable for any Church to take up such a position as regards the state, to use no means with a view to establishment, and to rest content in a disestablished condition?

I submit, that under duty to the nation, to herself, and to God and His Christ, it is not lawful; that, on the contrary, it is in the highest degree sinful, and must be followed with sin's consequences.

1. It is not allowable in view of the nation. It is not allowable in view of that condition of revolt from God in which the nation is, and because of which the indignation of the Lord is so surely lying upon it. It is not allowable, in view of a gospel for the nation, and which, with a view to the nation, is primarily to be addressed to the nations' rulers and king. It is not allowable in view of the chief end of nations, and of God's gracious will and purpose regarding them, with reference to Himself and His Son. And it is not allowable in view even of the individuals of the nation, and that wide ingathering of individuals, with a view to which God is seated on a throne of grace, the gospel has been imparted to the nation, and which the Church herself professedly seeks. She thinks to obtain this wide ingathering by beginning at the bottom of the national constituency, and by operating on its scattered individuals. But in this she is taking a course which is contrary to nature, contrary to the gospel, and to the will and command of God. God has given kings, rulers, princes, nobles, men of standing, a natural influence over those under them; and those under them naturally follow and obey, especially if the direction in which they are led appears to be good and commendable. Naturally, therefore, if the nation is to be widely influenced, it must be through its natural leaders. But the way of nature is the way of God and of His gospel: 'He shall bear my name before nations and kings.' The Church, therefore, must not ignore, must not neglect to avail herself of the natural influence of princes on their people, and which God has given them, not surely merely for civil ends, but with a view to His gospel, but striving, by all means to get that influence imbued with the gospel, and the grace of God, and getting it, as thus imbued, brought to bear on the people, it is thus, and thus alone, that she need look for a wide-spread ingathering of the individuals of a nation. Under Voluntaryism, or in connection with a Church satisfied with a disestablished condition, there never will be a wide ingathering, there never will be the conversion of a nation; and in view of the ingathering even of

individuals, it is not allowable for any Church to act on a principle that leads them to reject an influence which God has provided for them, which He commands them to use, and which, as thus rejected, can, on the other hand, only be an influence for evil.

2. But again, it is not allowable to rest content in a disestablished condition in view of the Church herself, and of the 'unctions with which she has been invested, and must fulfil. The Church is Christ's Bride, His spiritual kingdom. She must not degrade herself by taking up the position, voluntarily, of a merely tolerated sect, and where she has no higher standing in the eye of the law of the land than that of a secular association. She must assert herself, and procure recognition according to her high relationships, dignity, and claims. Then the Church is the heir of the world, and it is only in the converted nation that she can enter on her inheritance. As, therefore, she would rise to her reign and rest upon the earth, she must renounce her Voluntaryism, she must renounce her self-satisfied Free Churchism, she must have to do with the nation and its king, and she must fulfil, on their behalf, all the duty devolving on her as the heir of the world, and the believing, prayerful, expectant of the Church's promise of the land. The Church is also Christ's witness, Christ's ambassador to the nation. She has a message from the Prince of the kings of the earth to the nation and its king; and woe shall be to her if, from Voluntaryism or Free Churchism, or any other cause, she fails in speaking of His testimonies before kings, and in making faithful and urgent submission of His claims. Once more, the Church is Christ's battle-axe and weapons of war. He promises to be with her as captain of the Lord's host. She need not fear, therefore, of success in the delivery of her message. His word applied to kings will be a sharp two-edged sword. It will be mighty through God to the pulling down of strongholds. She will surely bind the kings with chains, the nobles with fetters of iron, and in the converted nation she will, in due time, enter on her inheritance. The position, therefore, of Voluntaries, and of the Free Church, is altogether untenable. It is not allowable, it is highly sinful for any Church to rest in a disestablished condition.

3. But, once more, it is not allowable in view of Christ. Christ is the King of the land. He is the Proprietor of the soil. He is the Prince of the nation, and of its king, and he comes that, delivering the nation out of the hands of all her enemies, she may become His Bride, and the fruitful mother of the children that He requires for His spiritual house and family. May the Church, then, Christ's witness, stand idly by and see Him, the King of the land, refused His crown, and refused the homage due to Him? Can she see Him unrecognised, or only tolerated among a motley crew of tolerated parties and claims. Can she thus see Him, and yet refuse to lift up her voice in loud assertion of His claims, and be guiltless? Sent on Christ's message of love, and called on to bring the nation home to Him as a Bride, may she lawfully withhold His message, or even loiter by the way. Abraham, in his day, sent out his servant to bring home a bride for his son Isaac, in doing so assuring him that the angel of God would go before him and give him success; and with what diligence and faithfulness did that servant fulfil his mission, and with what success, beyond all expectation, was his faithfulness crowned? With a like promise is the Church sent forth; and let her only manifest the corresponding diligence and faithfulness, and with a corresponding success will her mission, too, be prospered. Under faithfulness, therefore, to Christ and His claims, and as she would fulfil the high mission with which she has been entrusted, the Church cannot rest satisfied in a disestablished condition; on the contrary, with all fidelity and earnestness she must seek it, nor can she rest until it has been obtained.

4. But, in fine, Christ has a wicked, a specious, and dangerous rival, and it is not allowable for the Church to rest satisfied in a disestablished condition, because of the insidious and portentous claims which even now antichrist is making on the nation. Whether the Church understands or not Christ's relation to the nation as the nation's king, and that the chief end of the nation is that of being a Bride for Christ, antichrist understands these things well; and whether the Church understands or not, her mission and function as regards the nation, and where and with whom to begin, antichrist has fathomed and fully comprehends them. Not only so, acting with boldness and vigour on her views, the Church of Rome boasts, and with reason, that she alone can be seen to have fulfilled the Church's mission to the nations. But how are antichrist's claims on the nation to be met? They are to be met, not certainly by the persistent assertion of Voluntaryism, which can only betray the nation over into his power, but by the clear and faithful exhibition to the nations and their kings of Christ as their true Prince, as the glorious Bridegroom with whom alone they must be married, and in connection with whom alone they are to become the national sons of God, or of His Church. In no other way are antichrist's claims to be met, or will they be successfully resisted; and the duty devolving on the Church to make this faithful exhibition of Christ's claims, and being called on here to be a witness faithful even unto death, let the Church be found unfaithfully, or remissly, carrying out her witness-bearing, then only one consequence can follow. If the nation is not won for Christ, it will be won for antichrist. Even now to what is the present alarming and increasing ascendancy of popery in the high places of the land to be ascribed? The Church has been unfaithful, her unfaithfulness being largely owing to the paralysing influence of Voluntaryism, and, let the same influence continue to be exercised for a little longer, and it is not all the intelligence of the nineteenth century, nor all the learning of Oxford, that will save our princes and our nation from once more giving their strength and power to

the beast. The Church must seek herself to be established, she must get the nation married to Christ, she must get the nation back into covenant bonds with God, and only thus, as of old, will popery be either cast out, or kept out.

On these grounds, then, it is not lawful for any Church to take up with, and rest content in a disestablished condition. The Church must seek establishment, nor can she rest until the nation, as such, has become a united Church, and so the Church also has become a nation reigning on, and inheriting the earth.

But if the disestablished Churches are under such obligation to seek establishment for themselves, can it be lawful for them to seek the disestablishment of the presently existing Church of Scotland? Is it not rather their incumbent duty, and that of all patriotic and enlightened Christian men, to unite with her in order to the formation of a United, Free, Established National Church of Scotland.

'Disestablish the Church of Scotland,' that is the cry with which the Free and the United Presbyterian Churches are now uniting to fill and agitate the land.

In the Church of Scotland they see their own identical Confession, except the part, indeed, excised out of it, or made an open question of, in favour of Voluntaryism, and their own identical form of Church government and worship already received by the nation, and recognised as the very truth of God, and as all according to His word, and yet they would have the nation to reject this their own creed, and form of Church government and worship, to cease to recognise them as of divine authority, to divest itself of the last rag of acknowledgment of dependence on Christ, and to become absolutely godless as a nation.

In the Church of Scotland they see the very confession and form of Church government and worship, with which they themselves are bound to seek to get the nation married to Christ, they see them already received, established, and endowed by the nation, and thus a troth virtually plighted which they might well rejoice to foster into a perfect marriage, and yet they cry disestablish the Church of Scotland.

Ingenious minds and clever lawyers can make a case out of anything, and there are none so blind, or so exacting, as those who will not see; but yet, in the Church of Scotland as now happily released from the oppression of Queen Anne's Act, so unrighteously imposed on her by the British Parliament, we have that Church as, consequent on her own faithful contendings, she was established by Scotland's own Parliaments, and when she had secured to her, at the same time, her own exclusive spiritual jurisdiction, and independence in spiritual matters of all civil control; and yet this is the Church, and when, and just because she has been so released, and has become the very house in which our fathers worshipped, for whose disestablishment there are Scotchmen faithless enough to agitate and to cry.

The Church of Scotland was the best Reformed Church of the Reformation; and just because of her purity, and the power for good which, as the Church of the nation, she was fitted to exercise, she has been throughout her sad, but noble history, the special object of the devil's malignant spite, who, watching for evil, has ever had some dire opposition with which to assail, and clash her again to the ground, on every occasion of her succeeding in getting herself rightly constituted, and placed in circumstances in which to engage hopefully in her national work. So it was when, after prolonged contests with the enemies of the Reformation, she came to be finally established in 1592; for scarcely had she succeeded, when, under the crafty and tyrannical policy of James, every means were used to overthrow her Presbyterian polity and government, and to establish Prelacy instead. Then, when Prelacy was cast out, and Presbytery restored at the period of the second Reformation, how soon was this followed, in addition to other troubles, by the dark and bloody times of the closing years of the Stewart dynasty, during which the Church was so sorely scattered and peeled, and became as a partridge hunted on the mountains. Then, no sooner had she been re-established under the Revolution settlement, and had all her liberties and privileges as the Church of the nation farther firmly secured to her by the treaty of union, than Queen Anne's infamous Act, restoring patronage, the cause of all her troubles since, came to be imposed on her, contrary to the faith of nations, by the British Parliament. Then following quick on that new period of revival which came over her, and of which Dr Chalmers was the harbinger and so largely the promoter, came the Ten Year's Conflict with the civil courts, and the Disruption. And now, finally, when once more she is restored to her standing and privileges, and is fitted for becoming again the Church of the nation, how does it fare with her? What new mischief has the arch enemy of Scotland's national kirk in preparation for her? She has the worst of all; and if he has not quite succeeded in destroying her by that infamous Act of Queen Anne in one way, he will do it in another. She has those whom she has reason to look upon as her own children, in ignorance of Satan's devices, and not observing the use which he desires to make now of the divisions which that Act has occasioned, carried away with an antisciptural Voluntaryism, seeking to rase her to the ground, and so to prevent the possibility, henceforth, of a national Church of Scotland at all.

It was in connection with the Church of Scotland that the Scottish nation was brought up so graciously and gloriously out of the land of Egypt and Popish house of bondage. It was in connection with her that the Scottish nation, her nobles with one mind and one heart taking the lead, became a covenanted nation, pledged to be the Lord's people, so as no other nation has been since the days of Israel of old, and her land a holy land. It is only,

moreover, in connection with the national Church that Scotland can ever become a covenanted nation again, and while this is so necessary, and would be so glad a consummation, even now, for instance, it being not individuals, nor even a number of divided denominations, but a united nation, that Christ so earnestly desires and looks for to become His Bride, let the Free Church, the United Presbyterian Church, and all the Presbyterianism of Scotland, laying aside their prejudices, misconceptions, and misrepresentations, and returning to their original principles, return also to the Church of their fathers, how soon, under the blessing of God on such a scriptural union, and perhaps even with her own nobility restored to her, might Scotland, as a united nation, be presented as a chaste virgin to Him. What a blessing to herself! what an example, what a witness, to the nations would she then become! what a power for good would she then wield as regards her sister, England! She would be the saving of the three kingdoms, bringing denominationalism to an end, and in terms such as might be suitable, through the Lord's giving Sion's watchmen of all the denominations to see eye to eye, uniting the whole once more in a solemn league and covenant with God, and among themselves, and against the kingdom of darkness. And yet must the cry still be for disestablishment?

Why must this be so, or what the grounds on which such a demand, so bitter and extreme, is made? It is made not certainly on the grounds of the faults real or alleged, still adhering to the establishment. These, indeed, are eagerly sought out. Faults are found which have no existence, such as exist are magnified, nothing is too bad to be said of the Church of Scotland, and, as if the end in view justified the use of any means, men are freely indulging in bearing false witness against their neighbour. Still, it is not the faults of the Church of Scotland that have led to the present agitation. Men were silent when there was more cause to complain, and if now they were as earnest for union with the Church of Scotland as they are for another union, such as have been capable of swallowing the Voluntary camel would not be found straining so hard at gnats. They would find fewer faults in her, and as for those that might still remain, they would think of them only with a view to their removal. But the fact is, the Free Church, in common with the United Presbyterian Church, in their present mind, would not join the Church of Scotland as an established Church, no matter what her purity, and it is, therefore, in sheerest pretence that her faults are held up as the reasons of their movement. Neither do they seek disestablishment with a view to reconstruction and a purer establishment. No sane man would, in these days, propose disestablishment with that end in view. They seek disestablishment, because, regarding the Church now as a dangerous rival, they have become, all at once, jealous of her; they seek it in the selfish interests of their own endangered denominations; and they seek it, further, with a view to that union of the Churches in Scotland on a Voluntary platform, which they have been so long striving to effect, and which they hope now to secure by an Act of Parliament that shall crush down all their present opponents into this amalgamation of the Churches on a Voluntary platform. But perish the selfish denominational interests that can be conserved only by such a sacrifice! And God Himself will surely confound a scheme for union which proposes to abandon the nation to antichrist, infidelity, and ruin; which has for its object to withdraw the Church from all her high functions and incumbent duty as regards the nation, and to reduce herself to the degraded condition of a merely tolerated sect, yea, and in which she has no higher standing in the eye of the law of the land than any ordinary secular association; and which proposes, farther, in the name of spiritual independence, and of a pretended faithfulness to Christ, to come in between Christ and the nation's crown, and all that high recognition, and hearty homage, and willing service, which He is looking for at the nations' hands.

They have had enough surely of disestablishment already, not easily to be repaired, in the disestablishment and disendowment of religion, and of the Bible itself, out of the schools of the nation, under which the nation already smarts, but the full mischief of which has yet to be reaped, and for which the nation will yet hold them answerable.

No, the Churches, and all Christian patriots, must look at this great question, and at this great crisis, through other spectacles than those of a wretched denominational jealousy, or than those of the comforts of that 'new house,' which the Free Church has been able to build up for herself, or than those of an antisciptural Voluntaryism; and by every obligation of Christian patriotism, as well as every obligation of vital divine truth, affecting both Church and nation, and by all the gratitude due to God for granting to this land, and procuring the national establishment in it, of the best Reformed Church in Christendom, are they bound to seek union with, and so to build up their own national Church of Scotland, as to constitute this nation a Church, the Bride of Christ, and a national Son of God. To this also we are called, as the descendants of a covenanted Church and nation; by all the favour, also, which God still has to us, as such, saying of us, 'I remember thee, the kindness of thy youth, and the love of thine espousals, when thou wentest after me in the wilderness, in a land that was not sown;' and still farther, by that very special instance of this favour which He has so clearly manifested, at this very time, in turning the hearts of our rulers to lift from off Scotland's Church the oppression of Queen Anne's infamous Act, and so to open up the way for the formation of a truly united and national Church, at the very juncture when both the nation and its Churches were about to be turned aside, and to act on the principles of a disastrous, and utterly antisciptural Voluntaryism. Never had wise, large-hearted, and Christian-minded men,

having knowledge of the times, and what Israel ought to do, a better opportunity set before them for the saving and glorifying of their nation. The veritable house in which our sainted fathers worshipped, stands open for the reception of all Scotland's Presbyterianism. Fill it, throng it once more with all Scotland's piety, and let the prayers and the praises of a united nation be heard once more within its walls. Take possession of the Church, take possession of the nation for Christ; let them become the nation's Church, and let the nation become the Church's nation, and so in union with Christ, and in covenant with God, let the words be verified: 'The covenants, the covenants, shall yet be Scotland's reviving.' Away with resentful remembrances of conflict, and of grievous things done and said, which may well be regarded as on all sides sufficiently retracted, and which have no existence, and can have no effect now. Cease to magnify the faults still attaching to the Established Church, and think only of how they may, and by the blessing of God, shall be removed. Are they themselves, forsooth! faultless, with their Voluntaryism and their open questions? Are the faults attaching to the Establishment now equal to those of the Church of the Revolution settlement? and yet did not our fathers thankfully accept of it, in the hope of being able practically to effect under it all the great ends of the Church? And, accordingly, notwithstanding of all subsequent defections and backsliding, did not God's blessing still rest on the national Church of Scotland; and was it not this very Church that gave birth to and educated that noble band of men, ministers and laymen, which constituted the Church of the Disruption, and of which any Church or land might well be proud? The Cameronians had much better reason for standing aloof from the Church of the Revolution than the Free Church has for standing aloof now, and yet did they do well for themselves, or for the Church, or kingdom of Scotland, in refusing to come in, and strengthen the hands of men as well-principled as, but knowing better what Israel ought to do, than themselves. Why then should their error be repeated now? The Free Church, as a separate Church, has fulfilled her mission. She sees it in the abolition of Queen Anne's Act, which, but for her, would never have been abolished. God moves in a mysterious way His wonders to perform. He has led them round about, but He has led them by the right way, and seeing now the end of her being accomplished, she should enter by the door which she has virtually opened for herself, and devote all her energies now in building up a national Church, and promoting a national union, such as would do honour to her true principles, and consistently and victoriously crown all her faithful contendings for them. This is a union into which she might bring all her principles and all her property, her Sustentation Fund and all her Christian liberality, and in which she might stimulate and guide a national Church in devising yet grander schemes of usefulness for our own and other lands, and aid in consecrating a nation's gain to their support. And might not United Presbyterians, acknowledging the antisciptural character of Voluntaryism, and returning at length to their own original principles, and all the other Presbyterian Churches with them, follow, or lead, the Free Church into this most patriotic and most scriptural union, and with all their special gifts contribute to the excellence and glory of Scotland's national Church? But what the Churches and Christian men have to do in this great juncture for Scotland must be done without delay. This is not a time for men to stand idly by, every one expecting his own special optimism, and looking critically to see whether other men are going to realise it for them, instead of coining, without delay, and aiding in the realisation of it themselves. Storms are impending, and notwithstanding all her diligence, they may be upon the Church and nation before she has put her house in order suitably, or safely, to meet them. Besides, death is busy, and there are great and experienced men happily yet alive, whose services would be indispensable in building up a united national Church, but who may be called on to enter into their rest all too soon for the Church and nation which they leave behind.

'The God of heaven, He will prosper us, therefore we, His servants, will arise and build.' 'Thou shalt arise, and have mercy upon Zion; for the time to favour her, yea, the set time, is come. For thy servants take pleasure in her stones, and favour the dust thereof. So the nations shall fear the name of the Lord, and all the kings of the earth thy glory.'

THE following extract from 'The Bible and The Family,' bearing on the divisions of the Decalogue, and the order in which it is to be read, is appended, in order that the references made to the Decalogue in this Treatise, may be more readily understood:—

The divisions of the Decalogue, and the order in which its several precepts are to be contemplated, do not seem as yet to have been sufficiently considered, or determined; and yet it is in vain to attempt any exposition of the Decalogue until these have been ascertained.

In regard to the divisions of the Decalogue:—

The first is that which divides the Ten Commandments into two main parts of five and five.

This important division should be obvious at a glance, and yet, too commonly still, the first table, or first division of the law, is reckoned to consist of the first four precepts, the second being supposed to include in it the remaining six.

But, (1.) This unequal division faultily slights whatever design God had in view, in such a purposely made arrangement of the law, as comprehends the whole under ten words, or precepts; as well as the importance, so clearly attaching to numbers, all through the Scriptures.

(2.) It does not observe that the broad seal of: 'The Lord thy God,' seals the fifth commandment equally with the fourth and all that precede, thus clearly marking off the first five from the second five, and putting an important distinction of some kind between them;—it ignores, too, the fact that filial duty is actual piety—(1 Tim. v. 4);—and, in short, the fourth and fifth commandments being internally inseparably united together, it fails to mark the connection, and violently and mischievously separates between them.

(3.) Not only so, but while taking it erroneously for granted that the fifth commandment prescribes morality, it proceeds upon the farther groundless supposition, that the proper distinction between the two tables of the law, is that which makes the first treat of piety, or of the duties which we owe directly to God; and the second to treat of morality, or the duties owing to our fellow-men. It will be found, however, that both tables alike treat of piety and morality, and that this supposition, although so universally held, is groundless; that, in fact, in connection with an understanding of the Decalogue, it is a mischievous mistake; and that, each table consisting of five precepts, the distinction between them is of quite another description, and must be very differently stated.

But the ten being divided into two main parts of five and five, each of these admits of and requires a sub-division.

Thus it will be found that the first table is made up of two distinct portions, attention to which is indispensably necessary to any right understanding of the Decalogue; the first of these portions consisting of the fourth and fifth precepts, which are tied together into one by inseparable connections; and the second portion consisting of the first three precepts, which are in like manner indissolubly joined together.

Then, again, it will be found that the second table is also to be divided into two subordinate portions; the first consisting of the tenth precept, which makes a subdivision by itself; and the second, made up of the remaining four precepts of the second table.

Having marked what the divisions of the Decalogue are, we must next notice the order in which, under each table, the subdivisions and their several precepts, are to be taken up and considered.

Now, this is the reverse of the order of their promulgation, or in which they are seen to issue forth from God. We begin where He ends, and it is beginning where He ends that, finally, we attain to where He begins. Thus, in connection with the first table, the point at which submission and obedience to it begin, the very door of entrance into the kingdom of God, is in the fifth commandment, from which we pass, and rise up into the obedience of the fourth; and so, through the third, and by the second, to the first, where we reach the inmost shrine of Deity.

This is the order rendered necessary by the real meaning of the several precepts, and by what will be found to be their mutual relations.

It is the order also to which our attention is called, and which is rendered necessary, by the otherwise inexplicable language of the apostle (not but that explanations have been attempted) in regard to the fifth commandment, which he definitely settles to be: 'The first commandment with promise.'—(Eph. vi. 2).

And it is the order further, that we see exhibited, and to which attention was called of old, when the truth of the Decalogue reappeared in the tabernacle; the order of appointment and construction—which was the Most Holy Place, the Holy Place, and then the Altar, and Gate of entrance—being the reverse of the order of entrance—which was, back again, by the Gate, to the Altar, through the Holy Place, and so to the inmost Sanctuary—(Exod. xxv-xxvii.)

In short, in no other order or way will the truth and duty of the first table ever be ascertained.

But this being the order in which it is necessary to take up and consider the first table of the law, it is, in like manner, that in which it will be necessary for us to consider the second table; beginning with its first division, as formed by the tenth precept, and proceeding next to its second division, and contemplating its several precepts in an order upward from the ninth,—being led to this order, as well by the meaning of the several divisions and precepts in themselves, as by the example of the first table.

Finis.

Okawford and M'Cabe, Printers, 15 Queen Street, Edinburgh.

## The Dunedin Exhibition.

The New Zealand Industrial College was formally opened on the 14th June, 1881, and was closed on the 12th July.

The Chancellor of the Otago University gave a pagan prayer—quite characteristic of the tenets of that school.

The Mayor read a very interesting account of the origin and progress of Exhibitions of Art and Industry. Mr. Bathgate uttered highly swelling words in praise of the peerless City of Dunedin.

Mr. Bracken read a beautiful poem describing the three successive pictures of Dunedin—as presented on the landing of the first settlers in 1848—at the gold discovery in 1861—and as seen in 1881.

All the comforts and even the luxuries of civilised life are here exposed, *in miniature*, to the Colonial gaze of a masement. The glory of New Zealand generally, and of Dunedin particularly, is conspicuously blazoned before the admiring eye. Verily, we have made great progress "in agricultural and pastoral pursuits, in trade, commerce, and manufactures," according to Dr. Stuart's prayer.

In this Colonial Museum of Art and Industry, one is apt to get bewildered in a labyrinthine maze of endless variety. Here are elegantly executed cast-iron verandahs—wooden mantelpieces enamelled so as to resemble marble—crystal goblets, wine-glasses, tumblers, &c.—engraved with fantastic devices: coats of arms, mottoes, monograms, rural scenes, classic figures, and Native pahs, all nicely cut into the glass. Our factories supply every variety of plain and fancy biscuits. Here are pyramids of coffees, spices, and peppers. Sowing machines are kept busily in motion by the delicately tapering hands of skilled females. Cases of ferns and beautiful wedding-cakes attract the eye. Bee-hives, plain and fanciful, and pure Indian teas of the richest flavour, and free from any noxious herbs, grace the show. Vinegar from the Kaikorai, and sauce from Kelvin Grove are here also. We have all sorts of saddles, harness, carriage rugs, and horse clothing. There are choice specimens of panel-painting, and resembling marble, maple, walnut, and oak. Tables of wool mats, hearth-rugs of all colours, and shapes. These mats are exceedingly soft, delicate, and ornamental. For lamps, carriages, and pianos, they are pre-eminently desirable. Our dye-works exhibit varieties of coloured cloth and ostrich feathers. Colonial wines in profusion and variety are to be seen here. We have Venetian blinds and window shutters of considerable taste and design—models of cottages and mansions—cordials and aerated waters, pickles, jellies, and homœopathic medicines are shown in abundance. New Zealand is, apparently, rick in the black diamond—which is the basis of manufacturing cities. We have, also, a variety of stones for architectural purposes. We observed a bust of the Rev. Dr. Stuart. It has very little expression, and reflects small credit on the Professorial pensioners. Steam boilers, harrows, ploughs, and carriages of every sort are here exposed to view.

Our founders and plumbers are evidently cunning artificers in iron, brass, lead, zinc, copper, &c. We see tempting baths, wash-hand basins for hot and cold water—of wood and marble. Plants for brewers—oval-tubed refrigerators, ventilators, reflecting lamps, pumps of special excellence, copper washing boilers, cisterns, and bells are exhibited. There are large glass cases holding various samples of engineers, plumbers, and gas fitters' brass works—and ponderous cast iron steam works. There are, also, ships' sidelights, &c. Our photographers revel in every sort of views, and all kinds of portraits.

There are various kinds of lime-stone represented. Bricks, plain and ornamental, and patent artificial stone, drainage and sewerage pipes—ice machines—flower vases and pots, and samples of stone cutting. Perambulators, cradles, chairs, &c., of wickerwork merit special commendation. We have elegant baskets and chairs of Otago willows. Our foundries furnish launch-engines bicycles, and tools for masons and miners. Our minerals are well exhibited—copper, lead, iron, quicksilver, antimony, gold and silver quartz, cobalt, sulphur, chrome, manganese, tungsten, nickel, galena, scheelite, &c. The ropes, cords, and lines reflect credit on our local factories. Beer of every quality is stowed away in the ground cellar. A new quartz-crushing machine is exposed to view. Bones are here converted into fanciful articles—*e.g.*—bone-rattles, draughts, chessmen, &c. On tables are seen rape and turnip seed, ryegrass, and clover seed. Hats of every description, military helmets, college, railway guards, engineers and police caps. There is an organ of Colonial construction. Here are to be found models of steamers—specimens of glass-embossing, sign-writing, and graining of the most perfect and imitative kind: maple, oak, rose-wood, walnut, &c., are almost realised. Pretty slippers and elegant boots and shoes arrest the observant eye. Also, wax candles, tallow, sperm, and soaps of every sort, and richly perfumed—besides starch, arrow-root, sago, and various other farinaceous articles. Pipes from Otago clay—and oils for the hair, and artistic works in hair, *e.g.*, watch-guards, bracelets, lockets, wigs, and coils. Invalids will here find herbal medicines. Delicate people will find here an apparatus for heating and ventilating their houses. There is, also, a table of preserved meats. We saw water-engines and a medical battery—also, a model of a portmanteau canoe, to save life at sea—also models of patent aerial tramways, and silt elevator and carrier for dredging work—also models of furnace bars and bridges.

Milton makes a splendid figure by its pottery collection of crockery, dinner services, jugs, tea wares, and other articles illustrative of the different branches of that important industry. There is an elegant case of wheat, oats, peas, and beans in the exhibition. Also, a chair consisting of 29 different kinds of Otago wood, and of 8000 separate pieces. The products of our hosiery factories are numerous—socks, stockings, drawers, jerseys, mufflers, shawls, &c. Here are, also, articles of furs and skins, *e.g.*, muffs, boas, and foot mats. Fergusson and Mitchell surpass all the colonies in book binding. Their ledgers, journals, cash books, and commercial books generally are excellent specimens of art. There is a case of stays, corsets, and other articles of ladies' dresses, of considerable merit. The New Clothing Factory's monster case of garments is a leading feature of the show.

They are set on elegant wax figures. There are various sorts of suits and of different designs—sailor habits, cricket and rowing flannels, hunting dresses, overcoats, caps, &c. W. Gilchrist makes a very creditable display of plate and sheet glass, colours, varnishes, brush-ware, and paper-hangings, Portland and Keene's cements, crystal and chinaware, furniture, fancy goods, silver and electro-plate, &c.

A. & T. Burt, and Anderson and Morrison, are skilled artists in brass, iron, copper, and zinc. Their baths, gasaliers, corking machines, pumps, and water engines, &c., are excellent pieces of artistic workmanship. Had they lived in the time of Solomon, they might have been profitably employed about the Temple.

The New Zealand Clothing Factory's case is a special feature of the Exhibition. The garments are well cut, and the fittings are perfect.

The Mosgiel, Kaikorai and Roslyn Woollen Factories are conspicuous for their pure, soft, white and excellent flannels, blankets, &c. There are also, shawls, cloaks, yarn and tweeds of various dyes. The Dunedin and Christchurch silversmiths might, in days gone by, have fitted out the Jewish High Priest's breast-plates and the utensils of the Sacred Fane. Brown, Ewing, & Co., excel in the preparation of the garments of ladies, youths, and children. Their style is peerless. Almao is great in every kind of head-piece. His hats and caps are gems. Sparrow and Wilkinson are famed for their ranges, portable and stationary—grates, furnace fittings, tomb rails, ornamental castings for balconies, verandahs &c. About 600 ironworkers are in Dunedin, which, according to Mr. A. Burt, is destined to be "the Glasgow of the South Pacific." The Christchurch potteries are inferior to those of Milton. There are, however, some earthenware vases, adorned with groups of raised flowers in porcelain work, and carved roses, of superior excellence. Akaroa and Peninsula cheese is equal to Cheshire, or Dunlop. Our cooperages supply elegant samples of dairy and farm implements. The art of bone and wood turning is being practically exhibited by Mr. Graham of Lyttelton. Mr. Inglis has a boot sewing machine of rare speed and excellence. Coombes displays every sort of leather, of every colour and quality from harness and shoe leather to kid and lambskin. Our millers show samples of flour and oatmeal, wheat, barley, malt, and hops. Various kinds of starch, corn-flour, &c., are exposed to public inspection, also bacon, hams, and rolled bacon. Splendid potatoes, loaves of bread, sacks of wheat, peas, grass-seeds, beans, turnips &c., arrest the eye. Various nick-nacks from the Otago Museum disgrace the exhibition. Beautiful ferns are collected here. Here also, are to be seen specimens of elegant carving in wood and stone. There is a beautifully embossed chess table, by Mr. Melvin of Dunedin. Drawings of street architecture and ship models are seen here. The furniture department reflects credit on the Colony—Christchurch and Dunedin, specially excel in the construction of furniture. The New Zealand Woodware Factory's exhibits are really handsome. Their furniture would grace a drawing room in Holyrood Palace or Gordon Castle. Tins of preserved fruit are sent from the Thames. Christchurch furnishes us with tins of roast beef, corned mutton, &c. Dunedin excels in the production of native sticks. Here are seen Canterbury frillings, stays, and braiding, in great variety. The spirited proprietor of the *Evening Star* has sent to the exhibition a life-saving apparatus. The picture gallery is neither extensive nor of great merit. Kauri gum, dyed and bleached flax, artificial legs, fretwork, plaster mouldings of eminent characters, house decorations and architectural drawings, crowd themselves upon the weary eyes. Cases of artificial teeth and dentistry tools, artificial fruits, fancy wool work, antimacassars, cushions, knitted stockings, New Zealand flaxen bags, model castles, fern painting on tables, chairs, &c., fern work, painting on earthenware, floral and wool work, and fruit work, plain needle work, hand painting on cloth—new style of book-keeping, representations of ships, rubber stamps, wood copying press, wool and skin mats, skeletons of animals, and stuffed birds—fishing and rabbit nets, cardboard boxes, elegant writing desks, easels, flax matting, baskets, bird cages, bellows, wooden beehives, picture frames and crosses, brushes, &c., are to be seen in endless varieties and profusion. Here are two glass cases of stuffed birds, British and Colonial, prepared by Mr William Smyth. He should be taxidermist for our Museum, and curator also. They are life-like. There are three large glass cases from the monster firm of Kempthorne and Prosser, containing drugs, chemicals, perfumery, cordials, toilette requisites, even down to paste blacking, all manufactured on the premises. This is a *unique* show.

About 45,000 shilling tickets were sold from first to last. We were requested by Dr. Stuart, in his prayer, to "zealously defend and maintain the institutions of trade and commerce, of Government, and justice, and education." But, all these boons are based on religion, and of this there was no mention, and without this we can only become a mean race of reptiles. Without Religion we cannot infuse a spirit of rational "enthusiasm" into the breasts of the people—with all due deference to the Chancellor of the University and the President of the Dunedin National Industrial Association. We are, we fear, not aiming "to give a bent to the minds of the people of the Colony," in the right direction. The minds of the young are being poisoned in the bud, and the old are setting them a very pernicious example of everything that is base, demoralising, and, in some cases, blasphemous. The President of the Freethought Association, in the course of his remarks at the close of the exhibition, said, "To get a bent given to the minds of the young men of a nation is everything." But if that bent is towards the blackest infidelity, then, we fear, its consequences will be felt for mischief, "for hundreds of years." "Exhibitions of machinery" and "industrial enterprises" of themselves are perfectly powerless "to raise

the race to a higher level." The President's knowledge of history, like his acquaintance with Political Economy, is infinitesimally small. The Roman Empire, at the time of its greatest national degradation, was at the head of the world's industrial enterprises. Its luxuries were enormous, and its morals were the lowest. It had no Religion, and so it perished off the face of the earth. "We should keep up the standard of living," said the President of the Protection Association. Why, that is the very thing we ought never to do. Trades unionism has been the curse of England, and has diverted capital to Belgium and America. Fair field, free trade, and no restrictions are the alpha and omega of manufacturing prosperity. We must have "the standard of living lowered," whatever quasi scientific sciolists say to the contrary. Oh! reiterates the President, "wherever you find the standard of living lowered, wherever you find people with small wages and poor houses, poor food, and indifferent clothing, you will always find a race degraded, and vice and immorality follow in *its* wake."

Is that the case in the Polar Regions, for example? Docs the President speak feelingly? Is he not aware that, in Church and State, "to be poor is to be pure," as Cardinal Manning once said.

J. G. S. Grant.

## [Price One Shilling.

### *Twenty-Five Years in Dunedin.*

DUnedin stands at the head of a small gulf, and is divided, both tergally and laterally, from the Suburban Municipalities, by a semicircular zone of very picturesque heights overhanging the city, and commanding a rich and varied view of the ocean, the peninsula, the bay, and the hills and dales—the mountains and valleys in and around Dunedin. Nature has lavishly spread out a most gorgeous panorama before the eyes of her children. An early habituation to the perception of beautiful landscapes cannot fail, in course of time, to train the minds of the future generation of men to as keen an appreciation of Nature's beauties as characterised the ancient Greeks in the height of their unequalled splendour and glory.

The heights overhanging the city are finely adapted for villas, and their inmates are every morning greeted with the cheering beams of Sol reflected from their windows, and they are more likely to rise from their couches with purer and loftier feelings than those experienced by such as drone away their existence amid noisome exhalations and dense fogs impervious to the gladdening rays of Phœbus. The morning is favourable for meditation, piety, devotion, and worship of the God of Nature. Begin the morning well, and you shall end the day well. The rising sun from the heights can be surveyed every morning with increasing delight.

The greatest men loved to greet the rising sun, and to watch his descent into the western main. Let me give a few touches of Homer's pen in describing the rising sun :—

Now, reddening in the dawn, the morning ray  
Glowed in the front of Heaven, and gave the day.  
The sacred sun, above the waters raised,  
Through Heaven's eternal brazen portals blazed,  
And wide o'er earth diffused his cheering ray,  
To gods and men to give the golden day.  
The saffron mom, with early blushes spread,  
Now rose refulgent from Tithonus' bed;  
With new-born day to gladden mortal sight,  
And gild the courts of Heaven with sacred light.  
Now fair Aurora lifts her golden ray,  
And all the ruddy Orient flames with day.  
Soon as Aurora, daughter of the dawn,  
Sprinkled with roseate light the dewy lawn,  
The Prince arose.

If men thus "with dawning light, rose instant from the slumbers of the night," and bent their ways to their offices in such a serene frame of mind, Paradise would be again restored even in Dunedin. The public taste would be educated, vice would die away, and virtue would again walk the earth in divine beauty.

As I advocated, sixteen years ago, so I repeat: let the Harbour Board reclaim the upper reaches of the Bay, by throwing a breakwater from Grant's Braes across to Logan's Point. That is the narrowest part of the Bay. At present they are only squandering away labour and money in their petty and foolish reclamations. Let them at once lay off a new city, with more spacious thoroughfares, and in more ambitious dimensions and geometric proportions, on this vast area of watery waste about to be transformed into a *terra firma* of streets, quays, and docks. Thus we shall have a Cosmopolitan Emporium of Commerce in a great basin flanked with picturesque hills, and which will be soon made to smile in beauty and prosperity as the chosen sites for the lordly mansions of the merchant princes of the New Zealand Venice. Nature intended Dunedin, not to occupy a second-rate, but, on the contrary, the highest position in the Southern Hemisphere.

Let my scheme be carried out, and the whole district of Anderson's Bay, beginning at Goat Hill and skirting the Bay, will be literally dotted over with clusters of villas embosomed in gardens, orchards and groves. In fact, both sides of the Bay will be transformed into pleasing habitations, and charming villages down to the entrance to the Bay. The Mart of Commerce will expand from the Water of Leith to the Pacific Ocean, and will present such an exhibition of the triumph of Man over Nature—of Art and Industry over difficulties, as will cause all the world to exclaim—on beholding the New City of Dunedin, with her princely streets, elegant mansions, spacious squares, capacious docks, masted harbour, and charming villas smiling down from the heights on the busy arena below—"What manner of men were these, and what a wonderful transformation is this!"

Dunedin, at present, has an area of 800 acres. A great proportion of this is extremely rocky, hilly, and shapeless. The ground might be cultivated by the labour of Art into fine sites for villas; but for the purposes of Commerce, it is eminently unsuitable. The streets are mere lanes. The expenses connected with their formation are positively fabulous.

Rome is said to be built upon seven hills. Those hills are mere tumuli compared to the Dunedin hills. This city is built on more than seventy hills, which, in Australia, would be called mountains. Dunedin is built in the form of a vast amphitheatre. The City Belt embraces 550 acres, extending from the Southern to the Northern Necropolis. By adopting my plan, 1,400 acres would be added to the dimensions of the city, or 50 acres more than the combined area of Old Dunedin and its Belt. The environing hills of the Bay, as already pointed out, would become literally covered over with residences, and adorned with gardens and groves—which would communicate with the Bay by means of serpentine walks fringed with various sorts of shrubbery. Thus the Otago Bay might surpass the Bay of Naples.

I have seen Dunedin transformed from a paltry village of wooden tents—containing 400 souls—into a fair city—with one hundred and sixty-three (163) suburban townships—embracing a population of 50,000 souls. It is now the Commercial Capital of New Zealand, and had my counsels prevailed, it should have been the political metropolis. I feel stirring within me an emotion similar to that which animated the bosom of Augustus Cæsar when he told the senate that he found Rome built of brick and that he left it constructed of marble.

I left Melbourne on the 10th of August, 1855, in the "Gil Blas." She made the passage to the Heads in eight days; but the wind being adverse, and the Captain timid, we had the pleasure of cruising along the coast for 14 days. On the 2nd September we anchored inside the Bay, and on the 3rd came in an open boat to Dunedin. In behalf of the passengers, of whom there were 59 in the steerage, and 8 including myself in the cabin, I penned an address to Captain Nicol. This was the first vessel that sailed from Melbourne to Dunedin, under charter for the Otago Government. I, too, came to Dunedin under an engagement with the Otago Government. In the Port Philip Club Hotel, in the presence of the Rev. William Millar, of Knox Church, Swanston-street, Melbourne, the Agent of the Otago Government himself, also a member of the Executive, induced me to go to Dunedin to initiate a College for the Province. I never heard of even the existence of Otago before that time. I had some half-dozen lucrative affairs in various regions of Australasia. But, hearing from the Honourable William Hunter Reynolds, that Otago was a Scotch settlement, and that Dunedin was called after Edinburgh, I yielded to his entreaties, backed up, as they were, with the remonstrances of my friend the Rev. William Millar—than whom a more honest man never crossed earth's central line—and set my face towards Southern New Zealand. During the voyage I gave lectures on Sabbath to all the passengers. During the day, I used to sit alone on the poop and weep copiously, as if conscious of the impending fate that hung over me. On September the 15th I made my first public appearance in Port Chalmers, the theme of my sermon being "The Instability of Human Nature"—as evidenced in the audacious denial, on the part of the Apostle Peter, of his best friend and Master in distress. On the 22nd I again visited that destitute township, grovelling in ignorance, amid the sublime scenery environing it, and I dilated on the Herculean prodigies performed by Samson. On the 29th September I embarked in my crusade against the ignorance of the Province. Thirty pupils of the *elite* of the Province were registered in the first High School Classical College established in Otago. Those were real—not sham students, such as disgrace the Otago University. On the 5th October I delivered the first Philosophical Lecture given in Dunedin, in the Mechanics' Institution, situated then on the site of the Cargill Fountain. The subject was "Conscience—Its Character and Design." It was, subsequently, published. At that time I was full of boyish hope and unbounded

ignorance of the world and the world's wicked ways. I knew not then, the depths of human deceit and depravity; nor did I dream that Conscience was a weathercock, veering with the varying winds of passion, avarice, and hypocrisy.

On the 21st October I preached, in the forenoon in Dr. Burns's Church, and in the afternoon gave the same sermon in Gaelic in the Mechanics' Institution, for the express benefit of the Highlanders, who had been for the previous seven years expatriated from their country and had not enjoyed an opportunity of hearing the wonderful works of God in their own vernacular tongue.

The attendance from all parts of Otago was good. "Mine eyes enlighten lest the sleep of Death me overtake"—formed the substratum of the first Gaelic sermon delivered in Otago.

On the 28th I again personally officiated in Port Chalmers Church.

On Nov. 4th I delivered a sermon in the Scotch Church, Dunedin, on "The Crucifixion of the Messiah." That was a magnificent example of what every great and good reformer may expect at the hands of a world wallowing in sensuality.

On the 11th November I rode through the North East Valley, across the woody ridge at its head, to Port Chalmers, accompanied by Alexander Chalmers, Esq., of Chalmers town, landed at 1 p.m., and at 2 p.m. delivered a sermon on "The Agony of the Saviour in Gethsemane." There the absorption of the human into the Divine will was very remarkable; as, also, the joyful abnegation of self, and the glorious consciousness of a divine heroism and sacrifice. I felt a sublime elevation of spirits as I passed along through Nature's plantations and listened to the warblers of the wood, and feasted my eyes on the picture siveness of the scenery.

On my way homeward, I delivered a sermon at 6 p.m., in a house which then occupied the present site of the Esk Bank Nursery, N. E. Valley. My theme was "The Works of Darkness and the Armour of Light."—Romans xiii., 12. Report says, that this passage was the means of rousing St. Augustine from the lethargy of sensuality and of firing his soul with divine enthusiasm. The night of human ignorance, despotism, and slavery is, indeed, far spent, and the dawn of knowledge—of civil and religious liberty, and of the Golden age is visible in the heroism. Let us cast away the foolish notions and contemptible fooleries of the past, and let us drink of the divine nectar of God, and assert the dignity of man, and contribute to the advancement of the Millennial glory of human nature. Since the days of Paul, no man did more for his fellow-creatures than Augustine. His writings have been a perennial fountain of beauty, piety, and delight to many millions of men and women. In the North East Valley there are now twenty townships—to wit—Ferguslee—Dud-dingstone—Calton—St. John's Wood—May bank—Selwyn—Ascott Vale—Sunnydale—Dalkeith—Kelvin Grove—Morton—Norman by—Maple Hill—Opoho—Churchville—Hawthorne—Broadacres—Wood-lands—EchoBank—Bonally.

On Sabbath, 18th Nov., at 6 p.m., I delivered an oration on the Apostle Paul. In the forenoon, I rode out to Green Island and delivered in an old school-room, a sermon on "the Christian Life a warfare upon Earth." The Apostle nobly asserts that his labours are not to be regarded as barren, but pregnant with mighty results—to wit, the downfall of Idolatry and the Christianising of the world.

On the 25th Bishop Selwyn preached at Port Chalmers. The Bishop was the greatest missionary of the age. He visited the several townships of New Zealand, and extended his labours to many of the Polynesian Isles. He was a good scholar, and an excellent pedestrian.

On the 25th, I rode out to the East Taieri to preach a sermon in the Church—on "Christ the true Model of Moral Beauty." On that occasion, I had to contend with bigotry, malice, and envy. The Rev. Mr. Will, though absent that day himself, was courteous enough to take the key in his pocket, so I lost my journey. But, being assured by some of his parishioners, who came that day, to explain the matter to me, that he had told his hearers that I preached heresy, and that there would be no service that day; and being, also, assured that the people wished to hear and judge for themselves, I made arrangements with Mr. Hastie—whose farm stood hard by the church—to have the use of his barn next Sabbath, I rode across the ranges by the Halfway Bush, and partially strayed from my path, but in being directed at Silver Stream, I managed by hard galloping, to be at Hastie's Barn about half-an-hour after the time prescribed. This stirred up the bile of the godly minister, and it proved the first rupture between the Church and myself.

"Fear thou not, for I am with thee"—came forcibly that day on my mind, and fortified my drooping heart. I preached a sermon on "Elymas the Sorcerer." There are now several townships on Taieri Plain—The Junction—Riccarton—Mosgiel—Greytown—Outram, &c.

On the 2nd December, at noon, I delivered a sermon on Paul, in Green Island School. In this district there are now seven townships—to wit, Abbotsford, Burnside, Green Island, Brighton, Rosebank, Saddle Hill, Abbotshill. At 6 p.m., I delivered a sermon in Mr. Todd's Barn, Anderson's Bay. This was the first sermon delivered in that district. Mr. Robert Lowe now occupies that beautiful farm on the Sunny Knoll overhanging the blue Pacific Ocean. In that district there are now twenty townships—to wit, Grantown—Shiel Hill—Vauxhall—Silver Acres—Grant's Braes—Portobello—Lamlash—Early Bank—Seaton—Broad

Bay—Anderson's Bay—Dunoon—Grassy Point—Burn Hill—Everton—Craigleith—Helensburgh—Newbury—Beaconsfield—Oban.

On the 9th December, I delivered sermons in the East Taieri Church, and also in the N. E. Valley. On the 21st I closed the session, openly at war with the Government and the Church. The session was re-opened on January 2nd. On the 13th I re-delivered, in Dunedin, a sermon on Elymas the Sorcerer. There are many such characters clothed in the robes of assumed holiness—men who make gain of religion and merchandise of the human soul. On the 17th February, in the Dunedin Academy, I lectured on "the Malignity of the Human Heart." On the 22nd I preached in the same place, on "Priestcraft—its sable character and poisonous influences." On the 3rd March I lectured in the Academy, on "Moral Greatness." Such a man, as Paul, comes only once in a thousand years. Self and self-seeking find no place in him. He is content to be the off scouring of the world for its good.

"The Divine Prerogative of God's instruments" formed the basis of the sermon in the Academy on the 10th March. The saints of God have felt the truth of this, in all ages, and under the most excruciating tortures. They have been able to tread on serpents and scorpions, to pass through the fires of persecution unscathed, and, in the teeth of human authorities, to proclaim fearlessly and successfully the idea within them. In the same place, on the 17th, I gave a sermon on "the overwhelming presence of the Deity." The continual sense of the Divine presence hovering over our spirits would convert this world into a blooming garden of roses. Nature would be the boards of our temple and the bending heavens its sublime dome. Everything would be vocal with the music of praise, gladness, and ecstasy. On the 24th I gave an oration on "the ceaseless aspirations of the Spirit after true felicity." The misery of man is the effect of his greatness. Everything here warns him that this is not his rest. He is an exile and a wanderer from the Divine mansions; his mind cannot be filled with the beggarly husks of this world. Immensity and eternity are the native elements of his desires. He would search the ocean and explore the stars and take the throne of the Invisible by storm. He is a god, and owing to this frail tenement of clay, he is also a worm. Hence his misery. I again, on the 31st March, lectured in the Academy on "the fires of a guilty mind." This worm and this fire represent the gnawings of conscience.

During the first session of the School, I daily at 3 p.m. took a walk up to the Halfway Bush, reading as I went. Then, the country was a wilderness—only some half-dozen settlers residing at the Wakari—Messrs. Hepburn, Marshall, Gillies, Hood, and Chalmers. Now, there are in that district thirty-five townships—to wit—Newington, Dunottar, Nevada, Melrose, Selkirk, Tainville, Roslyn, Sun-nyside, Linden, Bishopscourt, Anderston, Broughton, Lome, Brook-ville, Kirkland Hill, Kaikorai, Roslyn Extension, Hawthorndale, Hapuka, St. Leonards-on-the-Hill, Forbes Town, Wakari, Auburn, Grendon, Maori Hill, Murrayville, Williamston, Woodhaugh, Balmoral, Woodend, Glenleith, Plevna, Abbotshill, Corporationville.

In the Rev. Mr. Hood's Villa, I held weekly services, and once on a Sabbath, delivered a sermon in Mr. Marshall's Barn.

Generally, on Saturday, I rode out to Caversham and the Forbury—where I lunched with the Rev. Mr. Jeffrey—some time Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge. Then cantered along the Ocean Beach, for three miles to the Sandhills beneath Anderson's Bay, and returned home by the margin of the Bay. In this district, there have sprung up thirty-three townships—to wit—Kensington, Caledonian Leaseholds, South Dunedin Extension, Hillside, South Kensington, Caversham East, Caversham Rise, Kyneton, Mitchelton, Darley, Calderville, St. Andrew's Extension, Kew, Allendale, St. Clair, St. Andrews, St. Andrews West, Caversham, Sydney, Hampstead, Caversham Extension, Rockyside, Musselburgh, St. Kilda, South Dunedin, Forbury, Forbury Extension, Mount Pleasant, Maryhill, Forbury Cove, Eastbourne, Fitzroy, Forbury Park.

Occasionally, I paid flying visits to the residence of Messrs. Reynolds and Macandrew. The former resided on the site whereon is now built the elegant Villa of Mr. Neil, while the latter occupied Carisbrook House in the Glen—where Mr. Bathgate lives. In this quarter there are now sixteen townships—to wit—Hawthorn Hill, Richmond Hill, Primrose Hill, Mornington, West Dunedin, Eglinton, Barrfield, Fullrood, Williamsburg, Balaklava, Maryhill, The Glen, Richmond Hill Extension, Auchmedden, Corporation township, Carisbrook.

Along the west coast of the Harbour, there have sprung up twenty-six townships—to wit—Ravensbourne, Rothesay, Hastings, Burke's, St. Leonard's, Heme Bay, Roseneath, Glendernid, Sawyer's Bay, Dalkeith, Port Chalmers, Deborah Bay, Blairathole, Purakanui, Evansdale, Osborne, Killarney, Mansford, Merchieston, Bay View, Rocky Point, Reynolds, Inellan, Greenwich Park, Margate, Maple Point. These are pre-eminently marine villages. The view is limited. But, ascending Walker, Stafford, High, and Maclaggan Streets, to the City Belt, the panorama is extensive, sublime, and picturesque. The view, as you walk from the Southern Cemetery, either within or without the Belt, along the hills and ridges to the Water of Leith, and through the Botanical Gardens to the Northern Cemetery—is, perhaps, the richest, and rarest in the Southern Hemisphere. In the words of Heber—"Every prospect pleaseth." Descending, for example, from Roslyn, as you enter the Gorge above the Old Cemetery, Dunedin North, is seen reposing in sylvan beauty beneath your feet, and embowered amid the hills. Again, descending from Maori Hill to the Water of Leith, what a charming panorama is descried beneath

your admiring eyes! It matters not, indeed, from what point you take your observation, the landscape everywhere is simply grand. As the ancient Greek said—"A thing of beauty is a joy for ever." The prospect never palls. The eye is not satisfied with seeing it.

Take a seat on the green and sloping heights behind and above Maitland Street—with Dunedin on to the Leith in your eye and the Bay and surrounding hills in view before you, while South Dunedin and the Ocean lie on the right, and Flagstaff on the left rising far behind and above Roslyn on the left and Mount Cargill in front towering above North Dunedin—and you have, indeed, one of the finest landscapes in the world to feast your imagination with. Physically, Dunedin is highly favoured. But, what avails all this when its citizens are revelling in ignorance and glorying in ribaldry, roguery, and blasphemy? In the heart of the city, on a Sabbath evening, crowds flock to applaud strolling atheists of both sexes while they make a vulgar jest-book of the Bible, and laugh at God and religion and poison the fountains of moral purity. At the Water of Leith, Materialism rears its hideous head, and fattens on the public spoils of the State. The London University, this year, refuses to act as examiners of such crude crotchets. Perhaps, the Edinburgh University will *again*, as in the case of the High School, do a dirty action to bolster up iniquity by a law, and to throw a false glamour over a nefarious transaction. I can assure Principal Sir Alexander Grant and his Professorial Colleagues that my voice will reach back "across the Pacific and settle in old Dunedin" and cause their conduct to recoil upon their own heads—and upon the hitherto fair fame of the Institution over which they, at present, unhappily preside. They had nothing to do in the quarrel, and to bring the prestige of an old Seat of Learning to bear upon the question, and to crush me in the dust, is a course of action of such a unique character as cannot fail to bring them into contempt before an important British Tribunal.

Daily, Beattie's lines well up from my heart to my lips, as I walk along this enchanted land—

Oh how canst thou renounce the boundless store  
Of charms which Nature to her votary yields;  
The warbling woodland, the resounding shore,  
The pomp of groves, and garniture of fields;  
All that the genial ray of morning gilds,  
And all that echoes to the song of even;  
All that the mountain's sheltering bosom shields,  
And all the dread magnificence of heaven—  
Oh how canst thou renounce, and hope to be forgiven?

On the site where they are erecting the Bank of New Zealand, stood a wooden shanty called the Royal Hotel, owned by George Smith, who is still alive. Here I passed the first night in Dunedin. All the buildings in Dunedin then did not cost as much as the Bank will cost ere it be finished. Everything was primitive—and Nature was smiling. For the first three months I lodged in Mr. John Hill's house at the foot of the hill, in front of which is now built a continuous line of shops extending from Princes-street to the Shamrock Hotel. There were then only six huts in Rattray-street, and only one in Maclaggan-street, and not more than 12 shops in Princes-street. Opposite Kirkpatrick's buildings there stood two upright posts over a rustic footbridge that spanned a stream of water that ran into the Bay where the Colonial Bank now stands. All north of the cutting was literally a marsh. As I ascended the neck of land connecting Bell Hill with the heights on the other side of Princes-street, my eye rested on the dome of Mount Cargill, wreathed in fleecy robes of white mist, and my soul caught inspiration at the view. I lodged nearly a year in Mr. Matthews's nursery—and read and wrote continuously—in perpetual view of the finest scenery I ever beheld.

The second Hector of the High School landed in 1856—and on the 10th January, 1857, I started on a grand tour of New Zealand. The night before I left I rode out to the Leith Valley to pass an evening with Edward McGlashan. I had to lead my pony cautiously along the base of the ridges to the west of George-street. Almost all the flat was a quagmire.

The great aim set before me was to establish in each Provincial capital a High School, Grammar School, Gymnasium, or Academy, as Nurseries for a Colonial University—not affiliated colleges—as at present—and a sham University. All my labours were purely disinterested—and, in place of looking after public affairs and fighting other people's battles, had I attended to my own personal aggrandisement, I should, to-day, be the real proprietor of half Dunedin, and nearly all her suburban townships. The bursting open of the gold-fields—not the enterprise of the settlers—set Dunedin ahead of all her Provincial sisters.

Before leaving Dunedin, I left in the hands of my landlord—Mr. George Matthews, a caustic letter on the Old Cemetery. It was published in the *Witness*—and it caused the Government to erect a blue-stone wall around God's Acre. Curious enough, 23 years after a similar letter from my pen stirred up the Corporation to

re-construct and adorn that plot of ground—as it stands at present, at the head of York Place. Indeed, every spot of ground in and around Dunedin has been trodden by my footsteps, and described with my pen. Neither Dunedin, nor, perhaps, any other city, is ever likely to see another man of my stamp. I hope, devoutly and sincerely, that Almighty God will never send forth another man of genius to be slowly murdered for the utterance of the very truth most pure. Genius is too sacred a treasure, and too costly a gift, to be the scorn of fools and the victim of an avaricious world. It is not, however, my business to arraign the dispensations of God's good providence. I have lived many happy days, and enjoyed countless blessed walks in and about Dunedin. I have drunk inspiration from the breezes that swept over the heights of this beautiful city. And I am disposed to say—"Happy art thou, oh Dunedin, a city favoured by the Lord."

In 1980, on the unveiling of my Statue in Dunedin, the spectators will be heard singing somewhat after this fashion—

"The wonders great, which, thou, O Grant!  
Wrought'st in New Zealand's land;  
Our Fathers, though they saw, yet them  
They did not understand."

*J. G. S. Grant,*

First Rector of High School of Otago, Dunedin, and Founder of the Eight Hours' System of Labour.

*Dunedin,*

*Sept. 7, 1880.*

COULLS & CULLING, Printers and Stationers, Rattray-st., Dunedin.

## Evolution

### ***The Blackest form of Materialism.***

Price 6d.

The darkest phase of Atheism is materialism, and *the blackest form of materialism*, is *Evolution*. When Rome was tottering to its fall, and when the heart of that mighty empire became corrupted, then Lucretius, nearly two thousand years ago, promulgated the damnable doctrine of materialism. He dressed up afresh the old tenets of Epicurus. It is a great mistake to imagine that modern materialism is a new creed. No. It is as old as the hills. It flourished in pagan Athens and Rome, when these began to decay. It is, indeed, the last stage of national degradation. But both Epicurus and his disciple Lucretius were pre-eminently men of genius and of taste and refinement. They tell us, with all the graces of rhetoric, how all things sprung into existence, without the creative hand of Deity. We are told that "At once the lion and the worm sprung from the teeming earth." I am not, indeed, sure but they would attribute a sort of higher generation to man; albeit they would not acknowledge, in the creation of Nature's chief work, a supernatural agency. Nor would they agree with the Poet when he sings:—

"Then, chief o'er all his works below,  
At last was Adam made;  
His Maker's image bless'd his soul,  
And glory crown'd his head."

Nevertheless, their conceptions were as superior to the crude crochets of modern materialists, as the Sun is to a farthing candle. The reveries of Darwin, Huxley, Tyndal and Bain, are simply coarse distillations of the spirit of Epicureanism. They have nothing original in their compositions. They lack the talent—not to speak of genius—to dress up old ideas in a new fashion. Their imaginations are as dull as lead, and their intellects are as

fat as grease, and dull as the clods, whence they draw their inspiration. Their minds are of the earth, earthy, and their aims—if they can be said to have any—are mean, vicious and contemptible. Their doctrines are debasing and demoralising. It is a pig's creed. Eat, drink, laugh and die. William Hurrell Mallock has written a very remarkable book on this question, to wit, "Is life worth living?" Upon the principles of Huxley, Tyndal, Clifford, Darwin, &c., he clearly asserts that life is not worth living. Such men—if men they ought to be called—altogether discard the immaterial, spiritual and moral nature of man, and take away his religious faith and leave him without any moral guidance. They deprive him of the superintending Providence of a personal God. They cast him adrift upon the stormy ocean of chaos without a compass, and without a helm, to guide his frail vessel. He is the port of circumstances—the creation of a fortuitous concourse of atoms. Like a mote in the sunbeams he dances away for a moment, and disappears again for ever. When he sits down, in his banquetting hall, to partake of a feast, he should, like the ancient Egyptians, place a human skull on the centre of the board, labelled with this inscription—"vain as vanity are we." Oh, it is a dreary, cheerless and forlorn creed! Without God and without hope, either here or here- after! Man, in such a plight, is worse off than a dumb brute. He may sing, as he crawls, like a snail, to his work, or moves along in the dark, like a bat, some such ghastly song as the following lines—

"Still, still pursues where'er I be,  
The blight of life, the demon thought."

Man, under such circumstances, is cursed with visions and haunted with dreams, which he is destined never to see realised. "Each kindred brute might bid him blush for shame." And—as Carlyle would say—this is what we have come to in Dunedin. The works of Darwin, Huxley and Bain are the accredited text-books in our University-College. These hooks are bristling all over with grammatical inaccuracies, and gratuitous assertions of atheistic dogmas of the most insulting and revolting character.

Our new professor of "English language and Literature, constitutional history and Political economy," takes Bain's *English composition*, as his text-book—a work replete with bad grammar and objectionable thought. Creasy's *Constitutional History*—save the mark! is the text-book for that branch of knowledge. Bain and Creasy are models, in their own peculiar way. The one bristles all over with grammatical blunders, and the other narrows *Constitutional History* to the smallest possible circumference—so much so, indeed, that one might commit his vulgar principles to memory and be as ignorant of the compass of *Constitutional History*, as an infant who had just learned the alphabet, or a Darwinian man just emerged from the ape species. The origin of species, as promulgated by Darwin, and reechoed by Parker, in his inaugural lecture, and taught, nightly, to some of the storekeepers and clerks of Dunedin, gives the lie direct to the Bible, and cuts the throat of Christianity. The very Professor established by the Presbyterian Synod for the inculcation of Moral Philosophy has been all along inculcating to some half-dozen students the odious doctrine of materialism, according to Bain's text-book—mental science—or gross materialism; for, the spirit does not survive the destruction of the material organism. According to this school of Infidelity a disembodied spirit is "unthinkable."

The Inaugural lecture delivered this year at the opening of on local college, is simply "derived from Professor Huxley's by a natural process of descent with modification." Huxley's book on "the common sea crayfish" is our Professor's curious text-book. The coarse exposition of a bare-faced infidelity is only equalled by the wretchedly inelegant and ungrammatical language in which it is couched. Materialism not only robs man of his faith but it, also, destroys his grammar. This science—"falsely so called"—is only, to use Parker's own words—"a useful enough refuge for the stupid, the lazy, and the eccentric, but something quite beneath the notice of a man with a fair share of intellect, and diligence," and common-sense. Huxley's "General Biology"—on which our Professor, as an imitative follower, is to base his course of lectures, is the darkest and baldest phase of atheism the world has ever yet seen. When men grope in the sties of materialism, their Gospel of dirt is not likely to be impregnated with mental culture, or grammatical excellence.

"Science teaching"—"The whole *end* and *aim* of science teaching *is*"—"By *this* means"—&c.—These, and similar phrases may be quite correct, according to every science teacher, as far as *university* education is concerned—but, a classical and cultured scholar rejects them as the products of a barbarous disciple of materialism. Darwin's "origin of species" conflicts with the Divine doctrine of the descent of man. It makes Revelation a huge lie, and Redemption a mockery and imposture. To use our Professor's words—"the all-embracing law of Evolution makes belief in the theory of special creation once for all impossible to the student of Nature"—as interpreted by Darwin, Huxley, and the whole tribe of *antiquated* materialists; for, all really intelligent philosophers and all men of common sense have abandoned the bare consideration of such a ridiculous and arbitrary hypothesis. They believe, Parker's vulgar assertion notwithstanding, "in the immutability of species." We, however, could, but will not, point out a very near resemblance to the living link

connecting the irrational and the rational species. Were this doctrine of evolution true, then, indeed, man would feel "that his most cherished beliefs must be cast aside as no longer tenable."

Parker must surely have calculated on the great gullibility of his "fashionable audience," when he gratuitously, and falsely asserted "that there is now not a single naturalist of any repute, under the age of sixty, who is not also an evolutionist," and that "intelligent opposition to the general doctrine of transformation is practically dead."

Now—the real fact is that all really intelligent and devout minds have abandoned the antiquated jargon of evolution, and laugh to scorn all its insane upholders. During their convivial hours of entertainment, when the crimson bubbles are on the brink of their goblets and their brains are excited with the vapours of wine, they enliven the board with evanescent ebullitions of mirth and ribaldry, fashioned after the soul-destroying—man-degrading and God-dishonouring doctrines of evolution. So much for Professor Parker's "honored master Professor Huxley and his co-worker Dr. Michael Foster." and the whole brood of vampire bats that attempt to suck the blood of religion and culture out of the veins of the sinful sons of men.

The greatest man of Great Britain, Thomas Carlyle, who died recently, could not stomach Darwin's Book on the *origin of species*. It—said the sage—"is only wonderful to me as indicating the capricious stupidity of mankind. Never could read a page of it or waste the least thought upon it."

The teachers of Evolution—like our own Professors—as a correspondent in the Otago Daily Times justly says—"Instead of reverently inquiring after the unknown, make all sorts of wild statements unsupported by a single fact."

Ten years ago, when the Otago University was inaugurated, I raised my protest against the beastly materialism uttered upon that occasion under the name of Moral Philosophy. Since that day, I never ceased to warn the people against the infatuated course pursued in the management of the university, in the course of study adopted, and in the selection of professors. Long before the last two professors landed, I predicted their character and calibre. I had, single handed, to fight against the current, but, fortified by truth and a good conscience, I persevered and prevailed. The extent of the mischief done has not yet been fully apprehended. Indeed, my attitude towards the University was similar to my conduct towards the Vogelian scheme of spoliation, and, at last, in both cases, one man was found to have been exactly correct in his anticipations, and the whole colony at sea. We have spent £100,000 on our school of Materialism, and we have in return' 5 graduates, and this year only 5 matriculated students. Considering the character of the instruction imparted, we ought to rejoice at this meagre attendance. We ought, also, to be grateful that our professors have not the talents to subvert the foundations of our faith. Lest, however, I should be deemed inimicable to that Institution, let a Christian student—who sends a letter to the Daily Times, recording his experiences—speak out his mind on this question :—"What in the world are we coming to when a rev. doctor and other professed Christian ministers sit and hear a professor of evolution deny in the plainest terms the first, and, in fact, the foundation truths of the Bible? If what Mr. Parker says is true, then the rev. doctor at the head of the atheistic school has been preaching falsehood all his life. Professor Parker says that the doctrine of direct creation is perfectly unthink- able. This I hold to be an impudent falsehood, denied by the best and brightest intelligences both of the dead and living. If this man who has been swallowing Huxley and Darwin's theories, thinks he can kill our faith in the Bible he is much mistaken. It is a pity that our pampered college, with its hundreds of thousands of acres of endowments, should be under the necessity of hiring sceptical professors to destroy our faith. It is high time for Christians to awake to the fact that our College is likely to become a nursery of scientific Freethought. Even now the Bible and the name of God are banished from it, and the fact remains that we are spending thousands a year to teach a few students that the Bible is no longer necessary as a part of man's education." Who this Christian student is, I neither know, nor care to know. I should like to know if any student who had intended to enter the Church—has abandoned the idea—foolishly enough—through the teaching given from the materialistic chair supported by the Presbyterian Synod?

This student animadverts upon the anomalous position occupied by the Chancellor. We believe that he is too honest a man to occupy such a peculiar position, if he really apprehended the drift of evolution. But, we are prepared to go a step further than this student, and to assert that Evolution does not only subvert "the foundation truths of the Bible," and, consequently, of the Christian religion, but it also overturns every conceivable form of religion. Even morality is inconceivable under its pernicious auspices. Of Materialism Carlyle says, that the frying-pan—not the censor—is the symbol of its devotion. And viewed in this light, we need not wonder at the mercenary motives that animate the actions, as well as the doctrines, of the *Dramatis personæ* of the Dunedin den of dark materialism. Christ's canon is applicable to them, as well as to others—"By their fruits ye shall know them."

We never expected any good at their hands, and so we are not disappointed. We always admired Dr. Arnold's attitude of defiance towards the London University. The Head master of Rugby would have nothing to do with an Institution that ignored, albeit it did not sneer at religion. His contention was sound and

unassailable—to wit, "Education without Christianity is incomplete."

The Christian Record denounces Parker's Evolution thus :—"The doctrine which he puts forth, besides being utterly unproved, is directly antagonistic to true morality, and runs counter to the religion of the Bible. Proof of this statement is scarcely necessary. If man is merely the product of development from a lower type of animal, and that from a still lower, and finally from "primordial slime," he can have no free-will, no responsibility, and no morality. The Bible must be a mere fable, unworthy of belief on the part of the student of nature, or of any intelligent man.

Although we are not disappointed at the absolute failure of our university, yet we are, in common with a writer in the Morning Herald, amazed at "the wretched *gorilla damnification of humanity*," exhibited in the inaugural address. Professor Parker's "oracular utterances on the special creation theory are the outcome seemingly of his profound study of the crayfish; and it must be consoling to think that the vacuity left in the minds of the students by the recession of the theologic tide will be amply compensated for by the study of the anatomical structure of the common barn-door fowl. Fancy, the sublimation of student intellect reached by examining the entrails of cocks and hens!"

Verily, we are progressing in our education. In Pagan Rome, there was a College of Augurs for the inspection of the entrails of the sacred chickens and other dumb animals, with a view to learn the mind of the gods regarding sublunary affairs. But this was done, at Rome, in the interests of religion, and not, as in Dunedin, to subvert the very foundations of all religion.

J. G. S. Grant.

## [Price One Shilling.]

### ***The Second Reformation.***

*"Stands Scotland where it did!"*

The very Reverend Principal Caird of the Glasgow University and twelve ministers of the Scottish Church have issued a volume of sermons of a very unique character indeed. Macmillan is the publisher of these "Scottish Sermons." They mark a new era in the history of the Church. They are exceedingly iconoclastic in character. They are a strange mixture of German rationalism and Scotch metaphysics. They are, however, written in a reverential style, and they appear to be the productions of conscientious men who really desire to forward the Cause of the Church and to reconcile the Religion of Christ with the Science of the Age. Not by accident, but by set purpose, have these twenty-three sermons been bound up together within the two boards of a bulky volume. They are evidently intended to be feelers of the spiritual pulse of the Scottish nation.

The miraculous and supernatural elements of the Bible are carefully hidden out of sight, if not, indeed, relegated to oblivion. In short, these sermons are simply moral and philosophical essays, with quotations from scripture, as sops to Cerberus. This mode of preaching is a complete change of front towards the materialistic spirit of these times.

If the Scottish Church tolerates these men within her borders, then she ought forthwith to burn the Confession of Faith and turn her pulpits into lecture desks for the periodical inculcation of moral essays for the people.

All the dogmas characteristic of Christianity since the days of the Apostles are most unceremoniously thrown overboard. The Scottish mind is intensely logical, and when it discovers any flaws in the edifice of its faith, it will pull down the fabric with ruthless zeal and ferocious vengeance.

The Reformation of the sixteenth century was a protest against the Church by the conscience and reason of man. Its corruptions and arbitrary commands—not the tenets of the faith—were what offended the true votaries of Christianity. Now, however, the Conscience and Reason of humanity rise up in tumultuous defiance against Catholic and Protestant dogmas alike. The Rev. Mr Macfarlane of Lenzie in his sermons ignores the ultimate authority of the Bible, as well as that of the Church. The court of final appeal lies in the breast. This is Athenian wisdom, but not the Gospel that began to be preached at Jerusalem. Christianity, in the last results, is simply benevolence and beneficence. All who labour to do good, from disinterested motives are, according to the Rev Mr Menzies of Abernethy, Perthshire, the real successors of the Great Physician of soul and body. The Christian Priesthood is not a caste, but the whole body of true believers. Every man is a living temple of the Holy Spirit. It is profane to allow any mediator to step in between God and the soul.

Religion, according to Mr Nicoll of Murroes, Forfarshire, is the cement of society, and prevents a highly

artificial civilisation from becoming pulverised. The tendency of castes, institutions and associations is to disintegrate society—but the grand organisation of the Church of Christ unites all men in the bond of true fellowship and love. Hence the supreme value of public worship—where all men meet on a footing of absolute equality before the Divine altar of adoration. "No other bond within the ken of human knowledge can long hold men together. The mere social instinct in man, if it unites men at first, ultimately breaks up society into sections and separates man from man. Take religion out of human affairs, and leave men to the ordinary play of natural forces, and then, however closely men may adhere to each other for a time, their disunion comes sooner or later, and their unsubstantial brotherhood is broken up and dissolved."

The Rev. Mr. Mackintosh of Buchanan gives us sermons on "the law of moral continuity," and on "the renovating power of Christianity." They are purely philosophical emanations of the scientific spirit of the Age. The idea of a vagrant spirit wandering about, like the ghosts on the banks of the Styx, without any settled place of abode, and carrying along with it the vices and virtues contracted on earth, and always advancing, and always expiating its past offences, ever approaching, but never coming into the actual presence of God—carrying along with it its own heaven and its own hell—these notions are simply concessions and compromises to the atheistic spirit of the latter half of this nineteenth century. It is beneath—ininitely beneath—the tone of the schools of Ancient Greek *Philosophy*.

According to this theology, Heaven and Hell, and a Day of Judgment have passed away, and left behind them a universal blank in creation. The paraphrases of the Scottish Church, in many instances, have no point or meaning here. The assembled world shall not all stand before the Son as judge. The judgment goes on eternally in the spirit's own experience, and the poetry of a Final Assizes must be abandoned as a dream of the morning. So, also, must a personal God and a personal devil. "By the operation of this law of recompense, or of continuous development, God rewards men impartially, and a righteous judgment is passed upon all men. It is by this all-embracing order that God trains and judges the rational creation."

Other rewards and punishments there are none. "The judgment of God upon human action is immanent in the action itself." This is an attempt to carry the natural law of continuity into the moral and religious sphere. The preacher fails to see the hollowness of such a false analogy.

Divine grace has no meaning here: for, "the renovating power of Christianity" is simply an inherent power in the soul of man "to cease to do evil and learn to do well." The power of conversion from sin to holiness, from vice to virtue, lies within the compass of man's own ability. The Apostolic doctrine of grace is a figment of a false theology. The Atonement of Christ is only a figure of speech. There is really no forgiveness for sins, till we shall have expiated the full amount of our sins, by our penal sufferings. Vicarious suffering finds no place in this Neology. God is graciously pleased to see us casting off our evil ways and habits, and becoming new and pure creatures. "There is a curative and reparative power by which evil is transmuted, defects remedied, and new openings made to good. The Reformation was a protest against the degradation of Christianity. Luther broke with Rome solely because it had lost its power to lift the life of man; because it trafficked with souls, and sanctioned all enormities. He made no attempt to create a new theology. But the second Reformation will start with a more sweeping principle, and proceed more thoroughly to work, for it will not only discard whatever of the popular creed is hostile to the higher life, but it will be a protest against making any faith or dogma, which is not necessary for the lifting of human life, a condition of salvation. Popular Christianity is a figure or an allegory of the absolute truth which is enshrined in it." This may be a species of philosophy, or a jargon of science, but it is not the religion of the Gospels.

The purport of Professor Knight's sermons is that religion is a permanent element of humanity—but Theology is simply the evanescent vesture of that element. The religious element continually endures—the exposition of it is ever changing. Theologies shall perish—but religion shall continually endure—They shall wax old as a garment—as a vesture they shall be changed—but Religion is the same and its years shall have no end.

According to the Rev. Mr Ferguson of Strath blane, the vision of God is simply the manifestation of Christ. He is the Divine Ideal—the transcript of the character of God. "Our common human nature is the most perfect revelation of God."

The vision of God must always be spiritual—never material or corporeal. God incarnate is simply virtue or religion exemplified in human nature. Deity—as such—transcends the grasp of finite intelligence. "Justice, mercy and righteousness are counterparts of justice, mercy and righteousness as they are in God. The Divine goodness differs from what approves itself to us as goodness, not in kind but in degree : 'His ways are higher than our ways, and His thoughts than our thoughts.' To the limit of its power, the soul of man is a faithful witness for God. The life which is governed by loyalty to truth and righteousness is in reality one with him, the dwelling place of his spirit, his continual revelation." The Rev. Mr Ferguson here re-echoes the doctrine of Professor Ferrier, of the Ger-man Neologians, and, above all, of the great master of Athenian wisdom, even Plato, who flourished four centuries before Christ. "God's chosen dwelling is the humble contrite spirit: the pure

in heart, and they alone, can see him." Christ pre-eminently, and the sages of every nation in general give us reflections of the Divine nature. "The purity of Christ appeals to us," and our hearts respond to it. This is the test of its truth, beauty, and divinity.

Miracle is not the test of truth—but "the best witness to revelation and its truth is to be found in our own consciousness, in its acknowledged power to satisfy the wants and to develop the capacities of the soul."

Christianity is spiritually discerned. Christ "excludes the appeal to outward tests of revelation, and refers us to a spiritual standard. The life of Christ and the power of his spirit over man are the great and the enduring miracles of divine revelation." Miracles, therefore, must be thrown overboard. If retained at all, they must be regarded as figurative, or metaphorical emblems of spiritual operations—*e.g.* casting out devils may mean the casting down of proud looks, and ejecting evil passions. Christianity is a religion of love—pure and unselfish. Jesus is the incarnation of goodness. We, therefore, love him for his own sake. The mysticism of the pure love of God as an abstraction is too metaphysical for man. He requires to see love in a concrete form for his solid apprehension. Christ is the corner stone of a Divine society—and the love of the Chief descends to every member of the family. Christ has made known the moral character of God—not his essence and infinitude; for "our nature is incapable of such a manifestation." He reveals to us, relatively, the character of God—but "the absolute—the unconditioned—the Great Being who inhabits eternity and fills all space with his presence, our feeble intellect cannot grasp." We cannot by searching find out God. Eternity here will not avail us to attain to this knowledge. Jesus, in short, according to Rev. Mr Cunningham of Crief is the Divine Ideal model of Humanity. Will society accept him as such? Can Divinity itself reconcile men to a life of pure mendicancy? In any city of Christendom, such a model would be scouted with scorn, and consigned over to a dungeon. Divested of the halo with which popular Christianity has surrounded him, he would, after his day's toil, like Socrates after his labours in the streets of Athens, be treated by his friends as Xantippe served her husband, by having a vessel of dishonour poured out about his shoulders. As a mere man, divested of godhead, Jesus presents a unique spectacle in history. He stood on his real manhood. He despised the pomp and vanities, the aims and ends of the world. He despised wealth, power, and authority; vulgar ambition had no attractions for him. He stood forth in the fields, and in the cities of Palestine, and proclaimed himself a king of a moral and spiritual kingdom which should, eventually, embrace all ranks and conditions of men in one common brotherhood, under the paternal government of God Almighty. Principal Caird's sermons partake largely of the spirit of the scientific jargon of the age. His "corporate immortality" practically absorbs individualism. He is misled by the false analogy drawn between the place of a stone in an edifice, and man's position in society. Between an animate and in-animate organism there can be no rational similitude. The stone, however polished, does not fulfil its end, but is valueless until it has attained its place in the structure. The building is more glorious than it. But institutions are only the shadows of really great men. Conversely, man is above all institutions. He is of more value than they. Individual life of the right type and heroic mould is more glorious than the national life.

Dr. Caird's "Union with God" is a philosophical rhapsody. We may say of it, what Cicero said of Plato's immortality of the soul. It is enchanting while we read it, but when we close the book and go out into the fields, a breath of reality soon dissipates these aerial cobwebs of the imagination. It is, also, heretical and pantheistic withal. Moreover, it is only an exemplification of the old axiom "*vivere convenienter naturae.*"

The Rev. Thomas Bain, Hutton, Dumfries-shire, contributes towards this volume two very remarkable sermons—that on "Individualism and the Church," dissipates into atoms the theories of ecclesiastical pharisees. The principle laid down by Christ and expounded in this treatise is—"that the individual soul possesses rights superior to ecclesiastical organisations, and by implication to all other organisations that may be set up. The living soul is the Lord of all earthly powers, and particularly of all institutions and mechanisms which as vehicles of its thought it may choose to frame. It is the creator of these"—and not their servant or slave. This principle is so revolutionary that it exalts the man above the Church and the Sabbath-sacerdotalism and mere external guides. "Like the ancient slave, relatively to his master, they are to be wholly in his hands for life or death. The world in which he lives is a place of ceaseless transformation, and as other conditions of his life change, Christianity gives him the power of changing also the Institutions in which his faith is enshrined. Creeds and ordinances conformable to one ago may not be conformable to the next, and man is to judge how far and in what direction they need modification. The right of adding or taking from them is given by God into his hand." What remains permanent is "the living spirit of the thinker," not the garment in which it is clothed, Religious truth rests on an internal—not an external basis. Christ said the kingdom of God is within. But its advent and operation are mysterious, as the wind. "Religious truth is its own evidence, and the ultimate court of appeal, is the spiritual consciousness." "We must appeal, like our Lord and his apostles and the prophets before them—for proof to the hearts and consciences of men. Nothing in itself is clean or unclean, sacred or profane, secular or spiritual; "but everything becomes one or the other according as we conceive it. It is the way in which we think of things, and the uses to which we put them, that determines whether or not their character

is religious; and all places, times, and ideas, are holy to the holy-minded man."

At all times and amid all outward changes and conflicts, let us remember "that the spirit of true religion is eternal. The visible body of it may wax old as a garment, and as a vesture God—or man may change it. But this shall only be that religion may weave for herself a simpler and more fitting covering; and when the churches of the present break up and go their way, they will make room for something that is higher."

Christ, according to Rev. Mr Hutton in his sermon on the pharisee and the publican "set himself in deadly antagonism to the official religion of the age in which he lived." His attitude was startling and original, like all men of genius. Not with the church-goers—but with the lapsed masses did he sympathize. Not with the traditional and respectable classes—but with "the party in rebellion against tradition" did he ally himself. He denounced official play actors and hypocrites, and espoused the cause of the irreligious masses. Between him and the priesthood there was a deadly antagonism. He craved for God and nature's truth, and hated the artificial, and conventional life of the so-called religious people of his day. The Pharisee's prayer was mechanical, formal, and pedantic—a valueless, spiritless ceremony—that of the publican was "a living sense of the infinite nature of religious duty, and of finite man's inability ever to realise it." His prayer was the outcome of fresh and living piety, welling up in the soul.

This parable gives us two opposite views of life and duty—"one of them is a principle of incessant aspiration, what we call life eternal—the other is a stationary principle, producing self-satisfaction and moral death." The one is formal, mechanical, logical and secular—"the adhering to a dogma, the keeping of a Sabbath, the paying of a tithe, the mumbling over the altar of a set style of ritual"—the other is vital, religious, fresh, and inspiring. "It is a conception which presents truth and goodness as an ideal that is the same in no two stages of our spiritual development or growth in grace. As we change and ascend it changes and ascends too, and we can as little overtake it as the steed racing westward at morning can overtake his shadow. But it charms us after it with a power that is irresistible. We cannot choose but follow it on its radiant tract, the sight of its splendour sickens us with ourselves and prompts us to the bitter cry, "Lord, be merciful to me a sinner." True piety is the eternal soul looking upward and not "some theologically trained understanding." Not finite doctrines and ordinances "but an unspeakable image of the ideally true and fair lifted far above it, as the heavens are above the earth." This is Christian piety, and Platonic Philosophy blended into one homogeneous whole.

The Rev. Mr Semple of Huntly, contributes a sermon on *Eternal Life*. His disquisition on that phrase is more ingenious than sound. "The phrase can have reference only to a state or condition of the soul. Mere duration is by no means the main element—nor in any sense a characteristic element of eternal life." The question is not one of desirability, but of fact. Did Christ represent "an eternity of pain and woe as equally enduring with that of perfect happiness?" "We think he did. True, indeed, the sinner would prefer annihilation to such an eternal life. But that is not the question. "Eternal life is a state of the soul and not any outward glory. It is, also, a present as well as a future state. Eternal life means the knowledge of the only true God and of Jesus Christ." This knowledge must be assimilated to the soul and blossom into purity and righteousness, love and self-sacrifice—in short, "to know Christ is to be Christ."

According to the Rev. Patrick Stevenson of Inverarity, *Eternal Life* "involves more than the idea of Eternal existence. It consists in knowledge of God and of Jesus Christ." This knowledge is as practical and experimental as any fact of science; for, it is apprehended by a *spiritual faculty*.

Seers and prophets of humanity feel that there is a kingdom of God within the soul—Materialists they cannot sympathize with.

The character of God—as revealed by Christ—is life for the soul of man. Knowledge is life and ignorance of God is death for man—love is life—hatred is death. So, also, of holiness and sin, &c. Heaven and hell are conditions of the soul—Christ taught as none ever before him did—the nature of the Fatherhood of God—of spiritual Sonship—of Brotherhood and of Sacrifice. He purified and elevated our thoughts regarding them, as no teacher had done before him. In his hands, they shone forth with a refulgence of fresh glory and new significance.

The Rev. John Stevenson, Glamis, Forfarshire, descants on Religion, Theology, and Ecclesiasticism—"Religion is in no sense dependent upon any special phases of doctrinal belief, or upon any peculiar forms of ecclesiastical institutions. The sphere of religion is spiritual; the sphere of theology is intellectual; the sphere of ecclesiasticism is political. The capacity for this spiritual life, which consists in Divine righteousness, purity, and love, is indestructable. It operates through self-sacrifice. True Christianity lies in self-sacrifice. Theology is a science—ever varying according to men's opinions—but "whatever intellectual antagonisms in the sphere of theology may arise to darken our path, and whatever intellectual conclusions we may reach in regard to questions of dogma, the fruits of the spirit are these,—love, joy, peace, long-suffering, gentleness, goodness, faith, meekness, temperance." This is Religion—this is the Kernel—all else is husks. "The church is an external institution, made up of a multiplicity of imperfect organisations; and no

ecclesiastical form, or multiplicity of forms, can embody the Kingdom of God, any more than a creed, or combination of creeds, can embody Divine truth, The outer form is nothing if it breathes the spirit and the life.

In proportion, and only in proportion, as the Churches realise the religion of Christianity, in self-sacrifice, will intolerance, division, persecution, and strife, give place to large-heartedness, unity, concord, and peace."

Church unity—according to the Rev. Patrick Stevenson of Inverarity, is the spiritual indwelling of the spirit of God—with spiritual fellowship with Jesus Christ. Spiritual truth must ultimately rest upon its own intrinsic light, as an authority. This unity must comprehend within itself almost endless doctrinal and aesthetical variety, according to ever-varying opinions of men and nations. Unity is a comprehensive idea—"We have got spiritually choked by a thick and murky atmosphere of creeds and catechisms, and of ecclesiastical laws and forms." We must return to the simplicity of the Gospel. Christ did not formulate dogma or ritual. True worship, according to him, must be *in spirit and in truth*. Like the body—composed of different members, working in different ways, for the maintenance of the common life and the doing of the common work, the different churches may be one if they possess *the spirit of Christ* as their central life. The enemies of this Christian unity are—theology, sacerdotalism, ritual, materialism, and agnosticism. Mere uniformity is not unity. It is both shallow and impossible. "Unity may be best promoted by endeavouring to bring the principles of the life of Christ to bear upon the education everywhere of the Christian conscience." Let science, philosophy and criticism have free play; so long as they are animated with the spirit of Christ, self-sacrifice, and love.

Christ's authority—according to the Rev. Dr Story of Roseneath—over us is not an external bondage—"The external authority is but the stamp upon the coin. The stamp may be a forgery. The internal evidence is the fine gold of which the true coin is made, and which, stamped or unstamped, is of the same intrinsic and unalterable value." In reference to any sort of teaching, the question is *what character has it? not what authority has it?* We must learn "that authority has no power over us, except in so far as our conscience, after earnest trial, acknowledges it as just and right and true; that every thing, every truth, every teacher, is to be judged, not by what is external, authority, name, or position; but by what is internal—by character—"By their fruit ye shall know them." We must never allow any authority to "over-ride our own judgment and conscience, or lead us to evade the responsibility of proving all things, to the end that we may *hold fast* that only which is good. Authority should be treated with deference—but not be regarded as a master over a slave.

We are "to test all truth by the standard of the clearest light which God has given us and to hold fast that to which his Spirit seems to witness." Christian righteousness is not merely the fulfilment of external obligations. It is internal. "Action is not enough; thought, intention, desire, and will, must be ruled too. The law must not rest in being a written commandment, but must become a living spirit, a fountain of moral life and strength within." Not a legal obedience but a new creature. What we want is "a righteousness of character, which is deeper and greater than any righteousness of conduct. The true root of this righteousness of faith is Christ. Faith takes us out of ourselves and joins us to Christ, as living branches springing from the vine, bearing much fruit. The deeper righteousness is the Christian life. The righteousness of Christ is not a great fund, out of which sums may be taken and imputed to his people. It is the pure and perfect character and life which we by knowledge of him see, which we by faith in him set before us as our only aim, as our only example, as our only stimulus and help to overcome self—the devil and the world; and that righteousness, imperfect in its measure, yet in kind like his, inspired by his Spirit, upheld by his example, which we are able to show forth, is, in the sight of God who sent him forth, that believing we might have life through his name, of great, even of inestimable price; for it is not our own but the righteousness of Christ living in us, not a righteousness outside of us and put upon us as a cloak to hide our sins from God, not *imputed* to us as ours when it is really another's, but the fresh and healthy outcome of our own heart and conscience and energy, quickened, transfigured, sanctified, by the indwelling spirit of the *Lord our righteousness*." In short, the imitation of Christ, not the dogmatical imputation of his righteousness, can avail us in the sight of God. "That which is righteous, right, true, honest, is acceptable in the sight of God; only those who are righteous can stand before him." We must be able to do so "in virtue of that which is in ourselves, not of something which is not in ourselves, but is *imputed* to us; in virtue of Christ's righteousness shared by us and glowing in us, not reckoned as belonging to us, by a mere exercise of God's will and pleasure." This explodes the popular dogma of *imputed* righteousness. We must have "no fiction, no assumption of fact; no imputation of character where there is no character. God will deal with us as we are in ourselves. He will try to bring out in us the character and image of the Son of his love." The phrase to be *clothed with Christ's righteousness* has a pernicious meaning, according to Dr. Story. Our righteousness is, indeed, "the result of Christ's spirit living and working in us, the righteousness of faith, of the now creature, "walking not after the flesh but after the spirit. Love is the root of obedience. "The law is observed, because the child recognises in it the voice of the Father." Religion is thus vital and divine—not mechanical, legal, or ceremonial. Dr. Story's sermons contain a mixture of philosophy and Christianity in a new form.

According to the teaching of these radical sermons, the old beliefs of scholastic theology must be altogether

modified, yea even abandoned. Man's descent from Adam—the fall from original righteousness—the imputation of Adam's guilt to his children—the death of all men in sin—the redemption of Christ and an election according to grace—the quickening in the elect of a new life—at their baptism according to Catholic theology—or at the moment of their conversion, according to Protestant teaching—the eternal punishment and perdition of the finally unregenerate. The Second Reformation of this nineteenth century rejects unceremoniously the theological dogmas of the sixteenth century. The citadel of scholastic theology is tottering to its fall under the constant attack of criticism. Does Dr. Caird—aided by his twelve clerical coadjutors—mean to usher in a new era of religious teaching—a Second Reformation in Scotland? This movement cannot stop where it is. It must go on widening and deepening till the theology of the land shall be completely submerged under its powerful and irresistible torrent.

These sermons, we venture to predict, must result, either in rending into twain the venerable Scottish Church—as by law established—or she must cast forth those Achans and lepers—those vipers and adders from her walls. Matters cannot remain *in statu quo*: If sessions, presbyteries, synods, general Assembly, and Supreme Court tolerate this heretical wave of free thought—then, the days of the old Church—the child of Knox and the noblest daughter of the Reformation—are numbered. She will, then, be abandoned by the State, and cast adrift upon the troublous and tempestuous sea of anarchy, infidelity, and Atheism. The glorious Church of Scotland has a clear course of conduct set before her—to wit—the forcible ejection of Dr. Caird and his twelve apostles from her walls and out of her stately Ecclesiastical Palaces.

*J. G. S. Grant,*

The first Rector of the High School of Otago, and the Founder of the Eight Hours' System of Labour.

Dunedin, Otago, New Zealand,

7th August, 1880.

COULLS AND CULLING, PRINTERS, ETC., RATTRAY STREET, DUNEDIN.

## Price Sixpence.

## Our Civil Service.

To the Civil Service Commissioners,  
GENTLEMAN—

WE read always with increasing delight of Xenophon and his 10,000 brave Greeks. But who can read, with any sort of pleasure, of New Zealand's 10,853 officials? After rising from the perusal of the Report of the Civil Service Commissioners, I felt that Job's wish had been, in my case, realised. My enemies have written a book, the naked facts of which substantiate all my charges—whether published at home or abroad—against New Zealand. Comment, on my part, is superfluous. To justify myself against the unmerited obloquy and aspersions of this Colony, I need only publish, *in extenso*, the "Civil Service Commissioners' Report."

On the 20th of February, 1864, now more than 16 years ago, I published the first number of the *Saturday Review*. Ever since that day, the main burden of my themes has been the maladministration of government in New Zealand. Mismanagement, incompetency, corruption, and venality formed the warp and woof of all my letters, whether published in or out of the Colony. But the warnings of Cassandra were not heeded; and now, behold the lamentable results! See what our loans and extravagant expenditure have brought us to!

The Government deserves, at least, the thanks of the community for having instituted this Commission. Now that we *approximately* know the facts of the case—for, unfortunately, the report is only partial, and not exhaustive—it is the bounden duty of Parliament to re-organise the Civil Service on well-defined principles of efficiency, economy, and retrenchment. To do so, requires "an iron hand in a velvet glove." One directing mind must preside over this Herculean labour of purging the Augean stables of our Civil Service.

Confusion, disaster, and bankruptcy are the legitimate consequents of divided authority, multiplicity of counsels, nepotism, and corruption. As the report says, "nothing is to be expected from the present directors." To them I would address the words of Cromwell to the English Parliament, "Begone, and make room for honester men." In the case of New Zealand the old adage has been amply verified, "Too many cooks spoil the broth."

All the departments are in an inglorious state of confusion, incompetency, recklessness, and extravagance. Hansard should be abolished. The printing office—with its 137 hands—is a monstrous solecism. The travelling allowances for officials should be done away with, or at least, it should be greatly curtailed. The pension list ought to be knocked on the head at once. When the Athenian orator was asked what was the first requisite qualification for an orator, he replied, *action*; for the second and third qualifications his reply was the same.

To the question, What is the grand remedy for all this complicated evil, our three-fold answer is—retrenchment—retrenchment—retrenchment. According to the report of the Commissioners, "nearly one-eighth of the adult males in the Colony are in the direct employment of the Government." Out of the mouths of its own servants, will I condemn the Government of New Zealand. "It is only by very uncommon exertion and heroic sacrifices that the small number of taxpayers can hope honestly to meet their engagements and bear the expensive burdens which the last ten years of reckless borrowing and spending have brought upon them."

Do the people really and truly realise the dreadful position of this Colony? Let them reflect upon the following quotation from the Commissioners' report :—"The number of adult males in the Colony is only 136,915. From these we have to deduct 659 who are in prison, 694 in lunatic asylums, 10,636 sick and infirm, 3423 above 60 years of age, and 10,853 employed by Government—leaving only 119,648, or less than 120,000 persons to bear all the burdens of the Colony. When, in addition to all the ordinary expenses of their government, it is borne in mind that this small number of producers will have in future to send annually to our foreign creditors no less than £1,535,000, or £12 15s 10d each—being nearly 5s per head per week, it becomes only too evident that economy will in future be severely forced on the Government of this Colony, and that we are in no position to be liberal, either with the number or the salaries of our civil servants."

This is well said, and, I hope, it will be well carried out to the letter. The policy of retrenchment is the only salvation of New Zealand. We have had enough and to spare of political gabbling and profane babbling in this city and Colony. What we want now is stern action in the direction of retrenchment. After reading this very remarkable report, will anyone dare to say again that I exaggerated the political mal-administration systematically carried on here for the past ten years?

When Alexander was prosecuting his Asiatic campaign, he was told by one of his officers that a traitor from the Camp of Darius was ready to assassinate his great enemy, the magnanimous reply of Alexander was—"Put a rope round his neck and bring him to me." If any man, after this, shall be heard slandering me, upon the strength of my revelations regarding New Zealand, I hope every magnanimous man will put a rope around his neck and bring him before me.

Gentlemen, before taking leave of you and your report—which is a terrific eye-opener—allow me to say, that after all it is only a scratching of the surface of the official body-politic. Had you gone deeper, you would have discovered the complete rottenness of the official carcass. As it is, however, your report may, perhaps, astonish yourselves; but it did not by any means take me by surprise, for I had been familiar with it all for the past sixteen years. Indeed, ever since the arrival of the political Cagliostro from Victoria in 1861, I ceased not—to use an apostolic phrase—to warn New Zealand, night and day, with tears, of the sure outcome of her infatuated career. The crimes of communities must be punished fully here; for corporations have no souls to be damned hereafter. As they sow, so shall they reap. The hands of sinners do frame the snares wherewith themselves shall eventually be caught. This Colony is now beginning to realise all this.

"See the gloomy, gathering cloud,  
Hanging o'er a sinful land;  
Sure the Lord proclaims aloud,  
Times of trouble are at hand."

The people followed Vogel, and allowed him to thrust me into prison. They pampered him and his myrmidons, and persecuted me. Behold the awful consequences! I speak not of individual persecutors. The crimes of individuals, if not fully expiated here, shall meet their just meed at the Final Assizes.

Let me, however, remark, that the day when the Otago Government broke faith with me, in the matter of the Rectorship of the High School, shall be considered as the darkest day in the history of New Zealand. The day when Vogel cast me into prison, shall be remembered as the blackest day in the calendar. For a time, indeed, the wicked shall flourish as the green bay tree; but, as in the case of this quack-ridden land, Nemesis will finally clutch them in her voracious grasp and merciless jaws.

As I have often told the colonists, so I again repeat: "Woe betide the land where ignorance, venality, and vulgarity reign.

"When knaves and beggars reign in state,  
And worth and merit are laid low;  
Leave thou such country to its fate,  
For it is near its overthrow."

With many thanks for your able—albeit partial—report,

I remain, Gentlemen,

Yours very respectfully,

J. G. S. Grant.

Melville Street, Dunedin,  
Otago, New Zealand,

June 22, 1880.

## Friday, May 13, 1881.

### THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE Earl of Ravensthorpe in the Chair.

## Naval Intelligence and Protection of Commerce in War.

By Captain J. C. R. COLOMB, F.R.G.S., F.S.S.

HAVING been asked by this Institution to deliver a lecture on the above subject, I think it my duty to do so. Though sensible of the honour conferred by repeated invitations, several considerations deterred me from at once accepting them; even now I am doubtful as to the wisdom of compliance. It is a grave question whether so wide a problem can be adequately treated in one short hour, and whether a matter of the most serious national concern can be publicly discussed without more danger of directing foreign attention to our deficiencies and difficulties, than hope of remedy and removal by ourselves. Public opinion will not apparently turn out of the current of ever-changing, but now, always purely military, theories of insular defence requirements, to a calm, quiet contemplation of the grim realities of modern maritime war to a people dependent on the sea for daily bread. The rapid and increasing diversion of English thought out of the great, broad channels of actual and real national requirements, into little whirlpools and back eddies of abstract military experiments, is to be deplored; it is not, however, to be wondered at. Every volunteer from the Land's End to the Orkneys, every militiaman from Dover to Donegal, is the apostle of a purely insular theory of defence, the practical preacher of *purely* military precautions; Russell, from nearly all battle-fields of modern times; Hozier, from "the Mountains of Rasselas;" Bracken-bury, from the plains of Italy, and Forbes from the ruins of Sedan, have so stirred the heart of England that her head has well nigh ceased to regard the influence of water as practically ruling the whole principle of her own and that of her Empire's defence. No eloquent descriptions of tactical struggles for strategical positions have yet been dated from "equatorial crossings," or from "off Capo Horn;" no great populations at centres of manufacturing industries in the very heart of England have been thrown out of work by far distant war operations against us interfering with the supply lines of raw material; hunger pangs have not been felt by multitudes through the capture of grain vessels, or by that rise in insurance to cover war risks which will certainly be in direct ratio to the organization, adaptation, and sufficiency of the pre-arranged

defence of our sea lines all over the globe.

Every School Board boy in the United Kingdom has some notions, however vague, relative to soldiers and invasion, but millions of intelligent grown-up Englishmen to-day have no distinct views at all as to the defence of the sea. They dream that that matter was settled once and for all by the victory of Trafalgar, if not by the defeat of the Spanish Armada. Yet, only by methodical, complete, and Imperial pre-arrangements, can England, in days of steam and huge commerce, face maritime war without dread, or hope to emerge from it without disaster. An Empire having thousands of vessels counting millions of tons, annually carrying to and from every corner of the world, its goods in value approaching a thousand millions sterling, cannot hope to localize her naval wars; nor can it be for one moment assumed that a maritime position so constituted and of such extent, can be defended simply by individual skill or even genius of naval Commanders. War fleets must be separated by long sea intervals; however efficient they may be, they are but as flies on the great commercial wheels revolving round the world. They can provide but small security to sea-lines of thousands upon thousands of miles in length, unless they act in combination and are subordinated to a general carefully prepared and preconcerted plan. I shall presently produce some broad facts which it is to be hoped will sufficiently establish the absolute necessity for more public attention being directed to this matter. I shall submit some calculations as to the actual money value of the various divisions of oceans to England and her Empire; I shall do so merely to illustrate relatively what is past all price, viz., the practical, social, and indeed the life and death consequences involved to the English race in the precautions taken for securing in war, the safety and freedom of the sea. It is not too much to say that the loss of a whole British Army on Continental battlefields, could not of itself produce the catastrophe sure to follow as a direct and immediate consequence on the interruption of even one of our main sea-lines of supply. One would cause mental anguish and a fall in the Funds, the other would add to these, physical suffering by a rise in bread. The forcible curtailment of *imports* of grain and raw material, and of the *exports* of manufactured articles, means a cry from millions, for bread which could not be given, for work which could not be obtained. No one who hears me or who reads this paper is without influence. Be it little or great, all have some, and my reason for coming here to-day is to appeal for the exercise of that influence to turn attention more towards a true realization of the primary requirements consequent upon our Empire's exceptional position, and to the pre-arrangements necessary for their adequate and complete fulfilment. The few words I think it desirable to say may, I hope, be of some slight use to those whose influence cannot be without some result. That great multitude of Englishmen who sway the defensive policy of our Empire, know nothing at all of what England at war with even one Great Power means in days of steam and gigantic commerce; and while some are enthusiastic about every detail of the last military experiment, nearly all seem placidly content to trust to luck and some powerful ironclads, to make everything quite safe and easy for us on the sea.

It seems to me desirable to make these prefatory, if somewhat personal, remarks, because every year's consideration of this and similar subjects, on which I have so often spoken in this theatre, increases my sense of its awful importance, and, therefore, of the grave responsibility incurred in the method in which it is submitted for discussion and publication. Sixteen years ago I fancied it possible some good might come of venturing to write and speak on these questions, differing as I then did, and do now, with the popular view of the aspects of British defence. Now, finding myself only beginning to approach the verges of true knowledge of its depth, I fear it is more likely such slender contributions to the literature of so great a subject may do more harm than good.

Having thus explained my sense of responsibility, and my reason for overcoming a disinclination to incur it, I proceed to submit some general observations on the necessity for establishing an organized and far-reaching system of naval intelligence.

## ***The Scope of Naval Intelligence.***

Naval intelligence comprehends within its scope a vast number of subjects widely different in their nature, but in their several orbits controlled by one great general consideration, viz., the efficiency and adaptation of our naval means to the work to be done in war. Now the two main conditions to be fulfilled by the Naval Service are the closing up of our enemy's ports and the protection of our own commerce on the high seas from depreciations. Attacks on the high seas will be made by hostile cruisers which may elude the vigilance of blockading fleets, or by vessels purchased, fitted out, and armed in rear of our fleets, perhaps thousands of miles away from the blockaded coasts. It is to be observed that while the extent of the enemy's seaboard, limits the operations of blockade, the area of operations for the direct protection of our commerce has, in a geographical sense, practically no limits at all. While I am speaking, British smoke from British coal burning in British steamers, carrying *foreign* food to British mouths, material to British manufactories, and goods to British warehouses, is blackening the airs of the tropic, the temperate, and even of the arctic zones. At this moment British sails are being blown away in dreary morning watch kept by British seamen at the antipodes,

are idly flapping in the regions of calms in both hemispheres, and being frozen still in arctic, and even in antarctic, seas.

As naval operations may be grouped under two great heads, so naval intelligence may be classified in two divisions—one referring to blockade, the other to the direct protection of commerce. The broadest difference between the sort of "intelligence," essentially necessary to success in undertaking either operation, appears to me to be this—that in one case what is most required is knowledge of your enemy's position; in the other, knowledge of your own. In both cases success will relatively depend on knowledge, down to the smallest detail, of the work to be done. The operations of blockade are carried on against a seaboard fixed and invariable, and against naval and military appliances wielded under one direction, for a distinct and settled war purpose. The conditions which determine operations for the direct defence of sea-commerce are almost the reverse. The carrying trade to be protected is not fixed, it varies with circumstances, both in direction and value, and is the visible resultant of many thousand busy minds, working ceaselessly in all parts of the globe by many thousand processes for individual peaceful objects. These objects defy the control of war policies and war ministers, for they are only attainable by obedience to the eternal laws of supply and demand. These laws have survived the Tyrian, Carthaginian, Venetian, Spanish, and Dutch sea supremacies, and will survive so long as business in the world is done. Those who think that the movements of British commerce could be made to conform to arrangements for its protection by convoy war-ships should really picture the scenes "on 'Change" in London, Manchester, Liverpool, and hundreds of business centres in England, to say nothing of Sydney, Montreal, Melbourne, Calcutta, Cape Town, &c., which would follow the posting up of an Admiralty notification that "the Imperial sea-roads were so interrupted that "arrangements were under immediate consideration to provide, so far as means would permit, convoy protection for eight hundred millions' worth of exports and imports, and the entry, clearance, and safe passage of several million tons of British shipping from and to ports on every sea and ocean in the world." The figures I offer as a stippling in of the background of the pictures, because they are founded on the official returns for last year. The time would then, I think, have come for the operations of invasion to be wholly unnecessary for our complete subjugation. Our Volunteer Army would not then need a commissariat department, because nearly one-half our home Army, as well as civil population, would have no food. The burning question which exercises some minds now as to whether our militia shall wear gold or silver lace would then lose much of its point. It is very desirable to keep clearly in view the broad issues of great national defence questions, and I specially allude to the one of convoys, not as a matter to be settled in a "ten minutes" discussion, but for patient calculation and serious study. Were naval Officers afforded by the nation, as they should be, opportunities of studying, as part of their superior professional training, the directions and variations of that huge commerce, the safety of which in war will be committed to their keeping, I confess I think systems of naval intelligence and principles of sea-strategy would replace more or less, vague national ideas as to convoys. But, be it observed, England affords her naval Officers no such opportunity.

## ***Varieties of Subjects with which Naval Intelligence has to deal.***

A vast number of subjects are embraced under the term "naval "intelligence," some common to both divisions before mentioned, others specially or more closely connected with one rather than the other. I can, however, in the time only glance at some of the principal ones. Those common to both relate to hydrography, meteorology, the naval policies and arrangements of foreign nations as indicated by the war-vessels they build or buy, the material resources, active or dormant, of maritime nations, both as regards construction, refitment, and maintenance. The principles and details of construction, armament, machinery, appliances, and efficiencies or deficiencies of their warships; all matters relating to the *personnel*, both active and reserve, of their war navies. These headings sufficiently indicate what may be considered common to both branches of naval intelligence.

Special to blockade are—topography of coast and river districts,

See valuable paper on "Tactics of Blockade," by Captain S. Long, R.N.

embracing detailed information respecting railway and canal communications of war and mercantile ports. Railways may afford facilities for moving fleets of efficient torpedo-boats from one port to another more rapidly than water permits a blockading force to do, and it is reasonable to suppose an effort to raise the blockade of a port would be developed through a cloud of torpedo-boats. The relative power of concentration possessed by the blockaders and the blockaded must exercise considerable influence on the strategical distribution of the blockading force. Railway and canal communications may also to some extent affect the question of fuel supplies of the blockaded. As my intention is to refer almost exclusively to the direct protection of commerce on the high seas, I am compelled to refrain from closer consideration of intelligence having reference to blockade. There are, however, one or two general reflections worthy of special remark.

As regards hydrographical information, the experience of maritime nations testifies to the care and

completeness exercised by our Admiralty in its collection, so far as oceans or seas are concerned. But it is doubtful whether we know as much as we ought to know about great rivers, such, for example, as the Amur, with its 583,000 square miles of hydrographic basin. No doubt the Military Intelligence Department in Pall Mall collects a certain amount of information respecting these, but military men know nothing of the naval aspects of the great rivers and their naval resources.

The short story I told in a former paper

See "Russian Development and our Naval and Military Position in the North "Pacific," Journal, vol. xxiii, No. CI.

here of the building and work done by the little Russian steamer "Aigun," in 1854, on the Amur, is a sufficient warning to us not to neglect the existence or development of naval resources many hundred miles from the coast lines. Obviously a naval, not a military, department should collect such intelligence, and divided responsibility should be avoided.

Respecting the policy, resources, the principles and details of construction, armament, appliances, and *personnel*, and that great host of matters and things which go to make up visible naval war power, I, for one, feel confident that our Admiralty struggles hard to obtain complete foreign information with the *miserably scanty means* provided by the country for collecting it. It is a noteworthy fact that, while we have a great military "Intelligence" Department, and besides have a military attache at the Courts of the great Powers, we are quite content that one solitary naval Officer should be charged with watching the naval developments and preparations of the whole of Europe! Yet invasions cannot be attempted, nor can we move even a drummer-boy beyond our shores without a naval operation, great or small, being the primary step of military movements so far as we are concerned. Under the heads mentioned there is a great variety of information respecting foreign navies, which could, with great propriety, and *should*, I venture to think, be given by our Admiralty to naval Officers who have now no means whatever of obtaining authoritative information, and who, therefore, will be in war entirely ignorant of much they ought to know.

As regards seaboard topography, railway and canal communications, of ports, &c., such intelligence is, I believe, collected by the military department; but practical experience of war generally proves that sources of failure are most often found between the chinks of divided responsibility. The very startling announcement made a few weeks ago in the House of Commons, "there could be no doubt the naval "guns of England's fleet are inferior to the new guns on board the German, French, and Russian ships."

*Vide* speech of the Right Honourable W. H. Smith, M.P., in debate on Navy Estimates, 1881.

has been received by the country with comfortable complacency. It would be plunged in a state of excited indignation had it been asserted instead that the rifles of the Army were, without doubt, inferior to those of the same foreign Powers; but, as regards naval guns, it neither recognizes the seriousness of the fact, nor reflects that it is the natural result of divided responsibility. When we are at war there will be probably twenty heavy guns brought into action on the sea for every one on land, yet the manufacture and preponderating opinion controlling the construction and fittings of naval ordnance is vested in those who cannot fight them on the sea, and under the direction of a military department, knowing nothing practically of sea warfare. The Admiralty, which is directly responsible to the nation for the efficiency of everything appertaining to the fleet, has not direct control of its own ordnance. Nor is there any reason why the Admiralty should not itself collect intelligence in this matter of military seaboard topography, having, as it has, qualified Officers available for this service. Why should Marine Artillery Officers be employed as professors at the Staff and Military Colleges instructing military students in military art, while the Admiralty has to rely on the War Office for such topographical information as is necessary for naval operations on an enemy's seaboard?

I mention these things, not because, as all my former writings will amply testify, I either underrate or undervalue the great and grave importance of the military arms of England, not because I do not feel as thoroughly as anyone the necessity for purely military Intelligence Departments,

Besides the department under the War Office at home, there is also one in India.

but because it is my endeavour to look beyond popular fancies and natural professional leanings, and to state plainly matters of fact as they appear to me. In dismissing from further examination naval intelligence in its general aspects or in the special aspects of blockade, I would submit that it would appear that while advancing science and modern appliances in no way diminish the absolute necessity of blockading an enemy's seaboard as the first step towards protecting commerce, they do diminish the probability of making a blockade effectual and complete; and in proportion as such probability is reduced so must increased precautions be taken for the direct defence of commerce on the high seas. It is now to this main portion of my subject ail further remark will exclusively apply.

## ***Naval Intelligence in Relation to the Protection of Commerce.***

Under this head the intelligence required is—

1st. The general laws, which under normal conditions, govern the distribution of British sea commerce over the world, both as regards time, place, and value.

2nd. The particular influences which any particular wars are likely to produce on the direction and value of British commerce passing over different sea lines. The blockading of a coast, for example, would prevent the laws of supply and demand being satisfied by means of sea communications terminating on that seaboard; the imports which would otherwise have been absorbed by the ports blockaded will, to a greater or less degree, according to circumstances, seek other markets and be diverted into new channels,

The war in the United States furnished an example : as the "Southern States "did not draw down the usual supply of grain from the Northern," grain had to seek another market, the result being that it found its way to the United Kingdom, and to use the phrase of a commercial journal of 1863, "put out of gear the cycle of "high to low prices." The same journal goes on to say, "Whatever injury America has inflicted upon this country by the blockade, we must count the enormous supplies of grain which she poured into our ports last year as some compensation." One effect of the war was to cause the Northern States to send us a great increase of bread, and to draw from us a great increase of lead.

thus causing a variation in direction and value of sea-commerce.

3. The careful and continuous observation of the development and resources of grain-producing lands, the periods of the harvests, and the visible supplies available for export.

I have so often dwelt on the all-important question of the critical position of the food supply of the United Kingdom in war, that I cannot stop now to add very much to what I have previously stated, except in a general way. We have Mr. John Bright's authority that between 1879 and 1880 "out of every four loaves of bread eaten by "the people of the United Kingdom three loaves came from abroad";

See his letter dated 18th March, 1881.

in other words, over the sea.

I give Mr. John Bright's statement, because his words carry such weight In this case, however, he has overstated facts as to the proportion of foreign and home bread consumed.—J. C. R. C.

Had we been at war during that period, therefore, whether the three loaves ever reached the mouths of our population would have been a matter entirely dependent on our naval means of protection, and on the accuracy of our naval intelligence. I would here point out that the geographical position of the source of our main supply has, within the last few years, shifted several thousand miles from east to west, from the districts of the Euxine to the Western States of America.

It is remarkable that the Turkish troops at Volo were the other day supplied with bread stuffs from the States.

The direction, length, and value of our food lines has recently entirely changed, and that change will influence our naval arrangements in war. I have often seen discussions of a purely naval or military character based on the assumption of a war with the States. I would, however, beg you to look beyond the professional limits of such a supposition to the great national question of its present, practical impossibility. We are at present dependent on the States for an enormous proportion of our food, and the British Empire, possessing grain-producing lands, now lying idle, yet capable, if populated and developed, of feeding hundreds of millions of human beings, could hardly resist the will of the States, because misery and starvation of the masses would reign in England, as a direct consequence of attempting to do so. But there is yet another great change impending in the sources of food supply. Thanks to the energy of Canada, with a population rather less than that of London, the construction of a British Pacific Railway has begun in earnest. Before long our food supplies may be grown under our own flag.

The imports of grain coming as part cargo in steamers from Australia is steadily increasing, but such supply is but a drop in the great ocean of our food demand.

It would not be difficult to show that in war this railway, with its attendant and possible results, would give our naval position greater strategical security and strength than an extra half dozen "Inflexibles."

4. Next comes the collection of information and continuous observation of the direction of coal exports from England and her colonies, also from such countries as export coal for steam sea traffic, the average supply and demand, and the ratio of increase at all British and foreign coaling places. As a Royal Commission has been sitting for nearly two years, charged with the special consideration of the state and defences of our coaling stations, I will not make further reference to them, and for the first time out of the many I have spoken from this place, it is satisfactory that such public action in the matter enables me to do so.

5. Next, the details of construction and speed of every merchant steamer in the world possessing power and capacity for adaptation as a war cruiser of attack, should be carefully and continuously collected.

To some this may appear beyond the scope of what is practically possible. It should, however, be remembered the enormous interests at stake; and further, that there are not so very many steamers under foreign

flags suitable for conversion into efficient war cruisers. We own about two-thirds of the steam tonnage of the world, the total (gross) of which is in round numbers 6,700,000 tons.

The following is a sufficient illustration of its distribution :—

These figures include all shapes and sizes of merchant steamers. I may also add that the best foreign steamers are as a rule built in Great Britain.

The nature of ordinary peace employment, and the ownership should be known, no matter under what flag she sails. The transfer of such vessels from one flag to another, is the operation of minutes only, involving private arrangements, payment of money, and the signing of names. The Peruvian vessels, for example, were so transferred the other day by private enterprise, to the flags of Germany and Russia. The whereabouts and movements from port to port, of all foreign steamers capable of conversion into efficient weapons of attack, should be at all times known at our Admiralty, and so far as is practically possible, by Admirals commanding abroad. It is only by the most plodding methodical daily collection and digestion of such intelligence during peace, that we shall on the outbreak of war avoid surprises by the issuing from unexpected and unobserved quarters of cruisers bought at one place, armed and equipped at another, and destroying our commerce somewhere else. Were our system of naval intelligence as complete and as far-reaching as the necessities of our huge commercial interest require, we *should* be able to prevent most of such vessels getting to sea on errands hostile to us: either by our immediate purchase of all such as are suitable for conversion, from owners who can be tempted to sell or, if outwitted in this by our enemy's agents, then by shutting the vessels up in port.

No nation with its direct sea route stopped by blockade, will long continue to purchase merchant steamers for conversion into armed cruisers, if the result be that most of them rot in the neutral ports, owing to the efficiency of a British Naval Intelligence Department unceasingly but quietly at work, and the careful attention of British ships of war which, from the very commencement of hostilities, if not before, dog suspicious characters from port to port. They must have speed, staying power, and strength enough to do so. We are now trusting to our material resources, and the mere possession of great national wealth to save our commerce somehow or other in the hour of its peril; but if we do not use our national brains, even to the extent of recognizing the necessity for establishing a great and far-reaching system of naval intelligence, that peril when it comes will, I venture to think, speedily terminate in the ruin of our carrying trade. It is the very first stage, rather than the closing scenes of maritime war, which decides the fate of such trade. American war fleets floated triumphant on the sea long after the American carrying trade—terrified by ocean fires kindled by an uncaught "Alabama"—had taken to itself wings and fled.

A practical illustration may be useful. Taking the June quarter of 1860, two-thirds of the commerce of New York was carried in American bottoms; in the same period of 1863, three-fourths was carried in foreign bottoms.

Moral effect is the great force to be reckoned with in considering the protection of commerce. If the first few weeks of war shakes that ignorance which blindly hopes that our naval arrangements for war are commensurate with our commercial necessities, the British mercantile marine will probably disappear in a reaction of panic.

In 1860 13,638 tons of shipping were transferred from the American to the English flag. Month after month the number of tons transferred increased. In 1863 252,579 tons were so transferred. Between 1860 and 1861 the American tonnage was reduced by some 2,000,000 tons.

What will happen during these first few weeks, depends primarily upon the accuracy and extent of our naval intelligence. Peace affords the only opportunity of organizing and systematizing such intelligence, and maturing our plans. That opportunity will be gone when many submarine cables are dumb, when excitement reigns on British Stock Exchanges, in two hemispheres, and merchants and shippers crowd Whitehall clamorous for naval intelligence. Are they then to be referred to the Military Intelligence Department in Pall Mall, to obtain full details as to the roads to Berlin?

6. It is also of importance that all particulars concerning the exact position, nature of bottom, and depth of water in which submarine cables are laid, should be collected and furnished to naval commanders, so that they may know where to cut or tap them, or prevent others from doing so.

7. The necessity for collecting and rapidly disseminating information at all times as to the movements of foreign ships of war is so obvious as to require no explanation. It is to be hoped our method has been improved during the last twenty-seven years. Facts which I have come across in the course of my investigations, have astonished me in the overwhelming testimony they bear to national carelessness in this matter during the Crimean War. For example, as I have elsewhere stated, the officials at a most important naval outpost were left to learn that England was at war, from chance newspapers, and to the end of the war no official instructions were sent to them. In another quarter of the world, though we had steamers on the station, a Russian frigate rode at anchor in the middle of an English squadron, months after the Guards had been cheered through the streets of London, on their way to the East. Seven weeks after her parting company with the English squadron,

she passed on the high seas under the stern of an English man-of-war. I happen to know the latitude and longitude where the curious scene occurred of an English vessel of war dipping her ensign to the frigate of a Power we had been fighting for months. Had there been any real attempt at the organization, collection, and communication of naval intelligence before and during our last war with Russia, disaster and defeat of British naval forces in the North Pacific would not now stand recorded in that same "Times" containing the telegraphic news of the Balaklava Gale, and the official despatch announcing our military survival at Inkermann. We did not then choose to have systematic naval intelligence as to the movements of enemy's ships, and the nature of fixed naval positions, and naturally we paid dearly for our neglect with the lives of Englishmen. "The wild roses and purple" hooded bells nodding,"

See "Tent Life in Siberia." Kennan.

over long rows of English graves in the "green grass valleys" of Kamtschatka, mutely appeal for better naval

## **Imports. Diagram illustrating average variation in volume, according to period of year.**

intelligence. In 1855, we were unsuccessful off the coast of Asiatic Russia. The whole Russian squadron and garrison evacuated the position we had made great preparations to attack. It avoided one of our fleets, and was found by another, but escaped. All this was due to the absence of organized naval intelligence. Ten years later, and in the regions where all these scenes occurred, and where Russia is now wisely accumulating war cruisers, the wrecks of thirty Federal ships

Whymper saw them, vide his "Alaska."

strewn the shores of Behring's Straits, testifying to the naval intelligence possessed by the commander of the "Shenandoah," and to its total absence in Federal naval arrangements. To examine closely one of the foregoing sub-heads of naval intelligence necessary for naval efficiency, would require a whole series of lectures, and therefore, I can now only—by way of illustration—pick out one or two more prominent features of some for special notice.

As regards value, Table I shows the value of imports and exports of the United Kingdom from and to ocean districts in one year (1879), it further distinguishes between the values passing from and to the foreign and British seaboard in those districts into which I divide the world, their geographical limits being as follows :—

*Northern Seas District.*—On the west by a line drawn from Dunkerque towards the Pole through Dover, the eastern boundary being the seaboard in the German Ocean and the Baltic Sea.

*North-East Atlantic District* is bounded on the west by 30° meridian W., on the south by the Equator, and on the east by the continuous seaboard from where the Equator strikes the West Coast of Africa to Dunkerque where it meets the limits of the Northern Seas.

*North-West Atlantic District* includes all the North Atlantic Ocean west of the 30° meridian.

*South Atlantic District* includes the seaboard of British South Africa with the Atlantic Ocean lying south of the Equator.

*Indian Seas District* takes in the water area enclosed by the continuous coast line from the north-east of British South Africa to Singapore, thence by a line, including Java, towards the South Pole and back to Delagoa Bay.

*North Pacific District.*—All the Pacific north of the Equator between the Indian Seas District and the American Continent.

*South Pacific District.*—All the Pacific south of the Equator between these limits.

The chief lesson to be learnt from Table I is the great disproportion between the value of exports and the value of imports from and to the foreign seaboard in districts where there are both foreign and British seaboard, while they nearly balance in the case of the seaboard which in these districts are British.

Where, therefore, the import or "homeward" route and the export or "outward" routes are not from physical causes geographically identical, there is a difference in the financial value to us between the lines to and the lines from foreign seaboard, while in the case of those to or from British seaboard, there is practically none. It is this sort of fact and many others which underlie it, of which naval intelligence should constantly be investigating and taking cognizance of.

Table II gives the number of steam and sailing British ships, which, in one year (1879) entered and cleared the United Kingdom from and to seaboard in the several ocean districts with cargoes, while Table III gives in the same manner British ships in ballast. These figures, including as they necessarily do repeated voyages, are not the actual number of individual ships, but relatively they are strictly accurate. It is necessary to remind you, I am, in order to avoid confusion, at present confining my observations and figures to the trade and shipping of the United Kingdom only; presently I shall refer to the trade of the Empire.

Now, there are several lessons conveyed by these Tables II and III. I can, however, only refer to one or two

selected for the purpose of giving continuity to these general illustrations, leaving those who choose to study them, to find out the others. As regards vessels carrying cargoes, it appears from Table II that the arrival and departure of sailing ships from and to foreign ports nearly balances, while the clearance of steamers with cargoes was about one-fourth greater than the arrivals; on the other hand, in the case of British ports abroad, while the sailing ships also about balance, the steamers carrying cargo from the United Kingdom to those ports were more than double the number of those arriving.

Reference to Table III shows that out of 7,000 representing the steamers which came to or left our shores empty, only 73 entered and cleared empty from ports of our Empire. Further, out of over 4,000 empty ships which entered and cleared, but 450 came from or went to British possessions. Where, therefore, the sea lines to foreign ports do not geographically coincide with those to our possessions, the empty British ships will almost exclusively be found on the foreign sea lines. Here, again, we have a fact it should be the duty of naval intelligence to watch and digest, for sea commerce is not constant in its operation. The last columns of Table II teach a still more important lesson, showing as they do the variation in the proportion of steam to sailing British tonnage employed in the trade of the several ocean districts. In the North Seas District, the proportion is about 12 steam tons to 1 sailing; in the North-East Atlantic District, 8 to 1; in the North-West Atlantic District, 5 to 2; and in the South Atlantic, 7 to 5 only; the conditions as regards Indian Seas are reversed, there being more sailing than steam tonnage employed; in the North Pacific, there are 3 tons sailing to 1 steam; and in the South Pacific, 5 tons sail to 1 steam. These facts are important in many ways. It is impossible, however, to dwell now upon more than one or two considerations they suggest. The limits of danger to merchant ships in war as regards operations on the high seas lie between the port of departure and arrival, and as steamers traverse this area of danger at a greater speed than sailers, they are exposed to danger, in proportion to their speed, for a less time. If, over a threatened sea line a steamer can pass in six weeks while the sailer on the same line takes three months, the risk to the sailer is double that of the steamer. Again, the steamer can, in proportion to her power, vary her route, while the sailing ship is forced, by atmospheric and other influences, into certain beaten tracks. The steamer can avoid a menaced area, the sailer cannot. I am only dealing with strategical matters, and therefore do not allude to the obvious tactical helplessness of a sailing merchant ship when in sight of an enemy's steam cruiser, while the position of a merchant steamer in the same situation may not be one of danger if her speed be greater than that of her vulture opponent. Under these circumstances, to push enquiry no further, it may be said that the danger to which our sea commerce is exposed in any ocean district is proportionable to the preponderance of steam or sail tonnage. Taking the Table (I) of value with Table (II) of shipping together, it may, by way of general illustration, be assumed that, other things equal, though the total value to the United Kingdom of the North Seas District is three times that of the South Pacific, the danger to which the United Kingdom commerce in the South Pacific would be exposed in war is five-fold as compared with the North Seas. We have here, again, matters requiring vigilant and constant observation at the hands of naval intelligence, for the proportion of steam to sailing tonnage is never the same, it is steadily increasing,

The number of steam and sailing vessels (British) engaged in foreign trade in 1869, as compared with 1879, illustrates the above statement:—

During the years 1877-80 the number of British steamers increased 22½ per cent., of French 25 per cent., German 17½ per cent.

but not uniformly in all trade directions. Every ton of steam substituted for sail tonnage is a gain to the strength of our naval position in war, provided our naval intelligence and arrangements are sufficient to prevent its being frightened under a foreign flag by failure to protect our commerce at the commencement of hostilities.

The first line of Table IV gives, in round numbers, the total values of ocean districts to the United Kingdom already given in full in Table I. The second line gives the values of ocean districts to India and the colonies, *exclusive* of their trade with the mother country. Had these two islands been sunk beneath the sea, or otherwise disappeared from the map of the world during the year 1879, the figures on the second line of Table IV would still have represented the values of surviving British exports and imports during that year, the aggregate being nearly 200,000,000*l.* The third line adds together the figures on the first two, thus giving the Imperial values of the several ocean districts. Thus, it will be seen that the total value of British commerce to be protected in war is about 800,000,000*l.*: more than one-fourth the sea trade of the whole world, British Empire included. It has been estimated that some 70 per cent, of the sea trade of the world is carried in British ships, and that the value of British shipping is some 100,000,000*l.* I should here remind you of the consequent enormous number of British ships employed carrying goods from foreign ports to foreign ports of which we have no account, but which will equally require protection in war. To conclude remarks on the simple values of ocean districts and shipping, it is desirable to observe that while the annual value of British sea trade is some 800,000,000*l.*, and though the value of British shipping on the oceans and seas is worth some 100,000,000*l.*

The value of British goods, &c., on the sea in each year exceeds our total National Debt!

more, we are without any organized system of naval intelligence necessary for its safety in war, and the

popular national idea seems to be that were the "Inflexible's" sides only made thick enough, her guns big enough, and the Admiralty worked cheap enough, she should almost single-handed provide safety for such gigantic trade.

But the simple values of ocean districts already given does not represent the real value of British commerce which passed over them in one year. There is a process of accumulation due to the movements of commerce over the area of some ocean districts in passage to or from others. Table V shows the oceanic accumulations resulting from the movements of British commerce in 1879, from hemisphere to hemisphere only. There are other and minor accumulating processes which must here be passed by. I compute the value to British commerce of the great passes from hemisphere to hemisphere as follows:—

It will be seen from this table that while the simple value, for example, of the South Atlantic district is but 28,700,000*l.*, the volume of trade passing *viâ* the Horn and Cape raises that value to 112,200,000*l.*; and, in like manner, there is an increase of simple values, as shown by the table, in the case of the South Pacific and the Indian Seas districts. As regards the North-East Atlantic it is obvious that, as the southern and western seaboard of the United Kingdom are situated in that district, and as the United Kingdom trade with all districts, except the North Seas, is 449,500,000*l.*, these figures represent the accumulated value of the North-East Atlantic to the mother country only; but as the rest of the Empire has a trade in this North-East Atlantic district of 26,900,000*l.*, and also a North Sea trade passing over it of 1,400,000*l.*, the Imperial accumulated value of this North-East Atlantic district is 477,000,000*l.* The actual value of the waters of the United Kingdom is, of course, represented by its total trade with all districts, *viz.*, 600,000,000*l.* odd. I cannot say more on the variations of values as regards place, but must pass on to illustrate variations as regards time. Accumulations are not simultaneous, and it would be the function of naval intelligence always to know not only where the major and minor accumulations are taking place, but also when and how. As the movement of the protecting force must be ruled by the movements of commerce, to be without such intelligence kept up to date is, to my mind, to court terrible national disasters on the outbreak of war. At Lloyd's it is daily known where British ships are

Through the kindness of the Secretary of Lloyd's, I am informed of the following facts showing progress of our mercantile marine and Lloyd's system :—

in certain districts, and probably on the declaration of war that association would telegraph telling merchant ships where our war vessels were when last heard of. But these war vessels will change positions; perhaps they may be looking for enemy's cruisers whilst our merchant ships are looking for them, as did Federal war vessels which never caught the "Alabama" until she was driven into Cherbourg by need of repairs. The system at Lloyd's is perfectly adapted to Lloyd's business—insurance for the protection of individuals directly concerned against the risks of the sea: it could daily furnish much valuable data necessary to naval intelligence required for the protection in war of our greatest national interests.

The diagram headed "Imports" illustrates in a simple manner the increase and diminution of volume varying with the seasons of the year. It is not necessary to point out the original causes producing the results here exhibited. Every one knows that the harvests of the world are not simultaneous, and that when in one hemisphere they are reaping in the other they are sowing. But there is another influence which determines the period of the year at which the crop reaches us, the sea distance it has to cover *before* it reaches us. For example, the wheat which comes to us from the North Pacific States of America is grown within a comparatively short distance from that which finds its way *viâ* the North-West Atlantic, from the neighbouring districts of the United States; but from the date of "export" from those seaboard respectively until the date of its arrival here there is a difference of three and a half months. A grain vessel leaving Portland, Oregon, for the United Kingdom will, as regards time, be in war exposed to risk of capture for four and a half months, while the grain vessel simply crossing the North Atlantic will only be so exposed for one. North Pacific wheat will be accumulating in the South Pacific in the last quarter of the year, and more Australian wheat exposed to capture "off the Horn" when the trees are budding in Hyde Park than at any other time. The dates and extent of maximum accumulations of our wheat, raw cotton, and wool at various points in the ocean can be broadly arrived at from this diagram. I shall merely draw attention, however, to three general facts. From a successful attack on our commerce in the North-West Atlantic in the autumn we should suffer most as regards food. If that attack was delivered two or three months later the hands in Manchester cotton mills would suffer the heaviest blow; if, however, in the spring of the year our commerce passing over the South Atlantic was interfered with, Yorkshire operatives would be the greatest victims. The export diagram shows how the flow of precious metals is to some ocean districts constant, and to others variable as the seasons change. An import diagram of gold and silver would show a different distribution, but about the same amount coining as going; the South Pacific column would not be a blank, as on an average some five millions a year comes from Australia. The coal diagram shows the tremendous absorption of British coal by seaboard in the North Seas and North-East Atlantic districts, which are, with small exceptions, foreign not British. It will be seen from this that on the

outbreak of hostilities there would not be much difficulty in the supply of British coal to enemy's cruisers, it can be easily trans-shipped at neutral ports and sent in foreign bottoms where needed. On an average, 1,300 British and 1,100 foreign coal-laden ships leave our shores in each month for the several ocean districts according to their demands. Whether in war our enemy's cruisers get British coals to enable them to operate against British commerce will entirely depend on British naval intelligence. The commander of a cruiser knowing his business would be fully aware at what points out of sight of neutral seaboard he could calculate on capturing from one to perhaps fifteen British coal ships *per week*; while a British naval commander, perhaps in search of him, and with coal bunkers half empty, might be on a main route, say 100 miles outside, and not know where to find coal on the sea, because he has never had an opportunity of learning, and no naval intelligence is organized to put in war, complete instructions on this and other matters into his hands with his sailing orders. It may be asked, how is the hostile cruiser's Captain to know where to go to? The answer is simple. The interest of trade necessitates the publication of complete information for its own purposes. The operation of enemy's cruisers and the instructions to their commanders will unquestionably be carefully calculated and prepared from information collected long before and up to date from voluminous papers and returns—some official and others non-official—daily published in England, that great centre of the world's trade and great national defaulter in this matter of organized naval intelligence for war.

I would here take the opportunity of expressing my obligations to Mr. Woods, the editor of "Dornbusch's Lists;" Mr. Turner, of the "Mark Lane Express;" Messrs. Gooch and Cousins, of the great wool warehouses; to the editor of "Brown's Export List," and others too numerous to mention, who have enabled me to accumulate more facts than I could possibly make use of in a single paper here. I am also greatly indebted to the Peninsular and Oriental, the Royal Mail, the Anchor and the Pacific Navigation, and other companies, for much information kindly and readily afforded. In order to give some idea of the importance of our sailing trade, and for reasons which will presently appear, I have made out Table VI, which shows roughly the average number of grain and wool laden sailing ships on passage per week in each quarter of the year to the United Kingdom from three ocean districts. I have omitted the wool trade of the South Atlantic, because the larger proportion of Cape wools comes as part cargoes in regular steamships; also the North-East Atlantic, because the grain and wool from the Euxine and Egyptian seaboard comes also in steamers as a rule; last year, for example, the average number of grain-laden sailing ships passing Constantinople for the United Kingdom was about eight per month, while the average number of steamers so passing with parcels of grain as part cargoes, was twenty-two per month. With reference to the shifting of the sources of our food supply from the east of Europe to the Western States of America, I may incidentally state that over 1,400 British ships (to say nothing of foreign) carried grain to us from the single port of New York last year. This sailing ship table is compiled from the best trade sources of information; but at best the figures can only be an approximation very far short of the actual numbers, and are only produced here for the sake of rough illustration.

I would observe that the diagrams and the table of sailing ships on passage represent the averages not for one year, but of a series; in the case of the diagrams the last six, in that of the table the last three years. Time compels me to abstain from further illustration, or from following up the complication of lessons those so rudely drawn, teach. A great variety of very important matter I am obliged to leave wholly unnoticed. With the facts and figures herein offered I put in juxtaposition an extract from the speech of a most able naval administrator of our own time. "When," said the Duke of Somerset in the House of Lords, "I was at the Admiralty, the little squabble about the

"'Trent' question happened. One of the Lords asked me what would  
"be done in case of war. I replied, 'I can tell you one thing I shall  
"do—you will have to sleep on the Admiralty Board table, for I won't  
"let you away.

*Vide* "Times," February 17, 1871.

In full view of even the outline of facts I have produced, and with this statement staring us in the face, I would ask, should not the unfortunate Naval Lord on the table—sleepless with work and crushed with an Atlas burden of responsibility—have at least the assistance of an organized and far-reaching system of naval intelligence? As regards information concerning the naval means and preparations of foreign Powers, I have no wish to raise a discussion as to whether a separate department of the Admiralty should be created for this special purpose, because the subjects for digestion are so various and so essentially different, that most probably it would be better for each branch, such, for example, as the construction or gunnery branch, to collect information relating to its own peculiar functions, rather than endeavour to lump every description of information in one single department. It is, in short, a purely departmental question, which those acquainted with the internal working of the Admiralty are alone competent to discuss. I do, however, venture to maintain that our huge sea commerce requires a special and distinct Intelligence Department so constituted as to be in a position to ensure that the Admiralty shall at all times have at its command the fullest and most complete

information respecting the positions of our commerce on the sea, and the best possible intelligence relative to all those special matters to which I have referred. Further, I submit that such a department to be really efficient must absorb in itself the active, practical co-operation of the representatives of the great commercial interests to be protected on the sea in war. I may briefly outline my idea as to its constitution evolved by many years' consideration. I should wish to see established a Commercial Intelligence Council. The President to be an Admiral with a seat at the Board of Admiralty, but whose sole time should be devoted to the collection, organization, and digestion of intelligence necessary for the direct defence of sea commerce; he should have no other duties, for assuredly he would have more than enough to do. The members of the council of which this Admiral would be president, should all be representatives of the greatest shipping and chief export and import interests, and the position and emoluments of these members should be such as to secure the services of those who have the fullest confidence, and the most intimate knowledge of the interests they represent, so that a seat on this council should be deemed to be of importance to the nation and a high honour to the individual. The Admiral would then be in direct communication with the best sources of information, and his naval knowledge and experience would enable him to sift and lay information before the Board of Admiralty in a form available for practical application. There must, however, be subordinate departments in our great colonies, presided over by naval Officers of superior rank, and civilian members chosen on similar principles, for there is nearly 200,000,000*l.* of British commerce on the sea which finds neither source nor destination in the United Kingdom. These minor councils must work on the same lines as that at headquarters, and supply the Admirals on the station with all information. It may be exclaimed that this would involve expense. My reply is, most certainly; but surely a Power having 100,000,000*l.* worth of shipping and 800,000,000*l.* worth of goods on the sea in each year, and which freely spends some 6,600*l.* a-year on "Military Intelligence," cannot grudge 15,000*l.* or 20,000*l.* a-year for the purpose of collecting and organizing intelligence necessary for the safety of such wealth. The trade and shipping interest in Parliament is doubtless able to ensure the passing of a vote for the purpose so deeply concerning itself.

But even assuming that these centres of naval intelligence are established, one great question still presents itself for consideration. How is it to be communicated in war to naval commanders stationed perhaps in mid-ocean and merchant ships on passage? It is hardly within the bounds of possibility that we can spare swift vessels to run about the world with no other object but communicating orders and intelligence to fleets, squadrons, and ships. I cannot close without some brief remarks upon this most important branch of my subject. In the first place, it appears to me that in the direct protection of commerce, two main conditions have to be fulfilled: 1st, the protection of the main ocean routes; 2nd, the protection of the water areas

## Sketch Map of the Atlantic Ocean

lying between the main ocean routes and the trading seaboard. We have, therefore, in maritime war to provide for three great naval operations, each having special circumstances peculiar to itself: 1st, the blockade of the enemy's coast; 2nd, the securing of the ocean routes of the world; 3rd, coast covering operations off neutral seaboard to provide safety for our commerce on passage between such seaboard and the ocean routes. I must confine my remarks entirely to intelligence on the ocean routes. Reference to the sketch map I have prepared of the Atlantic Ocean very roughly indicates the main routes. I take this water district of the world for example, because it is, as we have seen, the area of greatest accumulation, and, further, because it is in a strategical sense the simplest to deal with. The shaded portions indicate what may be termed the "dead water areas" where they appear in mid-sea, and "coast covering areas" where they have land for one or more boundaries. The unshaded channels represent roughly the sailing waters, the arrow heads indicate the direction of the route, and the circles indicate the junctions of one or more of these routes, the black lines crossing the shaded parts of the Atlantic Ocean are certain steam lines. To shorten and simplify my illustrations so as to save time, I shall only allude now to the southern portion of this sketch. I must, however, remind you that the areas enclosed by these circles must be held secure; that while their strategic value in a geographical sense does not change, the pressure of commerce, so to speak, varies in some cases with the seasons of the year; that there are in this one section of the ocean six circles, and each would require a considerable squadron to provide adequate safety, and that there is over and above all, this one great main route across the North Atlantic with its own special peculiarities and naval needs. I might remark also that the diameters of these circles are not all equal; nor is the value of commerce passing over them the same; nor will the greatest, periodic accumulations of commerce within these areas take place simultaneously; nor will the distribution of the squadrons protecting the areas be uniformly the same, as each has its own peculiarities of physical circumstances. I may call attention in passing to the fact that, as Table V indicates, some hundred millions' worth of our commerce annually passes over that part of the Equator enclosed by the circle on the sketch; in extent it is some 600 miles, and, therefore a 12-knot steamer would take over two days simply to go from one end to the other, a considerable squadron

would therefore be required for the adequate protection of this most important position. But, as also shown on the sketch map the great steam track to the Cape crosses the Equator a long way to the east of this circle, and as a general rule on every ocean in proportion to the power and endurance of the steamers employed, so do their routes vary and diverge from the sailing trade, for the more independent are they of these influences which rule the direction of the sailing trade. Now also in proportion to endurance and power are steamers efficient as weapons of war, and unless in war all the great steam lines are compelled to conform as far as possible to the sailing routes, we shall waste force, leave our position weaker than it need be, and debar naval intelligence from being passed with rapidity and certainty along our lines. It is useless to hold the fixed positions and "strategic areas" of the sea, however securely, unless the intervals between them are efficiently patrolled; it is absolutely necessary to do both, so that a cruiser will be driven to seek the waifs and strays of our commerce in "dead water areas"; where her game will not be worth the candle, or rather the coal, or have to seek her quarry off coasts where she should be dealt with by the coast covering force. Unless the Admiral in command of an ocean fleet is kept constantly informed of the probable dates of accumulations of commerce over the various positions in his district, he must more or less be working in the dark. For example, the weekly average of grain ships due to arrive here from the South Pacific during last August was thirty. It is known in the City what number of vessels and what quantity of food stuffs are on passage and from whence and when these ships are due to arrive at our ports. These South Pacific grain ships would have been due to arrive within the limits of the equatorial circle in July, and a naval commander there might have known even the names of the vessels and all particulars about them six weeks before they came within the limits of his command. More than this, if the great steam lines conform to the sailing routes in war, each steamer would not only bring intelligence from squadron to squadron on the line, but would collect by observation a great deal of information as to the commerce *en route*, and communicate it to the squadron in passing. No cruiser could appear at any point of the routes without its being thus very soon known even to Admirals hundreds of miles away and in mid-ocean. Now it appears to be assumed that the best of our merchant steamers are to be armed, not for the purpose of continuing to follow their ordinary avocations in defiance of "Alabamas," but for general service here, there, and everywhere, supplementing our regular squadrons or carrying military expeditions. I would, therefore, submit for discussion very brief observation on this matter. To avoid any misapprehension, I must first say my conviction as to arming merchant ships is this,—that the exigencies of maritime war will necessitate our arming not merely a careful selection of the best, but every ocean-going British steamer. We must prepare in peace to give them at home and abroad armaments and trained instructors, on the declaration of war and then bid them follow their avocations and let our enemy's know we mean to carry on our sea trade "in spite of their teeth," under the banner, if you like, of "Defence not Defiance." I see no reason why, for example, the Peninsular and Oriental Company, with its twenty steamers a fortnight oil the oceans, could not answer for the patrol and intelligence duties on Indian and certain Australian routes without any very serious interference with the ordinary duties of their trade, provided the trained gunnery instructors, guns, fittings, and magazines be forthcoming at once, when wanted at points along the lines. Now, if on the other hand, the best of this Company's steamers are taken off the line in war and attached to the Royal Navy for general service, the gold and silver so constants in its flow as shown on the diagram must be carried in inferior vessels, less capable of fighting or even running away from an enemy's cruiser, you thereby increase the chance of capture, and every capture will frighten so many merchant ships under a foreign flag. To an Empire unconsolidated for purposes of common defence, maritime war may prove a severe strain; it is largely through colonial subsidies, the vessels employed in the Imperial Mail Service are so efficient, so capable of adaptation as weapons of war. Will their removal off the line in the hour of colonial peril, produce that confidence essential to willing co-operation? As Sir Alexander Gait pointed out the other day, the colonies take more of our manufactures than all Europe; by removing the best of the regular colonial steamers, you force a considerable proportion of some fifty millions worth of exports to the colonies and India, into the holds of the lame ducks of steam companies' fleets, and thus deliberately increase the chances of capture.

I submit such views to the examination of those who think that for general service the Royal Navy can be largely supplemented with the best of our merchant steamers, and, therefore, conclude that the deficiency in strength of the Royal Navy can be made good in a hurry by drafts on the steam mercantile marine. I venture to think that the full gravity of the problem of protection of our commerce is not even faintly realized by the country, and that what its solution involves, is not in the smallest degree understood. It is a matter with which national ignorance likes to fiddle, but which national intelligence apparently fears to face. It would be very desirable that some practical experiment in order to rouse national attention should be tried. We have had manoeuvres to test our readiness for invasion, why not test our readiness to guard the people's food? Such an experiment would cost but little, and might thus be carried out. Take the "Hecla," or hire a merchant steamer, give her a roving commission, such armament as she can carry, and a plentiful supply of red or white paint. Let her put to sea and disappear. Give notice to the Admirals abroad, and allow them ample time to make their

arrangements to protect commerce from this pretended hostile cruiser, which, instead of capturing and burning, might be authorized to paint on the side of any British vessel boarded at discretion, either a large C for capture, or B for burnt. Of course, if brought within range of a war ship of superior gun power, the experiment must terminate, as the cruiser's career may be presumed to have finished, but by all means let her go on marking British ships until that happens, even though C's and B's crowd our ports. This experiment would be of more value than a hundred papers such as this to determine the question whether systematic organized naval intelligence is or is not a great national necessity.

**TABLE I.—Value of Imports and Exports to and from the United Kingdom only, from and to Seaboards of the World, grouped by Ocean Districts, and for one Year only (1879), also distinguishing Foreign from British Seaboard Commerce in these Districts.**

Designation of Districts. From and to Foreign Countries in District. From and to British Possessions in District. Total value Imports and Exports grouped in Ocean Districts. Value of Imports. Value of Exports. Value of Imports. Value of Exports. £ £ £ £ £ Northern Seas District ..... 78,420,941 72,082,722 NIL. 1 Nil. 1 150,503,663 N. E. Atlantic " ..... 78,277,323 55,215,551 801,010 2,540,074 136,833,958 N. W. Atlantic " ..... 93,521,458 31,544,755 17,718,615 9,140,023 151,924,851 South Atlantic " ..... 6,041,890 9,229,204 4,682,409 6,417,921 26,371,424 Indian Seas " ..... 2,040,116 2,449,796 21,681,286 26,429,791 52,600,989 North Pacific " ..... 17,646,906 9,266,247 1,357,085 3,208,227 31,478,465 South Pacific " ..... 8,100,603 2,486,116 21,964,440 17,959,705 50,510,864 284,049,237 182,274,391 68,204,845 65,695,741 600,224,214 1 It is to be observed that Heligoland and the Channel Islands are excluded from these Tables, being considered as parts of the United Kingdom.

**TABLE II.—Number of British Vessels Entered to and Cleared from United Kingdom (including repeated Voyages) with CARGOES from and to Seaboards of the World, grouped by Ocean Districts and in one Year only (1879), distinguishing Foreign from British Seaboard Commerce in those Districts, and also Steamers from Sailers; and showing Aggregate Total Tonnage of all.**

Ocean Districts. From and to District Foreign Ports. From and to District British Ports. Total entered and cleared to all Ports. Tonnage entered and cleared to all Ports. Entered. Cleared. Entered. Cleared. Steam. Sail. Steam. Sail. Steam. Sail. Steam. Sail. Steam. Sail. Northern Sea District. 6,547 2,025 8,262 2,193 1 .. 1 .. 1 .. 11,809 4,218 7,275,364 659,931 N. E. Atlantic " 8,342 2,903 10,476 4,266 35 29 538 59 19,391 7,257 8,529,765 1,147,509 N. W. Atlantic " 1,455 1,628 1,174 648 270 1,639 330 1,013 3,229 4,928 5,562,524 2,991,519 South Atlantic " 162 231 220 586 73 67 91 286 546 1,170 712,620 503,785 Indian Sea " 2 52 16 72 235 486 488 648 741 1,258 1,090,282 1,394,647 N. Pacific " 84 210 3 78 1 14 .. 22 88 324 134,162 315,745 S. Pacific " 25 259 24 254 24 300 38 458 111 1,271 234,557 1,087,629 Total..... 16,617 7,308 20,175 8,097 638 2,535 1,485 2,486 38,915 2 20,426 23,539,274 8,100,765 1 It is to be observed that Heligoland and the Channel Islands are excluded from these Tables, being considered as parts of the United Kingdom. 2 1,444 British vessels passed through Suez Canal.

**TABLE III.—Number of British Vessels Entered to and Cleared from the United Kingdom (including repeated Voyages) in BALLAST, from and to Seaboards of the World grouped by Ocean Districts, and in one Year only (1879), distinguishing Foreign from British Seaboard Commerce in those Districts,**

**and also Steamers from Sailors; and showing Aggregate Total Tonnage of all.**

Ocean Districts. From and to District Foreign Ports. From and to District British Ports. Total entered and cleared to all Ports. Total Aggregate Tonnage entered and cleared to all Ports. Entered. Cleared. Entered. Cleared. Steam. Sail. Steam. Sail. Steam. Sail. Steam. Sail. Steam. Sail. Northern Seas Districts 2,526 678 346 335 1 .. 1 .. 1 .. 1 .. 2,872 1,013 1,711,827 296,232 N. E. Atlantic " 3,084 1,701 842 599 10 2 2 3 3,938 2,305 1,588,165 388,486 N. W. Atlantic " .. 1 204 711 .. .. 24 443 228 1,155 275,426 870,882 South Atlantic " .. 1 9 7 8 .. 14 3 31 11 53,963 5,163 Indian Seas " .. 1 1 .. 2 .. 7 4 10 5 6,055 4,655 North Pacific " .. .. 7 .. .. .. 7 .. 3,706 South Pacific " .. .. 4 .. .. 6 1 10 1 3,864 714 Total..... 5,610 2,382 1,413 1,652 20 2 53 454 7,096 4,490 3,643,006 1,566,132 1 It is to be observed that Heligoland and the Channel Islands are excluded from these Tables, being considered as parts of the United Kingdom.

**TABLE IV.—Showing Value of Trade of United Kingdom by Ocean District; also the Value of Indian and Colonial Trade (exclusive of that with United Kingdom); and further the Imperial Value of the Ocean District.**

North Seas.	North-west Atlantic.	North Pacific.	South Pacific.	Indian Seas.	South Atlantic.	North-east Atlantic.	Totals.	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	United Kingdom trade (vide Table I) .....	150,500,000	151,900,000	31,400,000	
50,500,000	52,000,000	26,300,000	136,800,000	600,000,000	Indian and Colonial (exclusive of that with United Kingdom) .....	1,400,000	22,200,000	22,400,000	38,400,000	77,100,000	2,400,000	26,900,000	190,000,000	IMPERIAL VALUE ....	151,900,000	174,100,000	53,800,000	88,900,000	129,700,000	28,700,000
163,700,000	790,000,000																			

**TABLE V.—Showing Oceanic Accumulations caused by Movements of Commerce between the Hemispheres during Year 1879.**

South Pacific.	Indian Seas.	South Atlantic.	North-east Atlantic.	£	£	£	£	Imperial value (vide Table IV).....	88,900,000	129,700,000	28,700,000	163,700,000
From and to North Pacific in transit viâ Horn.....	5,000,000	"	"	"	"	"	"	Cape and Canal.....	26,400,000	"	South Pacific	"
..	23,500,000	"	North and South Pacific in transit, viâ Horn.....	..	33,500,000	"	North and South Pacific and Indian Seas in transit, viâ Cape. ....	..	50,000,000	"	"	"
Canal.....	..	82,600,000	Accumulated values caused by transit between hemispheres.....	93,900,000	179,600,000	112,200,000	246,300,000					

**TABLE VI.—Weekly average 1 Number of Grain and Wool Sailing Ships on Passage to United Kingdom from three Ocean Districts in each Quarter of the Year.**

From North east Atlantic.	From North Pacific.	From South Pacific.	Grand Total Weekly Average Number of Ships.	With Wheat.	With Maize.	With Flour.	Total.	With Wheat.	With Flour.	Total.	With Wheat.	With Flour.
With Wool. Total. 1st Quarter of Year.....	26	30	6	62	154	9	163	66	..	138	204	429
".....	42	42	8	92	91	12	103	149	3	156	308	503
48	123	4	58	185	387	4th " ".....	66	66	4	136	81	6
							87	85	4	78	167	380

1 For the three years 1878-9-80.

**ENGLAND'S GREATEST SCHOLAR.**

BY J. G. Grant,  
*First Rector of the High School of Otago, and Founder of the Eight Hours System of Labour.*  
 These five elegantly bound volumes may be regarded in the light of a "vast storehouse of wisdom,"

eloquence, and erudition. Three of these volumes are edited by J. A. St. John, and adorned with his scholarly notes, observations, and reflections. Milton's Defence of the People of England against the learned, insolent, pedantic, mercenary sophist Salmasius—a Leyden professor—is an immortal monument of his genius. He pours sarcastic vitriol upon the head of the king's apologist. Indeed, both in this work and also in the Eikonoklastes, he excels even Demosthenes, and in point of odious personalities, Cicero himself. His fulsome vituperation mars the splendour and brightness of his eloquence. Despite his herculean efforts in the cause of civil and religious liberty, the people "returned like animals devoid of reason to their old servitude under the Stuarts." Salmasius and his servile brood could only maintain their cause by "fraud, fallacy, ignorance, and barbarity." Milton had "light, truth, reason, and learning on his side." He was a grand Puritan and republican. Kings, peers, and prelates he hated. And yet he was only partially emancipated from superstition. In the Hebrew theocracy, it seems, "upon matters of great and weighty importance, they could have access to God himself and consult with him." How did they get veracious responses? Only through the mouth of a juggling prophet, like pagans from a Delphic oracle God never commanded to put a tyrant to death; albeit, it may be often lawful to dethrone a ruler who sets himself above the law—for the *Lex is Rex*. Superstition is a question of degree, and questionless. Milton has loaded his antagonists with everlasting disgrace. Out of the law of God, the laws of nations, and the laws of England and Scotland, he justifies the execution of Charles, who is roundly accused with having poisoned his father. In the teeth of canting Presbyterians, who perpetually oscillated between superstition and despotism, he relates that "no less than fifty Scottish kings have been either banished, or imprisoned, or put to death, and some of them publicly executed." Milton was a fearless eikonoklast or image-breaker of the idols of Salmasius, the bishops, and the presbyters. Milton, like Cromwell, had decision of character, a rare quality at all times. The Presbyterians—between two stools—fell to the ground. A just reward for renegades, place-hunters, and impostors. The tenure of kings and magistrates subsists only upon good behaviour. It is "a mutual Covenant between king and people." These Presbyterian "mercenary noise-makers first began, fomented, and carried on, beyond the cure of any sound or safe accommodation, all the evil which hath since unavoidably befallen them and their king." They practically deposed, outlawed, defied, depressed, and killed him, and when he is solemnly hanged, as he deserved, they begin to cant and preach in another strain. Milton's masterpiece, the Areopagetica, was written in 1644 "with the design of convincing the Presbyterians—who, being now in power, were mimicking the intolerant example set them by the prelates—of the iniquity and impolicy of endeavouring the suppression of opinions by force." But to enlightened toleration they were as deaf as dumb adders. After the death of Cromwell, Milton wrote his tracts on the Commonwealth, but the royalists managed, through Presbyterian superstition, to get Charles II. restored, and lo! for twenty-eight years the nation—especially Scotland—groaned under the despotism of the Stuarts. Milton's views are still in advance of this age. Ormond's proclamation and the Belfast Presbyterian pastoral are denounced as "devilish malice, impudence, and falsehood." They made "a show of gravity, learning," and liberty, but they were only hollow pretences of despotism and superstition. The Letters of State, written by Milton in Latin for Cromwell, the Parliament, and Council of State, prove what power England wielded over Europe then. Dr. Griffith's sermon in 1660, on the fear of God and and the King, was mercilessly torn in tatters by Milton, who treated that "pulpit mountebank" as he deserved. The obstructions in the way of a perfect Reformation in England he ascribed, in two books, to two causes—senseless ceremonies, and an Episcopal corporation of impostors. Lucifer, according to Milton, was the first prelate. His Reason of Church Government, in two books, is dead against prelacy, or even Presbyterianism. Every Christian is his own prophet, priest, and king, despite the arbitrary dictum of "any college of mountebanks." Milton would give no toleration to Popery because it gives none. His essay on true religion, heresy, and schism, might be advantageously studied now. Heresy, he defines, is in the will and choice professedly against Scripture; error is, against the will, in misunderstanding the Scripture after all sincere endeavours to understand it rightly. Hence, he would tolerate all honest interpretation of Scripture, but atheism and superstition he would extirpate.

In Milton's day, the Scripture was before the Church; now both are disavowed by many. Conscience must be free; and now Reason protrudes upon the function of Conscience, even when alleging Scripture as its warrant. Milton's line of argument for toleration must inevitably lead to universal toleration of all sorts and conditions of men and opinions—not openly at variance with the peace and stability of the commonwealth. According to Milton, heresy is selection, schism is division, and Popery is idolatry. In 1659 Milton dedicated to the Parliament of the Commonwealth a book, entitled "The likeliest means to remove hirelings out of the Church." His panacea was to stop supplies. Under the gospel dispensation, tithes and "fees for sacraments, marriages, burials are wicked, accursed, simoniacal, and abominable." Hence the Church has become "a den of thieves and robbers." He also "shatters to atoms the feeble logic" of Bishop Hall in defence of his order. It is in the form of a dialogue, and withers away with sarcasm all apologies for Episcopalian drones, litanies, liturgies, matin, and evensong. He taxes them with having poisoned the fountains of learning with their doltish and monastical rubbish.

Having thus sternly rebuked the Bishop's defence against Smectymnuus, he himself offers an apology for the same next year, 1642. He comes to the aid of the "five Presbyterian divines, under the appellation of Smectymnuus, a word formed with the initial letters of the names of the united authors of a pamphlet—Stephen Marston, Edward Calamy, Thomas Young, Matthew Newcornen, and William Spurstow." Had the assembly of divines secured the services of Milton, their cause might have obtained a perpetual ascendancy over England. Milton loathed "the scragged and thorny lectures of monkish and miserable sophistry," the food with which the English, and even the Scottish universities fed their students. They return from these fountains of learning "with a scholastic burr in their throats—their voices cracked with metaphysical gargations." They cannot "speak in a pure style, nor distinguish the ideas and various kinds of style in Latin." To the Parliament and assembly of divines Milton dedicated his radical work on the doctrine and discipline of divorce, in two books. As his editor justly says, "This great work on divorce, with the three parasitical treatises, 'Tetrachardon,' 'The opinions of Martin Bucer,' and 'Colasterion,' may be said nearly to exhaust all the philosophy and learning on the subject." It was two centuries and a half in advance of his day—perhaps, indeed, it will be so two centuries after our day. The subject is "discussed with surprising eloquence, learning, and freedom. . . . He pushes the Protestant license to the utmost, arrays text against text, gospel against law, and law against gospel, and ultimately decides in conformity with the suggestions of reason." That is—marriage is a civil contract for promotion of mutual happiness, and subsisting only so long as it promotes that, and *no longer*. Milton's religion was "a pure transcendental philosophy, which soared above texts and formularies, and rested ultimately on the eternal relations subsisting between God and his creatures." He had lofty ideas of England. Our "island was the cathedral of philosophy to France; our English Constantino baptized the Roman empire; Willibrode and Winifride were the first apostles of Germany; Alcuin and Wickliffe opened the eyes of Europe, the one in arts, the other in religion." In marriage, there must be a "conformity of disposition and affection—a mutual help to piety, to civil fellowship of love and amity, to generation, to household affairs, and the remedy of incontinence." Without these, God never united man and woman in wedlock. Each should be "a meet help against loneliness—a solace, not an adversary—a wife." Marriage is, indeed, a divine institution only in so far as it joins man and wife "in a love fitly disposed to the helps and comforts of domestic life." Milton hated "that vain, papistical distinction of divorce from bed and board." When either party breaks his or her part of the bond, then the dissolution of the contract is effected. The covenant is clearly conditional.

In 1644 Milton wrote a book on education. Were his idea of education realised, "there would then also appear in pulpits other visage, other gestures, and stuff otherwise wrought than what we now sit under, of times to as great a trial of our patience as any other that they preach to us."

His Familiar Letters in Latin breathe "nobleness of sentiment and lofty dignity of thought." Australasians, Americans, and even Britons should ponder over this oracular dictum—"We have never heard of any people or state which has not flourished in some degree of prosperity as long as their language has retained its elegance and purity." Milton, like his favourite Sallust, said much in few words. He "united copiousness with brevity." Lord Macaulay, on the contrary, like Cicero, lacked this power. They had, however, "elegance of diction and copiousness of narrative," but they were strangers to brevity.

"The Christian Doctrine" is a posthumous treatise in two books. Milton, discarding scholastic and systematic bodies of divinity, compiled from the Holy Scriptures a body of belief to rescue his own mind "from these two detestable curses, slavery and superstition." Tyranny and superstition he laboured to destroy. Like Locke, he felt "our inability to reconcile the universal prescience of God with the free agency of man." Still he holds to both, and makes predestination contingent, not absolute. He endeavours, with the aid of holy writ, to steer clear of scholastic subtleties and mysteries. Milton, it must be allowed, must be ranked in the same rank with Arians. They too, hold what is in Scripture a plain doctrine, but reject what they consider unscriptural terms, and a mystery founded purely on scholastic subtleties." He ascribed to the Son as high a share of divinity as was compatible with the denial of his self-existence and eternal generation, but not admitting his co-equality and co-essentiality with the Father." Milton, unlike Clarke, can scarcely be called a Semi-Arian or Homoiousian. Polygamy too, is not unlawful, nor contrary to Holy Scripture. This treatise on "Christian Doctrine" is, according to St. John, "distinguished in a remarkable degree by calmness of thought, as well as by moderation of language." Doubtless Milton, like Pascal, was led into many absurdities by his purpose to "discard reason in sacred matters, and follow the doctrine of Holy Scripture exclusively." Like Whitby, however, he "acknowledged Christ to be *verus Deus*, though not *summus Deus*; both admit his true dominion and his God-head, though not original, independent, and underived; both assert his right to honour and worship, in virtue of the Father's gift; both deny his sameness of individual essence with the Father; and both maintain that he derives all his excellencies and power from the Father, and consequently is inferior to the Father." According to Milton, "To God the issue of events is not uncertain, but foreknown with the utmost certainty, though they be not decreed necessarily. . . . The liberty of man must be considered entirely independent of necessity. . . . . God decreed everything according to his infinite wisdom, by virtue of his fore-knowledge. . . .

This foresight or fore-knowledge on the part of God imposed on them no necessity of acting in any definite way; no more than if the future event had been foreseen by any human being."

Milton goes on to prove from Scripture that "election is not a part of predestination, much less is reprobation. The ultimate purpose of predestination is salvation of believers." Clearly, then, it follows that "the apostasy of the first man was not decreed, but only foreknown by the infinite wisdom of God. Predestination was not an absolute decree before the fall of man." Herein he differs from Calvin; for both pretention and condemnation are included in reprobation, according to Calvin. Milton tries to evade the Calvinistic inference that God—who passes by the reprobate, and withholds from them the means of grace—is the author of sin and the destruction of sinners. Predestination is a general, not a particular election. In short, argues Milton, the principle of predestination depends upon a condition." God, Milton iterates and reiterates, "has predestined to salvation on the proviso of a general condition, all who enjoy freedom of will; while none are predestined to destruction, except through their own fault." Milton laboured "to discover the truth with a mind free from prejudice" And yet he could identify the Son under the name of the Logos! Nevertheless, he denies the "hypothesis no less strange than repugnant to reason, namely—that the Son, although personally and numerically another, was yet essentially one with the Father, and that thus the unity of God was preserved." He, however, asserts that "there is in reality but one true, independent, and supreme God." He adheres to the pagan idea of a mediator. Christ is "not in essence one with the Father, but only in intimacy of communion, in love, agreement, charity, spirit, and glory." Did he really come down from heaven? Every great reformer may be called a messenger from God. Like the Arians and Socinians, Milton rejected the scholastic terms of Trinity, Tri-unity, Co-essentiality, Tri-personality, &c. Of Milton himself it might be said, "ye worship ye know not what." The Holy Spirit is only a divine influence. "God did not produce everything out of nothing, but of himself." Whence himself? Is not this paltry quibbling to evade a confession of, ignorance? Our author believes in conditional immortality. He denies the possibility of the separation of the spirit from the body at death. Both rest in the grave till the resurrection, when they shall be judged and rewarded. Consequently, purgatory is a fiction. The Sabbath is not binding upon the Christian, and "we nowhere read in Scripture of the Lord's supper being distributed to the first Christians by an appointed minister." Pædobaptism is not sanctioned in holy writ. It is, however, implied.

Dr. Sumner, Bishop of Winchester and subsequently Archbishop of Canterbury, translated this treatise on "Christian Doctrine," and he asserts that Milton was indebted to Dr. William Ames and Wollebins, "both in the distribution of his subject and arrangement of his chapters." That may be so; but Milton was too original to be under any serious obligation to any "general systems of divinity." Richardson tells us that Milton "had a gravity in his temper—not melancholy, not sour, morose, or ill-natured—but a certain serenity of mind, a mind not condescending to little things." Symons also, assures us that "in his whole deportment there was visible a certain dignity of mind and a something of conscious superiority which could not at all times be suppressed or wholly withdrawn from observation." All this we might collect from a perusal of his writings.

John Milton wrote a History of Britain up to the Norman conquest. He painfully flounders on amidst fabulous traditions, and attempts to steer his path from chaos to cosmos. Our ancient progenitors were "a lewd, adulterous, incestuous race, ten or twelve men, absurdly against nature, possessing one as their common wife, though of nearest km." In this respect they were not worse than the ancient civilized Egyptians, Assyrians, Greeks, and Romans. On the disruption of the Roman empire, anarchy spread over Western Europe, even extending to Britain. From "the coming in of Julius Cæsar to the taking of Rome by Alaric," the Romans governed, but never really conquered Britain, for the space of 462 years. Then came the Saxons, that grew up "to seven absolute kingdoms." Milton sensibly felt "how wearisome it may likely be to read of so many bare and reasonless actions—so many names of kings one after another, acting little more than mute persons in a scene." I wonder how he could muster up sufficient patience "to chronicle the wars of kites and crows." To such he likens the bickerings of the Saxon heptarchy. Then came the bloody Danes, or Dacians, and lastly the Normans, as barbarous as the Saxons themselves. What were they all but the rudest barbarians? Alfred himself was "the mirror of princes." He was the glory of Saxondom. Canute was a shrewd Dane, and Norman William was a pure tyrant. The truth is, Britain *first* entered on a long career of peace, prosperity, and glory after the battle of Culloden in 1746.

Milton also wrote "From the writings of eye-witnesses," a brief history of Moscovia. Their reports seem to me to be unreliable, or at any rate grossly exaggerated. The Russians were then very barbarous, "great talkers, liars, flatterers, dissemblers, drunkards," &c. They realised Milton's ideas of divorce, for "it was a rule among them that if the wife be not beaten once a week, she thinks herself not beloved. Upon utter dislike, the husband divorces." The development of Moscow into the vast proportions of modern Russia would astonish Milton were he now alive.

So much for England's greatest scholar. I have called attention to him and his works, with a special design to dissipate the gross and dense ignorance of this unhappy Colony, and to raise it from the dismal abyss of

degradation—social, moral, religious, political and literary—into which it is now unfortunately plunged. With this view I cast this ray of light into our Cimmerian darkness.

Fergusson and Mitchell, Printers and Stationers, Princes street, Dunedin.

Employment of females and Children in factories and Workshops. A Paper

BY THE LATE MAJOR SIR JOHN L. C. RICHARDSON.

With Introduction BY J. B. B.-Bradshaw,

And *Parliamentary Records, &c.*,

BEARING ON THE SUBJECT.

Printed at the "Otago Daily Times" Office Dunedin Dowling Street. MDCCCLXXXI

## Introduction.

IT was my intention to publish only the paper on the eight-hour system left with me by the late Major Sir John Richardson; but the question being of considerable moment, and so many attempts having been made to alter the law on the subject, I have modified my intention. In addition, therefore, I publish other valuable records all bearing on the subject, and a lecture delivered by the Rev. Joseph Cook in Tremont Hall, Boston, U.S. The lecturer shows, in forcible language, terrible results from overworking women and children in the factories in the United States of America. In Massachusetts alone, during a period of seven years, 72,700 died in their working period, and for every death there were two lying sick in bed.

The medical testimony shows that a great physiological law is violated when women and children are overworked (and this law of nature will never be repealed), and that it is physically impossible for a woman (or child) to work even in the best regulated factories the same number of hours as man without seriously injuring her constitution.

It is now eight years since the Factory Act of New Zealand was passed into law, and it may safely be said that in every district where the Resident Magistrate has done his duty by appointing an Inspector to see that the provisions of the Act are fulfilled, a favourable change in the comfort, independence, and well-being of those females and children employed in factories and workshops, and the consequent improvement in their social condition and physical health, have taken place.

I may be permitted to add the valuable opinion of one of our best writers on this subject. Benjamin Ward Richardson, M.D., M.A., F.R.S., Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians, in his book on "Diseases of Modern Life," says: "Occupations of every kind, however varied they may be, require to be alternated fairly with rest and recreation. It is the worst mistake to suppose that most and best work can be done when these aids are omitted. Strictly, no occupation that calls forth special mental and physical work should fill more than one-third of daily life. The minds of men of all classes ought to be devoted to the promotion of a systematic method by which the productive labour of every life should be carried on within the limited term of eight hours in the twenty-four. The body of man is not constructed to run its complete cycle under a heavier burden of labour." If this be true what Dr. Richardson says of men, with what greater force does it apply to women and children.

And now I conclude with what Edmund Burke used to say, that "the object of Government being to make strong men and strong women, and good citizens, and to educate them, and that nothing is worth anything in Government unless good men and good women are the result."

J. B. B.-BRADSHAW.

*High Street, Dunedin, New Zealand,*

27th June, 1881.

## Preface.

The noble man who has passed away from the horizon of New Zealand, Major Sir John Richardson, with the lofty determination, the chivalric sentiment, to benefit women and children, threw, during this life, the energy of his character into the great factory question of overworking women and children. In a new country the abnormal cruelty does not strike one with the same power "and equality of argument" as it does in older countries. The evil, however, exists, and if not eradicated will have a serious effect on a very important class of

the community.

Now, as passing through a weird rocky glen—where the rent fissures in the rocks, the armless trunks of giants of the forest, the dwarfed herbage, proclaim that Nature has in some freak desired to teach man the lesson of dissolution—one discovers a jewel of price, a diamond which sheds a radiance around, colouring with its reflected rays the objects in its immediate vicinity, sanctifying and hallowing them with its own beauty; so occasionally one finds some specimen of the human race who appears to have belonged to the "Round Table," to have breathed the same air with Arthur, the great King, and by some metempsychosis, which, by our finite intelligence cannot be understood, has re-visited the world for the good of women and children. Such a specimen was Sir John Richardson.

Life ebbing away, on the banks of the great river, within a short time of his death the "Major" left with his friend, Mr. Bradshaw, the author of "Bradshaw's Factory Act," the little *brochure* he had written during life. It was the "Major's" intention to publish it in pamphlet form and distribute it free. To the great loss of the country he was gathered into the harvest of the just before he could publish it himself, and leaving the manuscript with Mr. Bradshaw, his wish is now complied with by him.

H. C. B.

## ***Employment of Females and Children.***

(By the Late Sir John Richardson.)

Though I have specially addressed this little pamphlet to the fathers and mothers of families, as to those primarily concerned in the well-being of the rising generation, I would ask the kind indulgence of the public generally, and particularly of those given to the consideration of social and economic questions, to what I shall bring before them. I lay no claim to originality of thought, nor to depth of research, I only ask that what I have gathered may be fairly weighed, and that if it produces the conviction that the cause is a good one, it may be followed by earnest and hearty co-operation.

Mr. Mundella, a member of the Imperial Parliament, himself a factory man, who had once worked in a cotton-mill, and who has nineteen-twentieths of his money invested in English industries, has rightly remarked that "in times past no legislation had provoked so much bitter hostility, and so much personal acrimony, as factory legislation." "Within the last 40 or 50 years," he says, "it had arrayed against it some of the most illustrious statesmen and political economists of Great Britain, including Lord Brougham, Lord Macaulay, Sir James Graham, Mr. Cobden, Mr. Roebuck, and Mr. Mill; but all, or nearly all of them lived to see the error of their ways, and they generously and magnanimously acknowledged their error." Mr. Disraeli, speaking in Glasgow, little more than two years ago, observed that, "though originally opposed to the principle of the Factory Acts, he was obliged to confess that nothing had conferred a greater blessing on the people of England." Even John Stuart Mill, who had written more strongly against restrictions on the employment of women and young persons, and yet, excelled by none in the courage to declare his opinions, said not a word, when, as a member for Westminster, the Factory Act, and the Workshops Act, 1867, were passed through the House of Commons. When Sir James Graham was Home Secretary in 1844, though once a stout opponent, he publicly expressed his conviction that "women of all ages, so dreadful was their condition in the mills, must be protected by law."

No less emphatic was the testimony of the late Mr. Cobden, who, speaking of the print works, "was so satisfied that married women at least were not free agents, that he assented to a clause which provided that 'any husband conniving at the employment of his wife should be subject to a heavy penalty.'" But I should be doing an injustice to the cause of factory legislation were I to confine myself to recording to opinions of able statesmen and politicians. When the bitter controversy commenced, some 40 years since, only two mill-owners stood by the Earl of Shaftesbury, but now, not more than two are against him, to say nothing of the hearty co-operation of many of the mill-owners themselves; and so remarkable and affecting has been the conversion in some cases, that on visiting one of the greatest of the proprietors of a manufactory he was taken into the counting-house, and, being seized by both hands, was told, "I was long your most determined opponent, but you have carried the day, and now never part with a hair's breadth of what you have gained. It will do no harm to us, and it will do great good to the people." And with respect to one of the latest declarations, we have the largest silkowner in the world, Mr. Lister, expressing his conviction in the Bradford Chamber of Commerce that the late Bill was called for, "for the operatives had shown the necessity for shorter hours, and the mill-owners had certainly not shown that such hours could not safely be adopted." Mr. Mason, also, a very eminent occupier of mill property, declares in regard to shortening the hours of labour—"I have not a particle of fear of ruin to our cotton trade by the adoption of fifty-six hours a week." Even the representatives of the Huddersfield Chamber of Commerce, on the passing of the Factory Health of Women Act, in 1874, said—"We

were sent to curse, and we do not like to bless, but we do not want to oppose the Bill."

Should we need additional evidence we shall find it in the speech of Mr. Macdonald, a member of the British Parliament, who "had passed his life in the ranks of the working men," and who, while declaring that working men were quite capable of legislating for themselves, both in regard to wages and to hours of labour, accused an opponent of being "willing to hand women and children over to the tender mercies of combination, rather than accept a proposal to give them legislative protection."

Until the year 1833, "children and young persons were worked the whole day and the whole night *ad libitum*, and human ingenuity, prompted by greed, and deaf to human suffering, devised a complicated system of relieving and shifting hands, moving about the labourers in the factory so as to puzzle the inspectors and elude prosecution;" and it was not till 1848, after a preliminary Act for the protection of women and young children was passed, that the ten hours' labour day was fixed. Nor was it an hour too early, for a labourer in the tapestry factory, in giving evidence at a Parliamentary enquiry, stated :—"I used to carry my boy to and from the factory when he was seven, and he worked for sixteen hours daily. I often knelt down to feed him as he stood at the machine, for he was not allowed to quit it." Nor is such testimony confined to one class alone, for, as may be learned from the Children's Commission Report of 1863, respectable employers themselves, who suffered most from the un-scrupulous filching propensities of their competitors, demanded protection from the Legislature for themselves and the unhappy victims of human cupidity.

To know anything of the deep degradation and fearful condition of the working classes formerly employed in factories, we must go back to the year 1832, when, for the first time the Legislature, wrung with anguish at the pitiable sight disclosed by the Imperial Commissioners and other trustworthy persons, stepped forward to protect those, who, in many instances, were worse cared for than the "very animals which worked in the mines." The introduction of water as a motive power, and the subsequent employment of steam in connection with machinery, gave a marvellous impulse to cotton manufactures, and were the cause of hundreds of thousands of men, women, and children concentrating in certain localities in and around Manchester, and other similar cities, laying the foundation of gigantic fortunes to the employers of labour, and of vast physical suffering and mental and moral degradation to the employed. Excessive labour, common alike to men, women, and children, left no time for education, while it unnerved the mind, benumbed the moral faculties, and prostrated the body, so that the few hours of relaxation, falsely so called, passed in darksome lanes and loathe-some dens, where the work people lived, were spent by them in low and degrading pursuits. The groaning machinery untiringly and methodically worked its way, while the attendant human machinery, consisting of toiling tens of thousands, mechanically followed its movements for the long weary hours of the day, heedless of anything but a cessation from work, and scarcely even of that. No wonder, then, that the "educational, moral, and physical condition of England's workmen began to be felt as altogether unbearable." No wonder, then, that the Parliament of Great Britain, casting aside delusive theories and vain philosophies, felt it to be an imperative duty to arrest the course of deterioration and destruction, more fearful and certain than those epidemics which periodically carry off their millions. Unaided philanthropy proving powerless in the presence of so gigantic an evil, it became necessary to invoke the strong and protecting arm of the law.

Were I to confine myself to such vague generalities, unsupported by illustrations, it is to be feared that the public mind would not be sufficiently sensible of the wonderful transforming blessings which have accompanied a wise and just legislation, and, therefore, revolting as the record may be, I cannot refrain from depicting in their true colours, so far as propriety admits, the state of the manufacturing classes in or before the year 1833. Let us view the subject in its physical, moral, and mental aspects, and then decide whether legislative intervention was necessary, and whether it came an hour too early.

If we regard the subject from a physical point of view let the Earl of Shaftesbury, formerly Lord Ashley, speak. "Well can I recollect," he says, in the earlier period of this movement, "waiting at the factory gates to see the children come out, and a set of sad dejected creatures they were; but, now, it is far different, and you may perceive in them health, elasticity, and joy. In Bradford especially, the proofs of long and cruel toil were most remarkable. The crippled and distorted forms might be numbered by hundreds, perhaps by thousands. The sight was piteous, the deformities incredible; but now there is scarcely a crippled child in the town. Under these circumstances and in the presence of facts it is idle to say that Parliamentary inquiry and protective legislation were an interference with personal liberty. I pause not to inquire whether all this good might not otherwise have been effected. We know that the evil existed, and that legislation has removed it."

Mr. Baker, speaking of a period prior to the passing of the Act of 1833, said : "It cannot be denied that the factory cripples of Lancashire and Yorkshire were a remarkable sight, it being a common expression that they seemed almost as numerous in proportion to the industrial towns of those countries as sailors were in Liverpool to its general population; but no sooner was the excessive work stopped, and the age of admission to work advanced, than cripples disappeared entirely. On one occasion, in 1832, the working men determined to rescue their wives and children from the excessive toil that was killing them, and they exhibited the factory children in

a great street procession just as they left their work—"stunted, distorted, and pale as spectres, and as it passed along, the people who lined the sides of the streets were awe-struck; and when the children struck up a hymn, asking God to bless those labouring in their cause, their plaintive cries opened the fountain of sympathy, and men and women burst into tears." It was long after this, however, that women and children were worked in factories for 12, sometimes 14, and sometimes 16 hours a day; but the hour of their redemption was drawing near, notwithstanding the determined hostility and lugubrious prophecies of factory owners. Is more testimony needed? We shall find it, without search, in the practical evidence of many awakened employers of labour, who have by a benevolent alchemy transmitted the pestilential and deadly dross of former days into those magnificent workshops which work off disease and promote health.

About the time when the Roman Catholic Emancipation Bill had been carried, and the Reform Bill had become law, self-taught and thoughtful men among the industrial classes threw their weight into the Liberal scale, and, as a just reward, yet an unsolicited one, they received the staunch and energetic support of the Liberal party when vital social questions affecting these classes, originating among themselves, came under consideration, and though the disinterested and unflagging labours of Ashley, Morpeth, Merden, Sadler, Ostler, the Peels, Hobhouse, and others are ever to be held in grateful remembrance, "the credit of this arduous conflict, ending as it triumphantly did, belongs, in the sacrifices it called forth, as well as in the blessings it has brought to the community, to the working men of England." Similar in its support by the working men concerned, was The Inspection of Mines Act, previously to 1860, when the delegates themselves brought forward a new Bill, explaining their case, and reasoning with the Opposition of the House of Commons so that "in the hot weather, and in a bad atmosphere, after miles of walking, and hours of standing, they were so weary as to long for the pit, the pick, and home again." Long and toilsome was the way which the emancipationists had to tread before they were privileged to reap the reward of their labours. So early as 1802 they had begun to frame and pass the Acts which were to liberate the factory class, but which were of no avail for 30 years, owing to want of authority to enforce them. In 1844 factory women were for the first time protected by legislation in a Bill introduced by Sir James Graham, and it was on this occasion that Mr. Cobden gave utterance to his opinion on this subject in these words, "I object to all legislation of this kind, but I cannot resist the fearful evidence of the sufferings to which women are exposed." Concession begot opposition, and legal authority was not powerful enough to protect the factory hands from dismissal; but in the long run, humanity could not be denied, and in 1853, after a half century of ceaseless strife, and after struggles in the Courts of law, the Factory Acts could no longer be called a "mere humbug and a parliamentary fiction." Then followed the Acts of 1864 and 1867, which now cover a population of 2,000,000.

It is an interesting study to watch the progress of these legislative enactments—a progress sturdily resisted, energetically pursued, and thoroughly successful, because based upon the unalterable laws of truth and justice.

By the legislation of 1833 the Earl of Shaftesbury put a stop to the labour of children under nine years of age.

In 1844 Sir James Graham extended the system of protection so as to include women.

In 1850 Sir George Grey limited the hours of work in textile manufactures to between the hours of 6 a.m. and 6 p.m.

In 1874 a Bill was passed limiting employment to ten hours. This Act was termed "An Act to make better provision for improving the health of women, young persons, and children employed in manufactories, and the education of such children, and otherwise improve the Factory Acts."

The wise provisions of this wise Act justly entitled it to be designated by the Earl of Shaftesbury, at a meeting held at Belfast, when addressing the Irish operatives, as "the greatest charter of their liberties." It limits the employment of children after 1878 to those above ten years of age; defines that a "child" shall be so called "till 14 years old," after that a "young person." It directs that every child shall attend school; that children may be employed either in the morning or afternoon of every day, or for the whole day on alternate days; it enforces simultaneous hours for meals, and forbids the employment of operatives during meal times.

There are those who more or less readily acknowledge that legislative protection is needed in behalf of children and young persons, yet who strenuously oppose extending this protection to adult women. This is the crucial point of the whole question, and requires more direct attention. It is a fact beyond all doubt, that of the 4,500,000 of persons employed in textile factories, 74 per cent, were women and children; indeed, practically speaking the factories in England were being more and more worked by women and children. When the Health of Women Bill was before Parliament and carried in the House of Commons by a majority of 216, Mr. Cross asserted that the manufacturers from Yorkshire and Lancashire gave an unanimous testimony "that the strain upon women was at present too great." It was an accepted fact that the monotony of the work, combined with the long hours and the created intensified physical labour owing to the improved machinery and vastly increased speed, so wore out the women, that the work of the last hour of the day was not to be compared to that of the earlier hours; and that more bad work accumulated during the last half-hour or hour than during the

whole of the day. Mr. Brassey well observed that "by employing the labour of the weak, the immature, and those of tender age—that is, women and children—there arises a large amount of misery, mortality, and destruction of family life;" and it is confidently affirmed that the "mortality of children is greatest when women are employed in factory labour, and where the children, from the want of proper food, and from the use of opiates, become the victims of unnatural parents." Then again, we have the testimony of Mr. Cross, who says: "I have from my youth been intimately acquainted with a large manufacturing town, and represented one for some years, and what I have seen and heard has satisfied me that to a great extent women could not be regarded as free agents." "Partly from need of money, partly from the pressure, perhaps, of the mill-owners, or of her husband and family, she worked at times when utterly unfit, and in the long run, both she and her family suffered." It has been confidently asserted that "the strain upon operatives, especially upon female operatives, had very considerably increased of recent years, and that the prolonged hours of labour had exercised a most injurious influence in producing the excess of infant mortality in the manufacturing districts." "The case of married women was the strongest of all, and there was an almost unanimity of opinion on the part of employers in favour of restricting the employment of married women." Mr. Mundella observes that "his attention had been called to the Blue-book on infant mortality in connection with the factory system, and he must say that the revelations which it made were simply horrible, appalling, and disgraceful to us as a Christian people."

If we needed a practical argument to enforce the necessity of restricting the hours of labour, we find it in the recorded fact that, during the cotton famine of 1862-3 the infant mortality in Lancashire was much lower than in busy times; and why? because, even though the necessaries of life were more scanty, the women had time to attend to their children, and, instead of depriving them of that nutriment which Providence had devised as the best, they were present at suitable intervals to obey maternal instincts; and it is a curious attesting fact that, while "the death rate fell enormously during the cotton famine, when the people were fully employed the rate of mortality again rose."

Nor need we confine our attention to what we see and hear in the Old Country, for what is the experience of France on this question? France has a declining population, both in numbers and physique, because "they have worked their children and young women without restriction." In Belgium, too, children were admitted to the mills at the age of eight, and the effect, both physically and morally, on the people was manifest; and, moreover, in both cases a strong feeling was growing up in favour of a law for regulating the labour of women and children.

It has been idly said, that protective legislation for women would cause them to be thrust out of the factories, with no alternatives but prostitution or starvation, but there is not the slightest doubt, as statistics amply prove, that immorality under the existing Acts has marvellously decreased. It is equally idle to assert that the limitation of the hours of labour was a Trades Unionist movement, designed, under the influence of jealousy of female competition to restrict the field of work to men; for, what is the fact? The women employed are the wives, the daughters, or the sisters of the very few men who were employed in the mills. While employers of labour, who were members of the British House of Commons, were amongst the principal originators of the movement, giving time and money toward its furtherance, yet it is a very significant and unanswerable fact, that of the whole amount of money raised, 60 per cent, came from the women, and the rest from the employers of labour.

Mr. Broadhurst declares his conviction that "the reduction of the number of hours of labour always led to the improvement of wages, and that the improvement of the condition of working men had led to the withdrawal of married women from work, and consequently of raising wages of women generally." Miss Sim-cox, representing the London Society of Shirt and Collar Makers, observes, "That working women were uniformly of opinion that what had been done hitherto had been very valuable to them." It has been represented that interference with the age at which children may enter the factories will tend to their running wild in the streets: to which it is answered, that the new Education Act provides a remedy, and that when they do enter, it is in the vigour of unimpaired health, and not as the cripples of former times, of whom it was said that "such were their crooked shapes that they were like a mass of crooked alphabets."

It has been said as an argument against the restriction of labour, that short hours bring with them short wages; but it is replied by Mr. Mason, that there is no fear of ruin by the adoption of 56 hours a week in the cotton trade; but the Bill of 1874 is intended not to regulate the hours of labour, but to promote the health of women and children, and the education of the latter. Earl Shaftesbury observed that the cry of danger from "foreign competition, consequent loss of trade, reduced wages, and universal distress, is all met by increased production, equal profits, higher wages, and universal prosperity." He says: "There are few men remaining who can compare the present with the past. I am one of the few, and I am bold enough to say that the existing generation, in its physical, moral, and political character, seems to have sprung from a higher class of men." And Mr. Macdonald, no mean authority, adds his testimony, that reduction of hours has had the effect of increasing wages universally.

Nor is there any fear in the reduction of labour ruining trade, for Mr. Baxter, himself a foreign merchant, declares that trade has marvellously increased through foreign competition. The ten-hour system did not ruin trade, nor will it—did not reduce the work done, nor will it—for he himself years ago had reduced the hours of labour, and had turned out in consequence, more work in ten hours than in twelve or fifteen. He earnestly pleads for restricting the hours of labour, because of the additional strain upon the operatives, and declares that there is no diminution of profits, because machinery does more work. What has to be feared in the competitive race with foreigners, is cheating, in the adulteration of cotton goods by size and china clay, which has led India, formerly our best customer, to erect mills of its own.

One of the prevailing cries is that the employment of women will interfere with the labour of men, but it is to be observed that women are not to be debarred from the free exercise of their powers of mind and body. They have a natural right to provide a living for themselves or their families, if married. There are many women, who are orphans or widows, who, of necessity, become bread winners, having perhaps relations depending on them; to such as these, common justice demands that we should not cripple their means of subsistence. Driven, by the introduction of machinery and large manufactures, from those home employments, so suitable in more primitive times, they are obliged to go outside the family circle to get that work which was once ready to hand, or to enter into new lines of labour, the old familiar ones being in some measure closed to them. It is with them not a matter of choice, but of obedience to the iron law of necessity; and it is a righteous rule, to allow both men and women to work at what they choose, and what they are best fitted to do. In the presence of such an unanswerable argument I dare not stop to inquire what may be the effect on man's labour market—nor is it needful that I should do so, for the matter is in process of adjustment. It may be an inevitable result that by shortening the hours of labour for women, it becomes in some measure, and to some trades, necessary to substitute men for women, for the work of both is so inextricably mixed that the shortening of the hours of woman's work, involves the shortening of man's or the woman loses a portion of her working time, by the necessity under the conditions of the Act, of becoming a "half-timer" on the same footing as children. We may lament such a state of things, but the moral, mental, and physical necessity for legislation is so urgent that we must not expect a great gain without an occasional hardship in exceptional cases. These disturbances will adjust themselves in time, and men and women, as a general rule, will fall into their respective grooves. Such is the objection brought forward by those who ostensibly desire to allow woman a certain amount of liberty, but who object earnestly to any legislative interference with the hours and conditions of woman's labour. Others say that woman's work is at home, and that she should not be allowed to interfere in the occupations of man, and reduce by her cheaper labour, the wages paid to man. The answer to this I have already given, and even if women should be profitably employed in some trades, there is an abundance of trades from which her physical powers exclude her, and the unappropriated fields of labour at home and abroad would, if taken advantage of by men, render them and the whole of mankind the richer. Let each bring their goods to the best market.

It has been urged that legislative protection in some trades and employments and not in others is unequal and unjust, and that there are classes, like house servants, who are wrought right through the week, early and late, knowing no holidays, no family hearth, no rest. We acknowledge the melancholy fact, and we give it due weight, but it must not be allowed to interfere with the scant meed of rest of those poor married women, who, where there is no protection, work all day for the mill-owner, and late in the night for their husbands and children, to the great moral and physical injury of themselves and offspring.

I think I have said sufficient to justify the position I have assumed, and I may conclude in the words of an eminent statesman and philanthropist :—"By legislation you have ordained justice and exhibited sympathy with the best interests of the labourer, the surest and happiest mode of all government. By legislation you have given to the working-class the full power to exercise for themselves and for the public welfare all the physical and moral energies that God has bestowed on them; and by legislation you have given them to assist and maintain their rights, and it will be their own fault, not ours, if they do not, with these abundant and mighty blessings, become a wise and understanding people."

When the future reader of English history dwells with glowing pride on the noble struggles of those noble men who resolved, come what might, that their sister islanders, so long in bondage, should be emancipated; when they read how, at the expense of millions of gold and years of earnest pleadings and exhausting labours, others of the untitled nobility proclaimed liberty to the slave, and the opening of the prison doors to their fellow-men, there is many a name will spontaneously arise in grateful remembrance; but the records of generous chivalry would be incomplete did they not read of those heroic deeds of that earnest band which stayed not till they had freed from a scarcely less horrid bondage, the women and children of their native land—their brothers and sisters in the flesh. Priceless as these efforts were in themselves, they were equally priceless in their consequences, for from them was evoked that spirit which called to life and liberty the toiling millions of America, the pariahs of freedom's chosen seat, and not only so, but gave rise to the growing protection to the worn-out operatives of Belgium, France, and Germany, whose philanthropists seeing the

footprints on the sands of time had followed in the wake with no laggard step. We are justly proud of such men, and wisely emulous of their noble deeds : and, if they can look down from the mansions where they are reaping the reward of their labour, it must be no small an ingredient in their cup of joy, to find that there is a little island nestling in the western Pacific where the lessons they taught and illustrated are being learned and practised, and that Bradshaw's Factory Act shines with a peculiar lustre among the Statutes of New Zealand. Heroism in the field may earn a cross or a star; pre-eminence in science may extort the plaudits of thousands of the choicest spirits of all nations, and the special recognition of the great and the good of all ages; but in preference to these rewards I should be content to be known in time to come as the author of Bradshaw's Act—a rapid progression towards the relief of those whom the past has unmistakeably shown as needing our kindly sympathies and judicious guardianship.

## ***Appointment of Royal Commission and its Report to the Governor.***

### ***Appointment of Commission.***

#### **NORMANBY, Governor.**

(L.S.)

To all to whom these Presents shall come, and to CHARLES KNIGHT, of Wellington, in the Colony of New Zealand, Auditor-General; ALFRED ROWLAND CHETHAM STRODE, of Dunedin, in the said Colony, Esquire; the Hon. WILLIAM HUNTER REYNOLDS, of Dunedin aforesaid; JAMES FULTON, Esquire; and JAMES BENN BRADSHAW, of the same place, Esquire, greeting:

WHEREAS it has been represented to me that it would be desirable if an inquiry were made into the operation of an Act passed by the General Assembly of the Colony in the year 1873, the short title whereof is "The Employment of Females Act," and which said Act has also been amended by several subsequent enactments : And whereas it is expedient that a Commission should be appointed to make such inquiry with, under, and subject to the powers, terms, and conditions hereinafter set forth :

Now, therefore, know ye that I, George Augustus Constantine, Marquis of Normanby, Governor of the Colony of New Zealand, having full trust and confidence in your ability and integrity, in pursuance and exercise of all powers and authorities enabling me in this behalf, and by and with the advice and consent of the Executive Council of the said Colony, do hereby appoint you the said

- CHARLES KNIGHT,
- ALFRED ROWLAND CHETHAM STRODE,
- Hon. WILLIAM HUNTER REYNOLDS,
- JAMES FULTON, and
- JAMES BENN BRADSHAW

to be Commissioners, by all lawful ways and means, and subject to these presents, to examine and inquire into the several matters hereinafter set forth:—

First—To inquire into the operation of the hereinbefore-mentioned Act and the several amendments thereof, and to what extent the said Acts or any of them have accomplished the purposes for which they were passed;

Second—To inquire whether, in your opinion, any of the said Acts are capable of amendment, and in what respects such amendments should be made; and

Third—To inquire whether the said Acts or any of them ought, in your opinion, to be repealed or ceased to operate.

And I do hereby authorize and empower you, before you shall enter upon the subject-matter of this inquiry, to appoint one of your number to be Chairman at meetings to be held by you under these presents; and, in case of the illness or absence of such Chairman from any meeting, then that you may appoint any one of your number to be Chairman at such meeting:

And I do hereby declare that the powers and authorities hereby given to you the said Commissioners may be exercised by any three of you sitting and acting together:

And I do hereby further authorize and empower you the said Commissioners as aforesaid, by all lawful ways and means, to examine and inquire into every matter and thing touching and concerning the premises in

such manner, and at such time or times and at such place or places within the Provincial District of Otago as you may appoint or determine: Provided that and such inquiry may be adjourned by you from time to time, or from place to place, but so that no such adjournment shall be for a longer period than ten days at any one time, nor to any place without the limits of the said district.

And I do hereby also authorize and empower you to have before you and examine, on oath or otherwise, as may be allowed by law, any Inspector appointed under the said Acts or any of them, and all such other person or persons whom you shall judge capable of affording you any information touching or concerning the said inquiry or any part thereof, then and there to produce any books, reports, or papers relating to the subject-matter of the inquiry held under these presents or any part thereof:

And I do hereby require you, within two calendar months from the date of these presents, or as much sooner as the same can conveniently be done (using all diligence, to certify to me under your hands and seals your several proceedings, and your opinion touching the premises, and stating therein what measures (if any) it would, in your opinion, be desirable to adopt in respect thereof, or of any matter or thing arising out of or connected with the said inquiry:

And, lastly, I do hereby declare that this Commission is and is intended to be issued subject to the provisions of "The Commissioners' Powers Act, 1867," and "The Commissioners' Powers Act Amendment Act, 1872."

Given under the hand of His Excellency the Most Honorable George Augustus Constantine, Marquis of Normanby, Earl of Mulgrave, Viscount Normanby, and Baron Mulgrave of Mulgrave, all in the County of York, in the Peerage of the United Kingdom; and Baron Mulgrave of New Ross, in the County of Wexford, in the Peerage of Ireland; a Member of Her Majesty's Most Honorable Privy Council; Knight Grand Cross of the Most Distinguished Order of Saint Michael and Saint George; Governor and Commander-in-Chief in and over Her Majesty's Colony of New Zealand and its Dependencies, and Vice-Admiral of the same; and issued under the Seal of the said Colony, at the Government House at Auckland, this eighteenth day of April, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and seventy-eight.

J. BALLANCE. Approved in Council.

IRWIN C. MALING, Acting Clerk of the Executive Council.

## **Commissioners' Report.**

THE Commissioners appointed by His Excellency the Governor to inquire into the operations of an Act entitled "The Employment of Females Act, 1873," and of the several amendments thereof, have closed their inquiry, and, in returning the Commission with which His Excellency was pleased to honour them, report as follows:—

That the several Acts referred to are necessary, and have mainly accomplished the wise purposes for which they were enacted.

According to the testimony of the adult women, the law has worked a favourable change in the comfort, independence, and well-being of females employed in the Dunedin factories and workshops. Some of the women who have for years been employed in Dunedin expressed their gratitude for the protection which the Legislature had secured for them by the limitation of the hours of labour, and for the consequent improvement in their social condition and physical health.

The investigation shows that women cannot combine together as workmen do in their trades union, to protect themselves and limit the hours of labour. In the case of married women compelled to work in factories for the support of their families, it is especially necessary that the Legislature should step in to do for women what trades union effect for workmen and others.

The Acts, as far as the limitation of labour is concerned, take a middle course between those antagonistic forces termed "meddling legislation" and "freedom of labour," and secures the interests of the public, which are so vitally concerned in the health and social condition of women.

The Commissioners are unanimous in the opinion that an alteration of the Act which would make the limitation a weekly one of fifty-four hours instead of a daily one of eight hours, would certainly defeat the objects of the Legislature.

The investigation shows, however, that the law is not effectively carried out in many cases, owing to the insufficient inspection of the workshops. The Commissioners are unanimous in the opinion that the indifference or repugnance which is sometimes shown to carry out the provisions of the Acts limiting the hours of labour can only be guarded against by a thorough system of inspection. There are no difficulties in the way of securing the non-violation of the law in this particular. Any person having the right of entry into a workshop can, with perfect facility, determine whether children, young persons, and women are engaged in work beyond the hours

fixed by law.

The investigation was extended to the sanitary arrangements of the workshops. It will be seen from the reports of the Inspectors of Nuisances that the conveniences for the workpeople require consideration.

Two of the workshops inspected by the Commissioners were well ventilated, and large in proportion to the number of hands employed. The whole of the arrangements in both were good. No doubt the employers find their advantage in this. It must secure for them the best and most expert women; and, on the other hand, induces the women, by good conduct, to retain employment where their health, comfort, and respectability are studied.

In another and extensive establishment the foul air, heated by furnaces below, vitiates the atmosphere of the crowded rooms above. The Commissioners would earnestly recommend that, at least, the cubic contents of the workrooms should be proportioned, by law, to the number of persons employed in them; and that, generally, the sanitary arrangements should be made satisfactory to the Medical Officers of the Boards of Health.

The Commissioners find that the violators of the law have had their offences practically condoned by mere nominal fines. This tends to render the law a dead-letter where the employers choose to set it at defiance. It should be guarded against by making the minimum penalty forty shillings for breach of the provisions of the Act.

In respect of the registration of notices, provided by the eighth section of the Act of 1875, the minimum penalty for nonregistration should be £10.

The recommendation of Inspector Connell, that more stringent measures should be enacted for the regulation of the employment of girls in private houses, does not meet with the concurrence of the Commissioners. The interpretation of "workroom" by clause 4 of the Act of 1874 includes any place where females are employed. Private houses, therefore, where women, young persons, and children are employed for gain come under the operation of the existing law.

CHARLES KNIGHT, Chairman.

27th May, 1878.

## ***Joint Letter from the Managers of the Mosgiel, Roslyn, and Kaikorai Woollen Factories to the Commissioners on Local Industries.***

Dunedin, 16th April, 1880.

SIRS,—In reply to your communication under date Wellington, 17th ultimo, addressed to us, and requesting information regarding local industries or manufactures, together with any suggestions that may occur to us in connection with the same, we, as representing the woollen factories in the Otago District, beg respectfully to submit for your consideration as follows:—

1st. We do not advocate any addition to the existing rate of Customs duty—viz., 15 per cent, *ad valorem*—upon woollen goods, as we consider this a fair enough set-off against—(1) The high rate of colonial interest; (2) the high rate of colonial wages; (3) the cost of bringing out to the Colony the necessary machinery, dye stuffs, and other articles necessary in carrying on the business of a woollen factory.

2nd. We are of opinion that the direction in which your Commission might most materially assist us as woollen manufacturers is by recommending to the Legislature the relaxation of the Employment of Females Act, known also as Bradshaw's Act; and we would urge this on your favourable consideration on the following grounds:—

(1.) It does seem hard to us that, after going to the great expense of importing and fitting up the machinery necessary to manufacture woollen fabrics, the Legislature should step in and compel us to let the machinery remain idle for sixteen hours in the twenty-four, so as to comply with the requirements of Bradshaw's Act.

(2.) As all the work done in our manufactories is paid by the piece, it seems to us an unnecessary interference on the part of the State to step in and say to the women employed, "You shall not work more than eight hours out of the twenty-four." There is not a week passes that we are not urged by the women employed by us to set the law at defiance by permitting them to continue their work for an hour or two beyond the legalized time. Further, the employment in itself is of the most healthy description, as can be seen by the members of the Commission paying a personal visit of inspection to any of the factories represented by us—in fact, we would most strongly urge the Commission to make such a personal inspection, and we shall be delighted to arrange to enable you to visit any or all of them.

(3.) The relaxation of Bradshaw's Act that we would suggest is the adoption of the system that prevails in England and Scotland, as follows: From 6 a.m. to 6 p.m., allowing two hours for meals, from Monday to Friday inclusive, and on Saturday, from 6 a.m. to 2 p.m., allowing one hour for breakfast; or, altogether, fifty-seven hours per week. Of course it is understood that, in asking for this relaxation, we are willing that the working of any such alteration should be made subject to special inspection on the part of the Government, and further, that it should only extend to the six summer months of the year, say from 1st October to 31st March.

(4.) Should it be deemed inexpedient to relax by legislation Bradshaw's Act in the direction indicated above, we would suggest that, in the case of our woollen factories, a law be introduced whereby we may have the privilege by special license, and subject to special inspection, to work two hours per day longer than the time recognized by Bradshaw's Act.

In submitting the above for your consideration, we may, in conclusion, state that, in the event of your desiring to see any of us personally during your visit to Dunedin, we shall be happy to attend, on your giving us the necessary notice of time and place.—We have, &c.,

JOHN H. MORRISON, Manager,  
Mosgiel Woollen Factory Company, Limited.  
ROSS AND GLENDINING,  
Roslyn Woollen Mills.  
MCLANDRESS, HEPBURN, AND CO.,  
Kaikorai Woollen Factory.

## ***Notes of a Visit by the Commission to the Mosgiel, Roslyn, and Kaikorai Woollen Factories.***

ON the 17th of May the Commission visited the Mosgiel Factory, situated on the Taieri Plain, about twelve miles from Dunedin, accompanied by Mr. Morrison, manager for the Company. They found the mills in full working, and inspected the various processes in the manufacture from the raw material of woollen tweeds, rugs, shawls, blankets, flannels, hosiery and yarns. The number of persons employed was forty, earning wages from £1 to £1 10s. per week, and working eight hours a day, in accordance with the provisions of the Regulation of Factories Act. The premises were roomy, well ventilated, warmed, and thoroughly wholesome and comfortable in every respect. The Commissioners selected several of the work-people, and examined them separately as to the operation of the Factories Act and their own feeling regarding the length of hours. They one and all spoke in terms of the highest satisfaction of their circumstances in the factory, and they stated that they would have no objection to work for an hour or an hour and a half longer in the day, during a press of business, at the present rate of piece-work wages, with a corresponding increase in the case of day-workers. They did not seem to feel at all strongly on the matter one way or the other, but they were distinctly in favour of a change in the law that would admit of their earning as much as they could. Their condition appeared to be to the Commissioners an exceedingly favourable one. They found girls of sixteen earning on an average £1 7s. a week at light and wholesome work, close to their homes, and under the care of their parents, also employed in the factory. The whole establishment is highly creditable to its proprietors, and must be a source of gratification to all who are interested in local industries.

The Commission next visited the Roslyn Mill, recently erected by Messrs. Ross and Glendining, at an outlay of about £40,000, for the manufacture of blankets and flannels. These works appeared to be perfect in all their arrangements, and the comfort and well-being of the work-people are as liberally provided for as at Mosgiel. The Commissioners found the prescribed notices under the Factories Act posted conspicuously, and all the requirements of the Act most strictly carried out, except in so far as the law may be held to be evaded by giving the work-people a half-holiday on Saturday, and distributing the time thus lost after hours on the other days of the week. The Commissioners examined several of the work-people on the question of legal hours; but here they found them unanimous in the feeling that they already worked quite long enough, and that the law, by forbidding them to work more than eight hours a day, whether they wished it or not, afforded them a valuable protection. They spoke in the highest terms of their employers and their condition in the factory, and stated that they desired no change, even for the sake of gaining more money. One of them, an intelligent middle-aged married woman, dwelt strongly on the advantage of the eight-hours system in enabling persons in her situation to attend to the care of their homes, and at the same time to earn fair wages by factory-work. A girl of seventeen

spoke in the same strain of the value to her of her leisure, and stated that, although she would work longer hours if her companions in the factory did so, yet she would greatly prefer that the hours should remain as they are.

The Commissioners then visited the Kaikorai Mill, in which some £20,000 has been invested. This mill was established about six years ago on a limited scale, and the arrangements are not nearly so perfect as at Roslyn and Mosgiel. The rooms were hot and close, and the Commissioners recognized from what they saw there that, even with the best intentions on the part of employers, the lot of persons in woollen factories might easily become a hard one. The Commissioners selected an elderly woman of long experience as a factory-weaver, both in England and in New Zealand, and examined her as to the question of hours. She unhesitatingly declared in favour of the law as it stands, and expressed in emphatic terms her conviction that if the hours were lengthened the rate of wages would be lowered. She also urged that eight hours a day was enough work for anybody; and that, although she and others of her class might be tempted to work longer for the sake of earning more, it would be much better for them to be prevented by law from doing so. She stated that she felt sure that this was the feeling of the work-people generally, and that any alteration of the law could not but act injuriously to them.

## ***Extract from Commissioners' Report.***

The Commission were much gratified by the result of their inquiries as to the condition of the woollen industry, which will be seen by the evidence to be well established, and to require no artificial assistance of any kind. The only grievance which the woollen manufacturers complain of is the operation of the Employment of Females Acts. The Commission took great pains to investigate that matter; but, after giving it careful consideration, they are unable to recommend any alteration of the law in so far as it affects the length of the hours' of work. They are satisfied that the Act affords a substantial and valuable protection to female and youthful operatives; and, though they recognise both that the local manufacturers are placed at some disadvantage by it as against manufacturers in countries where no such law exists, and also that in the woollen factories now in existence no serious evils would be likely to arise under the present excellent management from a repeal of it, they nevertheless consider that the well-being of an industrious and comparatively helpless class of the community is so effectually secured by it that they have no hesitation in deciding as they have done. They would point out that the condition of factory hands as a class in the future, or in other trades even at present, cannot be judged of by the condition of those employed to-day in liberally-conducted establishments such as are described in the notes of their inquiry at Dunedin.

## ***Rev. Joseph Cook's Lecture on "Sex in Industry"***

Your daughter is not at the looms, but her grand-daughter may be. Pace thoughtfully to and fro in the city slums, for your descendants may live there. In a republic, without the law of primogeniture or any artificial rank, personal position depends on personal effort. In America the children of Lazarus may rise to the position of Dives, and those of Dives may sink to the level of Lazarus; and, therefore, in America, neither Lazarus nor Dives can understand himself until the two have changed eyes. Under republican institutions the interests of the rich man are every man's interests, and the interests of the poor man are every man's also. Such is the mobility of American society that the cause of the working-girl is the cause of the parlour on Fifth Avenue; the cause of the poorest shop-boy is the cause of the millionaire; the cause of the woman behind the whirring wheels of trade, labouring under unspeakable circumstances and bringing into the world offspring tired from birth, is the cause of the most luxurious household that to-day kneels about any family altar on Beacon Street, or of late lifted up thanksgiving in any happy New England home.

I did not see the battle of Gettysburg, but I have seen the rank grass above the graves of those who fell there. I keep on my table a couple of paper-weights brought from what is called the wheat-field at Gettysburg, where men were found killed with the bayonet—a rare occurrence even in a great battle. My most vivid impressions of the carnage at Gettysburg came from the heavy growths I have seen above burial trenches in the meadows and from what I read there on the tombstones. We have all heard how a three-miles front of Artillery cannonaded another three-miles front, and how the rebel battle line, four miles long, charged on foot across the fruitful plain, and sunk great parts of it into the earth on the passage. Where the graves lie thickest we must take our position, if we would understand what Gettysburg was; and so, if in the carnage—for there is no other word to describe what is taking place—if, in the carnage occurring among young women and middle-aged women

along an industrial battle line extending from St. Petersburg to San Francisco, to say nothing of barbaric lines where woman is as yet only an animal, we would understand what the danger is, we must take our position above her graves. We must stand at the trenches where she is buried six deep sometimes. They tell me that after Antietam a great trench was opened in the corn-field, and ruddy youth and stalwart manhood thrown in ten and fifteen deep and covered with earth four feet deep; and that, weeks after, when spectators passed by, the earth was seen to rise and fall every now and then in places, billowing up and down with a bubbling motion under the action of utterly unreportable circumstances beneath the surface. Now, I am no agitator and no alarmist. I cannot open all that festers in manufacturing centres in the Old World and begins to fester in the New, for you would not bear a frank discussion of it; but I can bring you to these industrial burial trenches.

What are some of the rank grasses above the graves? What are some of the inscriptions on the tombstones of female operative populations?

Then here is a report by Mr. Mundella, introducing Von Plener's history of English factory legislation. P. 116.

Frenchmen are remarkable for exact military statistics. Napoleon taught them how to keep good tables on the origin and fate of soldiers. France lately drew 10,000 conscripts from ten agricultural departments. The number rejected was 4,000. She drew 10,000 conscripts from ten industrial and factory departments; the number rejected was 9,900. There is an industrial battle-trench, and whoever will put his ear on the ground above what is buried in it will find processes going on beneath the surface that cannot be publicly described. In the department of the Marne and the lower Seine and the Eure—essentially manufacturing districts—against 10,500 adjudged to be fit for service—the number rejected was 14,000. If this is what happens to men, with their superior strength, what happens to women and girls, who constitute more than half of the modern operatives in textile factories?

Well, but this is France, you say. Facts like these, you think, can be gathered only from Europe. But I hold in my hand a report of your Massachusetts Bureau of Health, and I find in it an able document on the political economy of manufacturing towns, written by Dr. Edward Jarvis, of this commonwealth.

I shall trouble you to listen while I read the inscription on this Massachusetts tombstone. Or, rather, it is not a tombstone; it is only what I saw at Gettysburg again and again—a rude, frail, memorial tablet simply, and the word "unknown" written across it. Who can tell the names of those beneath this burial service? In another generation they may be of your own blood. "In Massachusetts, during the seven years from 1865 to 1871, 72,700," says Dr. Jarvis, "died in their working period. In the fulness of life and the fulness of health they would have opportunity of labouring for themselves, their families, and the public in all three million six hundred thousand years. But the total of their labours amounts only to one million six hundred thousand years, leaving a loss of a million nine hundred thousand years by their premature deaths."

A million nine hundred thousand years of labour lost in Massachusetts between 1865 and 1871 by the premature deaths of 72,000 in their working period! "This was an average annual loss of 276,000 years of service! Thus it appears," continues this official document, "that in Massachusetts—one of the most favoured states of this country and of the world—those who died within seven years had contributed to the public support less than half, or only 46 per cent, of what is done in the best conditions of life."

Fifth Report of Mass Board of Health.

Does the earth rise and fall above this slaughter-trench?

Would you have me suggest what I would have done? There has lately been called into Heaven a brave physician from this city, who dared discuss Sex in Education.

See Prof. E. H. Clarke's remarkable monograph on that subject, Boston, 1875; also T. A. Gorton, M.D., "Principles of Mental Hygiene;" Henry Maudsley, M.D., "Sex in Mind and Education."

His robe has fallen on many a physician now turning his attention to Sex in Industry.

See Dr. Ames's suggestive work with this title, Boston, 1875.

If I must uncover a little of what lies beneath this heaving surface, I shall do so by suggesting swiftly the change I demand; and not I only, but the medical profession at large, the best manufacturers themselves, and, more than all, the natural laws of the Supreme Powers, who are not elective and whose enactments are not likely to be repealed.

Dr. Clarke writes: "There is an establishment in Boston, owned and carried on by a man, in which ten or a dozen girls are constantly employed. Each of them is given and is required to take a vacation of three days every four weeks. It is scarcely necessary to say that their sanitary condition is exceptionally good and that the aggregate total amount of work which the owner obtains is greater than that when persistent attendanae and labour are required."

This, in brief, is what I want, and what the medical experts want; what your Board of Health wants, and what I believe the Supreme Powers want and ultimately will have. Until they obtain it these slaughter-trenches are to be filled, not by the agency of Supreme Powers, but by your legislation.

Standing yet at the side of these heaving sods on the wide industrial battle-field, I beg you to follow me along a line of propositions intended to emphasize the seriousness which comes to us as we study the rising and falling of this burial surface.

1. The mortality among girls increases between fourteen and eighteen, and among men between twenty-one and twenty-six.

This is a law for the two sexes wholly aside from any result of their occupations. How strong are your daughters to be when they go into this industrial contest? They are a part of a battle-front extending all the way from the Ural Mountains to the Pacific Seas. It appears that they must march out upon the Gettysburg charge at about the time when their strength is most uncertain. The mortality of young persons of the female sex increases between fourteen and eighteen, when boys are toughest. In the yet sparsely-settled United States you have two hundred thousand girls under fifteen in this battle-front. You have two million females in your industries, and of these two hundred thousand are girls. Most of this number ought to be called children. By a child I mean any one under fourteen; by a young person any one between fourteen and eighteen; by a woman a female over eighteen. Experts of the first rank tell us that a great physiological law is violated in the age at which we admit girls who are children to work behind the looms. There is no prospect that this violated natural law will be repealed. In almost entire disregard of notorious physiological facts, you are sending girls more frequently than boys into many forms of manufactures. You require almost the same amount of physical strain from each, and often pay the girl not more than half of what you pay the boy. Is there any meanness in that? I have an indignation that cannot be expressed when I think of the physical limitations of woman, and of the manner in which she is obliged, when standing alone in the world, to strain all her strength to obtain half a man gets for the same labour.

2. The strength of the female is to that of the male as 16 to 26.

That is Dr. Draper's opinion.

"Human Physiology," p. 546.

There are various judgments on this point; that is about the average estimate. Woman's muscles contract with less energy and are more easily wearied than those of man. Peculiarity of construction in the bones of the pelvis and chest give rise in woman to characteristic methods of walking and movement of the arm in attempting to throw a stone. We understand perfectly that in the foreground of this charging host the female operative has a strength only as 16 compared with 26 on the part of the male, and that the sickly period, from fourteen to eighteen, is a weight on this small strength; and yet we expect that these weaker soldiers in the industrial army will, in some sense, keep step with the strongest. The natural law violated here is not likely to be repealed.

3. The change of insects from the primary to the perfect or imago state is not a greater one than occurs in both sexes between the ages of twelve and sixteen, but earlier in most cases with the female than the male.

At the side of these burial-trenches you will allow me to mention, although I may not discuss, certain natural laws holy as the fire of Sinai.

4. By fixed natural law there exists on the part of woman, as there does not on the part of man, a necessity or need of a periodic rest.

5. On the part of the married woman, it is evident that the laws of health forbid, at certain definite periods, severe mental or physical labour.

6. As those laws of health for the two sexes differ and are not likely to be repealed, it is the wisdom of legislation to make its enactments coincide with those of the Supreme Powers.

And now what would I have?

7. As in France, a council of salubrity, so public discussion in this country, and commissions of inquiry, and advice of experts, and all the light we can obtain from every quarter, and not merely mediaeval custom, should determine what employments are suited to women.

8. No woman should be engaged in employment unsuited to her sex and declared to be so by the council of salubrity.

9. No girl under fifteen should be employed in any of the occupations thus permitted to women.

10. Undoubtedly the human race would be the gainer if we did not employ a girl under eighteen in factory labour, unless by special permission from a surgeon.

11. In all employments opened to woman or considered advisable for her she should be permitted a periodic absence, without pecuniary loss.

Thank God that, without my uncovering this slaughter-trench, you understand what is beneath its surface. This proposition has been officially defended by your Massachusetts Labour Bureau, which has made a series of investigations of unequalled value as to the special effects of certain forms of employment on female health. See Report for 1876, Part II, especially pp. 70, 71, 76, and 111.

12. Additional vacations should be the right of women employed in occupations requiring a high degree

of mental and physical exertion.

13. Sanitary supervision of all large factories should be furnished at the expense of the proprietors.

14. You must allow me to say, and to expand the proposition in a subsequent lecture, that in crowded rooms, where conversation is not interrupted by the noise of machinery, there may be a foul or a clean system of factory management; and that the mingling of the sexes, under careless overseers, and the filling of these rooms with profanity, and, possibly, with obscene conversation, from morning to night is not calculated to improve the moral condition of factory operative populations, containing, it may be, in time to come, your daughters and mine.

15. Married women should not be employed in factories without surgical certificates of fitness for the occupation.

There is a proverb in England to the effect that whoever among the female operatives can manage four looms at once is likely to be wed. "Hoo's a four-loomer, hoo's like to be wed," say the operatives on the banks of those canals in Manchester. I suppose that the concentration of attention required in the women who operate some of our most skilful machines is one source of the breaking down of the female constitution. The physicians tell us that this close mental application at work is exceedingly inimical to female health, especially when the labour must be performed standing. The printer at the case, if a male, stands easily and becomes accustomed to his position; but go into your printing offices and ask whether the sexes are physically equal in the ability to face the compositor's toil. Woman must be seated when she sets type. The general experience is that a woman cannot bear to stand at a machine as long as a man. Even in the schoolroom, speaking to her pupils, the female teacher does well to be seated most of the time. There are deep reasons, not to be discussed here, for giving a periodic rest to female operatives who must have brain in their finger-tips. She who sets the types the most swiftly, or she who manages the telegraph most skilfully may not need more mental concentration than she who manages four looms and is like to be wed. There must be no mistakes in her physical manipulations. There is penalty at once if a single thread breaks. I have seen at Lawrence and at Lowell machines so perfect that if a single thread is broken out of the multitudinous threads they spin they stop, like sensitive things of life, until the thread is mended. She who is a four-loomer must have her mind upon every thread, and this ten or twelve hours a day, and day after day.

Perhaps the summer day is hot, and she is at work under the roof. Perhaps the winter day is cold, and she must live in a poisonously vitiated hot atmosphere. Some of our factories are models in their sanitary arrangements, but some are not all. Our first-class manufacturing establishments I believe to be the best in the world. The third rate ones are as yet, however, the largest class. I am not assailing capitalists and employers as a mass. The third-rate men among the employers are careless, and have necessitated the factory legislation of the Old World and the New. I have on my side constantly in this discussion of socialism and labour reform the best sentiment of the higher class of manufacturers. It may easily happen that this poor woman works in a third-rate establishment. It may be that she is not allowed proper time for her meals. It may be that this intense mental concentration has no periodic rest. It may be that her Own support and that of her family depends upon her steady labour in these unfavourable physical conditions. The result is in seven cases out of ten that she goes into this industrial slaughter-trench before she is fifty. The certainty is, as I have shown you, that in a multitude of cases, so numerous as to be absolutely terrific, the operative populations pass out of the world by premature deaths.

It is said that for every one that dies prematurely there are two sick most of the time. If you take the records I have read to you on these tombstones of the dead ones who have gone under the sod, and multiply their numbers by two, you will obtain the records of the sick ones who lie on the couches of languishing more or less often. I speak, I think, wholly within bounds when I say that the tossing of this earth above the slaughter-trench is not the whole horror. The tossing of the coverlids on beds of pain is another portion of the evil; but the largest horror of all is the coming into the world of populations not capable of sustaining the burdens likely to be put upon them from the very outset. The rising and falling of the coverlids which are spread over the already sick limbs of unborn generations are what sicken me most. I am horrified by this heaving surface of earth above the trench; I am horrified by these sick-beds; but when I think that the citizen is taxed before he is born, and of what Edmund Burke used to say about the object of government being to make strong men and strong women, and good citizens, and to educate them, and that nothing is worth anything in government unless good men and good women are the result; when I think of the effect of these factory abuses upon factory populations, once become hereditary, I look up to Almighty God, and pray Him in the name of His own most holy laws to fasten our eyes upon the slaughter of the innocents. The aged, you say, are not to be pitied, but even the mediæval baron had pity for his aged and infirm retainers. Middle age, you think, can take care of itself; but what of the unborn, and those that are to come in a long procession into this serried front of the industrial battle-line in ages yet ahead of us?

Where is the old spirit of New England that looked forward and founded institutions for generations not yet

visible on the verge of coining time? Webster's eyes were always fastened on the responsibility of the present to the future. Advance, coming generations! was his perpetual salutation to the ages before him. Where are his successors? Where are the men who, looking on the abuses in industrial populations, dare so reform them as to be able to gaze into the face of God and say: Advance, future generations to better conditions than heathendom gave you and to better than the Old World allowed you. Advance to circumstances in which socialism can seem only a nightmare. Advance to such treatment that you shall yourselves be convinced that Dives and Lazarus, God's hand on the shoulder of the one and His hand on the shoulder of the other, have at last in the history of industry been brought face to face, and, to the profit of both, have changed eyes.

Printed at the "Daily Times" Office, Dowling Street, Dunedin.

*Vaccination in the Light of Modern Enquiry.*

By GEORGE LACY, Author of Numerous Reformatory Essays.

Second Edition, with Appendices.

Price Threepence.

City of Sydney Printing & Publishing Co., Sydney 15 1/3 Bridge Street. 1881

# Vaccination

## In the Light of Modern Enquiry.

AT the present juncture, when the public mind is somewhat agitated on the subject of small-pox, it may not be out of place to present a few of the facts on which those opposed to the practice of vaccination ground their antagonism to it. So far as the movement has gone yet, its promoters have been looked upon as fanatics, crazed with an idea based on no rational data whatever. Without at this stage attempting to controvert the supposition contained in the latter part of this judgment, two facts bearing upon it may be, perhaps, beneficially pointed out. The first is that fanatics are really the motive power to all progress, and were there none such, and all were to act on the let-well-alone principle, social advancement would be an impossibility. The second is that the inception of all new truths, and the development of the doctrines built upon them, and the movements demanded by them, is ever met with the same jeers, and the same accusations of crazy fanaticism. It is a peculiarity of humanity, at its present phase of growth, that the majority refuse to perceive any virtue in anything new, until its own inherent truth overcomes opposition, and the seal of fashionable acceptance is set upon it. In this, they overlook the obvious fact that, if nature is really undergoing a process of growth, that which is newest is, if only for that very reason, most likely to be truest. It is only on the supposition of a control of a catastrophic character that an old-established custom can be regarded as possessing any element of permanent necessity. The temperance movement may be quoted as a case in point. Five-and-twenty years ago temperance promoters were stigmatised as crazy fanatics who were without the resolution to keep sober unless taking a pledge to do so; but in this our day total abstinence is beginning to be fashionable, and a man can declare himself an abstainer without dread of being set down a lunatic.

The anti-vaccination movement is as yet very young, but it has already drawn within its ranks such men as Herbert Spencer, Francis Newman, John Bright, Sir T. Chambers, Dr. C. T. Pearce, Dr. W. J. Collins, and many distinguished Americans and Europeans, and Mr. Spencer's name alone is sufficient to demand for it the consideration of all thoughtful people.

The opposition to the practice of vaccination is based on many considerations, which I will, as briefly as may be, proceed to recapitulate. First, it is pointed out that the medical profession is completely undecided on the question, their allegations with regard to it undergoing continual modification. Dr. Jenner, in 1799, said, "When it has been found, in such abundant instances, that the human frame, when once it has felt the influence of the genuine cow-pox in the way that has been described, is never afterwards, at any period of its existence, assailable by the small-pox, may I not with perfect confidence congratulate my country, and society at large, on their beholding in the mild form of cow-pox, an antidote that is capable of extirpating from the earth a disease which is every hour devouring its victims." In 1800 he said, in the "*Origin of Variola Vaccinæ*," that "it became too evident to admit of controversy that the annihilation of the small-pox must be the final result of the discovery." But in 1809 he propounded a new theory—"that vaccination protected from small-pox as much, and no more, than small-pox itself protected from a recurring attack." This is a serious departure from his original position, and if the discoverer and founder of the system could be so uncertain about it, laymen may be excused if they inquire which is the correct one.

But since Jenner's day further departures have been taken, and such is the want of unanimity among the

profession that it may be said, without exaggeration, that no two standard medical works will be found to agree on all points in the matter. Some say that vaccination is not a positive protection against an attack of small-pox, but that the attack with people so operated on will be but of a mild and harmless character, where otherwise it would have been fatal. A section of this school also maintains that the efficacy of the operation continues only for a period, which with some is short, and with others long. Another theory lays it down that the process is a positive preventive against an attack of the disease for a period, at the end of which re-vaccination is necessary; but here also the school is unable to decide upon the duration of the period of its efficiency. Fourteen years, seven years, five years, three years, one year, all have their advocates. Dr. Lionel Beale states that he has been vaccinated twenty-one times, and it may well be asked, if all this is necessary, whether the cure is not as bad as the disease, and whether most people would not prefer to run the chance of escaping an attack altogether, than to go through such an ordeal. Another point on which the doctors differ is as to the number of punctures required, and from one to eight is each recommended. Again, there is disagreement as to the relative merits of the ordinary stock lymph, and of the strain of Beaugency calf-lymph, and lymph taken direct from the cow or calf. How can there be any certainty, even in the fundamentals of a matter in which such conflicting dogmas are laid down by those who claim to be experts? If there be such efficacy in vaccination, how is it that the doctors cannot agree as to what the efficacy consists in? Surely such uncertainty is of itself presumptive evidence that the system is unsound at its very root.

The popular theory is that vaccination is in some way a protection against small-pox, though no one could exactly explain how, or to what degree. But though this is the popular theory, neither legislators nor people would seem to have any real faith in it. When Sir T. Chambers, the Recorder of London, was arguing in the House of Commons against the penalties for non-vaccination, he was met with the reply, "What right have you to allow your unvaccinated child to be a peril to the community?" Now 96 per cent, of the English people were vaccinated, and were thus supposed to be in some way protected from small-pox; and it is surely to the point to ask what harm a healthy unvaccinated child could possibly do to children supposed to be protected. It is a distinct desertion of the citadel, and an utter ignoring of the protective theory. Vaccination is either a protection, or it is not; and if it is, what danger can there possibly be to the vaccinated from any outside influence whatever? And if it is not what is the good of it? And yet this is the sole argument in favor of compulsory vaccination!

The next point to which anti-vaccinators draw attention is that vaccination has not stamped out small-pox, for that disease is at times as prevalent as ever it was. It is often said by the apologists of the system that as the disease for a time decreased very much shortly after Jenner's discovery, it is evident that the operation must be accompanied by the results claimed for it. But this position admits of much question. Vaccination was for some time very unpopular, and but a small percentage of the population submitted to it. The Registrar's department was not constituted until 1838, so that any figures previous to this date are, for the most part, conjectural and unreliable, and any statistics put forward must be received with reservation. But though this is the case it is pretty certain the percentage of the population vaccinated for twenty years after Jenner's discovery was very trifling indeed—not more than two per cent. This conclusion is arrived at by analogy from the first return of the Registrar-General's report in 1838, and from the general records of the time. But it is clear that if the percentage was so small it could scarcely be claimed for vaccination that to it was due the cessation, or rather diminution, of small-pox. May it not with more reason be said that, like all diseases, it died out of itself? But though this of itself would be amply sufficient to account for the temporary lull in the ravages of the disease, yet there is still another reason, even more immediate in its bearings on the matter. Previous to Jenner's discovery the system of inoculation introduced by Lady Wortley Montague, and which consisted in inoculating directly with the small-pox itself, had been largely in vogue, and the disease was thus spread broadcast throughout the land. But with the announcement of Jenner's panacea inoculation was made penal by the legislature, and it is thus obvious that fewer cases of the disease were to be found. This seems so very clear that it is somewhat startling to find that it is claimed for vaccination, that it stopped that which had previously been intentionally and freely disseminated, but which the law now made it penal to do so. A statement or argument so evidently fallacious as this could scarcely be used were there any at hand less easy of refutation. Again, although there was, shortly after the initiation of the vaccination theory, a temporary freedom from the disease in a virulent form, yet in 1818, five years before Jenner's death, there was a malignant epidemic, and in 1825, two years after his decease, yet another, described in Baron's *Life of Jenner* as being as severe as any of the preceding century. Thus therefore it is a mis-statement to say that there was really any decrease of the disease concurrently with the introduction of vaccination.

Yet another point may also be noted on this head. The calculations, miscalled statistics, which appeared in the parliamentary papers having reference to the national award granted to Jenner, are so obviously conjectural and fallacious that they may be looked upon as utterly worthless. For instance, it is stated that 45,000 died of small-pox in the days immediately preceding Jenner. Now these figures were reached in this way: It was

ascertained that during one epidemic year 3500 died of the disease in London, and the same proportion, multiplied into a number which was supposed to be that of the population of England—but which nobody knew, for there was then no registrar—gave 45,000! This is certainly simple, but scarcely satisfactory. Again, Dr. Greenlow's tables of mortality were largely used in the "statistics." Now Dr. Greenlow put the mortality of London for some years at 80 per thousand. But this is an obvious impossibility, for the births could not be nearly half that number, so that in a very few years there would not be a soul left! Many similar fallacies meet the student of the arguments of the vaccination apologists.

I now come to a more important point. Without tracing the history of small-pox from the period (932 A.D.) when distinct mention of it can be first found, it is sufficient here to note that in an epidemic of the disease there was no increase in the total mortality, or general death-rate. This was especially the case before vaccination was made compulsory. For instance, in the epidemic of 1838, when the deaths from small-pox numbered 16,000, the total deaths from the principal zymotic diseases reached only 37,500; while in 1839, when the small-pox deaths were but 9000, the total from the same diseases was 38,500. All the returns show similar results, and the conclusion to be drawn from them is that all this class of disease has a common origin, and that the circumstances of the seasons, and the general condition of society with regard to cheap food, wholesome drink, adequate clothing and shelter, and general sanitary arrangements determine which particular form of outbreak would be the most ravaging. The *rationale* of small-pox in this light of course is that it is merely an effort of nature to expel certain poisonous matter bred of unnatural conditions, which would otherwise be a constant source of danger to the individual. A corroboration of this view is to be found in the well-known and oft-noticed fact that those who recover from a severe attack of small-pox, not induced artificially, are always remarkably healthy, and free from disease for a long time afterwards. This well-known fact ought to carry weight among the thoughtful, for there is no other explanation for it but that nature has thrown out inherited, or slowly acquired, poison that would have otherwise festered in the blood and kept the subject in a perpetual state of indifferent health. This of course is really the philosophy of all eruptive diseases, but it would appear that in small-pox nature finds alike her most violent, and most effective, cleanser of poisonous matter. Of course it is well-known to all that medical men can "cure" eruptions of this character; that is to say that by the introduction of some mineral or vegetable substance the threatened illness can be "warded" off! But we latter-day fanatics are bold enough to say that in this they simply drive it *inwards*, and that thus the diseased matter is compelled to accumulate, the vitality is lowered, and organic disease sets in, and broken health, followed by early death, is the result.

In the light of this philosophy of disease a perfectly healthy man—that is to say, one who has neither inherited any diseased taint, nor lived in conditions to acquire any, is perfectly proof against any epidemic, for his vitality is so great that he repels the approach of disease. To kill epidemics it is, therefore, only necessary to strike at the root, and, by improving the conditions, to diminish the chance of hereditary transmission. But, alas, this is but Utopian, for with them must go the doctors—their occupation would be gone, and who could hope to fight against a vested interest of such formidable dimensions!

The next point to be noted is that vaccination is directly answerable for an immense increase in nearly all inoculable diseases. Vaccination was made compulsory in England in 1853, again in 1867, and still more stringently in 1871. The last Parliamentary return to hand is complete only to 1875, but a few items of 1877 are also available. Now, in 1847, six years previous to the first enforcement of vaccination, the deaths of infants under one year from syphilis was at the rate of 472 per million of births; but the average for the seven years, 1868 to 1875, was 1260 per million, and in 1877 it was 1746 per million. For the same year the deaths at a similar age were, from scrofula, increased by 660 per million, or nearly threefold; from tabes, by 2270 per million, or nearly double; from skin disease, by 320 per million, or more than double; from erysipelas, by 240 per million, or an increase of one-fourth; from bronchitis, by 12,400 per million, or threefold; from diarrhœa, by 9220 per million, or nearly double; and from atrophy, by 3480 per million, or an increase of one-tenth. These figures are official. They show that since it was made compulsory to vaccinate every infant within three months of birth the mortality of children under one year had increased by no less than 30,000 per million, for eight causes alone. Not only so, but the increase has kept pace collaterally with the additional stringency of the enforcement. If these facts do not stand in the direct relation of cause and effect it may well be said that figures are altogether worthless for any purposes of demonstration. No doubt, other causes may be adduced as influencing the results, but it will be impossible for the utmost casuistry altogether to get rid of the awkwardness of the coincidence.

Mr. Herbert Spencer, in his invaluable treatise on *Education*, while discussing the decrease in the robustness and proportions of the English race, as indicated by the size of the old armour, says that it is most probably partly owing to the introduction, by vaccination, of hereditary taint of debility and organic disease.

Furthermore, the death-rate of all ages had also increased very largely from these inoculable diseases. It may also be noted, that although cholera was extensively prevalent prior to 1855, since which it has been of

rare occurrence and mild form, yet the total death-rate from 1854 to 1875 shows no diminution from that of the period 1838 to 1854; whereas there should have been indicated a large decrease, unless cholera has been replaced by some other disease equally destructive.

It will, perhaps, be said that though it may possibly be true that certain eruptive diseases may be induced by the use of lymph that has passed through millions upon millions of human organisms for eighty years, yet if calf-lymph be used such a thing would be without the range of possibility. This is the position of that section of the medical profession on which the facts and figures of the anti-vaccinators have made some impression. On the face of it it looks decidedly plausible, and no doubt has quieted the fears of many who had come to have some dread of vaccination. But here again dogma can be met with fact. Let Dr. Seaton speak. Dr. Seaton is the Medical Officer to the Privy Council, and it is on his reports that most of these Parliamentary papers are based. In Report 1870, p. 188, he says : "Dr. Worlomont informed me that, on more than one occasion, practitioners who had vaccinated children with some of his animal lymph had told him of symptoms following which, if they had not known the source of the lymph, they would have considered an imparted syphilis; and there had been lately lively discussions in France over some cases of syphilis appearing in children who had been vaccinated from a heifer, the local syphilitic symptoms manifesting themselves, it is said, at the vaccinated spots at the termination of the vaccine process—cases which, no doubt, had humanised lymph been used, would have been alleged to be cases of infection introduced by it." This is pretty clear on the point; but more recently a great stir has been made in the same country with regard to several cases of syphilis supervening on vaccination with lymph direct from the calf, though I cannot now put my hands on the papers containing the particulars.

But, syphilis apart, it is undeniable that animals are subject to disease as much as humans, and as it is admitted, even by the medical profession, that unless the lymph is quite "*pure*" it is quite possible to introduce the germs of other diseases, it cannot be inappropriate to ask whether the diseases that animals are subject to are desirable things to run the chance of receiving. Those who, like myself, have had much to do with cattle and horses, know full well that they are just as subject to disease as humans, and that their diseases are as malignant and as fatal. We have already a sufficiently large and majestic assortment of diseases to satisfy the yearnings and ambition of the most tender-hearted and philanthropical of doctors, and the necessity of a further addition in the shape of foot-and-mouth disease, red water, farcy, blue-tongue, cattle plague, or African "sickness," is not altogether apparent.

This leads up to the question of "*pure*" lymph. The relevancy of the term "*pure*," in connection with that which of itself is malignant corruption, may of course be questioned by such absurd sticklers for consistency who have not been inoculated with the medical afflatus, but I cannot waste time on such trifling. Pure corruption certainly seems to the uninitiated a contradiction in terms, but it has received the sanction of the profession, and that ought to be enough for everyone. But how, it may be asked, can anything possibly be pure that has passed through no one knows how many million constitutions, and gathered on its course the germs of who shall say what? Doctors acknowledge that neither by the microscope, by the spectrum, or by chemical analysis can the pus matter of one eruptive disease be distinguished from that of another, when they are at the same stage of development. Neither can they tell good from bad, if it is possible for such distinctions to exist in such a matter. It might well be supposed that if good vaccine *could* be found it would be found for the Queen, and yet it is well known that when she was re-vaccinated erysipelas was induced, and she nearly lost her arm.

I now come to the most important point of all. It has been shown that Jenner at first declared that vaccination gave complete and permanent immunity from infection of small-pox, though he afterwards abandoned this position for another. The generally received theory is, that it is in some mysterious degree a protection against the disease, though, as has been pointed out, the theory is ignored in practice by both legislators and agitators. It is however on this ground—that of protecting those who are already theoretically protected—that compulsory vaccination is advocated. But what if it could be shown that vaccination, so far from decreasing small-pox, increased it to a very large extent. Would the doctors then discard it? No! for this is exactly what the figures of the Registrar-General of England *do* show, and if the doctors do not know it they ought to do so. It has already been stated that vaccination was first made compulsory in 1853, and more stringently enforced in 1867, and yet more in 1871. Since 1853 there have been three epidemics of the disease in England, the deaths during which were as follows :—first period, 1857-58-59, 14,244; second, 1863-64-65, 20,059; third, 1870-71-72, 44,840. Thus, though the increase of population from the first to the second epidemic was only seven per cent., the increase of small-pox was fifty per cent.; and while the increase of population from the second to third epidemic was ten per cent., the increase of small-pox was one hundred and twenty per cent. These are hard facts that no amount of apology or sophistry can get rid of. The figures can be presented in a still more startling way, thus: Deaths from small-pox in the first ten years after compulsory vaccination, 33,515; in the second ten years, 1860 to 1873, 70,458. In other countries the same results have been obtained. Vaccination is compulsory throughout Europe, except Spain and a few other countries, and has long been enforced with the utmost stringency. But in 1871 there died of small-pox in Prussia no less than

70,000; in Holland, 16,000; and in Hamburg alone, 3,700, or a ninetieth part of the entire population! In Milan, 2,817, the number of patients classed as unvaccinated being only 278. In Paris the same year small-pox carried off 15,421, and in the whole of France about 200,000. Spain, which never adopted either inoculation or vaccination, should, if the theory of vaccination is of any value at all, have been at the top of the list, but as a matter of fact it is at the bottom, and the number is so small that the figures are not quoted in the Report.

A year or two ago there was published a pamphlet by Dr. L. J. Keller, Head Physician of the Imperial Austrian State Railway Company, which was compiled from the statistics of eighty doctors whom he had under him. The conclusions he arrived at were that vaccination makes the healthy rather more predisposed to small-pox than the unvaccinated and most unhealthy; and that the greatest mortality occurs under two years old. Many of these were of course unvaccinated, and the fact is seized upon by vaccinists as one in favour of their theory. But Dr. Keller says that the majority of these are the weakly whom they dare not vaccinate, and he clinches the matter by showing that his figures demonstrate the death-rate under two years to be greater among the vaccinated than among the unvaccinated. Leaving out those under two years old the death-rate from the disease was nearly equal among the vaccinated and the unvaccinated, with a slight reduction in favour of the latter. He concludes that the mortality in the different periods of life follows, both with the vaccinated and unvaccinated, the ordinary law of mortality of the human race at these respective periods, and that vaccination has no power to alter or affect this law of nature. He also brings into especial prominence the fact that has long been laid stress on by anti-vaccinators, viz : *That only the healthy children are vaccinated, and the sickly ones as a rule are left unvaccinated, as the doctors dare not run the risk, and that if these die of small-pox the fact is placed to the debit of anti-vaccination, as they are returned as unvaccinated.* These facts and conclusions, be it noted, are given by a professional vaccinator, and were forced upon him in the performance of his duties. They demonstrate that statistical tables of smallpox cases, in which age and the normal death-rate are left out, are quite worthless as regards a decision on the question as to what influence vaccination may have exercised.

All the continental reports tell the same tale. In the Vienna Medical Journal, 1872, two hundred and sixty-three deaths are stated to have occurred among the re-vaccinated German soldiers in the 1871 epidemic; and none of them are without similar cases. In America it is the same, and Dr. Rowel, Health-officer of San Francisco, says that in the epidemic of 1868-69 "those vaccinated and re-vaccinated since the commencement of the epidemic were apparently thereby rendered more susceptible of the disease." In Philadelphia, in 1871-72, there were fifty cases of small-pox, after re-vaccination, in the municipal small-pox hospital.

Before the time of Jenner it was declared that in London, in epidemic years, a fourteenth of the total deaths resulted from small-pox. This statement, be it noted, was put forward by Jenner himself, and is given for what it is worth. If there be in vaccination the virtue claimed for it the deaths from smallpox in London in 1871, when vaccination was enforced with the utmost stringency, should be much less than a fourteenth of the total. Let us see. A fourteenth of the deaths of London in that year would give 5,745. What was the number of deaths from small-pox? 7,856! Truly a strange kind of stamping out!

I now turn to the hospital reports. It will be fully understood that these are not compiled by anti-vaccinators, and that every fact that can be turned to the credit of the vaccination theory will be so turned. To expect anything else would be to declare that doctors are not ordinary human beings, but a race invested with the infallible attributes which they themselves claim. But notwithstanding this, even these reports support the anti-vaccination view. In 1864, of the patients in the smallpox hospitals 84 per cent, were vaccinated. In 1871, out of 14,808 cases admitted into the small-pox hospitals of London, 11,174 were returned as vaccinated. This official statement surely does away with the protective theory, whatever else it may help to prove. It is true that the number of deaths among the unvaccinated is returned as much larger than among the vaccinated, but these figures will bear investigation. It is stated that thirty-three per cent. of the unvaccinated cases died. Now, this statement alone should at once give rise to doubt; for the celebrated Dr. Jurin, in 1723, before inoculation or vaccination were invented, estimated the deaths among small-pox cases at seventeen per cent. But it is also said that small-pox is not such a virulent disease now as it was during the last century. How, then, has the mortality among the unvaccinated risen from seventeen to thirty-three per cent? It looks suspicious on the very face of it. Let us go a little deeper into the matter. All cases admitted into the hospitals are returned as unvaccinated if the vaccination marks cannot be seen. But as a rule smallpox cases are never sent to the hospital until they are decidedly in a bad state. In 1871 the report says "394 deaths occurred within forty-eight hours after admission." Now anyone in the least acquainted with the appearance of a patient in a bad stage of small-pox must know that within forty-eight hours of death even a sabre cut would be obliterated. And yet all these cases would be returned as having no marks, and therefore being unvaccinated. An accidental occurrence in Glasgow fully corroborates this view, and is to be found in the Glasgow hospital report. The classification is made on the entry of the patient into the hospital, and Dr. Russell states that on one occasion, when the hospital was not crowded, he kept the patients until complete recovery, when, on examination, the marks in several cases which had been entered as unvaccinated were found to have re-appeared, and the hospital register was

altered from unvaccinated to vaccinated. If this was found to be the case on the only occasion when such an examination was made, is it not probable that it is always the case? Nay, is it not *à priori* to be presumed that it is so?

But this is not all. In vaccination doctors have a theory to support, on which depends a large proportion of their income, and to expect them to take every pains to give prominence to the facts telling against the theory would be manifestly absurd. I do not say that they wilfully falsify the statistics, but I do say that the inborn tendency of thought, which must of necessity control them, leads them to take for a necessary fact that which investigation would show to be no fact at all. But I am sorry to say that, in some instances, the matter goes a good deal further than this. It is scarcely likely that many people would take the trouble to investigate the hospital statistics, with a view to corroborate, or otherwise, their alleged information. Such an undertaking must of necessity be both laborious and disagreeable. But on one or two occasions it has been done. In the *Banbury Guardian* one such investigation was reported. There occurred ten cases of small-pox in Banbury, out of which two died. These two were returned as unvaccinated, and the remaining eight that recovered as having been vaccinated, but so far back that the effects of the vaccine had died out. But the truth was found to be that all had been once perfectly vaccinated according to' Act of Parliament, and one of those that *died, twice*.

Another case occurred in Leeds. In 1871 there were 115 deaths returned as of unvaccinated people. Mr. John Pickering and Councillor Kenworthy enquired into about half these cases, and found that of these nine were entered as unvaccinated, all of whom had been vaccinated; eight entered unvaccinated which should have been entered unsuccessfully vaccinated; and four entered unvaccinated which should have been returned unfit. They also found a number of living people who had recovered and who had been returned as unvaccinated, but who had been vaccinated.

It has already been shown that those infants who are in such a delicate state of health that the doctors dare not vaccinate them, go to swell the numbers of the unvaccinated, and it remains to be told that those who are operated on any number of times, but do not "take," are also relegated to the same list. But the rising school says that these are just they who take most. It says that when the pustules appear readily on the arm it is merely an indication that the subject has sufficient vitality to repel the poison which is sought to be introduced into the system. But when the pustules do not appear, then it denotes that the patient has not the vital force to throw out the noxious matter, but that it sinks into the system and assimilates with the blood, leaving a chronic tendency to eruptive disease, a slowly waning vitality, and consequently a susceptibility to all manner of epidemics, and to all baneful conditions. These unfortunates, when they are attacked with small-pox, as they are sure to be when that disease is "about," are returned as unvaccinated, and used to bolster up the cause of vaccination; but as a matter of fact they are poisoned by the introduction of noxious matter, which saps their life, and without which they would run, at all events a chance, of long life.

In reference to this point the doctors' excuse for those dying who are undeniably vaccinated, is generally that the operation is inefficiently performed; that is to say that the right number of marks were not on the arms. But here again the figures are against the doctors. The percentage of deaths, in 1871, among those with four marks visible was 65, and when it is remembered that a large number are admitted in such a state that no marks could possibly be seen, the return is very significant. In the Homerton and Stockwell hospitals out of 3085 admissions 1800 admittedly had good marks. The same report says, in reference to those cases treated up to March 30th—14,400 in number—2700 of which were fatal, "If these had been properly vaccinated the duration of their stay in hospital should have been about 245,000 days." Now Jenner, in 1802, positively declared before Parliament that the properly vaccinated could not possibly take the disease, and that is why he received the national grant of £30,000. In the next place this statement candidly admits that "proper" vaccination is quite incapable of preventing people from occupying hospital wards twenty days apiece when attacked by small-pox.

One more point: During the seven years 1867-74 there was paid out of the poor-rates to public vaccinators, for so-called gratuitous vaccination, £544,723; and in addition parliament voted £43,428 to meritorious vaccinators. Is it likely that the profession would give up this sum without a struggle? It would be an ignoring of all the instincts of this selfish money-grubbing age. In addition to this it is to be remembered that this sum only represents a small portion of its income from vaccination, for the middle and upper classes do not patronise the public vaccinator. Dr. Collins, of Regent's Park, now an unflinching anti-vaccinator, admits that he made £500 a year by it.

What do all these facts point to? It has been shown that the doctors cannot agree as to what really is the efficacy of vaccination—and here it may not be amiss to quote Sir Thomas Watson, the Nestor of the medical world. He wrote, in June, 1878, in the *Nineteenth Century*—"It is too certain that one objection, really formidable, exists to vaccination—that the operation may in some few instances impart to the subject of it the poison of a hateful and destructive disease, peculiar to the human species, and the fruit and Nemesis of its vices . . . . I can readily sympathise with, and even applaud, a father who, with this presumed dread or misgiving in his mind, is willing to submit to multiplied judicial penalties rather than expose his child to the risk of an

infection so ghastly."

It has been shown that in an epidemic of small-pox there is no increase in the general death-rate, or total mortality, demonstrating that the disease is merely one of the means that nature, under present conditions, uses to get rid of the poison which bad sanitary and dietary customs have in past times engendered.

It has been shown that vaccination is directly answerable for an increase of nearly all inoculable diseases, which the doctors overcome by recommending the use of "pure" lymph, and others of calf-lymph.

It has been shown that collaterally with the enforcement of the compulsory Acts there has been an immense increase in deaths from small-pox. This is the record of the "Registrar-General's returns, and therefore unassailable by any medical *à priori* objections, such as that offered when Earl Grosvenor took the small-pox : "Oh, it cannot be small-pox, for Dr. Jenner vaccinated him."

And it has been shown that the medical fraternity have a tremendous vested interest in the continuance of the vaccination system, and that therefore it cannot be looked upon as an impartial witness in the matter.

It remains only to quote the opinion of a few eminent men, in addition to those already quoted, as to compulsory vaccination.

Francis W. Newman : "To punish parents for struggling to keep their children's blood inviolate, is a form of tyranny unheard of until modern times, and emphatically as disgraceful as it is impious."

John Bright: "The law which inflicts penalty after penalty on a parent who is unwilling to have his child vaccinated is monstrous."

Moncure Conway : "Government has no more right to compel a parent to inoculate his child with possibly tainted lymph, than to compel the child of a Protestant to go to a Catholic school."

Sir T. Chambers, Q.C., M.P., Recorder of London: "Compulsory vaccination is beyond all comparison the strongest form of 'parental government' that was ever introduced into this country."

Charles Bradlaugh: "It is the most oppressive piece of legislation enacted by any English-speaking Legislature since the passage of the notorious Fugitive Slave Law in the United States."

W. E. Gladstone: "I view with misgiving all new aggressions upon private liberty. The inequality of the Vaccination Law is a strong reason for doing what we can to mitigate its severity."

Herbert Spencer : "I wish I had known some time since that the Vaccination persecution had been carried so far, as I might have made use of the fact. It would have served farther to enforce the parallel between this medical popery, which men think so defensible, and the religious popery they think so indefensible."

J. W. Pease, M.P.: "Vaccination slaughters children in a wholesale way."

P. A. Taylor, M.P. : "I maintain that all the elements justifying compulsion on the part of the State are wanting in this instance of vaccination."

Dr. W. J. Collins, M.R.C.S., Esq, L.R.C.P. Edin. L.M., 20 years Vaccine Physician in Edinburgh and London : "If I had the desire to describe one-third of the victims ruined by vaccination the blood would stand still in your veins."

Dr. C. T. Pearce, M.D, M.R.C.S, England, for many years the associate of Sir W. Jenner and Sir H. Thompson, and who has devoted a quarter of a century to the special study of the disease: "Vaccination and small-pox stand in the relation of cause and effect, and bear a corresponding ratio the one to the other."

Compulsory vaccination is from every point of view thoroughly indefensible. The only ground that can be taken in favour of compulsion by the State, is that of complete unanimity of sentiment with regard to the matter affected by the action whose adoption is at issue. When any section of society looks upon the theories sought to be enforced as fallacious, then their enforcement becomes a tyranny. For instance, compulsory education is justifiable, because it is universally admitted that ignorance is prejudicial both to the individual and to the community, and no one could be found to deny it. But the enforcement of sectarian dogmas is unjustifiable, because certain sections of society look upon these dogmas as fallacious. In the eloquent words of Moncure Conway: "When against any law a protest arises, made in the same public interest as law itself; when it has no private or selfish purpose, and appeals only to fact and argument; when, though in a small minority, it has sufficient weight of intelligence on its side to confuse the judgment of good citizens; then no law can remain just which meets that protest and argument with brute force." So it is with vaccination. A section of society, ever increasing in numbers, and in England, the Continent, and America, gradually drawing to it some of the brightest minds of the day, sees in vaccination nothing but dogma and fallacy, and to compel them to undergo it in pain of imprisonment is manifestly the worst form of tyranny.

In this pamphlet I have made no special reference to this or the neighbouring colonies, because I have no data to go upon. So far as I can find out nothing has been published in regard to the matter. New South Wales is, I believe, the only one of them in which vaccination is not in some way compulsory. It is also the one most liable to "infection," Sydney being the port of entry for all vessels from eastern Asia, Polynesia, and America. This being so one would naturally think, if there be any truth in the doctors' theories, that small-pox would be more rife than in the adjacent colonies. But it is nothing of the kind; New South Wales has been as free from

the pest as any of them, and that in spite of Sydney being without doubt the dirtiest and least sanitarily protected of any city of its age in the civilised world. How long it will remain so is not a question of vaccination or non-vaccination; but one of good drainage, good water, airy streets, roomy tenements, clean roads, pure water-frontages, and such matters. Until Sydney is to a large extent pulled down and the streets made wider, the houses larger and more airy; until the legislature forbid building in the suburbs on small allotments and without wide streets; until the harbour is purified; until the drainage is carried to a distance and deodorised; until water out of something else than a swamp is supplied, Sydney may at any moment look for an epidemic of small-pox, or cholera, or typhoid fever, or some other of nature's fruit grown from the seed of criminal neglect. But this will not prevent the doctors administering their nostrums in the arrogant presumption of pretending to control the laws by which they themselves are controlled. Nor, when the epidemic dies out of itself, after having killed all whose constitutions were not proof against it, will it prevent them claiming for their efforts the credit of stopping that which they did all in their power to increase.

Be that as it may, I trust I have brought home to a few of those who have released their faculties from the leading-strings of the past, and dare to do their own thinking, that vaccination is but another of the dogmatic shibboleths that have held us in bondage for so long, and that so far from being the protection it is pretended, by a largely subsidised class, to be, it is one of the most prolific sources of disease which we have to encounter in our journey through life.

## Appendices.

SINCE writing the foregoing I have been completely over-whelmed with literature and evidence hearing against vaccination, but the mass of matter is so great that I find it impossible to reduce it to anything like manageable shape, especially as the type is standing in waiting for a second edition, for which there is a considerable demand. I have therefore for the present contented myself with picking out a few points which have appeared in recent contemporary press.

Dr. Cameron, M.P., in an article in the May number of the *Fortnightly Review*, says, "Of 2677 deaths from small-pox re-corded in the hospitals of the Metropolitan Asylums' Board during the years 76-79, 1008, or 37 $\frac{3}{4}$  per cent, occurred in vaccinated persons." Dr. Cameron it will be understood is not an anti-vaccinator.

Mr. Thomas Baker, an English barrister, shows that the Parliamentary return, No. 433, session 1877, demonstrates that out of 80,000 deaths from small-pox, 43,000 were of children under five years of age, up to which time vaccination is held by the medical profession to afford absolute protection.

Charles Darwin, M.A., F.R.S., the celebrated author of the "Origin of Species," and "The Descent of Man," says, in his "Animals and Plants under Domestication," "It has recently been ascertained that a minute portion of the mucous discharge from an animal affected with rinderpest, if placed in the body of a healthy ox, increases so fast that in a short time the whole mass of blood, weighing many pounds, is infected, and every small particle of that blood contains enough poison to give, within forty-eight hours, the disease to another animal." This of course bears on the use of cow-lymph, for I know from experience in Africa that diseases of this character are in latent existence in the vital organs of cattle long before they are externally apparent.

The following letter from Mr. P. A. Taylor, M.P., appears in a recent number of the *Times*, and gives French statistics on the anti-vaccination side :—

*"In the midst of an epidemic of small-pox in a population 'protected,' according to Dr. Carpenter, in the proportion of 300 to 1—a fact surely sufficient in itself to warrant some doubt as to the efficiency of vaccination—it seems that our medical experts have nothing to propose but a repetition of the process which has so signally failed.*

*"In regard to this question of vaccination we seem to be suffering under a judicial blindness which disenables us from profiting by the result of our own experience. Is it possible that we can gain something from the experience of others? There is a very striking similarity between the condition of London now and that of Paris ten years ago. I quote from a very interesting work by Dr. C. Spinzig on variola. He states that in the spring of 1870 much alarm existed in Paris in regard to an outbreak of small-pox. It appears that the faith in the efficacy of 'humanised' vaccine matter had been greatly shaken. It was supposed to have degenerated, as is now maintained here by Dr. Cameron, M.P., and the use of lymph direct from the heifer was strongly recommended. The Municipal Council of Paris voted 10,000*fr.* for the purpose. The inhabitants of Paris availed themselves of the opportunity to a great extent, and one morning as many as 2000 persons were vaccinated at one mairie alone. As early as February, 1870, vaccination and re-vaccination directly from the heifer was put in operation in Paris, so that at the month of October six to seven months had elapsed, and consequently the protective power of vaccination ought to have been at the very height of its potency; but, alas! instead thereof, the table exhibits an alarming increase from October to the end of December. The conseil d'hygiène et de salubrité discontinued the system in December. The reason for this action may satisfactorily be learnt from the*

*following deaths from small-pox in Paris in 1870 :—January, 174; February, 293; March, 406; April, 561; May, 786; June, 914; July, 1072; August, 713; September, 700; October, 1361; November, 1722; December, 1837. Deaths in 1871 :—January, 1503; February, 763; March, 230. The entire number of deaths during these 15 months is 13,035, being more than 20 times the average of the previous ten years.' I leave these facts to speak for themselves."*

VACCINATION.—"The *Lancet* paper startled its readers a short time since by asserting that it never approved of public vaccination as now practised, and it appears from some remarks in the same journal on the recently-published report of the medical officer that the Privy Council inspectors justify this condemnation, for out of 1749 vaccination districts inspected, the authorised first-class gratuity of 1s. per case has been awarded to 129 only, and the second-class gratuity of 8d. to 219 more. In England and Wales there are about 3000 medical men performing operations, which are wholly disapproved by the highest authorities. Another point worthy of attention is that a distinction is drawn between one vaccination and another. Can anybody explain to the public what constitutes a first or second-class vaccination. I venture to say no such distinction ever entered the head of Jenner."

The London society for the abolition of compulsory vaccination has issued a circular, containing the following results of an international anti-vaccination congress held at the *Salle de Conférences*, Paris, in December last. Eighteen delegates attended, representing Belgium, Holland, Prussia, Wirtemberg, Switzerland, France, England, and the United States, and including five M.D.'s and three university professors. Amongst the names of those who being unable to attend personally, sent letters of sympathy with the movement, we observe those of Herbert Spencer and F. W. Newman. The conclusions come to by the conference, and the statements made therein, will startle many who without examination, have believed in the efficacy of inoculation for small-pox.

First—That small-pox epidemics did not increase the general death-rate; that when small-pox was rife there was less typhoid fever, scarlet fever, measles, whooping cough, and other zymotic diseases; and that, generally speaking, the total mortality increased as small-pox mortality diminished.

Second—That the diminution of small-pox mortality at the beginning of the present century could not have been due to vaccination, as Jenner's discovery was but very little practised. When the result was claimed for it not more than per cent, of the entire population in England were vaccinated, and in 1812, less than 1 per cent, of the population on the Continent. The diminution of small-pox was due to the cessation of smallpox inoculation, and small-pox mortality diminished when it ceased to be propagated.

Third—That the official returns show that in proportion as vaccination has been rigorously enforced, small-pox has increased.

Fourth—That the small-pox hospital returns both in Europe and America, prove that vaccination has neither prevented nor mitigated the severity of the disorder. The fatality amongst the hospital patients in the last century averaged 18 per cent., whereas the fatality during the epidemic of 1870-2 was 1866—about 18 2/3 per cent, of the patients attacked.

Fifth—That since vaccination had been rendered obligatory, infantile syphilis (under one year old) had been increased in England, according to a Parliamentary return, dated February 25th, 1880, from 472 per million of births in 1847 to 1746 per million in 1877, or four-fold; and that all other inoculable diseases, such as pyæmia, scrofula, erysipelas, and bronchitis, were augmented in these infants in like proportion. In England the increase of inoculable diseases was 20 per cent., notwithstanding an expenditure of 200 millions sterling since 1850 in sanitary works. Another Parliamentary return (No. 433 Session 1877) demonstrated that 25,000 babies were yearly sacrificed by diseases excited by the vaccination lancet.

Sixth—That from the exceeding difficulty of finding a case of spontaneous cow-pox the vaccinating profession cannot possess a standard of purity in lymph; and that no analysis, or microscopic examination, or medical experience, can enable a vaccinator to distinguish pure from impure lymph, nor can the appearance of the vesicle of the vaccinifer be relied upon to indicate freedom from taint of syphilitic and other disease. A subject highly syphilitised can show vaccine vesicles, according to Dr. Warlomont, "perfectly irreproachable" in appearance.

Seventh—That many diseases to which animals are liable, and particularly tubercle, are transmissible by means of so-called Animal Vaccination to man, according to Veterinary Surgeons, and that the great increase in Consumption in Europe was owing to this cause.

Eight—Dr. H. Oidtmann of Aix la Chapelle demonstrated by official returns from the towns of Cologne, Dusseldorf, Duren, Elbeefield, Liegnitz, Treves, Wesel and other places, that Vaccination does not afford even a temporary protection against Small-pox, but on the contrary on the outbreak of Variola there is large and constant priority amongst those attacked, of the vaccinated and re-vaccinated, over those who have escaped Vaccination.

Lastly—That in view of the confusion of opinion which prevails in every medical assembly amongst the

so-called authorities, whenever the subject of Vaccination is discussed, it is unwise, impolitic, unjust and tyrannical to enforce it: that such enforcement retards all improvement in the treatment and all discoveries for the prevention of Small-Pox: and that all Compulsory Legislation with regard to Vaccination ought to be repealed.

The Paris correspondent of the *London Daily News* cabled the following on May 5:—The fifth and last debate on obligatory vaccination and re-vaccination took place yesterday at the Academy of Medicine, whose advice the Chamber asked when Dr. Liouville presented his Bill in the earlier sittings. The Liouville Bill was severely handled, and the final sitting was animated. Dr. Legouest, of the Val de Grace, presided. When he was putting to the vote the report of a Committee, Dr. Guerin proposed that the academy, while admitting its belief in the powers of vaccination, regrets not being able to recommend that it be made obligatory because firstly, to do so would be anti-scientific, inasmuch as it would fix bounds to science; and secondly, it would be contrary to the prerogatives of the medical profession and individual liberty; consequently the academy should recommend the chambers to vote sufficient funds to multiply and perfect vaccine institutions. Baron Larrey declared himself in principle for amendment. Nevertheless the amendment was rejected. Dr. Depaul then proposed that from the beginning of January next the practice of vaccination and re-vaccination be placed upon a new basis in all the territory of the Republic, and that an administrative rule should be promulgated to assure the execution of the law. Dr. Hardy, when Dr. Depaul was beaten, opposed obligatory vaccination. What the Chamber should do was to facilitate its practice under safe conditions. Baron Larrey proposed the institution of a central vaccine establishment in every department. The first clause of the Committee's report, favourable to obligatory vaccination, was carried by 46 against 21. In the minority were some of the most eminent lights of science, who were not all prepared to admit that Dr. Jenner stood on a basis of absolute scientific truth, or that his opponents' arguments were to be lightly treated. The Academy would not entertain Dr. Lefort's amendment, which was to render it obligatory for the concierges or for the landlords of houses in which there are variolic patients to stick up at the entrance a warning placard as in Prussia. Dr. Lefort is a professor of the faculty, Head Surgeon at the Beaujon Hospital, and has much studied the small-pox question in France and abroad. He opposed ardently a report favourable to the Liouville Bill. The Academy had not sufficient belief in Dr. Jenner to report in favour of obligatory re-vaccination.

LETTER FROM F. W. NEWMAN, *Emeritus Professor*.

Dear Sir,—Thanks for your letter of information. The medical vaccinationist men, either ignorantly or basely, always neglect to notice:—

- Our arguments from Moral Right;
- Our arguments from Constitutional Right;
- Our arguments of a decisive character from their own statistics. Under the last I specify—
  - ¶ Years of prevalent small-pox are *not* years of increased mortality. This one fact settles the controversy against them;
  - ¶ Illness and Death by small-pox has increased since they made Vaccination compulsory;
  - ¶ Vaccination, so-called, induces other diseases, and they are helpless to prevent it;
  - ¶ They, themselves, recommend vaccination to be repeated, and cannot tell how often it is needed, for their own statistics force them to admit that its preventive force may not stand out against an Epidemic next year. When to this we add
    - ¶ That they refuse even to experiment the methods of treating small-pox, which are alleged by actual trial to make the disease *very tractable* by certain herbs, by hot baths of water, or by hot air, persisting themselves in the old methods, which lead them to believe small-pox to be an awful danger instead of a salutary event of evil;
    - ¶ They take no means to investigate the *vera causa* of small-pox with a view to prevent it in the only common-sense way;
    - ¶ That their predecessors who spread small-pox by Inoculation, and Jenner, who believed that small-pox after vaccination was impossible, have alike been proved wrong by fact.

My belief is that the present Parliament will condemn compulsion if the whole case be laid before it.

We must refuse all compromise. I enclose a cheque of £1 1s, as contribution of Paris International Anti-Vaccination Convention.—Signed,

To William Tebb, Esq., Dec. 25th, 1880.

Vignette

P. W. NEWMAN.

City of Sydney Printing and Publishing Co., 155 Bridge Street.  
Effluxion of Time. A Pamphlet Addressed Directly to the Freemasons of New Zealand, to the General Public.  
Subject: The Feed Between the Old Lodges of the Ancient Order of The Freemason, and the Hierarchy of the Church of Rome.  
Cuminated in the Dark Ages of the Church.  
By Seccucu.  
Mills. Dick & Co., General Printers Dunedin Stafford Street MDCCCLXXX.

## Effluxion of Time

The publication of this pamphlet, a primate, is allowed by Effluxion of Time. The 33rd Cycle of the 9th Era was complete on the 24th of May, 1871, by the conjunction of Saturn, Earth, the Crown of Jupiter and Mercury with the Sun, Masonic secrecy was held inviolate until the end of the Cycle. The Lodge of Kilwinning, was instituted by the Ancient Lodge of Kilwinning, then located in Asia Minor (a perpetuated Grecian Lodge of Architrave Sculpture and Indented Science and Lore). The Substituted Lodge of Kilwinning" was intended as a Modern Substituted Order, to collect the primogeniture of the Old Lodge, and remain isolate and unimportant until Effluxion of Time liberated all the old Lodges from their obligation. Secrets could not be communicated, but hieroglyphic tracings were given to enable a studious Past Master to gain access to and admission into the parent Lodge The entablature of Modern Freemasonry, in three degrees only, was only acknowledged by the Supreme Lodge when it became the most powerful secret combination in Europe, undesignedly, without concert, and without a semblance of authority, or exercise of power. Without once recognising in the Church of Rome a conspiracy to reduce the people of Europe to slavery by *imbocet idiotcy*, the eglantine of Modern Freemasonry has disrupt and nullified the most cleverly contrived usurpation ever attempted

## Effluxion of Time.

### To Tee Freemasons of New Zealand.

BRETHREN,

I am PAST MASTER in your Order—The Modern Order of Ancient Masonry. I am INDICATURE in the Order of the Fellowship of the Past Masters of the Ancient Order of the Fleece. I am NOTARY in the Order of the Lama. I am PLEBESCITE of the Indent of the Port. I am REGISTRAR OF RECORD in the Lodge of Sumne. I am The PERPETUAL MASTER of the Lodge of St. Asaph, in Seringapatam, and I am COMPANION, CHIEF and PERFECT in the High Judiciary of the SUPREME LODGE OF WYNDHAM.

My authority in the Order is not paraded here to give me fame, I shall never be known in New Zealand; but as warrantry for my assumption of authority as your introquoquet, introloquet, lecturer, instructor, or whatever name best applies to a nonentity only acknowledged in modern society, and there deemed the highest authority—an anonymous writer.

Enumeration in a recognisable list is made to convince you that I am acquainted with the secrets of a Fraternity you know nothing of. You cannot estimate the importance of Freemasonry. I am intimate with subjects which cannot come under the notice of newspaper correspondents, or the compilers of modern history. You know but little of the history of any old country out of Europe, and of the history of Europe you have but fragments. Of the history of India you know nothing. It would be impossible for an Englishman to get access to the records of India now. One universal spirit prompts the English to which every other panna is subservient—money-getting avarice. India was wealthy before English rule pauperised the whole conforture; now, it is an English tax-ridden province, where the labor of the poor man supplies the yearly income of the rich one, and whole districts (for the first time in the history of Asia) are allowed to starve. In India, from a drunken sailor to the Governor-General, Englishmen are feared and hated with an intensity the passive mien of an Indian gives no clue to. Since the advent of Lord Clive, the English have slaughtered more than eighteen millions of the people of Ina Europia for *no other purpose* than to extend their commerce, create patronage, and amass wealth. The massacre at Cawnpore was very horrible, so is slaughter everywhere, but the slaughter of Indians is exalted to a virtue crowned with glory, the retaliation degraded to the acts of incarnate fiends. Lore lives in India, but is far, far beyond the reach of an unaccepted Englishman.

The records of the planet have been archived in India. The possession of them has been kept a profound secret, *to preserve them*—

NOTE—The protection of these records has cost one-thousand-one-hundred-and-twenty-four-millions of human lives.

first from nomad vandalism, afterwards from the "Empire City of the Despoiler," and last, and worst of all, from *pious thieves and Holy men*.

The Inspired Record of the planet is perfect from the Rhadamanthus Age to the destruction of the City of Mycenæ. Recorded history is fragmentary during the Rhadamanthus Age, and up to the Cyclet of Amaponda. Records are perfect in sequence during The Age of Puberty; then follows an interval in which Adam was created. From Adam to Methusallah records are the lives of individual men, and from Methusallah they are perfect in yearly sequence to this hour.

During 24 cycles, previous to Adam, this planet was a paradise. It was peopled by 927,241,414 *native* inhabitants, perfect in organic structure, life, spirit, matter, and throb; and in affinity male and female. No BIRTHS NO DEATHS. Four only, during that period, were lost in quicksand. The NATIVE population of the planet was perfect, *none were alien, none mortal*. The body could not perish by disease, nor age destroy its youth or puberty. The gathered Hell of Amaponda broke in fury, and for 927,412 years the whole of the solar system was a chaos. This planet was only stopped in its uncontrolled flight by the Pleiades. In time quietude returned, and Nature and the inevitable law of equilibrium restored the system. The planet was depeopled and envelletted in mesme. God made Adam, an alien, breathing an atmosphere of mirk, that his seed might gather the germs of the race cateclyce had destroyed. The inhabitants of this earth are now mortal. Eight races have descended from Adam, all but one are alien, mixed in 209 intermediate crosses.

The mixture of races in the descendants from Adam, occasioned by the influxion of foreign organic matter, led to quarrelling, fighting and bloodshed, and to check men, God gave commandments, and inspired precepts in accordance with the inpet of the clam to which they were given. The Panna, the Polyglot, the Zenda Vesta, the Koran, the the Christen Bible, and nine other books of precept were written to gather men and women of one indote mould into companionship, in consonance with the totote of their inherited articulation, and to edmontine mental effort in those who could not study, and reduce mysteries to problems for solution by those who could.

The end and aim of all religion, however plated, when divested of speculation and impossibility, is to restore immortality ON EARTH:, not in some imaginary phantom heaven, by separating races from admixture in blood, lymph, marrow, and spittal; and perfect structural secretion in men and gestative competence in women. This is Regeneration, and it was for this purpose the magnificent Temples of the Sun were built, at a cost exceeding the whole of the present circulation of Europe. Races must be inborn again, and again, and again, until men and women no longer secrete their own lymph, or efflux sin.

I am no modern author, I could not write a newspaper article, I could not pen a quietet. I could not write a book in modern style. I shall be compelled to employ old caligraphic simonetts; but I will leave my writing as plain as I can.

I am here on Lodge pleasure. I shall give my manuscript to a printer. I am told that it must be edited to be presentable, and I submit. I may not be here to defend it, but I shall leave arms and ammunition enough to enable a student of modern literature to array a philanx. I will place a base on which to dote a theory, build a pile, and extend a silocism. A silocism is an integer in logic, and logic is the Rule of Three; the quotient is truth found by problem, beyond querrel.

I shall speak of thousands of years ago, and quote the English Language as a mother tongue when Homer lived.

I shall write a Romance of History, indented from minutes, statistics, records, bummistrie (correspondence), Lodge gossip caligraphy, and palmistry, and shall write of events which occurred thousands of years ago, as familiarly as though I had been present and knew by personal acquaintance each one in detail.

My knowledge of history has been gained in commune with the past in the company of its presence. Cloistered archive minutes are imbued with the spirit of the men who wrote them, and in the perusal of their caligraphy the past is present again, the train is unbroken, the esquence perfect.

If my orthography appears to differ from modern usage, the difference is not accidental but intentional. Better to pass a sentence with an unaccustomed word in it, than misconstrue the word.

I apprehend a check to the reception of the subject matter of this pamphlet in the novelty of finality. What will be the confusion, of men ready on the instant to express their own opinions, and whose "fathers have fought and bled" for the right to choose their own religion, when they find that opinion is another word for imbecility, and that religion is as fixed as the stars—that argument proves ignorance on both sides, and that in nature, or in God, in heaven or in hell, in past, present, or *future* there are no secrets: when they find all this to De beyond their power to dispute, and that their inestimable privilege to "argue the point" is no longer of any

importance, what they will do I cannot surmise.

This is the first authorised Masonic writing published since the year 12 of the Roman Notation of Time.

It is published in Soland (middle Island of New Zealand) to fulfil an imperative obligation—a behest.

It is Masonic, but Masonic institutions are now blended with. Speculative Christianity.

It will be estimated only as an attack on existing institutions, perhaps, but it aims at far more than to aid the crumbling of a wreck—it aims to build.

I cannot allude to events which made Masonry a penal secret unless I expose the aim of the Spiritual Hierarchy of the Imperial Power of Rome, and in doing so I place the Priestcraft under ban. But the priestcraft does not include all that is Catholic. Pastors may be as sincere as Protestant Clergy or Episcopalian Ministers. I speak of the "*Craft of the Priest*" as it was recognised in Holy Orders, and leave the Priesthood alone.

I write only of the Church of past ages, the foundation and growth of the present "PROTESTANT CHURCH OF ROME" "*By dire necessity, in the EFFLUXION OF TIME, the Supreme Conclave has no other resource*" (*literally worded*) but amalgamation. In the year 1784 the whole of the internal economy of the Roman Church was remodelled, and the ban on Freemasonry and heresy removed, in order that "the Church might be placed on a footing with the Progress of Universal Christianity." I do not write a story of Catholicism, but Masonry is so incorporated with the Church that an interdict in the history of one without an interlock in the other would be a citary with every other line omitted.

The Priestcraft were the trained executioners of the orders of the Hierarchy in *secret matters*, the word does not of necessity include the clergy, who have to win proselytes, and are educated accordingly.

All that is priestcraft or priesthood is arrayed in Orders and Degrees, and every priest is initiated according to his *proficiency* into the secrets of the Hierarchy. There was the "Order of the Pure" and the "Order of the Assassin." Catholicism is Universality, it *embraces* saint and sinner.—"*The exigencies of the Church demand that every avenue be guarded, every power available, and every resource at hand.*"

It is, therefore, impossible to include any particular priest in censure without knowing the Order to which he belongs, and in "Prohibited Orders" he dare not divulge his Order.

Catholicism is the most perfectly organised system, except Freemasonry, on earth. One is as near, as opposites can be, copied from the other; but there is this difference—one is possessed of unlimited-wealth, perfect in skilled craft, arts and sciences, and conserves the records of the past; the other depends on collecting donations to support a usurpation, and in all education must march with the times. Priests advance *nothing*, must divert the spread of science, and know no studies but the secrets of the Hierarchy, except by permission, and "with a view to controversy."

The meaning of the word Catholic is universal, only by the proclamation of a Diet. The Americans may give it what signification they please.

Brethren, a lodge of Modern Freemasons assembled in Peace, Love and Harmony, is, partial or complete, a resuscitation from the lost Empire of Greece in kith, kin, marrow and descent. You have become by desire and adoption an Attached Substituted Order of the Guild which built the cities of Ancient Greece, now seen in ruins, and of whose history not a rumor but surmise has come to you. They flourished under Lodge government. The Empire was destroyed. Its people were massacred, (not defending their homes but defenceless), that their destroyers might possess their gold. But the Lodges are not dead, they remain still, perfect as they were when Karnatic Luxor, Balbique, Thyatyra, Thebes, Sondon, and seventy-five other cities held hundreds of millions of inhabitants. But you know nothing of them, and but little of the Order to which you belong, and which they initiated as pleinary. The object of your degrees has never been comprehended except by a very few. Speculative Masonry to you is a pastime, not the serious business of life. You are a crypt in one of two orders, and there are but two. True, there are Indian Orders of Caste and Chinese Orders of Clam, but there are only two which draft their *fraternity* from the whole population of the planet.' One is fellowship gained by probation in three degrees, skilled craft in seven degrees, University studies in nine degrees, and inductive science, in three degrees. The other is the Church of a mendicant priestcraft

The priestcraft of Rome are compelled to take the oaths of poverty and chastity as a blind. They are compelled to accumulate wealth, but only to be the hoard of the Church. They dare not accumulate for themselves. Chastity is a "Cajole of Craft" Church Rule supposes the priest to be "Pure in Type", and to be pure is to be hermaphrodite. The Statute of Mendicity forbids a priest from being engaged in any trade, calling or craft other than the Church recognises as "Holy." "The fulness of the Earth belongs to the Church by inheritance," (legalised by centuries of undisputed ritual.)

Note.—Englishmen cannot judge of the extent of the power of the Roman Hierarchy by their experience of the clergy of the Catholic Church. When the fiat has passed, armies must march.

admitted as postulants by *conformation to a physical standard, mental chlorosis, and primordial exet type*; are as like as kittens; dwell alone in cloistered solitude by choice; are solus in nate—that is, are born without female in affinity; are even, in rate of number in increase of population, and are employed to found a universal

empire under the dominion of a Hierarchy of priests, by inciting race against race, whilst their chiefs consolidate their power and influence in secret.

These are the two Orders which have ruled every event, or its sequence for fifteen hundred years.

Light, right, and liberty; arts, studies and science; lyre, lore, and literature were withdrawn from Europe when the Grecian Empire was cloistered in the Empirere of Delhi. From Homer to Socrates, Greek learning was speculative philosophy, nursed in the fading light of the abandoned Empire. All was entombed in the Dark Ages of the Church. Perkin Warbeck, Warwick, and Luthur broke the enthral, and Modern Christianity is the liberated, bewildered Vestal—a Goddess, in many-colored vestment begging alms in aid of omnipotence.

*This little book tells the first tale of Masonry and Priestcraft. Every chapter will be preceded by*

A BAULK

To be passed before its primate is arrayed, so that no assertion may come with a surprise, and the last chapter may read as the sequence of many volumes. In no other way could a pamphlet be comprehensive. The first Baulk I shall place is Language.

## Language. A Baulk.

I have by my side a modern Dictionary from which I quote the following:—

*"Amongst all families of kindred tongues, the Indo-European is pre-eminent both for the perfection of its organic structure, and for the value of its literary monuments. The parent of the whole family—the one primitive Indo-European language—has left no such monument of itself; but its roots and forms may be made out to great extent by the scientific comparison of the languages which have descended from it." The main branches then follow—Indian, Iranian, Greek, Latin, Celtic, Slavonic, and Teutonic.*

This conclusion is arrived at by first constructing and afterwards studying the rules of the constructed science of Lexicography. The writer says that there is no monument left of a lost language but its roots and forms. If the roots and forms are left the language is somewhere lost in sight, for a mother tongue can never be lost until the race to which it is a particle has died out. If the roots and forms are found scattered, the race is scattered. If a race dies, no seccucu remains, no root, for the root is a native articulate sound, the articulated sound of a formed totote, as the sounds of a flute are peculiar to its construction. The ability to articulate the cadences of a mother tongue is bom with the offspring of the race. Tongue and language are not synonymous terms. One is unstudied and a birthfall; the other constructed, a study, and a vocabulary. The Indo-European having left its roots behind has left its etymology, and amongst nations gradually making up disinterred vocabularies, the distich they frame must come to language by unerring etymology, and eventually to the same language its etymology first made it. It is a certainty, therefore, that amongst the descendants of the Indo-European the lost Indo-European will be found a living mother tongue, however imperfect

Your attention, Brethren!

There is but ONE perfection in one endet in Nature; there can, therefore, be but one list of alphabetical sounds. To suppose two alphabets is to suppose two perfections in one sum. How could it brate? Both must be alike, or they must differ. If they differed one sum would be two perfections—an absurdity; if both were alike, two perfections would be one sum—an absurdity.

If you can find in the whole range of euphonic articulated sounds one word the letters of the English alphabet will not spell, infuse and influx, you will find an imperfection; and as no imperfection can exist in a natural perfection, you must look elsewhere for a perfect alphabet in which none of the sounds of the Angle alphabet are euphenetted, and class the Angle with sub-divits. When it is found you will have discovered the pretone.

But you cannot find a sound, perfect in euphony, timed, toned and tuned, the letters of the Angle alphabet will not spell, and the vowels infuse and flux.

Lexicographers tell you that modern English is made up from Latin and Greek roots. They put the cart before the horse. An alphabet and its mono sounds are inseparable. If Latin and Greek are the primate mono tones of the English vocabulary, then the alphabet is a Latin and Greek alphabet, and English the incidence.

But the English is a mother tongue, and Latin and Greek are incidences, they have no rattle, they are Dead Languages. Latin is a law scrip, ponderous; Greek is a scripture, confluent. Neither of them are the emble of a mother tongue. A child could not euphonise either of them. They are formal and precise and do not express vivid emotion. A child could not express or expend his petulance, or vent his little anathas in Greek or in Latin. They are dead languages and emotionless. They are studies. Who ever knew a child born to his father's study?

The Alphabet is the English alphabet, and not the beta of modern Greek at all.

If the English alphabet spells, and its liquids infused and influxed pronounce every word found in every other pater, the English language must, when perfected, include every other, and the "parent of the whole family" the lost Indo-European, will be restored in modem English: Indian, Iranian, Greek, Latin, Celtic,

Slavonic, Lithurian, and Teutonic merging into it.

The Angle alphabet is perfect. The Indo-European, (in old parle Ina Europia) was a perfected vocobnosis, but the perfection of literative elegance, perspicuity and finish, is Ebretted Angle Caligrote, a vocabulary all dis-syllables.

I have raised a cloud carefully lowered, tinted, and embossed by the priestcraft of the Church, and made "Holy," (Church property) by every device, spiritual and temporal, supremacy could devise. At one time to see the lips move in response during the performance of a Latin orison would be followed by instant dismissal and severe pennance. Latin was a "Holy Mystery," not to be profaned.

This is my Baulk. No man after reading it can remove it until he has shown that a more perfect language than the English would be, if perfected, could be constructed out of more perfect elementary articulate sounds.

This is my Pulle.—The records of the Empire of Greece were removed to Delhi after the Massacre of Myteletus, and the destruction of the entabled City of Mycenæ. These records were archived, and the key to the Crypt was to be found in the Third Declination of Euphione, a star of the eleventh magnitude. The key was found eighty-one years ago by observed declination ordered by the King of Delhi on the North Cape of the North Island of New Zealand, and verified in Patma, one of the New Hebrides. The Crypt was opened, and the archives taken possession of by the Lodge of Sumne. The Records are in Greek, Angle, and Hebraic, in nine copies of each record. There are three-hundred and eleven thousand tons, and the custody of them is accompanied by strict conditions. They are lithograph grotesque caligraphy, re-produced from blocks of lignite. Before the British took possession of Delhi every record was removed.

The Bummistrie, (correspondence) is written in what would now be considered very pure and comprehensive English, and the Lodge gossip mostly in "Braw Scotch."

In other archives, the old libraries have been under the care of old Lodges. The St. Asaph Library contained fifteen hundred thousand volumes in one Panna—lyre, literature, and lore. Lyre is poetry—a phantasy; it is preserved in four tongues, Literature in one only—Ina Europia. Lore is Medecia, and annetted in every tongue.

Scripture is Greek caligraphy, a dead language constructed to prevent the translation of the Scriptures into various tongues, so that all who would read them should have the same text to peruse. The Pen-tutuk, Pologlot, and Panna would make ninety-two volumes, each equal in bulk to the Catholic Bible. They are the original scriptures known to the men who wrote the books which, now *transmuted, versified, and arrayed*, are compiled into "The Catholic CANON of Holy Scripture." Latin is another pinnot, a Dead Language, constructed to be the tomed heading prefixed to all Statutes of the Realm, in all tongues, languages, or other national direlects of speech, so that the Platitudes of the Law should be universal.

Virgil, a schoolmaster and a brilliant intellect, studied Scripture constructed Edmontine for eighty years to adapt it to poetry, and rendered an old Anglette poem into his "Emblazoned Greek." Homer followed him, and transmuted "The Illiad" and also wrote eleven other Eben poems. Ama came last, and wrote "The Odysaye" and another poem. These are all the poems ever written in Virgil's Emblazoned Greek. Modern Greek is a new eclipote framed by Hippolitus from one book of Virgil's, found in Corinth in a book shed.

All Greek Standard works are in Modern Greek, and their value is their intrinsic worth. If a demand arose, New Greek literature could be multiplied by the ton. Virgil's Emblazoned Greek is limited. The first edition of any modern Greek book printed or written, sacred or profane, was in the 12th century.

Had I left it to be inferred that my acquaintance with archived records depended on the translation of them out of all sorts of impossible cabalistic hieroglyphics, such as the science of Lexicography has invented and arrayed under the heading of "Ancient Alphabets," I should have dug a pit for myself as priestcraft has done for itself, and set up an Ancient Aunt Sally to be knocked over by philosophic and scientific examination. No man can transcribe a record into Greek or Latin and re-transcribe it twelve months afterwards into the same sentences as the original copy, word for word, or even convey the identical ideas, unless he can remember the phraseology; much less can he render the dite of another. The tome of Latin and the confluence of Greek *transmute*, and a sentence only bears the plated impress, and may not contain one of the original words of construction. The Books of the Christian Bible are now in the same mother tongue in which they were written. There was no such structure as Modern Greek or Modern Latin until after the Canon of the Bible was set. The Bible was translated *into* not *out of* the Dead Languages, and the stupid idea of adding to its importance by the very imperfection which would diminish its value, was a trick of the Craft of the Priest, in Holy Conclave Assembled. How Professors of University studies will get out of their share of the inheritance of this silly swindle I do not know, but they know that not one of them could put a paragraph into Latin or Greek that another could re-write in English, and bear the slightest resemblance to the original. And there they are again abrood on the addled egg of Monk Everett, and have all they can get in the original copy carefully revised by the original manuscript, interpolations and edetta extra, "the only bias being in the interests of the Church."

There was not a line of the Bible translated or written in either Greek or Latin until the year 1204. The first printed editions of the Bible were in Angle, and three impressions of it, very much differing from the present

version, are now in the Lodge of St. Andrew.

It would be out of place to speak of the Bible here had not so much care been taken by the priestcraft to influence all English education. There is not, perhaps, one man not a University student, who ever suspected the English Language of antiquity, and biblical Latin and Greek of modern origin.

NOTE.—If any brother of the Order wishes to convince himself that the story of Adam and Eve is not a translation, but was originally written as it appears (or nearly so), let him get the 3rd Chapter of Genesis experimented upon. It is not much mutilated and is the only one in the Church version resembling the original in sequence.

COROLLARY.—Nature has but one perfect set of Alphabetical sounds., proved by one set sufficing to spell and pronounce every word framed in euphony.

COROLLARY—That any word added to the vocabulary will take its place as an English word and agree with its nominative case in gender, number and person.

COROLLANDER—The Angle is the oldest tongue of Primordial man, if he was created perfect, and is the one Universal Language to which all diatribic distich tends.

## History. A Baulk.

What is History? My dictionary says—"to learn or know by enquiry. A written record or narration of facts or events in the life of a nation, state, institution, or epoch, with disquisitions on their cause and effect."

History is a written Record or narration, if it is edited from written Records, but no disquisition can be History, nor can an edited narration be History unless the Records from which it is edited are authentic. To be authentic they must be vouched for, and the voucher must be the evidence they present by being perfect in sequence, detail and rote, and in nothing contradicting each other. Is there such History extant?

Is opinion history? is surmise history? can the thoughts of a biogropet be conceived and narrated? Can intent and purpose be found by implet? can the character and inspet of a man be summed up from Active editing? can history be the narration of probabilities? can isolated and distant events however correctly narrated be the history of a nation, state, institution, or epoch?

If these questions are answered in the negative, then the history of the past is not to be found at the present—it is lost or suppressed.

I have placed my Baulk, who can pass it?

My Pulle is this—There is no history of the Roman Empire, Roman Republic, or of the Roman Church. The History of the Roman Empire was never archived by the Romans; no records were ever kept, nor could more than eleven men in the whole of the Empire, from first to last, either read or write. The history and records of Rome are incidents in the History of Greece only, excepting the yearly anneted statistics of spocet kept by the Supreme Lodge of Record and Statistics in the Hades of the planet, and to which access is only available to crowned heads by right, and students by favor.

The Record of the Church of Rome has been kept by Masonic Lodges appointed to that task only; and archived monthly in the Lodge vaults of eight different localities—Smyrna, Aleppo, Paris, Dresden, Adrianopol, Sumatra, Delhi and Carnatic; and all summarised in the librette of the Lodge of St. Asaph, 15 miles from the city of Seringapatam. The Church commenced to keep record in the year 201, discontinued until the year 203, lost the record and commenced again in 204, and destroyed every paper in 402 to prevent Gladstone (a Puritan triumvir) from getting possession of them. The only records now in the archives of the Church date from the year 709, and are not in sequence.

The Church Records archived since 1221 are available; but by the Canon of impiety it is a fault punishable with death to be found perusing them without the consent of twelve Bishops.

There, is, and ever was, a blank in Church history between the supposed time of the advent of. Jesus of Nazareth and year of the Compact of Clotus, (411) the year in which the Christians of Europe were formally made a "Sectary" of the Church of Rome, and the Church first adopted the title of "The Church of Christ." The history of the first four hundred years was always termed the "Masonic Era" in all monasteries and nunneries until the reformation of the Catechism in 1798. The Dogma of the "Apostolical Succession" was a "Device of Craft" to bridge over the chasm left by the absence of all narration of event appertaining to the first 400 years. The Monk Abbot Euralleus made oath and declared that "The Records of that eventful period were in the hands of the Freemasons only, and that they were secreted in ninety different places; it would be useless, therefore, to attempt a Surmised History." "It was resolved that the Apostolical Succession should bridge over the Appenine way." —*Appendix to the Compact of Clotus.*

The Church of Rome had in every way attempted to put down the growing Sectary of Christianity by fine, imprisonment, torture, and public execution. Rome was the Supreme government and the Church was the executive. Arian went to Rome to plead the cause of the Christians in Smyrna, and the result was the Arian

Massacre—the indiscriminate slaughter of the inhabitants of Smyrna. The outcry led to the Compact of Clotus, by which the Christians were admitted as a Sectary of the Church of Rome, and the Church publicly adopted Christianity. Records had been repeatedly forbidden. Escubus, in 201, made it a "Dignity of the State" that no record should be kept of its proceedings. He was Pope, and to give his decree more effect he issued a proclamation to parents "not to tolerate the practice of writing amongst children, so that no attempt should be made to transmit the story of the present to the future, when men should be more indebted to the Church for their information."

Ever since Protestant writers have secured liberty to publish their writings they have exhibited their inferiority to Catholic writers whenever history could be introduced. Protestants have only Catholic published ever set to refer to, and they must abide by it, although they may know that the authority is a straitened Church manipulation. Catholic controversialists are trained to their craft, and they know the sleight-of-hand it admits of. If history fails they can supply as much as is needful, well knowing that Protestants cannot detect their "crow." They dread no enemy but "The Accursed Masons." "Why their lore is suppressed and their bummistrie kept dark is" (to the Hierarchy) "a state of continual suspense."

This summary is given to show the uselessness of the Bible as a basis from which to date history. I do not intend to couple it with Christianity in any way but as events in the history of the first attempt to make Christianity a speculative theology.

COLOLLARY.—All Church History is a concocted Fraud.

COROLLARY.—All history depending on a narration of events pas-sing through the supremacy of the Dark Ages of the Church is Fiction of History.

CORROLANDER—The History of the Christian Era has never been written, nor have events been entabletted anywhere but in Masonic Lodges.

## Population. A Baulk.

In a recent German Statistical publication the number of inhabitants on this planet is set down at 1,439,142,300. The number which ought to be the living descendants from Noah's family does not seem to have ever been calculated by any theological student like Bishop Usher. Taking the lapse of time since the Deluge at near the Bishop's estimate, say 4000 years, the number at the commencement of the present era should have been four hundred thousands of millions. For my purpose I have put down one hundred millions, as an estimate of the population of Europe, which might be assumed from the numbers of armed men kept in pay by the Romans. But whether the estimate is near or far the result will be the same. I know the number, but I do not want you to know yet.

If you will take the census returns you will find the increase of population in a mean of 29 decades to amount to 12.121 per cent, in every generation of 30 years.

To make this estemet more startling, and take it out of the category of estimates, I have gone to extremes, and taken only 4 per cent increase in every generation of 30 years—that is, I have allowed only 4 births above deaths to every 50 women, and that too, supposes women and men to be equal in numbers, whereas, women have the preponderance to the extent of 12 per cent, in a mean of 257 years taken at random.

In 1800 years the increase at 4 per cent would bring the population up to one thousand millions (the present number multiplied by three), and then allow fifty-eight millions for loss by war pestilence and famine, although that incidence would have been included if 12.121 per cent had been taken.

Any calculation based on statistics would make the population of Europe more than the population of the whole world four times multiplied, and then only allow one hundred millions for the increase of the previous four thousand years generation.

Compute as you may the result is the same. Thousands of millions of the human races have to be accounted for somehow.

What becomes of them?

This is my Baulk!

This is my Pulle!—In the annals of the Lodge of Summerhayes, in the archives of working Lodges, and in the bummistrie of the Archet there are hundreds of tons of manuscript relating to planetary conflagration, cyclax, cyclone, cateclyce, simoon, and twenty other annihilating sweeps of human life by suffocation, planetary conjunction and planetary misplacement. At one time Venus hung suspended from, the earth at 12,000 miles distance, this planet hung from Mirve

Modern Astronomy is but a begining, which has been assisted by giving a list of the names, positions, declination, latitude, and radiance of the fixed stars giving a marked Ephemeris, and allowing a young Masonic student to rate the Berlin observatory time. All instruction beyond this, and supplying some of the tables of the Nautical Almanac has been withheld, except, by answering occasional questions. The Astronomers of the Royal

Lodge of Astronomy are not permitted to converse on the subject. In a few years the study will be free. It is a science which cannot progress but with the revolution of the Solar System, and an ordinary lifetime would only be long enough to mark four seconds. MIRVE, is a dark planet seen in moonlit aborretted radiance, in a field of quicksilver. In a Reemed Supetted Luroscope, a view of Mirve can be brought to a focus, and even pebble stones on the sea beach be counted. The planet Saturn moves in a superior orbit, and leaves no trail—the result of his light being self-refracting, not a borrowed light. Mirve is a dark planet, seen through a 35 foot blackened tube. Anibern, Amherst, Ampobe, Coralando, and 29 other Endite of Plant can only be seen by radiate, in a field of gold in ether solution, or by the luroscope.

NOTE.—A description of Lord Rosse's telescope says that any object on the Moon one hundred feet square can be distinctly viewed. If this is correct, then a superior instrument would show up an object a foot square, and there is no limit until perfection is arrived at. Perfection in an instrument adapted to one focal distance would not be perfection at a greater distance; so that the length of the tube determines its focal power. Sliding tubes are only of service for adjustment, they do not increase the power of the instrument, and hereto hangs a secret worth knowing to modern astronomers, but out of their power to avail themselves of in one short life time, although it might be proved on small instruments. If distance lenses are more than 2.224 inches apart, the radiance flares, and the peret of the focu is mesmatted, or may be destroyed altogether. A fixed star in the Melbourne telescope looks like a candle in a fog. The radiance refracted in the object lense must be caught at its focussed term by another lense; seated, refracted and so transferred from lense to lense, until it reaches the screen, which is a perfect plane of crystal. The lenses must be ground so true that no two rays of light cross each other. The Church, secure in possession of the never failing authority of their own Holy Book, roasted Cornopieus alive before a slow fire, baisted his body all the time with hot fat, and kept him writhing for two hours, by the sentence of the Supreme Court of Architrave. Tycho Brahe was skinned alive, Galileo was hung, and William Henry Everett was poisoned; each of them for questioning the decrees of heaven, and having Masonic telescopes in their possession. When Adrianopol was threatened by the Russians the other day, a telescope was in site which would photograph the breath of a man 40 miles distant, or show up a pebble stone on the planet Mars. The officer in charge was offered £810 000 by a Russian spy, in the name of the Emperor to let the instrument remain. He refused, and the same night the house was surrounded with armed men, but the telescope was gone. 83 attempts to place an Astronomical Observatory ended in torture, murder or massacre, until the Sultan of Turkey gave a home, and armed protection, which lasted 400 years. at 9000 miles distance, and Mirve hung suspended from Saturn, all of them without orbit.

There are 83 cateclytic simoonetts on record, all of them leaving the planet swept of life. At one time only two men and two women were eft, at other times hundreds, and sometimes thousands. India has been swept, and Europe saved. The tail of the Comet Memone has swept a belt four miles in width, completely around the planet, and suffocated every, living thing within its circuit. After another visitation China was left 327 years without an inhabitant.

I copy from the Compendium to the Pentutuk—

*"If the whole human family should be destroyed by suffocation excent one negro man and woman, in a plated time every race would be restuted again, have, passed through a chrysilite stage, and gregated in eight races and one clatter."*

Your attention, Brethren!

When men multiply after, a cyclax or cateclyce, all are nomad. For a few years families may keep together, but to wander in search of wealth is irresistable. In a few years all are wanderers, by compulsion or choice, and to gather wealth is to invite plunder. In fifty years all are mixed in blood, marrow and spittle, and then come the young wild crustacæ, wild in habits and promiscuous in intercourse.

The young of the crustacæ (the third genera from pure bred rote) incept the germs of all races, and in three generations their young are Crumlæ. In thirty years the Crumlæ breed a first spu, in thirty years more, a second, and, fifteen after, they cast Crumptæ. In 272 years, if no interruption occurs, the first Gyptic or Gypsy is in boyhood. The next that follows is the Cyptic, the next the Coptic, and then the Grotic, the Gallic, the Guelphic, the Cymbic, and the Celtic.

These are Spocet. From them race springs—the Angle, the Dane Dutch, Spaniard, Teuton, Russe, Norse and Scand.

The descent of the pure Angle from the Gypsy cannot be less than 274 years with nothing to retard, but a community is a long and uncertain transition.

Nationalities in Europe are now mixed and in transition. The Giptic is distributed in Europe every where. The Ciptic flushed in the Welch, the Coptic in the Norse of Norway, the Grotic in the Spaniard, the Gallic in the Welch, Highlanders, and Norfolkmen, the Guelphic are Bavarians and Hanovarians the Cymbic are in the French and Spaniards, and the Celtic in the Irish and Westphalians. Other nationalities are mostly in race.

In 2741 years the whole planet might be Andalusian again, the highest type of Angle puberty.

## Christianity. A Baulk.

AXIOM—Truth is Truth.

AXIOM—Truth is truth only.

AXIET—Truth has no inset.

AXIET—Truth has no outset.

AXIOT—Truth is truth.

ESSET—Truth is accomplished fact. Opinion is the halting place of Error.

I find a Pene; men call it Christianity. I contemplate. It governs men's conduct, it rules their laws, it tempers their manners, it grooves their customs, it pervades their literature, it tones their morals, it moulds their lives, it checks their actions. It is, therefore, at every time and place, what it is there, and nowhere else.

It is nothing. It is peon—potent, unset.

I note an effect. I cannot trace the cause. Men attribute it to Christianity, To a trained priest it is the Church—priestcraft, power, dominion, authority, law. To a Protestant Minister it is power, authority, law, wealth and importance.

It is something. It is poen—potent, wrapt.

It governs the Catholic, it governs the Protestant, but it does not govern both. What does it? It governs and divides.

What is it? It is every where at times. At times it leaves no trace. It is at every man's bidding, a weapon or a shield. Its name is potent and its name is all—a fact no fact, a phantom no phantom, a truth no truth—nothing.

In its name men love and they hate; they bless and they curse. It is a creed—a dozen creeds. It is a belief—a hundred beliefs set to ærial text. It is conviction—a thousand convictions, all differing. It is born in fact, nursed in surmise, set in opinion—a theology, a satyr.

Truth is accomplished fact—a spell is a fact and a myth. Christianity is a spell.

A spell is a myth and a power.—Christianity is a power.

Christianity is a power. Its thorns are legion; still shaping, shaping, shaping out of nothing.

Shaping out of nothing! Shaping into forms. What forms? Many forms with one symbol. What Symbol?

## A Crucifix.

A SYMBOL? Of what? Of nothing—of LOVE.

Made a story improbable, impossible, incomprehensible false, and true, and woven into a mystic Religion, fact and mythology. A Religion enforced by precept, illustrated by example, buoyed by hope, encouraged by interest, made alluring by gain, terrible by dread, beautiful by desire, enchanting by vista. A. Myth, a Truth, a Fiction, a Hope, a Fable, a Dread, A FACT.

AXIOM—A fact never dies.

IXITE.—A transpired event is a fact. A fact to-day will be a fact to-morrow fact for ever.

EXIST—A Fact lives for ever.

Your attention, Brethren,

Truth only irritates when truth hurts. Truth cannot hurt itself. If I tell you a lie you are irritated, unless my lie finds affinity in some lie of your own. My truth cannot irritate your truth, nor can my truth irritate your ignorance, for ignorance is the absence of everything.

Now reverse it. If I tell you a truth, and you are irritated, my truth has puddled some favorite lie of yours. My truth could not puddle your truth, nor could my truth puddle your ignorance, for you have none.

If any irate man contradicts anything I say in this little book, let him look to his own fame, for he will berate one of two postulates. Either he knows of his own knowledge that I am wrong, or can indicate by silocism (not syllogism, that's conjecture) that I cannot be right: or, he does not know, and cannot playmate a problem. So he risks a periquet to bother me, bothers himself, and fogs everybody else.

If he cannot array my cote the mental puddle is his, not mine. I may have a purpose in my puddling; it is for him to display it. If I am puddled and he is clear, nobody will be in a fog after he has dispelled it. If he wants to fight I have no weapon a match for him, for "argument can only be set at rest by folly." A man who is accustomed to sermonise only, I have no foil for, for he makes thrusts at a whole battalion at once, and engages, may-be, half of the powers of the air, at the same time, in the same squabble.

Brethren, you are Christians by right, by birth, and by profession, I am Christian by right and study. I cannot impart my Christianity to you. Its mysteries are secrets, as open to you as to me if you will give yourselves the same trouble I have done. There is not a natural phenomenon to be encompassed but study will encompass it—there is not a mystery in Eternity, in God, or Nature to be dispelled, but study will dispel it—there is not a problem to solve but study will solve it. But a lifetime is not long enough to commence and

perfect study by investigation—the uncompleted investigation of others is a quicksand, a radiate, and a baulk—and "The True Religion" has closed the past, its history and lore, with a bloody barricade. Until the past is present again, Christianity and Science must remain no more than speculations. Christianity is set truth. If you still insist on Modern Substituted Christianity also being truth, I ask you—how so! when it admits of controversy.

This is my Baulk.

I make my Pulle—

Modern Christianity is founded on "belief." If any man can feather a belief he can do what all the philosophy of past ages has not been able to do. What you know, you know : all you do not know you know nothing about. Knowledge is active, belief is passive doubt. Religion is the duty of man to God, Christianity is the duty of man to man, as entabled by Christ. The present Bible was partly compiled from old manuscript written by inspiration in "The Temple," found in the Forum in Clement's Collection. It was entitled "A CANON OF HOLY WRIT," and was intended to supply the place of the Scriptures, withdrawn from every town by the closing of Masonic Lodges and schools, enforced by the tribunals of Rome. The Bible is a compilation from fragment, made to appear sequential by editing, and for Church Endowment only, "to serve as a Text Book" and for "undisputed reference." The Old manuscripts were selected as the Prophetic Candemere, but referred to periods and dynasties long, long swept away, and replaced by a new clopote of the race of Adam, and new cities on the sites of those the prophesies referred? to. Eleven books of prophesies were selected, all of them bearing the mark of the Temple of SUMMON, a Greek Temple of Karnatic, in Asia Minor. The originals are now in possession of the Lodge of Luxor, with the notes, indexes, and references of nine of the scribes. The Temple mark in "2222222221 INSPORETTED" in red ink on the top margin. The mark of archived Bummotrie.

No person can suppose that the Bible, REGULARLY VERSIFIED as it appears now is the work of men living thousands of years apart from each other. The versification was the work of the compilers "to allow of interpolations where the sequence was broken." The Canon is partly the writing of James the Evangelist, a man to whom contemporary Masonic correspondence gives the character of a pure man who would not be guilty of a cajole. The Books of Kings and Chronicles were both summarised, by him and revised by David (one of the Holy Three) who has endeavored to trail all through the Bible a genealogy for himself, by impersonating a descendant of David, King of Israel.

The Book of Isaiah was transmated from a Dutch poem, rendered into flowing verse, the figures taken from a Greek Sacred Drama. The manuscript was purchased by the wife of Clotus, who took it to Jerusalem, *found it there*, and sold the "holy relic" to Daniel. The copy sold to Daniel was not three months old, by the date of the Scrivenir. The Psalms of David were obtained from a Hymn Book written by David, King Elect of the Judah of Israel, (a happy little kingdom on the Plains of Silestria, made the Empiret of Media, when Cyrus placed his son Cymbrasis on the throne of Europe, after the Greek war of Independence, before Socrates 212 years). The Five Books of Moses were compiled by Moses Hardtman, "an Earthenware Man" in Smyrna. Moses purchased the fragment of the Book of Genesis at a bookstall, the Pentateuch from a trunk maker, and the rest from a Jew. He altered the names of Darien and Moss into Moses, to make the narrative "a runner." The other books were selected from 201 manuscripts, all of them now in the possession of the Lodge of Sumne.

The Gospels were compiled in the years from 401 to 404 by Matthew Jonne, Mark Aragos, and John Jymme, (Matthew, Mark and John,) and edited in 409 and 410 by James Plummer, from the caligraphic edition of "JESUS THE CHRIST, His TOBOT, Escrutoired by LUKE the Scrivenir." Luke'S book was written for sale in 231, and 251 copies were sold. The New Sectary was an after-thought, necessitated when Christianity was included with the temporal powers of the Church of Rome "as a matter of precaution," and to "create a power against which no heritical combination of future Masonry in emblett could prevail."—*Daniel's Appendix to the Crucifixion Theoret.*

The New Testament was a postscript ordered by the Council of Trent, to be added to the Canon, after it was examined and passed by DANIEL THE PROPHET, then the Archive Register Keeper of the Council's Decrees, and Secretary to the Council of Tamar. Daniel had already supplied one of the Books of the Holy Canon, "from his own manuscript of a former life, in which he had been the Lord's Own Anointed," (*verbatim*) and was appointed to revise and correct the issue of the Holy Scriptures. By the Compact of Clodus, all Christian Lectret who had suffered death by decree of the authorities, of the Church were to be received into the Church, and canonised as Saints. The writings of Paul Silas, a Christian lecturer who had been hung and beheaded in Rome, 211 years before, were in possession of Arian. They were revised and corrected by James, adapted by Daniel, and incorporated in the New Testament as the Epistles of Saint Paul.

Modern Christianity is a speculative theology, a myth, founded on the Catholic theories of the Masonic Symbol of the Crucifixion, (a studied secret,) interwoven with mythological misconstrued doctrines Christ the unintentional founder of, Christian theories was Divine of the Lodge of Sidon, and left 89 large tome volumes of his writings in custody of the Lodge. He was burned in the public street in Sidon by order of Pontius Pilate

for heresy. Jesus of Nazareth, THE Christ, was another person, and with him the story of the Crucifixion is connected. Paul Silas and Jesu of Smyrna, both martyred, were the real founders of *Modern Christianity*. The Lectures of Silas were the text book of the Smyrna Christians (Arien's Heresy), before the Compact of Clotius merged the Christian independent congregations into the Church of Rome. The Book of Luke was not known before the Church Scribes transmuted it into the Gospel of St. Luke. The Lectures of Silas were made the foundation for Adair's "*Theory of the Crucifixion, and its Connexion with the Everton Heresy of the Fall of Man,*" and this "Encyclet" was given by Adair to the Priests of Cardova, in return for the gift of a Prebendary in the Church. Jesu of Smyrna, a Saddler, also surnamed "The Christ," an enthusiastic man (cotemporary with Junneval, mis-spelt Juvenal), left 78 volumes which Daniel had possession of. All put together into the hands of the "Commentators" Matthew, Mark, John and Barnaby, produced the greater part of the New Testament, to which the Book of Enoch (now transmuted into the Book of Revelations) was afterwards added.

"The Christians had only lately been added to the power of the Church, the Canon of Holy Writ had not yet been extracted from its entombment in 39 tons of Traditions, and the Council, the Scribes, and the Prophet Daniel were busy looking to the future of the Hierarchy, and setting the religion of millions upon a firm basis. Accordingly, nothing was to be thrown on one side which could elucidate the mysteries of the Holy Religion we were about to adopt. The Old Testament was the outcome of 34 years anxious solicitude in searching the mummeries of the records of the past to find the True Religion buried in its envelletted surroundings. The Old Craft Freemasons had made such inviolate secrets even of their every day transactions, to extract them seemed to be, at one time, an impossibility."—*Daniel's Secundumus*.

The horrible persecutions to which the Christians of the Church of Rome were subjected if they did not conform to every alteration the temporal power of the Church thought necessary to make, to keep down heresy, utterly destroyed the Sectary, and 24 years after the Compact there was not one Congregation of Christians meeting together in Europe except in secret.

Whatever value the Catholic Bible possesses is in its intrinsic worth as a sequo, which no man can add to, no man take away. As a Canon of Scripture it is a fraud, there is but one chapter copied, even in part, from the Scriptures. It is partly the writing of men who were in-spired, but the whole of it is curtailed, fragmentary, and summarised. But neither the fraud nor the villany which has accompanied it affects the perusal of its contents. If it is not what the priestcraft have represented it to be, no matter, every man sets his own value on it. No man can get evil out of good, for there is none to get: any man may get good out of evil, for evil cannot exist without it.

Those who feel aggrieved to find that the origin of the Bible is not what they thought it was, may now abandon the mystic for a minute or two, and ask themselves how they would have ordered it, had they, in the year 404, been employed to collate a sacred book for Church service wherever the materials could be found. Half of the mysterious awe with which the Bible is regarded is self-imposed, and not demanded by anything the book contains, nor was it insisted upon by the compilers. The Bible is entitled "A CANON," any other authority given to the book, beyond this is given in excess.

Everything the Church of Rome possesses, except the Craft of the Priest, has been obtained by appropriation.

This is a strictly true summing of the origin of Modern Christianity, and its suppression by the Church of Rome, until the Wurtemberg Riots taught Pope Summe that Christianity was a birthfall, hereditary, and "although it might be diverted, could not be smothered by penal enactments, or be propagated by alien conversion." I have given no more than a bare summing of a few of the leading events, but my story will both confirm and contradict the tale of the priestcraft, and New Testament impress.

The Three Days Anniversary of the Crucifixion is kept in old Lodges in deep mourning. To the brethren then assembled there is no mystery. An event which has fifty-fold more importance to the *Christian Races* than anything modern theories have made of it, and which affects every one mentally, morally and socially, has, by suppression and the mysterious silence which surrounds it, become a yearning tie of relationship, vainly seeking quietude by every lane and every avenue.

A lost presence, felt in every error committed, has become a solicitude, which finds its only vent in the maze of mystery. Out of an undefined hope of re-union, the priestcraft of Rome, in centuries of organisation, have made a theology, a commerce, a supremacy, a cajole, and a fraud.

The tale of the crucifixion has never been told, and never will be whilst the priestcraft of Rome have power to turn it to their own account.

It was kept a secret at first to prevent finding the body. It has been kept secret since to suppress the power of the priestcraft, and keep them in ignorance, and also to prevent the culmination which now enthral Europe, and sets a seal for good or evil on every public act.

Protestant Christianity is a New Divinity with no study but its own made mysteries, the theology of its own exigencies. Religion is the relationship of man to God, Christianity is human mythology in which God is only

allowed a subordinate place. The two united are mystery added to mythology. But amongst all the maze of Protestant speculations, there is no doctrine, that I know of, not founded on truth, and conveying truth, and obedient to inevitable organic law, from Calvin's predestined, to Primitive Methodist any-body. This is paradox, and a paradox must convey two truths. All that is wanted is the suppression of the *craft* of the priest, and then the office of public teacher would be one of honor. It would be madness to add to the influence of men sworn to set up the usurpation of the Hierarchy of Rome as the centered Seat of Supreme Power, by giving them new means of enthral, and instructing them in the mythology of the laws which govern mental aberration. They know far more already than any modern Statesmen or Protestant Divines give them credit for.

The mysteries imported into Modern Christianity are studies in Divinity, and should never be the subject of a discourse before a mixed audience. The Perebellion, Atonement, Vicarage, and the Trinity, the Creation and the Attributes of God, are not to be explained by preaching. Protestant ministers have plenty to do in organising society, interesting and instructing Sunday audiences, and doing work the State neglects, without muddling money-getting brains with unsolved mysteries.

## Colloquat.

I have made the Indo-European and English Languages identical in derivation.

I have made the English Alphabet the sum of a natural endet.

I have put Modern Historical Fiction into quarantine.

I have shown that increase of population by generation is fixed by organic law, retarded only by man's ignorance and violence.

I have proved that human life has been lost in millions of millions since Adam, unaccounted for by natural causes.

I have shown by narration from record that inorganic forces have been the agent of destruction, in sweeping the planet with suffocating vapors.

I have shown that Generation restores human life, in chrysolite transition to primordial type again.

I have separated Christianity and Religion : cast aside theology as modern speculation, and made Christianity the duty of man to man, and Religion the duty of man to God.

## Romance of History.

The texts are very few from which Modern Librated History is extended. Sermonising, editing, romancing, novel-writing, penny-a-lining, religious tracts, writing to order, compiling, Church periodical jour- nalsing, extempore praying, and other feats of authorship, supply all the scraps of History modern wants require, and lecturers fit in events just as they are wanted for the time.

Thousands of men in boon companionship with monks, and friendly with secret Freemasons, have gleaned a little now and then. In conversation, many past events have been spoken of, or the knowledge of them used to color a conversation, or been arrayed in the figures of a discourse, made a point in argument, a picture in elocution, a bias in policy, a fiat in commerce, or woven into every day life, indirectly and without suspicion. So, from the phantoms of mangled remains, theorisms have gated into theories, and theories become the facts of a pan-demere upon which modern history is built, modern education floats, and from which modern literature overflows.

The origin of the Order of the Free and Accepted Mason is said to have been initiated at the time the Temple of Solomon was built. All the lodges hailing from the Kilwinning Lodge have authority for dating their lodge number from that building. The Kilwinning Lodge was one of 304 working lodges under one Supreme jurisdiction, engaged in building eight cities and four temples at the same time. Thyatyra, under Lebanon; Sondon, near Thrace; Plebec, near Athens; Condon, near Carthage; Karnatic, in Asia Minor; Plesopolo, near the present site of Milan; Cambray, in Sicily, and Octogom, in Thessaly. Solomon's Temple in Thyatyra, was the smallest, and Karnatic the largest. There never was a temple in Jerusalem but the Encyclet, an open Piazzetta on pillars.

It was after the cateclyce of Ardot, when men began to multiply, that a man of Angle blood and brace and Cyptic mien, and his eleven sons built a street of houses on the site of the present city of Geneva. At that time many old cities were tenantless, or nearly so: amongst the number were Rome, Carthage, Portobello (Marseilles), Damascus, Cardova (Milan), Aleppo, Bagdad, London, and Bristol. The name of the old man was Martin, his wife's name was May, and his sons were known and dreaded as May's Sons. The town they built was named after their only sister, Geneve. It was built as a stronghold for protection against the wandering Crustæ. The town was attacked 12 years after it was inhabited, and Martin, his sons, and a strong party they had gathered built the Cromlech of Tor. Tor, in time, grew to a city, men of Angle blood flocked to it and hordes of Crumlæ were attracted there for the plunder they could get from the gardens and fields. Tor held out against 26

attacks and 39 besetments, but was overpowered at last, 230 years after the building of the cromlech.

The descendants of May's sons, 1912 men, "Brated in the Guild of the Builder" marched out in the night with 1500 picked men, and pitched on the site and amongst the ruins of the city of Aponlonden, a city of Ancient Thrace. They first built the Fort of Trow, and in 28 years the City of Troy was enclosed in concrete walls from 24 to 98 feet high, and 24 feet in thickness. At Troy the Guild of the Builder became the Order of Free and Accepted Masons. The descendants of the Sons of May being free by birthright, all others accepted.

Troy withstood 71 attacks, and at last was taken by the Slav. The inhabitants of Troy escaped from the city in bands, in the night time, and when the city was taken only 400 men were left in it. From Troy the Masons went to the ruins of the old city of Ardivoloc, near the present site of Athens, and built the town of Grice. Three hundred and eighty-four years after the building of Grice the Angle blood of Europe had "become mighty in Athenia," and the Trojan war of Homer commenced, and lasted 74 years and 9 days. Combatants flocked to each side "from the four winds of heaven," and met and fought hundreds of miles from the scene. "Even the gods in heaven were arrayed."

After the Trojan war there was a lull for 32 years. One day, 800 of a new spec came from Geneve and prayed to be made "Greek Copote Pray Citisences." They were "Copte in mien, buttred in spote, an hgi en cheke. Brav men an modste maidens wor thye. Thye getted, say th' kalend, out o' Scotte, a wimmen nane kenned th' degrice o', so brated was she, the mither, nane kenned wrink fra aget o' plame. She falterd pon thresh o' drape o' Killock, ain o' our't, an he ketchd she fra fallin. So com'd thye o' the kith o' Scotte, a brane clan o' Mac o' th' Gregor.—*From the Copot of the Lodge of Arrine.* (The original is not punctuated, but the sentences are separate)

The first city built after the Trojan war was Tadmor. Eleven other cities followed in quick succession, all of them in sculptured entablature design, of which their ruins give no idea whatever.

The Grecian Empire ruled Europe, Asia Minor, and part of North Africa for 1509 years without an army, without taxes, without magistrates, without burthens on the people, under Lodge ruling—an empire of ninety-eight millions, when the Parthian attack on Palmyra was made and another era of bloodshed commenced. The Parthians were horde which took possession of the ancient city of Damascus, long unoccupied. They kept up their attacks on Palmyra for 24 years, and were at last cut to pieces by the Abyssinians to get possession of their city.

Borne was a city of ancient Thrace, solitary when Martin built Geneve. The first to take permanent possession of it was the Gypsy from the Nile. Thirty-three thousand of that tribate ravaged part of Western Europe, and made a halt in Some. Tears afterwards, a Greek Parthian named Romolose went to Rome. He was a powerfully built man, and stood seven feet four inches in height. The Gypsy worshipped and made a demi-god of him. In 13 years he had put the city in order, and in 10 years more he had 29,000 men drilled to the sabre, and 9000 to the pike. With this force he set out on raid. He invested Turin, and demanded ransom, which was paid. He demanded more, which was refused, and he sacked the city. From Turin he went to Portobello, and demanded and was paid a ransom there. He marched Europe for 27 years, and then sold his chieftainship and remained in Rome a king in all but name. Romolose was a kind, genial man in private, and never permitted bloodshed. The sacking of Turin was beyond his control. In the whole of his subsequent career as a Brigand chief he never permitted violence. Accident made him king of a Copte which would hold prayer meetings, cut throats, dance around a Maypole or violate the maidens, just as they were ordered. From Romolose to Aurian was 91 years, and he first proclaimed Rome an Empire. Rome was then the rendezvous of "the unquiet spirits" that is, the unregenerate (a significant word in modern ears) of all Europe. It was a plebiscite more powerful than the Empire of Greece, because one was armed for aggression, the other unarmed; the one would not sacrifice a single life, the other would sell thousands for the spoils of a temple.

The Grecian Empire was then in its zenith. Eighty one cities and suburbs held nine-hundred and fifty one millions, and all within the boundaries of municipal government. Thebes was 214 miles of continuous streets, 14 miles in width, every dwelling placed on acres of ground, unalienable. The smallest Grecian city was Thessus, 42 miles in length. Every viadary (cross street) was connected by telephene communication, worked by a keyed instrument beating on compressed air. Street trams worked by eight men attained a speed of 12 miles an hour with 12 passengers, but locomotion was discouraged, unless good reasons were given. No bazaars or shops were permitted, every want was supplied by licensed itinerant peddlars, and all prices were fixed. The lodges regulated everything, and the State kept 30 years supply of corn in the granaries. No man was allowed to traffic with the food of the people, or sell the produce of his own patrimony. No rent, taxes or tithes but one—a tenth of the land was cultivated for the public store. The language spoken was Ina Europaia and the Stote o' Scottia—the present Lowland Scotch.

Every man's labor produced wealth. NONE LIVED ON THE EXCHANGE OF COIN. The lodges paid and received all money, and yet the trade of Tyre was eight times greater than the commerce of London has ever reached.

NOTE. In modern geographical history the ruins of ancient cities are confounded with each other. Carnok, situated between the Nile and the Red Sea, is mistaken for Thebes. Palma, under the slopes of Jabel Belais, is confounded with Palmyra, Monomote with Memphis, and Tyre, the city denounced by the prophet Ezekiel, has been the site of eleven dynasties, the city the prophet alluded to was the eighth. The prophecy was given to *Ezikiel* by God in commune, to be "Proclaimed to the Trading men of Tyre." The warning was unheeded, and the threat was carried out to the letter. It was the ninth city God had withered—Nineve the fourth.

The Greeks were Angles regenerating in spe rapidly. The census returns taken every ten years showed an increase of 19 per cent, and the average duration of robust health was 94 years.

Asia Minor was one vast city of cities. Meander a Roman Emperor, was the first to attempt conquest. He brought on the first Punic war by invading Thrace. Rather than sacrifice life, Thrace was abandoned to Roman government. The second Punic war ended by the sacrifice of Acropolis, and the third in the loss of Carthagina. In these three raids the Romans lost no men, and the Greeks but 36. The tribute demanded was paid.

After the Third Punic war the Romans again invaded the Acropolis and plundered Thracian Palma, slaughtering 15,000 of the inhabitants. The arming of every man under 60 years of age was ordered immediately, and the War of Epyrus followed, in which the Greeks and Romans fought 247 pitched battles. The Romans were routed in every battle but the last, where they were victorious. The Greeks rallied again, in the night, pursued the retreating Romans, and annihilated the whole army. Out of 323,241 men only 74 escaped, and they were made prisoners.

But it was in vain to attempt to suppress the ruck of continents. Roman generals hunted them up everywhere, and enlisted them with no other promise of pay beyond plunder. (Thousands of men might be enlisted in England now, in one month, with no other promise, if another Delhi was to be looted. Dr. W. Russell bemoans his loss of a fortune during the carnage at Lucknow, through not having purchased a jewel stolen by one of the soldiers). The Romans collected 400,000 men in Europe and 300,000 from the Gambia, raid after raid followed. More than 80,000lbs weight of gold, in wrought ornamental chased design was taken from four temples only. It was in vain to think of protecting a territory defenceless and wealthy, and the order was given to dismantle Greece.

Once only, after the war of Epyrus, the Greek and Roman armies met. The battle of Epyrometre was fought between 300,000 Romans and 28,000 Greeks, under Lycurgus. The Romans left 98,214 men dead on the field.

The dismantlement of the temples had commenced. Hundreds of ship loads of treasure were sent away, and part of it sculptures from the High Court of Acropolis. Gold and silver was removed from every public place, and no show of wealth left.

The massacre of the peaceful inhabitants after the dismantlement of the temples was more bloodthirsty than ever. Thebes was attacked, and 94,214 of the unarmed population massacred. Palmyra was the next, and 41,000 were slaughtered there.

The last and crowning act was the massacre of Mycenæ. 214,000 people were slaughtered in one day, by an army under the command of Fluvius.

Every avocation was suspended; no work was done but the work of demolition, and the ruins that are left testify to the completeness of the sacrifice.

The vessels of wrought gold, silver frieze and architrave work, the libraries, manuscript, municipal records, statistics, astronomical instruments, lodge minutes, bummistrie, and lodge gossip, and all that was portable was shipped away to India, Terra-del-Fuego, The Orkneys, Ireland, Scotland, Formosa, Japan, China, Singapore, and other places of security. 98 cargoes are now in the vaults of the St. Asaph Lodge, (a grand loot had it been discovered by the hero of Assaye). 904 cargoes were landed on Soland, (this Island) at the Bluff Inlet. To sate the Roman King, Immanuel Severus, a tribute of 4,000 merks, (about £2,400,000 sterling), was paid in monthly "donations," and no opposition was made to his "borrowing a few images and picters to make his bed place look smirt." "After the little brust we've had," said His Majesty, "and now the dominion weal is set, we can be 'pon friendship again." The few images and picters required to make the bed place of the King look smirt amounted to 1924 statues from the Acropolis, and *every painting in Europe now recognised as the work of an Old Master.*

The Tribute was paid for 28 years, when Fluvius provoked a war in Britain with Beatrice, (mother of Boadicea) Queen of the Icini. The Empire of Rome was drained of every fighting man. The reserves actually fled to Africa, so terror stricken were they at the name of the "Gaunt Islanders." Boadicea, a girl of eighteen, with 28,000 men, followed the flying Romans as far as Tripoli, and near that fortress cut down 12,000 of them. The panic (attributed to Hannibal) was so complete, that the Empire collapsed and did not show vitality for 30 years, and did not mass another army for 208 years, until the military conscript of Julius Cæsar.

A this time the destruction of sculpture, statuary, entablature, basa relief, entombed architrave, and every vestige of Masonic cuniform inscription, tablet, or symbol was going on uninterruptedly, and when Greece was abandoned and the Lodges removed to India, the wreck was thought to be complete.

Greece tranquilised under Republics. The period from Homer to Thucliydes, was semi-masonic, from Thucliydes to Socrates and the ultimate incorporation of Greece into the Roman Empire, I have nothing to do with here.

Freemasonry originated as a Guild of working men. When sculpture, entablature, architecture, and motive power were restored in Greece, and cities and temples endowed, Masonic lodges became custodians of the treasures and records of former dynasties.

## THE GRAND SECRET OF THE CHURCH.

### The Catalapse.

It is now 3015 years since, on a day which would now be noted the 3rd of September, that the Sun arose in splendor such as it cannot arise again for 1227 years, over a beautiful continent, on a planet containing 9,702,000,000 inhabitants. At ten o'clock in the morning all was life and activity, at twenty minutes after ten, the sun emerged from mirk on a world of death. All was silent. All was still.

It was no cateclyce, no ordinary visitation, no planetary conjunction. It was a sweep of the comet Arden, the same comet lately visible here. Twice since the siccoro from that sweep, the comet has passed the Aphelion, and cleared this planet once by 1m. 2sec., and once by 9 minutes. At the next sweep of the orbit, not many months to come, Astronomical calculus gives 2m. 9sec. The following sweep, 4 months afterwards, the computation is 2m. 2sec. The comet will trail the orbit of the planet 29 times in 4 years, 2 months, and 9 days, and during the passage of the height of the Aphelion the impote marks the time of the ball and the comet together. For 4 years and 10 months the two will travel the same orbit rade, the comet in advance.

3015 years ago, the socofote was not a perpetted indote of phosphoretted nitrate of gypsote, the nucleus had passed. Every calculation now made, places the ball envellelte in the nucleus at the 19th whirl for 14 minutes, and at the 24th sweep for 19 minutes. No vegetation could survive such an impregnation. It would be equal, in destructive effect to the flame of a gypsum pipe kiln.

The Sweep of Arden left about 4000 alive. Not more than 240 were left in Europe. In England 19 were saved in the Botalak mine. The Lodge of Sidon had made preparation for the possibility of a catastrophe. Christ was Divine of Asia Minor, and by his contrivance the Lodge was assembled, and about 150 of the inhabitants invited to witness a phantasmagorical tableau. The whole of them were saved. Other lodges had warning, made preparation, and then neglected to avail themselves of it. The prediction had been published every year in the Astrological Ephemeris, for 1202 years, and was true to eight seconds.

This is "The Grand Secret of Daniel the Prophet, the Arbiter of Destiny, The Maker and Unmaker of Kings and Emperors, and the Chosen of God. To be preserved with life, for on the maintenance of it the sacking of Rome depends." (*Introduction to Daniel's SECRETS OF THE PRIESTHOOD*). This secret was given in the dark with "solemn promptitude," "in order that it might be for ever impressed on the memory." In the Eleventh Comaleuk of Daniel he tells the Bishop that the "whole Cajole of Priestcraft" depends on keeping this event a secret. I add—the policy of the Supreme Lodge has been to allow the Hierarchy to think Ancient Masonry had passed away, by not allowing any information to be given which could be traced to a masonic source. For this reason the Priests' secret has been kept.

Daniel the Prophet was the founder of the entire structure of the present Church of Rome. His "Interlicts" have never been altered and are to this hour the policy of the "Republic of the Imperial State." Many alterations have been proposed, but the Councils have always decided that any departure from "Daniel's Meander" would be fatal to the Church. Had not Catholicism been the extreme of *folly* it could never have held its own against common sense. "*The folly of the fool outwitteth the wise*" is made a Church dogma. The application of this dogma to priestcraft was a five years' classed study in all Catholic colleges. Every man knows the impossibility of getting the best of an argument with a fool, how much greater chance is there of getting the better of an argument with a shrewd man trained to the study of folly as a *science*.

In the year 1 of the Roman Notation of Time (the Christian Era), the population of Europe had, in 1135 years, multiplied to 17,242,000. Rome was the only city, and the supreme government—a consulate, with Tiberius at the head. The consulate lasted eleven years, was succeeded by a triumverii which lasted four years, and then came the rule of the Sovereign People—nine hundred and twenty-one elections, nominations, usurpations, despotisms, &c., &c., in eleven years and two months. Out of the whole number only two could read, or write legibly. The population of Rome was 319,203, and all, with the exception of 1914, were the descendants of eight families—two Cornish, two Cambrian, two Norfolk, and two Swede. They spoke a diatribe of the Angle tongue, similar in euphatted idiom to a mixture of Pont-y-pool Welch and Northumbrian of the present day. The people of the provinces spoke very euphonic English, and were in every way on a par

with the English middle classes now, with one exception.—they had not been badgered into politicians.

The interior was "protected" by armed bands of Brigands, who levied black mail in payment of the cost of keeping the peace against each other, The seaboard was protected by fleets of pirates, who charged for that duty accordingly. The head quarters of all these auxiliary forces" was the Eternal and infernal City of Rome. By a recognised Code of Honor, a compact was held binding, and the amount of tribute fixed was held to be inviolate. Any person aggrieved could go to Rome and complain, not of the excess of the tribute, but of having been compelled to pay twice. The Roman Government provided lawyers, and the lawyers found each other something to do.

Outside of Rome all was quiet and orderly, but Rome was a hell. No sooner was a change made (sometimes twice in a week), than the new monarch must signalise himself by some new act. Blacksmiths, shoemakers, tinsmiths, painters, carpenters, barbers, porters, and others, fellows in degree, were the supreme Concert, and appointed their own mayor, who was king of Rome for the time. Four hundred and eight kings of Rome, in nine years paid for their elevation with their lives. Thirty-one kings have reigned in Rome at one time.

Most ludicrous were some of the details which followed the exercise of such kingcraft. A proclamation was posted to "Confiscate all Property, even to Britain the remotest of our Possessions." In every town to which the proclamation reached the Imperial edict was put into operation. Hundreds of fellows, big and little, were employed in emptying houses of all they contained, as zealously as if the safety of the planet depended on their expedition. Chairs, tables, pots, pans, cradles with children and all complete, were tossed in heaps, with all the little necessaries in housekeeping. For twenty hours out of the twenty-four the confiscation went on, until a countermand came. It was all "A Supreme Power Error." Everybody had to hunt up everybody's things to find their own. All property had to be restored. The men who did the confiscation were "done up," the women had to do the restoration.

All education was in the hands of Masonic Lodges. The Supreme Lodge of Wyndham had posted four lodges at Antwerp, two in Smyrna, one near Rome, two in Corinth, one in Alexandria, two in Ceyte Vittechie, and eight others in other places. Universities for secular studies and degrees in pharmacy and surgery, and Colleges and Schools for universal education, were supported by the Supreme Lodge, and all education was free, without cost to parents, students, or children. Libraries were planted, one in Alexandria contained 98,000 volumes. In every town of 1,200 inhabitants, copies of the Scriptures were chained to desks, and open to the public.

In the year 7, a cobbler named Ignoto was made Supreme Architrave. The first act the fellow did was to order the Masons to send delegates to Rome to receive his commands. No notice was taken, and his next procedure was to order the Libraries in, and archet the books in the vaults of the Corregate. This order, also, was unheeded, but preparation was made for any emergency. Ignoto then sent four hundred men to Smyrna to confiscate the Smyrna library, and the Smyrna people hung four of them for the murder of a woman, and drove the others out of the city. All the lodges were connected by teophene, (wires covered with gut, which set a tambourine in motion on a spindle,) and the alarm was given. In four days they were all removed and secreted. The Alexandria library was taken to Sinaii, and the building fired. The destruction of the "accursed pandematen" was celebrated in Rome by a procession of the Priests of Bael, and public bonfires. "The Black Art," and "The Occult Science," were the names given to writing and reading. 2,479,412 volumes, principally printed plate-o'-page, had been lent, all of which were claimed as the property of the State, on the assumption that education was the right of every man. Escubus, who propounded the doctrine as an excuse for legalising the robbery, was hung by fiat of the Pope for propagating sedition.

The secretion of the libraries was a terrible affair. Rome was a chaos. Sometimes, men like Epipopanes would make an effort to establish an orderly government, but such efforts always ended in assassination, or the condemnation of another tribunal. Eleven supreme conclaves have been holding their sittings in Rome at the same time, issuing decrees, and all of them obeyed. When the libraries were removed, a Prelate Monk of the Holy Sepulchre, harangued the populace, and excited them so much that 1500 of them set off for Syracuse, and reached Corinth, having decided on the way to establish a Dictatory in that city; the Council of Tamar placarded a proclamation "If any Mason refuse to deliver up Iris books, papers, or documents to the proper authorities, he shall be hung without the benefit of; Pope, Deacon, or Priest;" and the Jannisary Pebulus ordered a general massacre of "White tongued Varmint." The order was no sooner given than it was put into execution. Fathers were specially marked for destruction. 1200 were massacred in Corinth, 200 in Messina, 427 in Milan, 224 in, Delphos, 291 in Meletia, 247 in Patmos, 917 in Home, 28 in Smyrna, and 4 in Paris.

A peremptory message was sent to William the Good, the master of the Smyrna lodge, ordering him to Rome. No answer was returned. Another message followed, saying—"If the recalcitrant Masons would return to their allegiance to the State, they should again be received as citizens." The Lodge of Wyndham sent a request to all the lodges; desiring the brethren not to risk their lives by identifying themselves with the Order, and the result was the report of the Pretrarch—"No Mason could be found." A decree of Epotolo was then

fulminated, and made permanent Archave Statute Law, that "All Masons whatever, should be judged condemned outlawed, and in any man's power to rob, destroy, and eat." Signed Ignoto, The Preter perfect.

The Lodge of Wyndham sent gold to the value in present coinage of 9,000,000, to the Bank of Antwerp, with a request to send secret agents all over Europe and assist all, who were willing, to seek refuge in Britain. 90,000 men took the advantage offered, and their families followed as they could find opportunity. 2,000,124 were slaughtered in the 24 years following, and Boto, the Architrave of Westminster, reported that in his diocese where refugees were purturbate, and under the protection of the laws of Edgar, Masonry was esculated for ever, and he would take care that children learned no occult formalistæ.

Masonry and Christianity were formally outlawed, and Christianity was forbidden with the additional penalty of eternal torment. John of Patmos was dipped in boiling oil fifteen times, and after each dipping was laid on a plank to recover. Justic, the apostle, a poor old pilgrim, was killed, his body stewed with tripe, and eaten at high mass festival at Cardova. Ninety others, known, or suspected of Christian tendencies, were immolated, and the heretic stamped out, by decree of the Holy Tomb; In 147 Clement united the Church and the Republic, and, in 191, Clement the Third made the Church of the Holy Incarnate the "Supreme Control of Europe, Asia, Africa, and the lands beyond the limit of the Western Horizon." He formally ceded "All Territory Whatever, both now and evermore, to the Church as a Heritage," and issued the following Decree :—

"If any man dispute the authority of Holy Church, I'll flay him alive; give his body to the vultures of heaven and the dogs of the street; his bowels to be burnt; and his heart to be eaten by the whores of the Public Harem." Signed, Clement.

From Clement until the massacre of the Christians of Smyrna was marked by the same fitful outbursts. The Church maintained authority by periodical massacres, then a lull. At one time Christianity would be encouraged, and again suppressed. In Smyrna the attendance on Christian lectures had for some years been tolerated, when an Imperial edict arrived ordering the; suppression of them altogether. Arien went to Rome, pleaded the cause of the Christians, and came back with the news that his cause was successful. Four months afterwards the city was attacked by Bashe Buzurks, and 12,000 massacred. The outcry was general throughout Europe, and to quell the clamor, the Compact of Clotus was signed, which united the Christians as a Sectary with the Roman Church. Clodus was supreme, Clotus the third in command. Clodus was ill at rest to find learning dying out, and he made an offer to restore the old Order of the Mason. Again an attempt was made, and eight lodges placed in Corinth, Acropolis, ana Damascus. Two years and four months passed by in quietude, nine Lodges were to have been seated, when the Corinth lodges were invited by Clodus to a conference, in good faith. Every Mason attended, all but four of them Past Masters in Enthological Study, and every one of them was murdered by order of Daniel the Prophet, and then the Council of Tamar in his own person.

The Compact of Clotus was made in 401; the massacre at Corinth was in 404. The Bible was then in the hands of the Scribes. Three days after the massacre, Daniel, by a fiat of the Council of Tamar, ordered himself to superintend the "Holy work of selecting the Inspired Volume," at a salary equal to £1211 per annum, to be paid out of" Church emoluments.

The massacre at Corinth ended the last attempt to give education. Every: book was withdrawn, and the lodges returned to India. The Dark Ages of the Church commenced with the Reign of Terror, under Daniel the Prophet, as Prebendary. His first act was to issue the "Instructions of the Archangel Daniel, Prebendary of the Holy See," ordering in the name of God that all children with Roman noses should be thrown to the hogs.

The Reign of Terror lasted for 217. years. No man in Europe knew when he lay down to sleep that he would awake again. To have a lock or bar on a door was to invite the past sentence of outlawry. Public executions in Europe averaged 87 a day, the number assassinated was 23,481 entered in Doomsday Book. School instruction in families was punished by searing the eyes, and when David, one of the Holy Three, ordered the "Last trace of Accursed Lore" to be sent in, in all Europe only nineteen books were left. Bishop Milner boasts of the preservation of libraries by the Monks of the earlier ages, this is the method by which they were preserved.

The total number slaughtered by sentence of the Holy Church on suspicion or proof of descent from Masonic parentage, or of having a knowledge of the occult sciences of reading or writing, up to the year 1789, was :—

The origin of the Feud between Ancient Freemasonry and Priestcraft was the possession of records which destroyed the supremacy aimed at by the Hierarchy. It has since been kept up by hundreds of years of exterminating murders.

Modern Education, like Modern Christianity, is final in nothing but the ever repeated sentences "In the present state of our knowledge," "The best authorities differ," &c. &c. The Church, is ever ready to" spread a qualification," and "appropriate to devise," or fulminate an anatha." Secular education is forbidden, unless accompanied by the "restraining influence of religion, until the Church, (three old men) has devised means to

place all education on a firmer basis than Protestantism admits of." This prohibition extends to Protestant and Catholic alike, but "the Protestant check must be secretly enforced by rules prescribed, Catholics obey." Remember, brethren, the priestcraft have *no lore, no learning no literature*, but such as you have access to, except the "Rake Library," a heterogeneous collection of books taken principally from private libraries by "learned Jesuites," "who would, with their lives, prevent the spread of infidelity." The spread of Education is the Second Terror in the Articles of Conformation, in the Enthilical Catechism. To enable you to draw a comparison between the priest ridden education given in modern Universities, and Masonic studies given in classed degrees, I give you a summary:—

University Reading comprises—the origin of elementary articulate mono sounds (miscalled roots), mother tongues, and etomelogy vocobnosis. HISTORY, selected from Archive Bummotrie. RODORIC, RHETORIC, and RUMSTIC. The GRACES. SCRIPTURE and ROTOMODE. GEOMETRICAL PROBLEM. ENDET OF GREEK ARCHEMINSTER. FEMALE ABSTRACT DIVINITY (inspired), and PLAYMATE PROBLEM IN LOGIC AND ELOCUTION. Mathematics in 439 books containing 19,000 progressive problems, and 313,000 progressive mental problems is a preparatory Collegiate course.

Studies follow University Education. They are arrayed in osquence. I give merely a list:—

1.—Alchemy traces organic matter, spirit, and life: the magnetic, electric, and azure fluids: ether, other, and uther: morphic precipitate, and inorganic elementary metal and mineral, from the liberation of phosphor out of the fluid of Eternal Space, through all elementary states, conditions, and combinations to final solidity in agregate, segregate, and mass; evanescent liquidity in water; æroform quietude in zone; organic and inorganic volume in air; organic effet in callow; and disrupt ultimate division in atom.

2.—Astronomy is the study of the Solar System, and the relation of the Era Orbit to the Stellar Universe.

3.—Astrology is the study of the Rests, Mains, Constellations, Cosmogetic nebulæ, and all phenomena in the azure heaven above, and in the ezure hell below.

4.—Geology is the study of the clayplatts, and the Cosmoganic formation of the crust envelette of the crypt rock.

5.—Mythology is the study of LIFE, in Nature, God, Man, Animal, insect, fish, molusk, crustatæ, parasite, mite, tree, plant, shrub, grass, moss, lichen, and every fote in which Life plays.

6.—Anthropology is the study of the structure of living organisms, in man and animals.

7.—Botany is the study of the structure of plants.

8.—Geometry is the study of Strength, Solidity, and Stability.

9.—Mathematics is the study of Measure and Capacity; Mind and Mete; Rest and Motion; Light, Heat, and Ponderance; Angles, Facets, and Superfices, and indote measure in all appertaining to inorganic placement.

10.—Inductive Science, the summing of all.

HISTORY is not a Study, but an addenda to Study, without which organic remains, Cosmoganic formations, inorganic masses, and living rock could not be analysed or accounted for.

Every theory on which modern education is based is wrong. One instance is all I have space for. That Light and Hea are given out by the Sun is the received theory, and no person doubts it, and yet you see to the contrary every night. If Light was diffused from the Sun the whole sphere would be illuminated, and planets would travel their orbits in a low of light and heat. How could the light of Venus be seen in a dark sphere, or this planet be illuminated on one side and the other look into darkness?

NOTE.—The manuscript is curtailed to bring the matter into pamphlet size.

On Savings Banks in Elementary Schools. A Lecture Delivered at Liverpool, 7th April, 1875,

By Rev. T. E. Crallan, M.A.,

(Chaplain to Sussex County Asylum, and to Cuckfield Union, Sussex).

Printed at C. Clarke's Machine Printing Works, Haywards Heath MDCCCLXXVII.

*Managers of Schools and others desirous of establishing School Banks, and of placing the funds received from the Scholars in a Post Office Savings Bank, should apply for permission to*

THE CONTROLLER,

SAVINGS BANK DEPARTMENT,

GENERAL POST OFFICE, LONDON.

*They will then receive a sample deposit book and rules, and when they have adapted them to suit their own case, and returned the book, permission will be given, and any required number of deposit books for the children supplied gratis.*

## **A Lecture on Savings Banks in Elementary**

# Schools.

It is now some twenty years since my attention was first drawn to thrift as a matter deserving of and requiring the special care and fostering attention of all interested in the well-being of the working classes. I was then residing in an agricultural district, some distance from any town. There were no Savings Banks at all within a radius of several miles, and those distant ones only open on certain days, and at inconvenient hours. The Post Office Savings Banks had not sprung into existence, and, as far as I know, Penny Banks were only to be found in some of the largest cities of the north. We had not even heard the name then.

Mixing with the labouring population, and becoming acquainted with their habits and circumstances in the course of my work as curate, I found that almost without exception they lived from hand to mouth. They lived on, spending each week the whole earnings of that week, and looking to the next to provide for its own necessities, knowing that they could always fall back upon the parish, and looking forward without any repining to the workhouse as the refuge for their old age. In fact, so far from feeling any repugnance to the thought of being dependent upon the parish for support in age, sickness, or misfortune, they looked on their own payments of rates as a sort of insurance premium by which they had acquired a right to such maintenance. In fact, when reasoned with on the duty of making some provision out of present earnings for the calls of the future, they argued that there was nothing binding upon them to do so. They had a right to spend what they got as fast as they earned it, because by paying poor-rates they had secured the right to go on the parish, and so had done all that could be required or expected of them. Of course it was not universally argued in this manner, but those who were sharp enough to argue at all met one with this sort of reasoning.

Now what was to be done with these people? Manifestly the Savings Banks of those days were of no use except to the residents in towns, or to those who had opportunities of resorting to them on market days, *i.e.*, they were useless to the bulk of the rural population. As far as my light on the subject went, no plan seemed feasible but an endeavour to induce those whom I could influence to start a money box, into which they might put any small sums they could spare, or any windfalls they might receive. In some few instances I succeeded in persuading those on whom I urged this to try what they could do, and the results gratified and surprised them as well as myself. But the usual answer I received to my suggestion was, "It might be very well for children to begin, they have plenty of time before them. It isn't worth while for me at my time of life." In fact as a rule, the "grown ups" would have nothing to do with my plans of thrift. I heard, however, of one instance of a working man who had saved money, and I went and heard what he had done. He was one of four brothers, sons of a very small farmer, and grew up as a working hand on his father's farm. He was from childhood of a careful, saving disposition, never losing a chance of earning a penny. When the four brothers were grown to be fine stalwart young men of twenty to twenty-five years of age, he was on one occasion chaffed about his careful ways until his patience could stand it no longer. He turned to bay and retorted upon his brothers,—"You've had the same chance that I've had. You've spent all you got, and haven't any one of yon a penny to bless yourselves with. You laugh at me and call me stingy, but I'll give any one of you my box of money that can carry it away." Of course there was a rush to his room to get the box and spend its contents, but it was too much for the strongest of them. There, beneath his linen in an old oak chest, in the identical coins, chiefly old heavy copper, in which it had been saved, lay no less a sum than One Hundred Pounds. Not one of the thriftless three was strong enough to carry off the treasure of the careful one. When he had told me his story he added, "Every ploughboy in England could save £100 before he was five-and-twenty if he'd a mind to. I've done it myself, and what I did others can do." This was at a time when wages were 50 per cent, lower than they are now. But even with this example to back up my arguments I found I could do little except with children and quite young people.

The next effort towards the promotion of thrift in which I had the opportunity of sharing was the establishment and working of a Penny Bank in a country town. For four or five years I was able to take an active part in its management, and it proved successful as far as it went. But in almost all instances, certainly by far the great majority, the depositors were children or quite young people. The "grown ups" scarcely availed themselves of it at all.

The last opportunity which offered itself to me was on my appointment to the Chaplaincy of the Union Workhouse at Cuckfield, Sussex. When I had held that post for a year or so, I found myself winning a certain personal influence among the children in the schools there. I reflected that I had failed in persuading "grown ups" to become thrifty, but had succeeded with children. I knew that pauper children in workhouse schools away from parents and friends could have but little opportunities of saving, but I found they did sometimes get small sums given to them. I then thought I would try whether I could do anything with them in the way of education in thrift. I received the cordial assistance of the schoolmaster and schoolmistress for the time being, and the same hearty co-operation has been continued by their successors.

The result has surpassed my expectations. I began by giving short addresses on thrift to the children. These gradually grew into dictation lessons, in which from time to time they were examined. The teachers in succession have kindly taken Charge of the children's little savings, which as fast as they *grew* to be shillings were placed to their account in the Savings Bank. The result is, that nearly all the children in the schools have deposit accounts, and that a good many have gone out to service with upwards of £1 to their account. Guardians of the poor will see what this means when I add that the boys and girls who do this never come back again.

After working in this way for some time, I met with a paper in *Macmillan* for March, 1874, by J. G. Fitch, Esq., one of Her Majesty's inspectors of schools, containing an account of a similar plan which had been carried on for nearly eight years in the Elementary Schools at Ghent, in Belgium. Those who feel interested in the matter may find the whole account of it and the results in Mr. Fitch's paper, and in the pamphlets published by the Author of the scheme, Mons. Laurent, Professor of the University of Ghent. I need only now mention one or two of the successes achieved.

I find that on December 31st, 1869, three years after the commencement of the undertaking, there were 11,334 depositors on the books of the Savings Banks of that town, while at Antwerp, with about an equal population, there were only 564.

I find that on December 31st, 1873, there stood in the Savings Bank at Ghent, to the account of children only, a sum of £15,446; and lastly I find that the deposits of the children in the schools only, for the single year ending July 31st, 1874, amounted to no less than £4,000.

Surely these results are quite sufficient to recommend the introduction of the plan into every civilized country, and to win for it the hearty good will of every one who is interested in the amelioration of the condition of the working classes. But, apart from its successes as a recommendation, and apart from its social tendencies, I wish especially to recommend it most earnestly to my present audience of schoolmasters and schoolmistresses as a means of education.

As one who has had many years of experience in the education of young people of all ranks, I may perhaps be permitted to remind you that education does not consist only, nor indeed chiefly, of teaching. To my mind, true education consists far more in the training of the character than in the cultivation of the intellect. That scholar is best educated who leaves school best fitted to take his place and do his duty in his station of life. And that teacher is the most successful who does the best with the material he has to work upon. With this view it does not follow that the child that has learnt most is best educated, or that the most successful teacher is the one who turns out the most brilliant scholars.

There is a higher education, of which the true test is the battle of life, not the examination room.

This then is the great merit of the system brought to such perfection by Mons. Laurent, that he makes thrift a matter of education in the schoolroom instead of leaving people to find its benefits as best they may. Here in England, we establish Savings Banks, Post Office Banks, Penny Banks, but leave people to learn the good of using them by the light of nature; there the children are taught in the schools the right use of money, and the benefits they will experience by and by as the consequences of their present self-denial. They go forth from the schools into life with the habit of self-restraint formed, and then they continue to avail themselves of the opportunities of laying up a store against the rainy day offered them by the various forms of Savings Banks around them. They do this because they have been taught that frugality is as much a part of their duty as members of a civilized society as are habits of cleanliness, order, and decency.

Now I am afraid I must lay a charge against our whole method of English education, as far as we have any education at all on the subject of money, that it is essentially an education of extravagance. We are saturated with extravagance. We grow up from earliest childhood with the notion that the sole intention of money is to be spent. We work and toil and slave that we may have money to spend. We have a notion amongst us that the freedom with which a man scatters his money broadcast is the test of his right to the title of gentleman. We begin with it in infancy almost. We give presents of money to young children at home, and to boys and girls at school "to buy something." We never dream of giving a shilling to be put in the Savings Bank or the money box. The schoolboy goes off with his "tip" down town "to buy something." Not that he has been wanting something useful, and has been saving money till at last he has got enough to purchase the coveted article. He has got a "tip," and he must spend it. Off he goes in search of *something* which may gratify a passing whim, or indulge a greedy appetite. At any rate he spends the money, as he knows no other use to which to put it.

I met the other day with an extreme instance illustrating this very point. A gentleman, riding on business, had occasion to get a young working lad of 16 or 18 years of age to hold his horse; on remounting he offered the lad a shilling, telling him not to spend it, but to put it by as a nest-egg, to which to add any other windfall, against a rainy day. He was met by the reply, "Take your money back again; it's no use to me if I mayn't spend it." This exactly shews the feeling we too commonly entertain about the use of money.

Now what is the result of all this? I need not now enter into the effects upon the upper and middle classes, disastrous though they are; I will only touch now upon the effects upon the labouring classes.

First, you have WASTE, SQUALOR, MISERY. Then, as their necessary accompaniments, you have POVERTY, DRINK, VICE. These are followed by  
WORKHOUSES FILLED;  
GIN PALACES AND BEER-SHOPS CROWDED.  
GAOLS AND ASYLUMS OVERFLOWING.

As a conclusion, you have Poor and Police Rates becoming insupportable to the ratepayers, and an insoluble problem to those who seek to adjust them.

Now let us for a moment assume that the children of the masses become educated in thrift, and that self-indulgence gives place to self-restraint. Let us look forward a generation till those now entering schools leave them again, and go out into life with thrifty notions. Then you will have—

for WASTE, SQUALOR, and MISERY, ECONOMY, DECENCY, and COMFORT.

for POVERTY, DRINK and VICE, you will have PROSPERITY, SOBRIETY, and HONESTY.

You will have drink-shops closed instead of crowded; unions half empty instead of full; gaols and asylums the same; and your rates adjusting themselves by the mere force of altered circumstances. I do not mean to say that you will have these results take place immediately, or perhaps ever to the universal extent we could desire. I only go so far as to say that such would be the results of successful universal education of the masses in thrifty ways, and that the adoption of such education, as far as it goes, must tend towards the realisation of these hopes. At any rate the teaching of thrift in our elementary schools is the only practical way of obtaining this desirable state of things. It is a lever with which the school teachers of the United Kingdom may effect a complete social revolution—a revolution which involves neither politics nor religion.

Of course objections will be raised which we must be prepared to answer. We shall be told that we are inculcating selfishness and miserly ways; but we may fairly reply that, as far as selfishness is concerned, at the very worst we are but proposing to substitute one form of selfishness for another. Is there no selfishness in spending all one possesses in the indulgence of the present moment, and leaving future necessities to be provided for at the cost of other people?

If I am asked which I prefer, the selfishness of the man who spends on himself and his boon companions, liberally, as he calls it, but in coarse indulgence, the money which should provide for his future wants, or the selfishness of him who, by frugality and self-restraint, provides that he and his family should be shielded from future anxiety, I reply emphatically that I prefer the latter.

As to the charge of encouraging miserly ways, I think I may fairly dismiss that by replying that we are careful to instruct the children that they are not learning to hoard money for its own sake; that we are careful to impress on them that they are urged to present self-denial for the sake of future comfort, to present economy for the sake of future prosperity, to industry and thrift now as the only road to future independence.

It may be objected that we are putting children in the way of covetousness and dishonesty. I think not. I think that as a rule young people who grow up in the knowledge, gained from their own experience, that it is in their own power, by industry and thrift, to provide for the necessities of their own social position, are less likely to be covetous or dishonest than those who think they can never acquire fairly more than enough for the day.

I cannot help feeling a regret that a taunt has been thrown out against the ministers of religion that "for some unexplained reason they do not consider the inculcation of a general habit of saving as a substantial part of practical morality within their province." It may be that they have dwelt perhaps over strongly on the command, "Lay not up for yourselves treasures upon earth," and have urged those under their influence to avoid covetousness with all its baleful train. But we have the authority of St. Paul himself for the strongest expression I know of anywhere of the positive duty of a Christian to practice thrift. He says :—"If any provide not for his own, and specially for those of his own house, he hath denied the faith, and is worse than an infidel." With those words in our Testament it can never be said that Christianity has not declared itself in favour of thrift as a social duty, even though her ministers at any period may not have perceived how powerful a remedy against covetousness is that thrift which helps every man to have enough for his own needs.

I have now to relate as shortly as I can what has been done already in England and elsewhere in the establishment of School Banks.

In Belgium, under the personal influence of M. Laurent, the founder of these institutions, the plan has been worked for upwards of eight years with marvellous success. From that kingdom as a centre it has spread, and is still spreading into Holland, France, and Italy. It has been adopted in seventeen Departments of France, and has just been begun in the important town of Bordeaux.

In Scotland, it is being tried at two schools in Glasgow—one the school of the Highland Society, the other the elementary school at Garclohead. It has been tried at the Friends' School at Birmingham, and at the London Orphan Asylum ever since its establishment. There has been one for some time at St. Saviour's School in Liverpool, and another for twenty years at the National School at Great Ilford, in Essex. There are also Penny Banks in connection with 187 Ragged Schools in and near London. They are all doing good, and the sums

deposited in them, and so saved from waste, are very large. But in none of these instances do these institutions come quite up to our idea of what a School Bank should be, except, perhaps, the two schools at Glasgow, and the London Orphan Asylum.

There are now School Banks in several Schools at Liverpool, at Chailey, St. Wilfrid's (Haywards Heath), and Hurstpierpoint in Sussex, at West Clandon near Guildford, in the Board Schools at Caermarthen, Norwich, and in the Tower Hamlets, and in several other elementary schools.—T. E. C., *January*, 1877.

Our idea is, that thrift should be made a portion of the practical instruction of the children—a part, in fact, of the lessons of every school—that the work of the Bank should be done by the school staff, and that deposits should be receivable whenever the school is open.

The only schools where, as far as I know, this idea is entirely carried out, are those in the Union at Cuckfield, Sussex, and the boys' school in the Union at Clifton, near Bristol. We find in those schools that all the children become depositors as soon as they get any money at all to deposit; that they quite comprehend the objects put before them; that they often get nice little sums of money in the Savings Bank before they go to service; and that they stick to their places afterwards.

I simply propose that we should adopt in England Mons. Laurent's plan, only pointing out and suggesting a remedy for one defect. In that plan a little too much is left to the individual teacher. Mons. Laurent finds that this very thing leads to very different results in different schools. There should be a text book used, to which each teacher may add such illustrations as may occur to him in the course of his lectures. It should be very simple, without being silly, and should keep to its own subject entirely.

If for a few minutes before school is opened, morning and afternoon, the teachers can attend and receive the deposits brought to them by their own classes, if these deposits are handed over weekly to the head master of the school, and by him placed monthly to the account of his school bank in some Savings Bank near at hand, the labour will be reduced to a minimum.

If the managers can in any way raise funds for the purpose, it would be very desirable to give the children rewards for good conduct and progress in the shape of money prizes, urging them to deposit the whole or at least part of the sums so given in the school bank. This plan has been tried at the London Orphan Asylum with excellent results.

In conclusion I have only to repeat that the distinctive and important feature of the plan I am so anxious to see adopted in England is the *educational* element. It is not enough to put Savings Banks in people's way. It is absolutely necessary in order that they should be really effective, that the children of the working classes should be educated in the use of them from their infancy. This is the kernel of the whole thing.

We must always bear in mind not only the saying of the wise man, "Train up a child in the way he should go, and when he is old he will not depart from it," but equally the converse so full of danger to our complicated system of modern society; "Let him grow up in the way that he shouldn't, and when he is old he will stick to it still."

Some Characteristics of Wordsworth's Poetry and Their Lessons for Us. An Essay, *Read before the Otago University Debating Society, July 22, 1881.*

By—E. S. Hay.—

Also, Some Poems, by "Fleta."

*Published by Request.*

Jolly, Connor & Co., Atmospheric Printing Works Dunedin Octagon. 1881

## Prefatory.

The Following Essay—published by request—was written for the Otago University Debating Society, and is purposely short, sketchy—and suggestive, rather than complete. Had it been intended for the public it would have been cast in a different and a larger mould. The Poems by "FLETA" are published with the full consent of their author.

E. S. H.

DUNEDIN,

Sept., 1881.

# Contents.

## PART I.

Some Characteristics of Wordsworth's Poetry, and their Lessons for us.

## PART II.

# Some Characteristics of Wordsworth's Poetry and Their Lessons for US.

By E. S. Hay.

NO sooner had I undertaken to contribute to this Society an essay upon Wordsworth than the question arose in my mind, "How should the subject be treated?" In addressing an audience of students, there was the danger that I might needlessly occupy your time on parts of my subject already well known; and, on the other hand, I had to consider those whose studies in other directions may have prevented them from getting even a partial glimpse of the most original poetic genius of our century. After much consideration, and not a little misgiving, I resolved that my paper should assume the form indicated by its title, viz. :—Some characteristics of Wordsworth's poetry, and their lessons for us." That title had a delightful vagueness about it that pleased me, justifying, as it seemed to do, a discursive essay; and, besides, it looked long and learned enough for even the Otago Institute. There was, however, another reason which most influenced me in the choice, and the feelings I am about to describe I doubt not have been shared by many here. In the colonies we have dinned in our ears so incessantly the word "Progress," whether applied to us individually or as a community, that we are apt to regard activity and energy as the embodiment of all that is best in human nature, and qualities of aggressiveness, not to say of selfishness, are held in too much esteem. But any view which excludes the contemplative side of our nature is distorted and misleading. The men who really cause society to progress are not those who are active, but reflective. It is imagination moves the world. And because contemplative and imaginative men are a finer and maturer fruit of humanity, so we must seek for them in older communities than ours. But in the colonies, through force of circumstances, we are constantly ignoring or forgetting this, and as a baleful consequence that unlovely and featureless idol—commonplace—find votaries in us all. Now, when thoughts like these occur to me—and they do often—I turn with all the ardour of my soul to Wordsworth, and contemplate with feelings of the deepest awe a life so majestic, so simple, so complete. I need not recall to you the neglect, the obloquy, the ridicule which were Wordsworth's, during the best years of his life, and the patience, more God-like than human, with which he endured them. There is to my mind something awfully sublime in the thought that he could, under such circumstances, not only possess his soul in patience, but write comforting letters to his desponding friends assuring them of his ultimate success. To one who condoled him on the severity of the *Edinburgh Review* in criticising his poems, he replied, "Trouble not yourself upon their present reception; of what moment is that compared to what I trust is their destiny?—to console the afflicted, to add sunshine to daylight, by making the happy happier, to teach the young and gracious of every age to see, to think, and feel, and therefore to become more actively and securely virtuous—this is their office, which I trust they will faithfully perform, long after we (that is, all that is mortal of us) are mouldered in our graves." I confess to being excited every time I read these lines, they are so lofty in spirit, so patient, and as it proved, so prophetic. Now Wordsworth living in retirement among his native lakes, effected a revolution in English literature, and in the manner of an African potentate, after enduring every species of insult and abuse, he ascended the literary throne amid universal huzzas. So complete was the change of dynasty, our great living poets, Tennyson, Browning and Arnold, claim lineal descent from him, and their writings both in style and subject-matter betray their original stock. Having these things in mind, it occurred to me that I might best fulfil the engagement I had entered into by reviewing the chief characteristics of Wordsworth's poetry, and especially those which have for us—as colonials—a special interest and value. In the first place, then, I would say that no poet has so well depicted the hollowness of mere worldliness. Amid the sordid and debasing influences of colonial life—especially in cities—it is simply priceless to be able, by a mere act of volition, to transport ourselves into the region of poetry. To exchange for a season

The fretful stir  
Unprofitable, and the fever of the world,  
  
for

The light that never was on sea or land,  
The consecration and the poet's dream.

This is something more than wealth, or social distinction—it is something even which those who covet these things are incapable of enjoying. To the student of Wordsworth this will seem a self-evident truism, but to the vast majority of men and women, it is a proposition very difficult to grasp, and still more difficult to believe. "It is an awful truth," says Wordsworth, "that there neither is, nor can be, any genuine enjoyment of poetry among nineteen out of twenty of those persons who live, or wish to live, in the broad light of the world—among those who either are, or are striving to make themselves, people of *consideration* in society. This is a truth, and an awful one; because to be incapable of a feeling of poetry, in my sense of the word, is to be without love of human nature and reverence for God." Again in one of his noblest sonnets he gives voice to his indignation :—

The world is too much with us—late and soon,  
Getting and spending we lay waste our powers,  
Little we see in Nature that is ours.  
We have given our hearts away—a sordid boon,  
The sea that bares her bosom to the moon;  
The winds that will be howling at all hours,  
And are up-gathered now like sleeping flowers.  
For this—for everything we are out of tune.  
It moves us not—Great God I'd rather be  
A pagan suck'led in some creed outworn,  
So might I, standing on this pleasant lea  
Have glimpses that would make me less forlorn;  
Have sight of Proteus rising from the sea,  
Or hear old Triton blow his wreathed horn.

However just the rebuke may have been to the people of England, who will say that we deserve it less?  
Does he not seem to speak of us too, in the following—

O Friend! I know not which way I must look  
For comfort, being as I am oppressed,  
To think that now our life is only drest  
For show—mean handy-work of craftsman, cook,  
Or groom. We must run glittering like a brook  
In the open sunshine, or we are unblest,  
The wealthiest man among us is the best.

Passages like these help to make us think meanly of ourselves, and they explain what was truly democratic in the poet, namely, his belief that it is not in wealth or social comforts that our highest happiness or most permanent joys are to be found, but in the yielding up of ourselves to the benign influences of Nature, and trusting to those divine aspirations which such communion always evokes. From this source of happiness the meanest in point of wealth is not debarred—rather, thought Wordsworth, it is nearer to him than to the rich.

One impulse from the vernal wood

May teach us more of man,  
Of moral evil and of good,  
Than all the sages can.

I come now to another characteristic of Wordsworth's poetry, and it is one which I am not aware has been dwelt upon before. I do not say that it is a new discovery of my own, but I am not conscious of having met with it in any criticism of Wordsworth. I mention this to invite discussion, because I am well aware that in such a case whatever is new is more than likely to be untrue. When we are delighted or charmed with a poem, or whatever it is proper to say of a poem we enjoy, we recur to it again to renew the pleasure; but a peculiar characteristic of Wordsworth's poetry is that it imparts to us principles which make us independent of the poet himself, and enables us to see and possess in the world around us never-ending sources of beauty and inspiration. With this Prospero's wand, the reader, learned or unlearned, can conjure up at will, scenes of unfading beauty, and for him as well as for the poet,

The meanest flower that blows can give  
Thoughts that do often lie too deep for tears.

It is this characteristic which makes all lovers of Wordsworth eager to apply to him the beautiful lines he addressed to his sister—

She gave me eyes, she gave me ears,  
And humble cares, and delicate fears,  
A heart, the fountain of sweet tears,  
And love, and thought, and joy.

And it is this characteristic which has secured for him amongst his students a love, a veneration—approaching almost to worship—which no poet, not even excepting Burns, has ever been able to inspire. Wordsworth claimed to be a teacher as well as a poet, and would, I feel sure, have condemned a doctrine advocated with such reiteration of emphasis, by the recent artistic school of poetry of which Rossetti and Swinburne are the leading lights. That doctrine teaches that "the content" of a poem is of no moment, the only thing of value being "the manner" or the medium by which it is conveyed. Now, if we apply this test to Wordsworth its absurdity, I think, becomes apparent. Take his "Lines on Tintern Abbey." I am not aware that there is anything specially artistic in the execution of this poem, unless it be the subtle skill with which the poet expresses these shadowy emotions, common to us all in our exalted moods; but surely what is priceless in it is the profound and tender lesson, that in Nature is the anchor of our purest thoughts, the nurse, the guide, the guardian of our heart, and soul of all our moral being. Rossetti's "Blessed Damozel" is at least as flawless a work of art as "Tintern Abbey," but while human hearts remain as they are we could better spare it than the latter. The poet has returned to the banks of the Wye after a long absence, and he contrasts his present feelings with the past. I cannot resist the pleasure of reciting some of the lines, although conscious that to many of you they must be already more familiar than a thrice-told tale. And here in passing I may mention that every one who has to speak of Wordsworth is met with a difficulty much more real than apparent. His audience, for reasons I have already hinted at, may consist of those who hold the poet in the highest reverence, and who know as well as the speaker the unalloyed charm and deep philosophy of his poetry. On the other hand, many of them may regard Wordsworth as a poet who wrote a very innocent kind of poetry, and who was laughed at by the critics and lampooned by Byron, and to such, the reading of selections—all meditative in character—is hardly likely to be so effectual as Mrs. Partington's marine resistance. Matthew Arnold, in a recent magazine, happily described Wordsworth by saying, that when at his best, Nature seemed to take the pen from him and write herself. I have no doubt that "Tintern Abbey" was in Arnold's mind when he wrote that. What I am about to read is where the poet describes recollections of scenery, and the effects they produced on his mind.

These beauteous forms,  
Through a long absence, have not been to me

As is a landscape to a blind man's eye;  
But oft in lonely rooms, and 'mid the din  
Of towns and cities I have owed to them,  
In hours of weariness, sensations sweet,  
Felt in the blood, and felt along the heart.  
And passing even into my purer mind  
With tranquil restoration.

.....  
Nor less, I trust,  
To them I may have owed another gift  
Of aspect more sublime; that blessed mood,  
In which the burthen of the mystery.  
In which the heavy and the weary weight  
Of all this unintelligible world  
Is lightened, that serene and blessed mood,  
In which the affections gently lead us on  
Until the breath of this corporeal frame,  
And even the motion of our human blood,  
Almost suspended we are laid asleep—  
In body, and become a living soul,  
While with an eye made quiet by the power  
Of harmony and the deep power of joy,  
We see into the life of things.

Who that has reached manhood or womanhood has not felt emotions such as these? Who that has felt them has not sighed for their articulate expression? The poet then describes the effect Nature had upon his youth, and goes on to contrast it with her influence now.

That time is past,  
And all its aching joys are now no more,  
And all its dizzy raptures. Not fur this  
Faint I, nor mourn, nor murmur; other gifts  
Have followed; for such loss I would believe  
Abundant recompense. For I have learned  
To look on Nature, not as in the hour  
Of thoughtless youth, but hearing oftentimes  
The still, sad music of humanity,  
Nor harsh, nor grating, though of ample power  
To chasten and subdue. And I have felt  
A presence that disturbs me with the joy  
Of elevated thoughts; a sense sublime  
Of something far more deeply interfused,  
Whose dwelling is the light of setting suns,  
And the round ocean, and the living air,  
And the blue sky, and in the mind of man;  
A motion and a spirit, that impels  
All thinking things, all objects of all thought,  
And rolls through all things. Therefore am I still  
A lover of the meadows and the woods,  
And mountains, and of all that we behold,  
From the green earth, of all the mighty world  
Of eye and ear—both what they half create,  
And what perceive; well pleased to recognise  
In nature and the language of the sense,

The anchor of my purest thoughts, the nurse,  
The guide, the guardian of my heart, and soul  
Of all my moral being.

But I must pass on to notice some other distinguishing features of his poetry. In his own preface he mentions one. Another circumstance (he says) must be mentioned which distinguishes these poems from the popular poetry of the day. It is this, that the feeling therein described gives importance to the action and situation, and not the action or situation to the feeling. Byron, we know, found scope for his glowing genius in descriptions of Southern Europe and its social life; Moore revelled in the splendours of the East and its strange mythology; Scott refought the border feuds; Campbell roamed the virgin forests of Susquehannah; Shelley and Keats gave an English dress to ancient classics; but Wordsworth found his scenery in his native lakes and mountains, and his heroes in the pedlars, wagoners, lurchgatherers and rustics around him. With him poetry is not a goddess disdainful to appear except under romantic circumstances, and to a favoured few; no, it is a halo of beauty hovering over the humblest lot, and investing scenes the most familiar "with purple gleams." "Human" is a word he is very fond of using, and it seems to indicate the prevailing spirit of his muse, which is to humanise by making us sensitive to the play of the emotions, and by raising us above the sway, not only of sensual things, but even of engrossing intellectual pursuits. By a true philosophy he regards the moral feelings as the very efflorescence of humanity, and the hard thinker who would reject other poets by the score finds on his pages the solace and stimulus he needs. Opening his pages he breathes at once "an ampler ether, a diviner air." In this connection one naturally recalls the experience of the late John Stuart Mill. When that philosopher's mind was overtaxed, and a cloud of melancholy hung over him, threatening his reason, it was only in Wordsworth that he found returning light and hope. Wordsworth reminds the student that besides being a huge task for the analyst, Nature is a synthetic teacher :—

Enough of science and of art,  
Close up their barren leaves,  
Come forth, and bring with you a heart  
That watches and receives.

One moment now may give us more  
Than years of toiling reason,  
Our minds shall drink at ever pore  
The spirit of the season.

How instinct with life seems the very earth we tread when we have realised the beauties of Wordsworth. The companionship of hills, and brooks, and flowers is then to us neither & literary fiction nor a transient phase of immature manhood; but an abiding fact that sweetens existence and persists in keeping us young. Have we not all felt an accession of personal dignity when, leaving the petty rut of our daily round, we have climbed some hill, and, yielding ourselves to every impulse of sense, "have felt a presence that disturbs" *us* "with the joy of elevated thought." What a tremor of delight stirred him when, reclining in a grove, he heard a thousand blended notes, and eyed the birds and flowers sharing with him the pleasures of the scene.

Through primrose tufts in that green bower  
The periwinkle hailed its wreathes,  
And 'tis my faith that every flower  
Enjoys the air it breathes.

The birds around me hopped and played,  
Their thoughts I cannot measure;

But the least motion that they made,  
It seemed a thrill of pleasure.

The budding twigs spread out their fan  
To catch the breezy air,  
And I must think—do all I can—  
That there was pleasure there.

His delineation of natural scenery is worth stopping to admire. Like a true artist, and not a mere imitator who omits nothing but the only thing worth having—the spirit of the scene—he with a few touches of his pen calls up a picture that haunts the memory ever after. In his *Sonnet on Evening*, composed in early youth, how exquisite the picture of the meadow when it is becoming dusk,—

Calm is all nature, as a resting wheel,  
The kine are couched upon the dewy grass;  
The horse alone—seen dimly as I pass—  
*Is cropping audibly* his later meal.

How the words echo the sense! Again, the opening lines of his poem, *Resolution and Independence*, paint a charming scene,—

There was a roaring in the wind all night,  
The rain came heavily, and fell in floods,  
But now the sun is rising calm and bright—  
The birds are singing in the distant woods;  
Over his own sweet voice the stockdove broods,  
The jay makes answer as the magpie chatters,  
And all the air is filled with pleasant noise of waters.  
All things that love the sun are out of doors,  
The sky rejoices in the morning's birth;  
The grass is bright with rain-drops—on the moors  
The hare is running races in her mirth,  
While with her feet she from the plashy earth  
Raises a mist which, glittering in the sun,  
Runs with her all the way, wherever she doth run.

Or take the sonnet composed on the top of an omnibus crossing Westminster Bridge early in the morning. All London is hushed, and the beauty and stillness of the scene call forth one of his finest sonnets,—

Earth has not anything to show more fair;  
Dull would he be of soul who could pass by  
A sight so touching in its majesty.  
The city now doth like a garment wear  
The beauty of the morning—silent, bare  
Ships, towers, domes, theatres and temples lie  
Open unto the fields and to the sky,  
All bright and glittering in the smokeless air.  
Never did sun more beautifully steep  
In his first splendour, valley, rock, or hill—  
Ne'er saw I—never felt a calm more deep.

The river glideth at his own sweet will;  
Dear God! the very houses seem asleep,  
And all that mighty heart is lying still.

There is another feature in his description of scenery still more characteristic. It is the linking of emotional feelings to natural objects. For instance, in his famous Ode on Immortality,—

The moon doth with delight  
Look round her when the heavens are bare.

Of course, in one sense the idea of the moon looking round her with delight or any other feeling is arrant nonsense, but what so accurately describes the big white moon and the free sky. Again—

Loud is the vale—the inland depth  
In peace is roaring like the sea,  
Yon star upon the mountain top  
*Is listening quietly*

I cannot say how it is that the noisy vale and the star listening quietly describes the scene, but there it is and nothing could be finer. Again, in Memory, the three last stanzas of which are so exquisite I cannot forego the pleasure of quoting them—

O! that our lives which flee so fast,  
In purity were such  
That not an image of the past  
Should fear the pencil's touch!

Retirement then might hourly look  
Upon a soothing scene,  
Age steal to his allotted nook,  
Contented and serene.

With heart as calm as lakes that sleep  
In frosty moonlight glistening;  
Or mountain rivers, where they creep  
Along a channel smooth and deep  
*To their own far-off murmur listening.*

It is in the last line that this particular beauty is conspicuous. The present Professor of Poetry at Oxford, from whose "Studies in Poetry and Philosophy" I have taken many of these illustrations, has described at great length this feature in Wordsworth. Some time ago he published another volume on the "Poetic Interpretation of Nature," in which his views are developed more fully. Those who read it should also peruse a review of it by Alfred Austin, in, I think, Macmillan, wherein the reviewer disputes, it seems to me successfully, the conclusions drawn by Professor Shairp.

There is another charm in many of Wordsworth's poems which I am at a loss to describe. It is present in such poems as the Solitary Reaper and the Daffodils. The beauty of some of the lines break in upon us like a sudden flash of sweet surprise. We have often experienced the emotion described, but never supposed it susceptible to poetic expression. For instance, The Solitary Reaper—

Whate'er the theme the maiden sang.  
As if her song would have no ending;  
I saw her singing at her work,  
And o'er her sickle bending.  
I listened motionless and still,  
And as I mounted up the hill  
*The music in my heart I bore*  
*Long after it was heard no more.*

The two last lines contain the charm I speak of. Or take the Daffodils. The poet has observed a host of daffodils on the banks of a lake. The two last stanzas are as follows :—

The waves beside them danced, but they  
Outdid the sparkling waves in glee,  
A poet could not but be gay  
In such a jocund company.  
I gazed, and gazed, but little thought  
What wealth the show to me had brought.  
For oft when on my couch I lie  
In vacant or in pensive mood,  
*They flash upon that inward eye*  
*Which is the bliss of solitude;*  
And then my heart with pleasure fills  
And dances with the daffodils.

The peculiar beauty is in the lines—

They flash upon that inward eye,  
Which is the bliss of solitude.

And it does not detract from their merit that they were composed by the poet's wife. In speaking of Tintern Abbey, I have already referred to Wordsworth's skill in describing in words

\* \* those obstinate questionings  
Of sense and outward things,  
Fallings from us—vanishings.  
\* \* those first affections,  
Those shadowy recollections  
Which, be they what they may,  
Are yet the master light of all our seeing,  
Uphold us, cherish us, and have power to make  
Our noisy years seem moments in the being  
Of the eternal silencer! truths that wake  
To perish never.  
Which neither listlessness, nor mad endeavour,  
Nor man nor boy.  
Nor all that is at enmity with joy  
Can utterly abolish or destroy.

The ode from which these lines are taken is a splendid instance of this power of verbal expression. It is besides a perfect magazine of delightful thoughts, and whether we agree with the philosophy contained in it or no, we must rank it as one of the highest flights of inspiration in the language. It is a vindication of the belief in immortality founded upon recollection of childhood.

Our birth is but a sleep and a forgetting,  
 The soul that rises with us—our life's star—  
 Hath had elsewhere its setting,  
 And cometh from afar,  
 Not in entire forgetfulness,  
 And not in utter nakedness,  
 But trailing clouds of glory do we come  
 From God who is our home.  
 Heaven lies about us in our infancy,  
 Shades of the prison house begin to close,  
 Upon the growing boy,  
 But he beholds the light and whence it flows,  
 He sees it in his joy,  
 The youth who daily further from the east  
 Must travel still is Nature's Priest,  
 And by the vision splendid  
 Is on his way attended.  
 At length the man perceives it die away,  
 And fade into the light of common day.

By this pre-existence the poet seeks to account for those longings and aspirations all cultured minds feel, and which the experience philosophy has not yet adequately accounted for. That he was, however, thoroughly alive to the teachings of experience his beautiful poem *Lucy*, familiar to us all from childhood, bears ample witness—

Three years she grew in sun and shower.

There are many other poems I might mention which should be treasured in the memory—*Resolution and Independence*, *Nutting* (which has an indescribable charm of purity and freshness), *She was a Phantom of Delight*, *Daodamia*, which cost Wordsworth more trouble to compose than any other poem, but the labour is well bestowed. One well qualified to express an opinion says : It breathes the pure spirit of the finest fragments of antiquity—the sweetness, the gravity, the strength, the beauty and the langour of death,

Calm contemplation and majestic pains.

Its glossy brilliancy arises from the perfection of the finishing—like that of careful sculpture—not from gaudy colouring, the texture of the thoughts has the smoothness and solidity of marble. It is a poem that might be read aloud in Elysium, and the spirits of departed heroes and sages would gather round to listen to it."

The *Happy Warrior* is an ideal character—rare anywhere, but specially so in the colonies. He is one

Who, if he rise to station of command,  
 Rises by open means; and there will stand  
 On honourable terms or else retire,  
 And in himself possess his own desire.  
 Who comprehends his trust, and to the same  
 Keeps faithful with a singleness of aim,  
 And therefore does not stoop or lie in wait  
 For wealth or honours or for worldly state,  
 Whom they must follow; on whose head must fall  
 Like showers of manna—if they come at all.

The lines to *A Highland Girl* are conspicuous for their accurate description of nature, their strong emotional quality, and for a certain ethereal beauty seldom absent from his poems.

I might cite many more, but I have given enough to serve as an introduction to others. I should be sorry if anyone should commence a study of Wordsworth with *Peter Bell* or *The White Doe of Rylston*, although even these have found warm admirers. The *Prelude* and *Excursion* contain some of the best poetry Wordsworth ever wrote—poetry that will live

Till the stars sicken at the day of doom.

But although no just conception can be formed of Wordsworth's genius without their careful study, they are undoubtedly, to a beginner, tedious and uninviting.

But I must draw to a conclusion.

There is one other characteristic of Wordsworth, and it is one of his greatest, which I have purposely kept to the end for two reasons—first, because I felt it would be better understood after what had been said; and, secondly, I wished that there should be lingering in your ears, after I had finished, the perfect lines of perhaps Wordsworth's greatest living exponent. The characteristic I speak of must indeed be a great one, for it has attractions for men of the profoundest intellect and most divergent views. The chivalrous and poetic Robertson of Brighton—one of the brightest ornaments of the English Church—made a life-study of Wordsworth's poetry, because he found in it a perennial source of solace and joy; and John Stuart Mill, as we have seen, owed much to it in early life. Shortly before his death, in a conversation with his friend Mr. Morley, he remarked that the more their views (utilitarianism) prospered, there would be the more need of Wordsworth. Poetry that blossoms in fields so widely apart must strike its roots deep in the human affections,

In this iron time

Of doubts, disputes, distractions, fears,

when a deadly warfare is raging between science and religion, there are those who, confident in the result, can lose themselves in Wordsworth and forget it; others, again, to whom that conflict means the burial of their early beliefs, and the destruction of the ark that gave shelter to them and their fathers before them, where shall they go it not to Wordsworth, whose reassuring voice is heard speaking words of sympathy, of comfort, and of hope—

Though nothing can bring back the hour  
Of splendour in the grass, of glory in the flower,  
We will grieve not, rather find  
Strength in what remains behind—  
In the primal sympathy,  
Which, having been, must ever be;  
In the soothing thoughts that spring  
Out of human suffering.  
In the faith that looks through death,  
In years that bring the philosophic mind.

In the poem I have already referred to, Matthew Arnold contrasts Wordsworth with Goethe and Byron in lines which I have ventured to call perfect. They have all the clearness and tenderness of Wordsworth, with a definiteness of outline—as of sculpture—which is Arnold's alone. I regret that the poem is too long to quote at length, but I must give that portion of it which describes with marvellous felicity that aspect of Wordsworth's genius I have been striving to speak of, and which is full of the deepest interest for

And Wordsworth! ah! pale ghosts rejoice!  
For never has such soothing voice  
Been to your shadowy world convey'd  
Since erst, at morn, some wandering shade  
Heard the clear song of Orpheus come  
Through Hades, and the mournful gloom.

Wordsworth has gone from us—and ye,  
Ah! may ye feel his voice as we!  
He too upon a wintry clime  
Had fallen—in this iron time  
Of doubts, disputes, distractions, fears,  
He found us when the age had bound  
Our souls in its benumbing round :  
He spoke and loosed our hearts in tears,  
He laid us, as we lay at birth,  
In the cool flowery lap of earth;  
Smiles broke from us, and we had ease;  
The hills were round us, and the breeze  
Went o'er the sun—lit fields again,  
Our foreheads felt the wind and rain,  
Our youth return'd I for there was shed  
O'er spirits that had long been dead,  
Spirits dried up and closely furled  
The freshness of the early world.

Ah! since dark days still bring to light  
Man's prudence, and man's fiery might,  
Time may restore us, in his course,  
Goethe's sage mind and Byron's force;  
But where will Europe's latter hour  
Again find Wordsworth's healing power?  
Others will teach us how to dare,  
And against fear our breasts to steel!  
Others will strengthen us to bear,  
But who, ah! who will make us feel.  
The cloud of mortal destiny  
Others will front it fearlessly.  
But who like him will put it by?

Vignette

## **PART II.**

### **A Reverie.**

Ah, tranquilly sleeping in nature's soft keeping,  
The hot sun above,  
This seed of our sowing is evermore growing  
A pledge to our love.

Will the plentiful showers, and long summer hours  
Bring burdens of fruit?  
Or will winter winds chill, and bitter frosts kill

This stem at its root?

Will buds and bright blossoms be hopes in our bosoms,  
And light to our life?  
Or will sin with its morrow of anger and sorrow,  
Darken with strife?

The hours of light laughter and thought that comes after,  
Shall surely be thine,  
But deeds of thy doings, and loves of thy wooing,  
Oh, who shall divine?

Ah, infantine beauty, quite dreamless of duty,  
And free of all care,  
No vows or entreating—thy little heart beating  
Unconsciously there!

Still! peacefully slumber, for soon shalt thou number  
The days of unrest,  
When joy shall seem sadness, and mirth be but madness,  
And sleep shall seem best.

Oh, seed-time and reaping, oh, bright hopes and weeping—  
Twin comrades alway,  
The joy that gives warning, the night chasing morning,  
The dark-seeking day.

I felt that *she* listened, and looking, saw glistened  
Her eyes with big tears.  
I drew myself nearer, spoke softly to cheer her,  
And scatter her fears;

Though grief come unbidden, and years are still hidden,  
We act as we can;  
Our veriest blunders, the sorrow that sunders,  
Are part of the Plan.

We have loved, we are loving, and time is but proving  
The strength of our tie;

If sorrow comes nearer love's eyes see the clearer—  
Ah, love cannot die.

Yes, love is still stronger than all things that wrong her,  
And evermore sways,  
Her steps are the ages, her footprints the sages,  
That blazen her ways.

The air is all trembling, dark clouds are assembling,  
The torrents will come;  
Ah, dearest and nearest, through tears we see clearest,  
Come quick, let us home.

## The Poet.

O! I thank you for your kindness,  
But your pains are tittle worth;  
I must grope along in blindness  
Till the light has sadden birth.

Yes, the subject has its beauty,  
And a poet could reveal it;  
But a thousand calls of duty  
Call for silence till *I feel* it.

O! I may not choose the season,  
I am called and I obey,  
And with brighter lamp than reason  
I can tread a trackless way.

Not in action, but in being,  
Are my golden moments won;  
When the eye too rapt for seeing,  
Dreams in music self-begun;

And the soul, to all the forces  
Yields in concert all her power!—  
To the planets in their courses,  
To the sea, the growing flower.

And in truest recreation  
All my pulses beat anew,  
And with sweet and strange elation  
Comes the beautiful and true.

Then life's mystery seems lightened,  
And more freely I respire,  
And my faith and love are heightened—  
I have passed through cleansing fire.

Oh, I know you but suggested  
With a heart that overflows;  
That the scene in language vested  
Might give pleasure or repose.

But I must be thrilled with pleasure,  
Or be moved by bitter wrong.  
Ere my thoughts can run in measure,  
Or blossom into song.

## **Sonnet.**

Now while the air is sweet with breath of spring  
And loud with liquid melody and mirth,  
When budding flowers burst into early birth.  
And orchard trees are white with blossoming,  
And on their snowy twigs the sweet birds sing;  
When beauty is new-born o'er all the earth,  
And with the last chill wind, the fear of dearth  
And other piercing fears have taken wing :  
This is the season I would think of One,  
The dear Endymion, the star-eyed youth  
Who loved the quickened earth as doth the sun,  
Whose heart was full of courage and of ruth,  
Whose voice in sweetest melodies would run—  
And lo! how Beauty war with him the Truth!

## **In a Garden.**

I saw my fair one plucking fruit,  
The velvet peach and dusky plum;  
And, as she stooped to gather some  
That hid themselves in scarlet plots

And blue beds of forget-me-nots,  
I stood as though I'd taken root,  
And durst not lift intruding foot—  
So, leaning on a neighbouring gum,  
(I knew she had not seen me come),  
I watched her stand, and upward reach  
And shame the pink of tinted peach  
In stretching where some ripe one lies  
Behind its screen of leafy green,  
With just a speck of crimson seen—  
The burning kiss of summer skies—

Then turn, some laurel leaves to cull  
Wherewith to trim her basketful,  
And as she eat with careless grace,  
And set each beauty in its place,  
I drank the scene with open eyes,  
And like half-wakened memories,  
Came tender thoughts in quiet mood  
That made me wish for solitude.  
I could not choose to linger there  
Where all was grace and debonair,  
Where every movement seemed to be  
Some preconcerted melody,  
Where but to speak was to destroy  
The blissful calm, the tender joy.

So turning from the magic spell,  
And from the form I loved so well,  
I mused how pleasure often springs  
From far-off-half-remembered things,  
And how the vision I had met  
Might yield a richer harvest yet;  
Then stole away—and in my mind  
I carry still that garden scene,  
The motions of my graceful queen,  
And all the beauty left behind,  
The charm of flowers, the wealth of fruit,  
The dusky plum and velvet peach,  
And the bright lesson that they teach,  
How grace and beauty more than preach,  
And to the soul are never mute.

## **Sonnet.**

Beloved Shakespeare, when I scan the sky  
And think of worlds illimitably far,  
And how this earth is smaller than yon star,

My thoughts are lost in drear immensity;  
So when I pass before my mental eye  
Thy sov'ran types of human character,  
And feel how real, how wonderful they are,  
Like starry worlds above, they mystify.  
I cannot think what aptitude was thine  
To grasp all human life as in thy hand,  
To pour with sweetest note the song divine,  
And deal out wisdom like the countless sand—  
In vain I brood, as on the stars that shine,  
I can but feel—I cannot understand,

## **A Remonstrance.**

O! pity not nor blame  
The poet's wayward ways;  
Through ecstasy and shame  
He wins the crown of bays.

Why pity him who climbs  
To heights to us unknown?  
Who weds the fickle rhymes  
To music of his own.

Whose steps by sea and brook  
To art are consecrate;  
And in each secret nook,  
Who feels but to create.

Who brings to us the sweep  
Of languid summer seas,  
And o'er their sapphire deep  
The seaweed-scented breeze.

Who burns with costly glow  
His own life's fiery flame,  
A beacon light to show  
The loneliness of fame.

Why blame his strange descent?  
From giddy heights he reels—  
Is it not punishment

To feel the pang *he* feels?

O! pity not nor blame  
The poet's wayward ways;  
Dear is his tear-bought fame—  
But sweet the voice of praise.

## Sonnet.

Dim through the shadow land of long ago  
Comes like the flooding dawn each newborn thought;  
But whence—we may not know—or how begot :  
The liquid gold the sinking sun can throw  
On ocean's waste, to other scenes we owe  
The stars, the flowers, the grassy fields are fraught  
With beauty not their own—a gleam is brought  
From travelled realms where mem'ry cannot go;  
Feast then, my senses, on a day like this—  
Garner—in pleasure 'gainst a chilling gloom;  
Share with the bush its melody, nor miss  
The clematis and rata's crimson bloom;  
Drink in ye eyes and care, each moment's bliss  
Shall swell in ceaseless surges to the tomb.

## In Memoriam.

### T. B.

Oh, garden of my heart how soon  
Thy beauties pine away and die,  
One hour, in pride of noon,  
They kiss the kindling sky;  
But ere the bud is bloom  
There comes a chilling gloom,  
And on the dull, cold earth they withered lie.

Another rose is gone that made  
My life to me more sweet:  
Another heart is still'd that beat  
Responsive to mine own.  
And now I walk alone  
With dull and desolate feet;  
And bare and bleak the prospect seems.  
And mellow moons and sunny gleams

Mock with untimely mirth a heart dismayed.

Oh, garden of my heart, each leaf  
Dies not alone, but takes  
A something it forsakes—  
So life ebbs slowly out with grief;  
And so each stroke, we know,  
Falls with more muffled blow.  
Until at last we breathe relief,  
And rest, where pure and meek the daisies grow.

Oh, garden of my heart, how scant  
Thy leaves and perfumed bloom—  
Can all thy sunny days but grant  
This solitary gloom;  
And must we be content,  
Glad life and beauty spent,  
A deep forgetfulness to seek?  
A peace, our withered loves bespeak—  
A silence, sweet and sealing, in the tomb.

Oh, garden of my heart, though dead  
The rose, its fragrance still will cling,  
And tender recollections bring  
To deify the splendour fled;  
And when the vagrant air  
Shall waft it everywhere.  
And it has faded from our sense,  
Yet still we know its influence  
Still steals abroad, imperishably fair.

Oh, garden of my heart, not vain  
His gentle bloom, his sudden chill,  
Though to our sight the gain  
Seem loss ineffable.  
But who shall fight with Might,  
Or curse the Hands that smite,  
Sure that in great and small  
One purpose works in all—  
One goal to reach, one blinding veil of light.

## **Half-Hearted.**

When next you come, O love!

Come in a tumult strong.  
Come with a strength above  
The reach of song

Fill me with vague alarms,  
Smite me with softest fears,  
Weak as a babe in arms  
Bring me to tears.

Come not, and then go by.  
Leaving only unrest;  
Come not a passer-by,  
Come as a guest.

What could I do? she grew  
Fond without fault of mine,  
Every day fonder, too,  
Foolish Adine!

Had I but loved her more.  
Her fettered soul were free  
On wings of love to soar  
And comfort me.

Had I but loved her less,  
I had not mourned her, wed—  
Her eyes would not confess  
A love not dead.

When next you come, O love!  
Come like a welt'ring sea,  
Flooding its shores above,  
Come so—or flee.

Vignette

PRINTED BY JOLLY, CONNOR & CO., OCTAGON, DUNEDIN.

Masthead for *The Monthly Review* *The Monthly Review New Books & Contemporary Subjects*. Vol. II., No. 9. Wellington, N.Z. Thursday, September 1, 1881

## Electric Force.

"F.I.R.S." RELATES how he witnessed in Paris, on the 9th of May, the charging of four of Faure's batteries with electricity obtained from an ordinary Grove's battery. The four batteries were enclosed in a wooden box,

about a cubic foot in measurement, and weighing, with its contents, about 75lb. This box of "electric energy" was handed by M. Faure to our correspondent, who brought it with him across the Channel, and after 72 hours of travelling, delivered it to Sir William Thomson at Glasgow, in order that the power of its charge might be made the subject of observation and experiment. The box was believed to contain electricity in quantity equivalent to a million foot pounds; and we now hear that this belief has been fully borne out by experiment. No appreciable loss was incurred during the transit; and the energy put into the four batteries in Paris remained in them until it was applied to working purposes in Glasgow. So completely was the apparatus under command, that one of the four batteries was detached from the rest, and carried to another place to supply the force required for an electric cautery. A single battery, when recharged, was left alone for ten days, and it then yielded to Sir William Thomson 260,000 foot pounds, so that the original estimate of a million foot pounds for the whole box was probably somewhat under the mark. Further investigations are required in order to discover what are the limits, if any, of the power to preserve electric energy unwasted; but sufficient is known to show that it can be preserved long enough for many important practical applications. That which Sir William Thomson regards as likely to be the first, at least in point of time, is the use of Faure's batteries in private houses, as reservoirs of electricity for domestic purposes, such as lighting, heating, working sewing machines, so that no interruption of action would be produced by a temporary interruption of the electric supply given by any main engine from which it was derived.

Sir William Thomson reminds us that the storage of force to be afterwards put to practical uses is a very old contrivance, of which we may see an illustration in the winding of a watch; and also that the storage of electricity has long been familiar to men of science as a theoretical possibility. There is often a long step, however, from theoretical possibility to practical achievement; and what we are now called upon to notice is no longer that such a storage may perhaps be accomplished at some future time, but that it has actually been accomplished upon what may almost be called a working scale. Many philosophers are of opinion that electricity, at no distant date, will entirely supersede fires for cooking and heating, steam as a motor, and gas and oil as illuminants; but hitherto it has been felt as a great difficulty, economical rather than scientific, that the agents proposed to be superseded were themselves actually employed to produce the electricity. It has been asserted, moreover, that the sectional area of the metallic conductors required to deliver electricity in quantities suited to the requirements of town communities would have to be enormously large, and in a corresponding degree costly; and that difficulties with regard to insulation would be of constant occurrence. But electricity is to be obtained from the atmosphere by simple mechanical means wherever any kind of motor power is available; and, if it can be stored in portable batteries and carried about for use, there seems to be no reason why it should not be obtained in very cheap ways, as by wind or water mills, and by mechanical contrivances for utilizing the ebb and flow of the tides, or by other applications of the power which nature everywhere offers for the use of man, and which is so frequently suffered to run to waste. Neither "F.I.R.S." nor Sir William Thomson has as yet furnished us with even an approximate estimate of the cost of maintaining a Faure's battery as measured by the amount, of force which it is capable of exerting; and it must not be forgotten that a million foot pounds, although sounding like an enormous amount to those who are unfamiliar with the form of expression, is yet something which would not go very far in the way of supplying the motor wants of a workshop. Faure's battery is constructed mainly of lead—a circumstance which necessarily renders it heavy, and in a corresponding degree costly of carriage; while a new demand for the metal, if in large quantities, must, of course, tend to a considerable enhancement of its price. Against these considerations must be set the obvious one that other materials may be found capable of employment in a similar manner; the principle of the battery being that the electricity with which it is said to be charged is expended within it in the production of chemical change, and is released again by the establishment of a new action by which the materials employed are suffered to return to their original condition. There is no *prima facie* reason why lead should be more available for this kind of composition and decomposition than some other substances; and now, that the method of producing the desired effect has been made known in the case of lead, philosophers will soon be engaged in the endeavour to discover some substance which may offer still greater advantages for the purpose. Unless the price of storage should be found to offer practically insurmountable difficulties, there can be no doubt that the new discovery will hasten, by many years, the general application of electricity to industrial and domestic purposes.

To those who remember the solicitude which was expressed, not many years ago, about the gradual exhaustion of the English coal field, and about the inevitable loss, whenever that exhaustion reached the point of famine, of English maritime and manufacturing supremacy, it will be curious to think of a possible near future, in which the "black diamonds," so highly prized by our forefathers and by ourselves, may have passed quite out of the range of practical application; and may possess none but an historical interest, as the sources of our mechanical power when we did not know how to obtain it in a better way. We believe it was Sir William Thomson himself who once spoke of Niagara as the natural and proper chief motor for the whole of the North

American Continent; and it now seems quite within the bounds of possibility that persons who are now living may witness the application of this chief motor to the indicated uses. It is possible that they may see electricity brought by electric railways from the coasts, or from the estuaries of tidal rivers, and delivered in the great towns for the fulfilment of all the purposes for which coal is at present either directly or indirectly employed; and it would not be easy to exaggerate the benefits, from many points of view, which such a substitution of electricity for coal would afford. If we can imagine the atmosphere of London smokeless and clean, uncontaminated either by the solid or by the gaseous products of combustion; with flowers and fruit flourishing in town gardens; with our rooms, and especially our public rooms and places of assembly, freed from the heat which gas occasions; and with nature and art manifest in their true colours by night as well as by day; our pictures uninjured, our precious metals uncorroded; and, indeed, with many of the chief features of unwholesomeness which now arise from the aggregation of masses of people so much alleviated as to be scarcely perceptible, we shall be able to form some estimate of the advantages which the displacement of coal, its congeners and its products, by electricity, would be not only likely, but sure to accomplish. Such is the future which can be foreshadowed with some certainty for our descendants, even if not for ourselves; and a great step in the direction of its being brought about, a great step towards lifting it from the region of mere hypothesis into that of high probability, was taken when the little box, with its stored million of foot pounds of electric energy, was conveyed by our correspondent from Paris to Glasgow.—*Home Paper*.

## Storage of Electric Force.

A CORRESPONDENT writing to the *Times*, records the accomplishment of the following fact, which, as he remarks is unparalleled in the annals of modern science :—

"A short time ago your able Paris correspondent announced the discovery by M. Camille Faure of the practical means of storing electric energy and rendering it portable, so as to be applied to many purposes hitherto considered, if not impossible, extremely difficult. The public *séance* at the Société d' Encouragement pour l'Industrie, which was presided over by the *doyen* of the French Academy of Science, M. J. B. Dumas, and at which were present some of our eminent English scientists, proved that M. Faure's discovery was no mere laboratory experiment, but substantially one of great practical utility. I was myself one of the many sceptics, and would not on mere hearsay believe such statements as were being published in the Paris Press. But conviction came by personal verification, and the crowning point of all has just been attained. It is this I wish to record. On Monday last, in Paris, a Faure battery, or *pile secondaire*, was charged with the electric fluid direct from the ordinary Grove battery and in my presence. It may be more economically done from a Gramme or Siemens machine. The receptacle consisted of four Faure batteries, each about 5in. diameter, and 10in. high, forming a cylindrical leaden vessel, and containing alternate sheets of metallic lead and minium wrapped in felt and rolled into a spiral wetted with acidulated water, and the whole placed in a square wooden box, measuring about 1 cubic foot, and weighing some 75lbs. This was protected by a loose wooden cover, through which the electrodes (in lead) protruded, and were flattened down for convenience of transport. This box of "electric energy" was handed to me by M. Faure, at my request, with the object of submitting it for examination and measurement to our eminent electrician Sir William Thomson, F.R.S. at the University of Glasgow. I had the box by me all through the journey from Paris on Tuesday night, including a five hours' delay at Calais. I arrived at Charing Cross at 11 a.m, on Wednesday, after running the gauntlet of customs and police authorities, who suspiciously looked askance, and seemed to doubt my statement that my box only held "condensed lightning," and contained no infernal machine or new explosive destined to illustrate some diabolical Socialistic tragedy. From time to time on the journey, I tested the force of the discharge, and found it to have well maintained its energy. From London to Glasgow required only another 10 hours, and Anally, in about 72 hours from the time of charging in Paris, I had the satisfaction of presenting to Sir William Thomson M. Faure's rare offering of a "box of electricity," intact and potent, holding by measurement within that small space of one cubic foot a power equivalent to nearly one million of foot pounds! This wonderful box is now deposited in the laboratory of the Glasgow University, under the vigilant eye of its director, and being submitted to a series of tests and measurements, the results of some of which made Sir William exclaim ' Why, it's a little witch.' I must not, however, trespass on Sir William's ground as to the scientific results, which doubtless he himself will give to the public through the proper channels. But I must generally say that the advantages to science and humanity at large which this discovery (or rather perfection of Mr. G. Plante's discovery) is destined to afford are of such transcendent importance that we cannot for the present form any correct estimate of their magnitude. In short, I have only to add that its future seems as certain as its stored force is potential and as brilliant as its own bright light. But, whatever may be the practical results obtained, I have the satisfaction of recording that for the first time to my knowledge in the history of the universe has a box of electric energy nearly equivalent to a million

of foot pounds contained within less than a cubic foot of space, intact and potential, been transported from France or elsewhere to Great Britain,"

"ENDYMION."—Mr. Edmund Yates is responsible for the following paragraph, which appeared in the first number of the *Cuckoo*: "Although Lord Beaconsfield has often proved himself a most implacable political opponent, in private life, at least, he is one of the most considerate of men. The other day he sent Lord Rowton as his emissary to Messrs. Longman to say that he much regretted to hear that they were out of pocket by his last novel, and proposing, if such was the case, to abrogate the contract, and place "Endymion" on the same footing as "Lothair," which was published on the half-profit system. In reality this amounted to making Messrs. Longman a present of something like £3,000. However, that eminent firm replied that although it was true that they had not so far been recouped the price they had given, they felt no reason to doubt that they would be in course of time, but in any case, as men of business, they could not think of availing themselves of Lord Beaconsfield's liberal and considerate offer. It is but right that an incident reflecting such credit to both author and publisher should be duly chronicled—albeit, a cheap edition of "Endymion" is to appear forthwith." The *Academy* says that whatever may have been the case in this country, ten thousand copies of "Endymion" have been sold in Canada, being the largest sale which any book has yet reached in the Dominion. Mr. Jennings, formerly of the *London Press*, furnishes to the *New York World* the following key to the characters: "*Endymion Ferrars*, the noble author; *Mera Ferrars*' his sister, Eugenie, ex-Empress of the French; *Prince Florestan*, Louis Napoleon, with some traits of Alfonso of Spain; *Agrippina*, Queen Hortense, mother of Napoleon III; *Zenobia*, Lady Jersey and Lady Holland; *Baron Sergius*, Baron Brunnow, who effected the famous Quadruple Alliance of 1840; *Nigel Penruddock*, Cardinal Manning, with traits of Cardinal Wiseman; *Job Thornberry*, Richard Cobden; *Sidney Wilton*, Sydney Herbert, afterwards Lord Herbert of Lea; *Lord Rockhampton*, Lord Palmerston; *Lord Montfort*, the Earl of Dudley, with allusions to Lord Eglinton and Lord Melbourne; *Mr. Neuchatel*, Baron Lionel Rothschild; *Adriana*, Lady Rosebery, with suggestions of Lady Burdett-Coutts; *Berengaria* (Lady Montfort), the late Hon. Mrs. Norton; *Lord Rawchester*, Earl Granville; *Earl of Beaumaris*, the late Earl of Derby; *Mr. Ferrars* the grandfather), Right Hon. George Rose, confidant of Pitt; *George Waldershare*, George Smythe; *Mr. Jorrocks*, Mr. Milner Gibson; *Hortensius*, Sir William Vernon Harcourt; *Mr. Bertie Tremaine*, Mr. Monckton Millies, Lord Houghton; *Mr. St. Barbe*, W. M. Thackeray; *Mr. Gushy*, Charles Dickens; *Vigo* (the tailor), Poole, the tailor, with suggestions of Hudson, the railway king; *Count Ferrol*, Prince Bismarck; *Dr. Comely*, Bishop Wilberforce ('Soapy Sam'); *Topsy Turvy*, 'Vanity Fair'; *Scaramouch*. 'Punch.'" A similar key is furnished in "Notes and Queries."

THE Canadian Minister of Agriculture has addressed, through the Governor-General, a memorandum to the British government, proposing an extensive organization of Irish emigration to Manitoba and North-west Canada.

THE *Publisher's Circular* understands that the Rev. W. B. Crickmer, of Beverley, is engaged on "The Greek Testament Englished;" a translation in which he proposes to give the absolute value and force of each Greek word in the corresponding English equivalent, irrespective of its grammatical order. The work will be published at an early date by Mr. Elliott Stock.

SHORTHAND WRITING EXTRAORDINARY.—At a recent exhibition in Germany there was a post-card containing 33,000 words in shorthand. In emulation of this feat Mr. Hurst, of Sheffield, the publisher of the *Phonograph*, a shorthand magazine, offered prizes for miniature shorthand. The System was to be Pitman's, the writing to be legible to the naked eye, and to be on one side of an English post-card, which is considerably smaller than a German card, 25,000 words on the former being reckoned equivalent to 83,000 on the latter. The first prize in this competition was awarded to G. H. Davidson, chief shorthand and correspondence clerk to Messrs. Peek, Frean, and Co., whose post-card (a photograph of which we have received) contained 32,363 words, including the whole of Goldsmith's "She Stoops to Conquer," an essay on John Morley, and half of Holcroft's "Road to Ruin."

LIBERTY OF THE PRESS IN RUSSIA.—How would you like to live in a city into which it is prohibited to introduce two of the most important of the daily newspapers published in London, and where your *Punch*, your *Illustrated London News*, and your *Graphic*, when you are permitted to receive those journals, are found to have passed through the official censor's dirty paws, and to have been mutilated and defaced by him—now by the entire excision of a portrait or a cartoon, now by the blocking or stamping out, with some filthy black compound, of some article or paragraph which has been found obnoxious in the eyes of censorious and inquisitorial authority? Yes, St. Petersburg is His Imperial Majesty's Gaol, with a vengeance.—G. A. Sala, in the *Daily Telegraph*.

THE average newspaper reporter is never abashed, and is equal to almost every emergency. One of the class was (says a New York paper) interviewing Mde. Bernhardt the other day, when she grew enthusiastic over America, and expressed the wish that the nation had but one mouth, that she might kiss it. The reporter instantly suggested that he represented the nation to a certain extent, and he had "but one mouth!"

ALEXANDER Rodanow, *alias* Nathan Ganz, editor of the Nihilist magazine, the *Anarchist*, of Boston, Mass., was arraigned in that city on March 28, for using the mail for fraudulent purposes. He had advertised extensively an imaginary watch manufacturing company, having head-quarters in Paris and Switzerland. He was acquitted through defective evidence. It is not likely he will publish his magazine any longer. Several of the British colonial newspapers were swindled by him.

THE £12,000 received by Lord Beaconsfield for his last novel is believed to represent the largest amount given in England for any work of fiction. Scott received £8,000 for "Woodstock," and George Eliot the same amount for "Middlemarch." Bulwer Lytton's earlier novels, even when he was the rage, did not bring him in more than from £600 to £1,000; but he subsequently received handsome amounts for the copyright of a collective edition. Lord Beaconsfield's earlier novels, notwithstanding the success of the first—"Vivian Grey"—had a very limited sale, and could be bought for next to nothing within a few months of publication. They never became in general request as components of a library, and, in England, were only read with interest by persons familiar with political and social life. "Coningsby" excited by far the most interest, and the key, which soon afterwards appeared, was eagerly scrutinised. Probably "Endymion" and "Lothair" have, together, produced more than double as much as all the previous works of the author, albeit very inferior to some of them. The "Curiosities of Literature," by the elder D'Israeli, must have produced a large sum of money; it forms part of every good collection of English books, and has passed through many editions. Dickens left £80,000, and a considerable slice of this came from books; but it was his Readings that made him affluent; and so too with Thackeray. For receipts from actual writing no one has yet approached Scott, whose income for several years ranged from £10,000 to £15,000 mainly drawn from this source. Richardson was the first Englishman who made a really good thing out of writing, and mainly because he was publisher of his own novels. In the past thirty years French novelists have received very large sums, but Balzac's rewards for his genius and tremendous toil were miserably small. Probably Miss Braddon's receipts from writing rank among the first half-dozen highest among writers of fiction; she has the advantage of a publisher for a husband (Mr. John Maxwell). Reynolds, who wrote "The Mysteries of London," and other works of a sensational type, was, from a pecuniary point of view, one of the most successful of British authors. Many of those books which pay so well are the last that would occur to persons as being lucrative; thus, "Thornton's Family Prayers" has been a little mine of money to an English family.—*Philadelphia Printer's Circular*.

THE MARINONI WEB MACHINES.—A French contemporary says there are 42 of these machines in England, 53 in France, 7 in Austria, 3 in Germany, 2 in America, 6 in Spain, 4 in Belgium, 4 in Italy. M. Marinoni has constructed altogether over 6,000 printing machines of one kind and another.

THE *Typologie Tucker*, a French paper, contains a description of a new machine for writing shorthand, by means of which, it is said, 200 words a minute can be taken down. M. Michela is the inventor.

MRS. GARFIELD, who speaks French and German fluently, is said to be the first President's wife able to talk with foreign diplomatists in the court languages of Europe.

THE sudden introduction into the Prussian schools of a Government standard orthography, which has been, with some trifling exceptions, adopted by well-nigh all the German Governments, has done immense mischief to the German publishing trade. Large editions of books, just printed, have been made worthless by the unexpected steps of the Prussian Ministers. Nor is this all. The German publishers are in dread of another step in the march of uniformity to which the school-books are to be subjected. Instead of different books used in the different provinces of the kingdom, only those are to be allowed which have been written or compiled by order of the provincial authorities, or approved by them, and for the contents of which Government will take the responsibility. The German Booksellers' Union has petitioned the Prussian Minister, asking him to communicate to them his intention in time to prevent new ventures and considerable outlay in the school-book publishing line, which would again be put to severe loss were it once more taken unawares by a *fait accompli*.

THE two leading magazines of the United States, *Harper's* and *Scribner's*, have immense circulations—the former being over 160,000 copies monthly, and the latter 115,000. Both now publish European editions. *Scribner's* has lately undergone a change in proprietorship. Charles Scribner's sons held 40 per cent, of the stock, Mr. J. Roswell Smith 30 per cent., and Dr. J. G. Holland 80 per cent. When the last-named gentleman retired, a short time ago, Mr. Smith purchased his stock, thus acquiring a controlling interest. Under the circumstances Charles Scribner's sons chose to withdraw from the enterprise, and therefore sold their stock to Mr. Smith, the price paid for their four-tenths being 250,000 dollars. The title of the magazine is to be changed at the end of the present volume. Last year *Scribner's Monthly* earned a net profit of 72,000 dollars.

PUNCTUATION.—The following is given in the *Printers' Miscellany*, of St. John, N.B., as an exercise in punctuation. According as the points are inserted, it can be made to read either in favour or condemnation of the man described :—"He is an old and experienced man in vice and wickedness he is never found in opposing the works of iniquity he takes delight in the downfall of his neighbours he never rejoices in the prosperity of any of his fellow-creatures he is always ready to assist in sowing discord among his friends and acquaintances he takes

no pride in labouring to promote the cause of right he has not been negligent in endeavouring to stigmatise all public teachers he makes no effort to subdue his evil passions he strives hard to build up Satan's kingdom he lends no aid to the support of the Gospel among the heathen he contributes largely to all that is evil he pays no attention to good advice he pays great heed." As an exercise for young people this may be offered. It is at least as good as the usual puzzles of the periodicals.

## Chapter XLI.

### The Levee.

IT was therefore decided that Philip was to go to Hamilton, and he went, first of all acquainting Dr. Goring, by telegram, of his intended visit. Upon his arrival in Hamilton a few days afterwards, he found a note at his lodgings from the doctor, stating, that that worthy practitioner would be in town in the course of a couple of days; and Philip, therefore, determined to call at Mr. Easthorpe's, and await the doctor's arrival.

He went, indeed, to the Easthorpe's the very evening he arrived, but found many persons there. Either it was an evening visitors expected to find Mrs. Easthorpe at home, or it was a special occasion upon which that good lady had invited them. Philip was inclined privately to swear at his own ill-luck, but in place of being annoyed, he endeavored to make himself as agreeable as possible, and watch Mary entertain her mother's visitors. That young lady appeared very glad to see him (she had kept up a close correspondence with Charley, and knew well all that had transpired at Terua), and when asked to sing, sang only those songs she knew he liked. Whereupon Philip gravely turned over her music, and thanked her when she had finished. No one in the room could possibly have surmised, from the quiet outward bearing of these two young persons, that they were anything but casual acquaintances; but then the world expects, now-a-days, quietness and decorum, even where hearts are trumps and Cupid one of the partners in the game. Mrs. Easthorpe was a little surprised at her daughter's singing that evening, and remarked, "Why, Mary, I haven't heard you sing so well for a long time." At which Mary blushed prettily, but made no reply.

Little allusion was made to the war. The residents of Hamilton did not take much interest in native troubles. They were of so often an occurrence, that people had grown tired of them. The worthy Bishop of the place, who happened to be one of the visitors, questioned Philip about Huru's movements, but as Philip was as ignorant of the subject as his questioner, or the Government, or even the troops for that matter, he, of course, could give no information. Mr. Easthorpe made a few enquiries about what Charley thought of abandoning the run for a time. (The Minister of War had promised to inform him when necessity for his adopting such a proceeding should arise. In the meantime he did not bother himself, and upon Philip's telling him that Mr. Byrton, of the "Vulture," had accompanied Charley back to Terua, he felt satisfied that that officer would not have been allowed leave to take the journey, if the district was in a very disturbed state.)

Mary found occasion to tell Philip, that she had driven over to Apanui with Mrs. Douglas since he had been at Terua, and thought it a very pretty place. At which Philip winced a little, but he had by this time almost learnt to regard Apanui as one of the things of the past.

"You are to ride out to the Glen and see them, Mr. Manning," said Mary, "Mr. Douglas wants to see you."

But Philip thought he would not venture yet awhile, although he smilingly offered his escort to Mary if she thought of going. To which Mary, in her frank way, replied "that she had only just come from there, and had to stay in town."

Philip returned to his lodgings that evening a changed being, so much influence has the great power of visiting one's lady-love upon ordinary human nature. Truly Mary Easthorpe looked very charming, and our friend Philip, with all the vanity of man, placed her bright looks down to the pleasure of seeing his own special self, whereas it may have been somebody else she had been thinking about all the time. Yet there were the songs. She would not have sung them if it were not for his especial benefit, and then he gave himself up to one of those pleasing reveries in which, with your kind permission, gentle reader, we will leave him for the night.

The following day brought Doctor Goring to Hamilton by the afternoon coach, and Philip went to his hotel to find him. He met the doctor on his way, and after warmly greeting him, Philip requested to know how it was that he happened to be so gaily dressed at that particular hour of the day, for he had never known the doctor to be fond of brilliant apparel.

"How?" replied the doctor, linking his arm into that of Philip's; "don't you know, man, that the new Governor holds a levee this afternoon, and all the world is going. Look at those people," continued he, stopping, and pointing out many gentlemen, either handsomely attired, ready to make their bow to the representative of

Royalty, or hurrying home to exchange their office garments for handsome uniforms or irreproachable black. "You see, Manning," continued the doctor, "I had to put on my uniform, as it is the proper thing to do, although I don't mind telling you privately, that I feel like a fish out of water."

"And I suppose," said Philip, "that the uniform you are wearing is that of the Ashton Volunteers?"

"It is, sir," replied the doctor laughing, "And you have the honor of walking with the surgeon of that distinguished corps. But," continued he, "Where are your lodgings? You must come to the levée with me."

"Thank you, doctor, very much," replied Philip, "but I must ask you to excuse me."

"Nonsense, man," replied his companion; "Come along and do as, I tell you. If you wish to get the appointment, you must make yourself known a bit, and you can't have a better opportunity than at present. We may very likely meet Darcy or Page there, and I shall introduce you to them. Why, I have come to town almost for that purpose!"

Philip expressed his gratitude to the worthy doctor for his kindness, and asked the reason of his anxiety to introduce him to those gentlemen in particular.

"Why, you see," replied the doctor, "They are the principal trustees of the Hospital, and any application will have to meet with their approval before it stands a chance of being accepted. If we do not find them at the levee, we are sure to find them this evening or to-morrow morning, and I have to get back to Ashton by the afternoon coach."

By this time, they had reached Philip's lodgings, and his landlady's breath was partly taken away at the sight of the Doctor's gay uniform, for people rarely see the visible signs of the pomp and glory of war in the distant colonies of the Crown. The Imperial banner of the realm, although it flies from innumerable flag-staffs, erected in all parts of the earth, yet hangs peacefully in Australasia. It only waves defiance from the offices of the Home Government at Westminster. There, the lioness guards her distant brood, and when the Mother Country gets herself into a mess, which her Ministers manage somehow to regularly drag her into, and thereupon engages in a fierce war, her colonial whelps look on in perfect peace and security, knowing nothing of the miseries of the struggle, nor seeing ought of its glory. They read the telegrams, and the evening newspapers issue extra editions, but that is about the extent of their participation.

True, New Zealand occupies a slightly different position in the colonial category, for we *have* enemies to encounter here, in the shape of Maori savages, who compel us to keep a force of men under arms. But the dark blue uniform of the Armed Constabulary cannot be said to exhibit much of the pomp and panoply of war. Therefore, the authorities, in order to encourage the martial spirit among the people (for a good soldier maketh generally a good citizen), and in order to guard against the sudden invasion of the Colony, by some petty expedition from over the sea, look with a certain degree of favor upon corps of volunteers and handsome uniforms. The amount of red and gold, or blue and silver, seen, is something appalling to the purely civil mind. We are sure that the Hamilton Guards would throw the household troops quite into the shade. It is astonishing, too, how the martial spirit thrives, for these volunteers barely receive enough capitation money to pay for their gorgeous uniform.

Philip seated the Doctor in his little sitting-room, and asked to be excused while he changed his coat, which did not take him long. He was soon ready to proceed to Government House, and on the way thither casually mentioned that he had met Sir John Bathurst in England. He did not say that he knew him, because the Governor might not recognize him among the host of people attending the levée.

His Excellency Sir John Bathurst, the new Governor of the Colony, had been appointed to represent Her Majesty, principally in consequence of his family influence, but actually because of certain bad losses he had made in some great railway speculations, whereby it became necessary for him to retrench, and to live economically for a time. The Governorship of New Zealand happening to fall vacant, the appointment was sought for in a most delicate and round-about way, duly offered and accepted.

Sir John was an able man, and one who would look well after the dignity and honor of the Crown. He had sat in the English Parliament a few years for Stoniton, and was well informed of the feeling of both sides of the House touching the colonies. As his name would imply he was a staunch Tory, and imbued with all the prejudices of his party. But in a democratic colony, the appointment of such a man, checks to a certain extent the spirit of democracy, and lends a slight degree of certainty and safety to colonial legislation. Some colonists object to a Governor being appointed from England, as they desire to elect one for themselves, while others object to pay so large a salary; but the number of these persons is, thank Heaven, extremely small; the great majority of the colonists thinking the existing arrangement safe and economical. Therefore, Sir John stepped at once into £7000 a year, and honorable exile.

Poor Lady Bathurst, when the matter had been finally arranged and settled, had one good cry in the privacy of her own room, and shed a few bitter tears in having to leave all her own circle of friends, much to the surprise of her youngest daughter, who happened to be with her at the time, and who had not often seen her mother cry; but after that was over, the good little woman wiped away the traces of tears, and put a brave face

upon matters, and determined never to let her husband see that she regretted having to leave England. She might be of some service to those strange people in the far away Antipodean colony, if they would only let her be of service to them.

"Do you think they will?" asked she one day of old Lord Vansittart, her uncle, who, when a young man, had travelled in the colonies, and was supposed to know something about them; besides had he not held office for a time in the Plunket Cabinet as Colonial Secretary, when that Minister was so shamefully abused by Brougham, Tierney, and other such Radicals?

"I don't know, my dear," the old Earl replied. "They are a peculiar set of people, and I advise you to be very careful of them."

This was discouraging, but still the good lady determined to try and do something if she could. If her efforts should be misunderstood, well—it was some comfort to know that she had tried to do her duty in the new path of life that God had given her. *All* the people could not surely be so strange and peculiar as her friends thought them. Surely she would find a few gentlewomen among them! And at her first reception she eagerly scanned the faces of those presented to her, wondering which would prove a friend.

"Now Manning," said the doctor, entering the hall of Government House, which was half full of gentlemen attending the levee. "Follow me, like a good fellow, and we will soon get through this piece of business."

Philip had never attended a levee before, and was much surprised at the number of persons present, and at the bustle round a little table in one corner of the hall, upon which lay two great books. In these books all attending the levee were expected to write down their names. This appeared to be a very important proceeding, if one could judge from the anxiety of the visitors to record their names, the crush round the table, and the difficulty people found in emerging from the crowd.

"And are we to write down our names, doctor?" asked Philip.

"Of course we are."

"And why is that expected from us?" asked the ignorant Philip, who foolishly imagined, perhaps, that the delivery of his card constituted a sufficient notification of his visit.

"Don't you see," replied the doctor, "that unless people write down their names, the aide-de-camp would never know whether you had attended or not."

"But couldn't I give my card?" asked Philip.

"Of course you will have to do that as well," replied the doctor, endeavouring to catch the eye of a tall gentleman, who was steadily elbowing his way to the visitors' book. "There look now," continued he, pointing to the door of the entrance chamber, at which stood the aide-de-camp, with his hands overflowing with visiting cards, crying out at the top of his voice the names of the visitors as each one gave him his card, and passed into the room. That is to say, the worthy aide did his best to cry out the names properly, and on the whole succeeded pretty well.

"I don't see anything of Darcy or Page," said the doctor, standing on tip-toe, and trying to look over the heads of those present. "I wonder whether they have gone through."

"Who is that little old man in the terrible coat?" asked Philip, calling the doctor's attention to an odd individual, just then passing through the doors to make his bow to the Governor.

But the doctor could not catch a sight of the man from where he stood, and had to walk to the other corner of the hall, Philip accompanying him.

"Oh, that is Tenby, the cabinet maker," replied the doctor. "He always attends the levees."

"And do they allow anybody then, to attend these receptions?" asked Philip.

"Of course," replied the doctor. "Everyone has a perfect right to call upon the Governor, provided he puts on a black coat; but it all depends upon whether you happen to have the coat or not. Tenby has attended these levees, I believe, for thirty years or more, and they say he borrows a coat for the purpose."

"No!" said Philip, incredulously.

"Fact, I assure you," replied the doctor, who was, just then, prevented from continuing the conversation by an acquaintance coming up and speaking with him.

Philip looked through the open doorway, and saw Mr. Tenby advance into the room, and make his bow to a small knot of gentlemen, standing near the wall, but one of the gentlemen slightly in advance of the others. The one in advance, Philip supposed to be the Governor, who returned Mr. Tenby's bow, and Mr. Tenby passed on and out of the room, at a doorway at the other end. Opposite to the Governor, stood a row of gentlemen, the whole length of the reception room, nearly six deep, who were amusing themselves by criticising the mode of advance and retirement of each visitor who crossed the apartment. These gentlemen, either from their position as Cabinet Ministers, or other important offices, had the right of private entry to the levee.

"And is that what we have to do?" enquired Philip, pointing out the ceremony to the doctor.

"Yes," replied the doctor. "Pass through, bob your head, and then away home and change your clothes."

"But would it not be better to say a few words to the Governor, in order to let him know that we are pleased

to see him, or something of that kind?" asked Philip.

"Why, Manning!" laughed the doctor, and then stopped, as if there did appear something reasonable in what Philip had said. "No, no!" continued he, after thinking for awhile. "That would never do. We always bob our heads and then go home. But now is our opportunity to put down our names. Come along," and the doctor, seeing but few persons near the little table, elbowed himself in, seized a pen, wrote down his name, and then looked round to give the pen to Philip. But our friend Philip had not followed him, as he did not care to make such good use of his elbows in the first place, and secondly because he did not see the use of putting down his name at all.

"Don't trouble about me, Doctor," said he when the Doctor emerged from the crowd, "I will give my card to the aide-de-camp."

"You ought to have put your name down," said the Doctor reproachfully, "but we might as well go through." And then they both went to the door and gave their cards to the aide-de-camp, who, happening first of all to catch sight of Philip's name, called out "Mr. Manning." But the Doctor, thinking that *his* name would be called out, had already advanced two or three paces into the room; when, hearing Philip's name, and not liking to sail under false colors, he stopped, paused, turned to Philip, still standing at the door, smiled and bowed, as any gentleman would do under the circumstances, and then waved his hand for Philip to go first; all of which was, of course, noted by those present, and a slight smile passed round the room, for the Doctor was well known by almost everybody present.

Thereupon Philip advanced, duly acknowledged the Doctor's courtesy for thus giving him precedence, and then walked up to where his Excellency was standing. Now as it happened that Philip had often met Sir John Bathurst in England, when he was in his father's office in Northport. (Old Mr. Manning was a well-known engineer, and at that time was engaged in building some great railway docks in which Sir John was interested.) Philip's name, therefore, struck the Governor, who quickly recognized his former young acquaintance; therefore, in place of returning Philip's bow, the Governor shook hands with him, and reminded Philip where they had met before.

"You must come and see me Mr. Manning," said the Governor, "and let me know how long it is since you left Northport," at which Philip thanked his Excellency; and expressed his pleasure at meeting him once more in New Zealand. Whereupon the Governor smiled, pleased, doubtless, at having seen one face that he knew in all that string of visitors, and Philip passed on.

All this time the doctor was fidgetting, not only at Philip for keeping him waiting, but also from a slight fear he had that Philip was carrying out his intention of "saying a few words to the Governor." "What can Manning be doing?" said he to the aide-de-camp.

"Your friend must know his Excellency," replied that gentleman, taking the matter coolly, as he took all things strange and what he termed colonial. For aides-de-camp in attendance upon Colonial Governors do often see and hear *gaucheries*, and other strange things, on the part of, and from visitors. For it is not very remarkable to relate that all callers are not of the first *ton*, and in early life may have occupied extremely humble positions in life—positions which the first emigrants to a young colony were bound to fill. Yet such is the ready adaptability of the Saxon race to circumstances, that one would never suppose, from the outside look of things, that these good people were ever anything else than what they seemed.

By this time Philip had passed on, and stood waiting for the doctor at the other end of the room, who, after having made his bow to the Governor, seized Philip by the arm, and hurried him through the doorway.

"What are you waiting for, man," anxiously enquired he, keeping a firm hold of Philip until he had got him fairly outside the house, feeling, perhaps, afraid that he would commit some other unheard of breach of good manners.

Philip was glad when the doctor joined him, as it was not pleasant to be standing at the end of that great room by himself, with the eyes of all that row of gentlemen upon him, doubtless wondering who he was and whence he came. It would have been much more pleasant if a few of the visitors had scattered themselves about the room; he would not then have been so conspicuous. Therefore, he willingly enough followed the doctor, and said laughingly "that he was waiting for him."

"Was it very wrong of me to wait?" asked he.

"Oh, Manning, Manning," groaned the doctor; "you have quite disgraced me. You should have passed through, and not stood there, like a mopstick, all by yourself. What on earth did you want to shake hands with the Governor for?" continued he, hurrying him along so as to take him clear of the Government grounds as quickly as possible.

"I didn't shake hands with the Governor," said Philip. "He shook hands with me. I told you, doctor, I had met him before in England."

"And I suppose you told him you were glad to meet him again in New Zealand?" said the doctor.

"Of course," replied Philip.

"Manning! Manning!" said the doctor, shaking his head. "I must say you have conducted yourself very badly, and when I tell my wife, and the people at Wainui, how you have behaved, they won't believe me, sir. We never speak to the Governor, or stand about the reception room at a levee. That is almost as bad as not rising when the Governor enters a room, or not bowing to him when he passes you."

"But you don't mean to say, Doctor, that one is expected to conform to all these petty matters here."

"Well," replied the Doctor, thoughtfully, "some Governor's expect one thing and some another. Each has his failings, and perhaps you may be right in thinking that, in so young a colony, such matters of form and etiquette are a little before their time, and will be found more suitable bye-and-bye. But you certainly ought not to have hung about the reception room."

"Never mind, Doctor," said Philip, "I promise not to do so again, and if you particularly require it, and the Governor wishes it, the next time we attend a reception, hang me if I don't put on a court suit." And then the two friends wended each his way to his own lodgings, with the understanding that Philip was to meet the doctor that evening, and go to the House, and endeavour to find Mr. Darcy, who happened to be a Member of Parliament.

"I can only give you until to-morrow afternoon, mind," the doctor had said on parting, "so we must endeavour to find Darcy to-night, and Page in the morning," and after smilingly bidding him adieu Philip went home.

We must relate in a new chapter what the doctor and Philip saw and heard in their search after Mr. Darcy.

## Chapter XLII.

### The "House."

DOCTOR GORING never cared to be more than twenty-four hours away from his patients at any one time; for in a country district a medical man's time can hardly be considered his own. At any moment an urgent message might compel him to take horse or buggy, and ride a score of miles, or more, across country. He had learnt, readily, to comply with such demands, and, if they only meant a journey of twenty miles, was well enough pleased; but when the demand came from a fifty mile radius, the old gentleman winced a little, especially if the day happened to be a wet one, and a cold south-easter happened to be blowing dead in his horse's face all the way. At such times he thought his lot in life an extremely hard one, and then usually expressed a firm resolve to his wife "to give up practice."

"Mind, Jemmy," he would say, "this is the last time I shall go down to Reynolds'," and Mrs. Goring would complete the buttoning of his overcoat, and fasten the flap across his throat properly, and after seeing that her liege lord was properly equipped, would say, "Yes, dear," and look over her spectacles at him, in order to see whether she had forgotten any thing, and perhaps privately to wonder what he was waiting for. The doctor had for so many years complained about the south-easters, that his wife naturally expected to hear him say that he would not go to Reynolds', or some other distant patient; but, as he usually went, after opening the front door once or twice, she had learnt to expect the remark.

When the Doctor actually did take a day's holiday to go as far as Hamilton, he usually had so much business to attend to, that he barely gave himself time to eat his dinner. In the present instance, after presenting himself at the levée, he repaired to his hotel, changed his bright uniform for more sober garments, and then attended to a heap of small commissions and wants of his family. When Philip called for him in the evening, he was busily discussing a chop and a cup of tea, in such a hasty manner that it was wonderful how the digestion of any human being could exist under such treatment.

Then the two walked to the Houses of Parliament, which were situated within a short distance of the Governor's residence. Philip followed the Doctor up the steps and through a long entrance passage, fairly well lighted, and covered with soft matting. As no one happened to be in the passage, the Doctor looked about for a time, and then knocked at one of the doors flanking the side. No person taking any notice, the Doctor turned the handle, opened the door, looked in, but found the room empty.

"I think there must be somebody in the next room, Manning," said he, as the noise of a great shout of laughter came in a subdued manner through the walls, and the Doctor knocked at the door.

"Come in," replied a voice in answer to the knock, but upon opening the door, the Doctor and Philip found the room full of young gentlemen and tobacco smoke, but whether there was more smoke than young gentlemen, or more young gentlemen than tobacco smoke, could not readily be determined. Through the dim haze, the Doctor perceived quite an abundant display of glasses of various kinds of liquor, to which some of

those present were busily applying themselves, still laughing at the evidently well-told tale of one of the number.

Hastily begging pardon, the Doctor closed the door, and said to Philip that that was the Secretary's room, and that all those young gentlemen were assistant secretaries, in attendance upon the Under-Secretaries, who were in attendance upon the Ministers, who were in attendance upon the House.

From the powerful smell of cooking, the doctor made his way across the passage to a door, which he rightly conjectured would lead to the kitchen premises, where he expected to find a messenger who would deliver a message to Mr. D'Arcey. From this it will appear that the House Committee of the New Zealand Commons conducted matters on a scale of greater latitude than is seen at Westminster, where all the smoking, and dining, and drinking is done below stairs, on a level with the grand old river balcony, and quite out of sight of the casual public gaze. The world does not expect to meet with a roast or a toast in halls of legislation; legislators being supposed to live upon air, which they do, principally in the form of words of a most vapoury and abundant character.

Perhaps the casual visitor has no right to poke his nose into all sorts of doorways, when he sees "Strangers' Room" staring him straight in the face; but then English people usually like to meet a servant of some kind at the hall door, even of a House of Parliament, from whom they can make enquiries before entering. Therefore, if the Doctor and Philip stumbled into the kitchen, it was clearly the fault of the Chairman of the House Committee.

Luckily a messenger was found, who took in the Doctor's card to Mr. D'Arcy, and that gentleman soon afterwards came into one of the lobbies and spoke to him.

Mr. D'Arcy, or rather the Honorable Mr. D'Arcy, for he had been a Cabinet Minister, was one of the best types of the colonial legislator. He was essentially a sound practical man, well acquainted with colonial matters, having in a manner grown with the colony. He had bought some land when the colony was first opened for settlement, but finding that farming, in those early days, did not exactly pay and beside was a most lonely sort of life, leased his small run, and accepted an appointment in the Civil Service. For many years he served Her Majesty as Commissioner of Forests and Harbours, and the early Governors, especially Sir George Grey, always relied upon obtaining a very great deal of useful information from him touching those departments. As the colony became settled and opened up, he had taken up more land, and put sheep upon it, and his wool return quickly gave him a very fair income. Thereupon he gave up the service, and entered Parliament, where his official experience was much valued. He was a sort of father to the House, all parties respecting him. He usually wore a shocking bad hat, the memory of man not running back to the time when it was new, and he was not particular about smoking his short clay pipe in the public streets, if the whim so seized him. His rugged form was well known by all the old colonists. He had seen the town of Hamilton grow from a little village into quite an important city, with great warehouses, many buildings, and much shipping, and he simply regarded the public walks as so much private ground, every foot of which he had almost seen paved, rammed or cemented. When new institutions were established, such as the hospital, the Hon. Mr. Darcy's name of course stood on the list of governors. He was, and had always been, quiet and reserved in his manner, and consequently rarely made enemies. It is simply astonishing how an easy-going disposition gets a person on in life. There was Lord North, one of our best-abused English Premiers. In private life he was universally esteemed, simply because he happened to be endowed with a quiet irrepressible good humour, which appeared impossible to ruffle. It is your bustling, energetic man, be he what he may, who constantly treads upon other people's corns, and causes trouble. The vivacious Continental Nations cannot understand the phlegmatic English, yet what a number of wars France would have escaped had her people only kept their vivacity in check a little.

ENGLISH papers notice that the increase of emigration is mostly to North America, principally to the United States, and there is a marked decrease in the emigration to Australasia. The coincidence is also observed of a regular ebb and flow in emigration, according as trade is good or bad; but the maximum is in years of trade revival succeeding a great depression, and the minimum is in the years of depression itself.

A CONTRACT has been entered into between the Chinese government and the Great Northern Telegraph Company of Copenhagen for the establishment of a telegraph line between Shanghai and Tienstin, the harbor for Peking. The work has to be commenced in May, and the line will extend over about 1,000 English miles.

By the treaty of Nankin, Consuls were to correspond on terms of equality (*chao hui*) with Taoutais, but to address Viceroy and Futais in the more respectful language of a *shen chen*, in acknowledgment of their inferiority of rank. The German Consuls in China have received instructions from their Minister at Peking, to drop the latter form altogether, and use only the former in their communications with Chinese authorities of all grades.

*Our English and Foreign Newspaper and Magazine trade having increased to a very large extent, we have considered the advisability of adopting a plan by which the monthly pressure can be avoided, and more promptness of delivery to our customers secured, and arrangements have been made accordingly.*

*Now that the Mails are divided between the Suez and San Francisco routes, we propose to make corresponding fortnightly deliveries to our Subscribers, and hope that this will meet the requirements and approval of our many customers in town and country.*

Lyon & Blair.

## Bohn's Library:

### **General, Theological, Historical, Artistic, Educational, and Juvenile.**

- Sir Thomas Browne's Works. Edited by Simon Wilkin, with Dr Johnston's life of Browne, a Supplementary Memoir, and a Portrait after White :—  
 ♣ Vol I.—Vulgar Errors.  
 ♣ II.—Religio Medici, and Garden of Cyrus. 3 vols. 13s. 6d.  
 ♣ III.—Urn Burial, Tracts, and Correspondence. 3 vols. 13s. 6d.
- Burke's Works. 6 vols. 27s.  
 Speeches on the Impeachment of Warren Hastings; and Letters. With Index. 2 vols, (forming Vols. 7 and 8 of the complete works).  
 Burke's Life. By J. Prior. With a portrait after Reynolds.
- Gibbon's Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire. Complete and Unabridged, with Variorum Notes; including, in addition to the Author's own, those of Guizot, Wenck, Niebuhr, Hugo, Neander, and other Scholars. Edited by an English Churchman. 7 vols. With copious Index, and two Maps, and a portrait of Gibbon. N.S. 30s.
- Junius's Letters. With all the Notes of Woodfall's Edition, and important Additions. Also, an Essay on the Authorship, Facsimiles of Junius's Hand-writing, and an elaborate Index. 2 vols. 9s. N.S.
- China, Pictorial, Descriptive, and Historical, with some account of Ava, and the Burmese, Siam, and Anam. With Index, Map, and nearly 100 Illustrations. 6s. 6d.
- Holbein's Dance of Death, and Bible Cuts. Upwards of 510 Subjects, engraved in facsimile, with Introduction and Descriptions by the late Francis Douce, and Dr. Thomas Frognall Dibdin. 10s.
- Cruikshank's Three Courses and a Dessert; comprising three Sets of Tales, West Country, Irish, and Legal; and a M $\acute{e}$ lange. With 50 humorous Illustrations by George Cruikshank. 7s. 6d.
- Walton's Complete Angler, or the Contemplative Man's Recreation; or, Izaak Walton and Charles Cotton. With Lives of the Authors and Variorum Notes, Historical and Practical. Edited by Edward Jesse. To which is added an Account of Fishing Stations, Tackle, &c., by Henry G. Bohn. With Index and Portrait of Walton, and 203 Engraving on Wood. 10s.
- Apuleius, Works of. Comprising the Golden Ass, God of Socrates, Florida, and Discourse of Magic. To which is added, a Metrical Version of Cupid and Psyche, and Mrs. Tighe's Psyche. With Index and Frontispiece. 6s. 6d.
- Epictetus, Discourses of. With the Encheiridion and Fragments. Translated with Notes, a Life of Epictetus. A View of his Philosophy, and Index, by George Long. M.A. 6s.  
 'Mr. Long has done a great service to English readers by adding to his admirable translation of the Commentaries of M. Aurelius Antonius a new version of the "Discourses of Epictetus."'—*Saturday Review*.
- Harriet Martineau's History of England, from 1800-1815. With new Index (containing upwards of 1,700 references). 4s. 6d.  
 This is a reprint of the work published under the title "AN INTRODUCTION TO THE HISTORY OF THE

HIRTY YEARS' PEACE."

- Harriet Martineau's History of the Thirty Years' Peace, A.D. 1815-46. With new and copious Index. (Containing upwards of 4,000 references. 4 vols. 17s. 6d.  
This History contains a vast store of information, hardly attainable else-where, on all the great social and political questions of the important and interesting period of which it treats—a period separated by so short an interval from our own time, that to every educated person who takes an intelligent interest in the questions of the present day, a thorough knowledge of its history is indispensable.
- Comte's Philosophy of the Sciences, being an Exposition of the principles of the *Cours de Philosophie Positive*. By G. H. Lewes, Author of of 'The Life of Goethe,' 'Biographical History of Philosophy,' &c. With Index. 6s. 6d.
- Horace. Literally translated into prose by Smart. Revised Edition, with copious Notes selected by T. A. Buckley, B. A., and a Portrait. 4s. 6d.
- L. Ranke. History of the Popes, their Church and State, and especially of their conflicts with Protestants in the 16th and 17th centuries. Translated by E. Foster. With Portraits of Julius II., (after Raphael), Innocent X., (after Valasquez), and Clement VII., (after Titian). 3 vols. 13s. 6d.
- Evelyn's Diary and Correspondence, with the Private Correspondence of Charles I., and Sir Edward Nicholas, and between Sir Edward Hyde (afterwards Earl of Clarendon) and Sir Richard Browne. Edited from the Original MSS at Wotton by W. Bray, F.A.S. 4 vols. With copious Index (115 pages) and 45 Engravings. 26s.
- Sir J. Reynold's Literary Works. With a Memoir, and Remarks on his Professional Character, illustrative of his Principles and Practice. By H. W. Beechy. 2 vols. 9s.
- Beaumont and Fletcher, their finest Scenes, Lyrics, and other Beauties, now first selected from the whole of their works. With Explanatory Notes, and an Introduction by Leigh Hunt. 1 vol. 4s. 6d.
- Cervantes' Galatea. A Pastoral Romance. Translated from the Spanish by G. W. J. Gyll. 4s. 6d.
- Pindar. Literally translated into Prose, with Introduction and Notes, by Dawson W. Turner. To which is added the Metrical Version by Abraham Moore. With Portrait. 6s. 6d.
- Synonyms and Antonyms, or Kirdred Words and their Opposites. Collected and contrasted by Ven. C. J. Smith, M.A. Revised edition. 6s. 6d.
- Staunton's Chess-Player's Handbook. A Popular and Scientific Introduction to the game of Chess, as exemplified in games actually played by the greatest masters, and illustrated by numerous Diagrams of original and remarkable positions, and a colored Frontispiece. 6s. 6d.
- The World's Pictures. Photographs of fifteen of some of the most cele-brated Paintings in the world. Copied from the best Engravings. With an introduction by C. C. Black, M.A. In one handsome demy 4to. volume, 25s.
- Webster's Dictionary of the English Language. Including Scientific, Technical, and Biblical words and terms, with their Significations, Pronun-ciations, Alternative Spellings, Derivations, Synonyms, and numerous illustrative quotations. In 1 vol. of 1580 pages, with 3000 illustrations. 4to. cloth, 25s.; half russia, 37s. 6d.
- Webster's Complete Dictionary. Containing all that appears in the '25s. Dictionary,' with various valuable literary Appendices, and 70 extra pages of Illustrations grouped and classified, rendering the work a COMPLETE LITERARY AND SCIENTIFIC REFERENCE-BOOK. In 1 vol. (1831 pages,) 4to. cloth, 35s.; half russia, 48s.
- NOTE.—The foregoing are the only Authorised and Unabridged Editions of 'WEBSTER'S DICTIONARY.' No other editions published in England contain the Derivations and Etymological Notes of Dr. Mahn, who devoted five years to the Revision of this portion of the work. 'Certainly the best practical English Dictionary extant.'—*Quarterly Review*, Oct 1873.
- The Pilgrim's Progress from this World to that Which is to Come : delivered under the similitude of a Dream. By John Bunyan. With 281 Engravings, from designs by William Harvey. 1 vol. 4s. 6d.
- Battles of the British Navy. By Joseph Allen, Esq., R.N. New Edition, Revised and Enlarged. In 2 vols. 13s.
- Anecdotes of Dogs. By Edward Jesse, Esq. With 40 Illustrations. A New Edition. 6s. 6d.
- Philosophical Tales, Romances, and Satires. By M. De. Voltaire. Complete in 1 vol. 4s.
- The Table Talk of Martin Luther. Translated and Edited by Hazlitt; with a Memoir by Chalmers. 4s. 6d.
- The Life of Wesley; and, The Rise and Progress of Methodism. By Robert Southey. 6s. 6d.
- The Dramatic Works of William Shakespeare. The text carefully revised; with Notes by S. W. Singer, F.S.A. With a Life by W. Watkiss Lloyd. 10 vols, cloth, 30s.; do. do., half-morocco, illustrated, £3 10s.

# List of Popular Novels. Cheap Editions.

## (Two Shillings each.)

- Maid, Wife, or Widow. By Mrs. Alexander.

## Besant and Rice.

- Ready-Money Mortiboy.
- With Harp and Crown.
- This Son of Vulcan.
- My Little Girl.
- The Case of Mr. Lucraft.
- Golden Butterfly.
- By Celia's Arbour.
- Monks of Thelema.
- 'Twas in Trafalgar Bay.
- Ten Years Tenant. (Australian Ed.)

## Bret Harte.

- An Heiress of Red Dog.
- Luck of Roaring Camp.
- Gabriel Conroy.
- Surly Tim. By F. E. Burnett.
- Juliet's Guardian. By Mrs. Cameron.

## Wilkie Collins.

- Antonina.
- Basil.
- Dead Secret.
- Queen of Hearts.
- My Miscellanies.
- Woman in White.
- Miss or Mrs.
- Frozen Deep.
- Two Destinies.
- Hide and Seek.
- Moonstone.
- Man and Wife.
- Poor Miss Finch.
- New Magdalen.
- Haunted Hotel.
- The Law and The Lady.
- Black Robe. (Australian Ed.)
- Felicia. By M. B. Edwards.
- Roxy. By E. Eggleston.
- Olympia. By R. E. Francillon.
- Dick Temple. By J. Greenwood.
- Under the Greenwood Tree. By T. Hardy
- Filthy Lucre. By A. de Fonblanque.

- Fated to be Free. By Jean Ingleow.
- Confidence. By H. James, junr.
- Queen of Connaught. By Harriet Jay.
- Dark Colleen.
- Number Seventeen. By H. Kingsley.
- Patricia Kemball. By E. Lynn Linton.
- Atonement of Lean Dundas.
- World well Lost.
- Under which Lord.

## **Justin Mccarthy.**

- Dear Lady Disdain.
- The Waterdale Neighbours.
- My Enemy's Daughter.
- A Fair Saxon.
- Linley Rocheford.
- Miss Misanthrope.
- Village Commune. (Australian Ed.)
- By Ouida.

## **J. Payn.**

- Walter's Word.
- Best of Husbands.
- Halves.
- Fallen Fortunes.
- What He cost Her.
- Less Black than We're Painted.
- By Proxy.
- Mystery of Mary Roget. By Edgar A. Poe.
- Her Mothers' Darling. By Mrs. Riddell.
- Gaslight and Daylight. By G. A. Sala.
- Bound to the Wheel. By J. Saunders.
- Guy Waterman.
- One against the World.
- The Lion in the Path.
- Tales for the Marines. By W. Thornbury.
- Way we Live now. By A. Trollope.
- American Senator.
- Tom Sawyer. By Mark Twain.
- Idle Excursion.
- Woman in Red. By W. S. Hayward.
- Stolen Will.
- Golden Reef.
- Pickwick Papers. By Charles Dickens.
- Sketches by Boz.
- Martin Chuzzlewit.
- Oliver Twist.

## **Complete Cheap Editions of**

**(One Shilling each.)**

- Marryat
- Dumas
- Finimore Cooper
- Paul de Kock. Paper Covers. (In French.) 2s. 6d, each,
- Lytton
- Harrison Ainsworth
- Erckmann Chatrian

## **New Novels & New Supplies.—Received per Suez Mail.**

- Troublesome Daughters. By L. B. Walford. 7s. 6d.
- Ten Years' Tenant, by Besant and Rice. 3s.
- Chaplain of the Fleet, by Besant and Rice. 2s. 6d.
- Stolen Will, by W. S. Hayward. 2s. 6d.
- Sunrise: A Story of These Times. By William Black, Author of "A Princess of Thule, &c., (Special Australian Edition.) 7s. 6d. "The second title of Mr. Black's new novel is singularly apposite. The story which he tells is not simply 'of these times,' but of this moment. It deals with those secret societies, the workings of which have exploded on the public mind so suddenly and so terribly in the murder of the Emperor of Russia. Mr. Black shows his old power on new ground. There is something wonderful in the constant freshness of Mr. Black's style . . . . He has the gift of being romantic without sentimentality. Even with the recollection of Coquette and Sheila before us, we are inclined to think "Sunrise" Mr. Black's best novel. There are those who will always believe the 'Daughter of Heth' to be the sweetest of stories, yet even such must recognize the growth of power, the larger grasp, the stronger stroke in this last book. The magic art of description which is peculiarly his own has been used in it with more restraint, but equal effect."—*Daily News*.
- Heirs of Errington, by E. J. Worboise. 6s. 6d.
- Asphodel, by Miss Braddon. 7s. 6d.
- Mary Marston: A Novel, by George Macdonald. 7s. 6d. "'Mary Marston' is a really admirable book. It is full of fine imagination and of brilliant comment, of good poetry in prose, and excellent and most trenchant wit; it is rich in force and in daring."—*Truth*.
- Johnny Ludlow: (Second Series). A Collection of Stories, by Mrs. Henry Wood. (Bentley's Favourite Novels.) 7s. 6d. "The stories now printed are not at all below the average of those first published; and if the earlier contributions of 'Johnny Ludlow' to the *Argosy* were received with somewhat of the unstinted favour generally accorded to good work from an anonymous and presumably a new writer, Mrs. Wood deserves to retain her laurels for having struck out such a thoroughly distinct and pleasant path in fiction. The best characteristic of these short tales is the manner of their relation—quiet and yet vigorous, combining humour with pathos, and artlessly avoiding the temptation to exaggerate."—*Athenæum*.
- Lord Brackenbury : A Novel, by Amelia B. Edwards. (Hurst and Blackett's Standard Library.) 7s. 6d. "A capital plot and excellent writing are the features of 'Lord Brackenbury.' Miss Edwards is as skilful in delineating character as she is in devising a plot. The story flows on with an easy current which is refreshing and pleasant."—*Scotsman*.
- Ben Hur: A Tale of the Christ, by L. Wallace, author of "The Fair God." 7s. 6d. "The design of the story is to illustrate the condition of things in and about Judæa at the time of the Redeemer's coming, and to portray in the hero the character and disposition of the Jewish youths, who, in the promised Messiah, looked for a political leader who should enable them to fling off the detested Roman yoke . . . . The spirit in which Mr. Wallace writes is at once picturesque and eloquent, and yet thoroughly devotional. . . . It is written not only with considerable power, but with a rare and delicate appreciation of the majesty of the subject with which it presumes to deal."—*New York Times*.
- The Sailor's Sweetheart. By W. Clark Russell. 7s. 6d.
- The Black Robe. By Wilkie Collins. 2s. 6d.
- A Village Commune, by Ouida. 2s. 6d.
- Mary Anerley, by R. D. Blackmore. 7s. 6d
- The Duke's Children, by Anthony Trollope. 5s.
- The History of a Crime, by Victor Hugo. 7s. 6d.
- Young Mrs. Jardine, by Miss Muloch. 7s. 6d.

- Donna Quixote, by Justin McCarthy. 5s.
- Thornicrofts Model, by Mr. A. W. Hunt. 5s.
- New Novels and new Supplies.—*Continued.*
- The Fallen Leaves, by Wilkie Collins. 5s.
- Jezebel's Daughter, by Wilkie Collins. 5s.
- The Mudfog Papers, by Charles Dickens. 3s. 6d.
- Herbert Manners, by Florence Montgomery. 3s. 6d.
- Twilight Stories, by Rhoda Broughton. 3s. 6d.

## New Books & New Editions.

- George Eliot's Works. Handsomely bound in cloth, 8vo. "A delightful edition of George Eliot's Works . . . .In size, type, and paper, everything that could be wished."—*Athenæum.*  
*Romola.* 2 vols. 12s.  
*Silas Marner. The Lifted Veil. Brother Jacob.* 1 vol. 6s.  
*Adam Bede.* 2 vols. 12s.  
*Scenes of Clerical Life.* 2 vols. 12s.  
*Mill on the Floss.* 2 vols. 12s.  
*Felix Holt.* 2 vols. 12s.  
*Middlemarch.* 3 vols. 18s.  
*Daniel Deronda.* 3 vols. 18s.  
*Spanish Gypsy.* 1 vol. 6s.  
*Jubal; and Other Poems, Old and New.* 1 vol. 6s.  
*Impressions of Theophrastus Such* 1 vol. 6s.
- Land of Gilead, with excursions in the Lebanon. By Laurence Oliphant. Illustrated, 24s. 6d.
- Liberty of the Press, Speech, and Public Worship; being Commentaries on the Liberty of the Subject, and the Laws of England. By James Paterson, M.A. 13s. 6d.
- Plain English. By John Hollingshead. 6s. 6d.
- An Old Educational Reformer, DR. Andrew Bell. By J. M. D. Meiklejohn, M.A. 6s. 6d.
- Lays and Legends of Ancient Greece. By John Stuart Blackie. 7s. 6d.
- Madre Natura *Versus* the Moloch of Fashion. A Social Essay, with thirty illustrations. By Luke Limner. 3s. 6d.
- The Science of Voice Production and Voice Preservation, for the use of Speakers and Singers. By Gordon Holmes. 3s. 6d.
- The Martyrs of Science. Lives of Galileo. Tycho Brahe, and Kepler. By Sir David Brewster, M.A., etc. 6s. 6d.
- The Way to the City; and Other Sermons. By Alexander Raleigh, D.D. 10s. 6d.
- On the Study of Celtic Literature. By Matthew Arnold. 10s. 6d.
- Literature and Dogma. An Essay towards a better apprehension of the Bible. By Matthew Arnold. 10s. 6d.
- God and the Bible. A Review of objections to "Literature and Dogma." By Matthew Arnold. 10s. 6d.
- Mixed Essays. By Matthew Arnold. 10s. 6d.
- The Life and Letters of Walter Farquhar Hook, D.D., F.R.S. By his son-in-law, W. R. W. Stephens. 15s.
- The Constitutional History of England from the accession of Henry VII. to the death of George II. By Henry Hallam, LL.D. 3 vols. 16s. 6d.
- A History of Our Own Times, from the accession of Queen Victoria to the General Election of 1880. By Justin McCarthy, M.P. English edition in 4 vols. 50s.
- Workshop Receipts for the use of manufacturers, mechanics and scientific amateurs. By Ernest Spon. 7s. 6d.
- Macmillan's Progressive French, Reader I.—First year containing Tsbles, Historical Extracts, Letters, Dialogues, Fables, Ballads, Nursery Songs, etc. Reader II.—Second year containing Fiction in prose and verse, Historical and Descriptive Extracts, Essays, Letters, Dialogues, etc. By G. Eugene-Fasnacht. 3s. 6d. each.
- Macaulay's Works—  
*The Life and Letters of Lord Macaulay.* By his nephew, Otto Trevelyan, M.P. 2 vols., crown 8vo. 42s.  
*Miscellaneous Writings and Speeches of Lord Macaulay.* 8vo. 7s. 6d.  
*Critical and Historical Essays, contributed to the "Edinburgh Review."* By Lord Macaulay. 8vo. 7s. 6d.  
*History of England, from the accession of James the Second.* By Lord Macaulay. 2 vols., 8vo. 15s.

- Various Biographical Series—
  - Descartes. By J. P. Mahaffy, M.A. 4s. 6d.
  - Berkley. By A. Campbell Fraser, LL.D. 4s. 6d.
  - Butler. By the Rev. W. Lucas Collins, M.A. 4s. 6d.
  - Cervantes. By Mrs. Oliphant. 3s. 6d.
  - Euripides. By J. P. Mahaffy, M.A. 2s.
  - Rossini and His School. By H. Sutherland Edwards. 3s. 6d.
  - Weber. By Sir Julius Benedict. 4s. 6d.
  - Johnson. By Leslie Stephen. 3s. 6d.
  - Scott. By R. H. Hutton. 3s. 6d.
  - Gibbon. By J. C. Morrison. 3s. 6d.
  - Shelley. By J. A. Symonds. 3s. 6d.
  - Hume. By Professor Huxley. 3s. 6d.
  - Goldsmith. By William Black. 3s. 6d.
  - Defoe. By W. Minto. 3s. 6d.
  - Burns. By Principal Shairp. 3s. 6d.
  - Spenser. By the Dean of St. Paul's. 3s. 6d.
  - Thackeray. By Anthony Trollope. 3s. 6d.
  - Burke. By John Morley. 3s. 6d.
  - Milton. By Mark Pattison. 3s. 6d.
  - Hawthorne. By Henry James. 3s. 6d.
  - Southey. By Professor Dowden. 3s. 6d.
  - Chaucer. By Professor A. W. Ward. 3s. 6d.
  - Bunyan. By James A. Froude. 3s. 6d.
  - Swift. By John Morley. 3s. 6d.
  - Byron. By Professor Nichol. 3s. 6d.
  - Shakspeare. By Edward Dowden, LL.D. 1s. 6d.
- Memorials of Lord Beaconsfield (Reprinted from the *Standard*, with a portrait. 5s.
- Life of George Stephenson, by Samuel Smiles, L.L.D., Centenary edition. 5s.
- Cupboard Papers, by Fin-Bec. 3s. 6d.
- Merrie England (in the Olden Time), by George Daniel. 5s.
- The Wilds of London, by James Greenwood. 5s.
- Academy Notes for 1881. 1s. 6d.
- Catalogue of 100 Stars for the Epoch 1880, with Logarithmic constants for 1880 and 1890, prepared for surveyors, by William Jahn. 2s. 6d.
- Two Lectures on South Africa: Delivered before the Philosophical Institute, Edinburgh, 1880, by James Anthony Froude. 6s. 6d.
- The Life and Labours of the Right Rev. William Tyrrell, D.D., by the Rev. R. G. Boodle, M.A. 10s.
- Biblical Things, not Generally Known. 7s. 6d.
- Practical Boat Building and Sailing : Fully illustrated with designs and working diagrams, by A. Neison, C.E., and Dixon Kemp. 10s.
- The English Poets: Selections with critical introductions by various writers, and a general introduction, by Matthew Arnold; edited by Thomas Humphry Ward, M.A., Vol. 1, Chaucer to Donne; Vol. 2, Ben Jonson to Dryden. 20s. the 2 Vols.
- The Creed of Science : Religious, Moral, and Social, by William Graham, M.A. 15s. 6d.
- The Three M's: Mind, Manners, and Morals; or How to make Home Pleasant, by E.C.Irwin, 7s. 6d,
- Plain Home Talk About the Human System: Embracing Medical Common Sense, by Edward B. Foote, M.D. 10s. 6d.
- Wild Life in a Southern Country. By Richard Jefferies. 9s. 6d.
- Hodge and His Masters. By Richard Jefferies. 2 vols. 15s.
- The Spirit of the Christian Life. By the Rev. Stopford A. Brooke, M.A. 10s. 6d.
- A Digest of the Law of Mining in Victoria. By John McFarland, M.A.
- The Australian Banking Laws. By E. B. Hamilton, B.A.
- Froude's England, from the Fall of Wolsey to the defeat of the Spanish Armada, handy twelve volume edition. 5s. per vol.
- Notes of Lessons for infant classes and the 1st standard, by J. E. Singleton, F.R.S., etc. 3s. 6d.
- A Manual of What Every Mother Should Know, by Edward Ellis, M.D. 2s.
- Sanskrit and Its Kindred Literatures, by Laura Elizabeth Poor. 7/6.

- About the Jews, since Bible Times, by Mrs. Magnus. 8s.
- Gambetta, Orator, Dictator, Journalist, Statesman, by John Hanlon. 2s. 6d.
- The Royal Atlas of Modern Geography. By Alexander Keith Johnston. £7 10s. Revised and corrected up to 1880.
- Catherine and Craufurd Tait, wife and son of Archibald Campbell, Archbishop of Canterbury. A memoir by Rev. W. Benham. 8s.
- Thrift Lessons. Familiar Letter, by John S. Walters, M.A. 4s. 6d.
- Young Ireland: A Fragment of Irish History, 1840-1850, by Sir Charles Gavan Duffy, K.C.M.G. Australian edition, 10s. 6d.
- Studies in Song, by Algernon Charles Swinburne. 9s. 6d.
- Youth : Its Care and Culture, by J. Mortimer-Granville. 3s. 6d.
- Schiller's Wallenstein, with English Notes, Arguments, and an Historical and Critical Introduction, by Dr. C. A. Buchheim. 8s. 6d.
- Ballads of Uhland, Goethe, and Schiller, by C. G. H. Bielefeld. 5s
- Hine Moa, The Maori Maiden, by Joseph Earle Ollivant. 5s.
- Sketches of Eminent Statesmen and Writers, with Other Essays. 2 vols. By A. Hayward, Q.C. 34s. 6d.
- Memoirs of Madame de Rimusat, 1802-1808. Translated from the French by Mrs. Cashel Hoey, &c. 2 vols. 40s.
- Reader's Handbook of Allusions, References, Plots, and Stories, by Rev. Dr. Brewer. 12s., 6d.
- A Popular History of Science, by Robert Routledge, B.S.C., F.C.C., 15s. 6d.
- The Universe; or, the Infinitely Great and the Infinitely Little, by F. A. Pouchet, M.D. 270 Engravings. 15s.
- Tales of Old Thule, Collected and Illustrated by J. Moyr Smith. 7s. 6d.
- Six Lectures on the History of German Thought, by Karl Hillebrand. 7s. 6d.
- Travels in New Zealand and Australia, by J. C. Crawford, F.G.S. 1 vol. 22/6.
- Introductory to the "Science Primer Series," by Professor Huxley F.R.S. Table of Contents—Section I., Nature and Science; Section II., Material Objects; Section IIA., Mineral Bodies; Section IIB., Living Bodies; Section III, Immaterial Objects. 1/6 each.
- Life and Work at the Great Pyramid, with a Discussion of the Facts ascertained : by Piazzi Smyth, F.R.S.S. L. & E. In 3 vols.; with Illustrations on stone and wood. 65s.
- The Australian Abroad; branches from the main Routes round the World, by James Hingston, (*J. H. of the Melbourne Argus.*) 1 vol. 18s.
- Tramways; their Construction and Working, with special reference to the Tramways of the United Kingdom, by D. Kinnear Clark, C.E. With wood engravings and folding plates. 21s.
- Essay on Gravitation, by T. Wakelin, B.A. Price Sixpence.
- Balance of Emotion and Intellect, by Charles Waldstein, Ph.D. An Essay introductory to the Study of Philosophy. 7s. 6d.
- Tropical Nature and Other Essays, by Alfred R. Wallace. 15s. 6d.
- Co-Operative Agriculture; a Solution of the Land Question, as exemplified in the History of the Ralahine Co-operative Agricultural Association, County Clare, Ireland, by William Pare, F.S.S. 7s.
- Science Lectures at South Kensington. 2 vols. 8s. each.
- Cartoons From *Punch*:—
  - The Right Hon. John Bright, M.P. Paper covers. 1s.
  - The Earl of Beaconsfield, K.G. Paper covers. 2s. 6d.
  - The Earl of Beaconsfield, K.G. Cloth gilt. 3s. 6d.
  - The Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, M.P. Cloth gilt. 2s. 6d.
  - The Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, M.P. Paper covers. 1s. 6d.
- Pictures of Life and Character, by John Leech. From the Collection of *Mr Punch*, in 5 vols. 12s. 6d. each.
- Hale's New American Remedies: and Special Therapeutics, Symptomatology, &c. 2 vols. 35s.
- Te Rou; or, the Maori at Home, by John White. 7s. 6d.
- Metals—Their Properties and Treatment, by Charles Loudon Bloxam. With 105 Wood Engravings. 4s. 6d.
- Human Race, by Louis Figuier. Edited and Revised by Robert Wilson. With 242 Illustrations. 10s. 6d.
- Mammalia: Their various Forms and Habits popularly Illustrated by Typical Species. Adapted from the French of Louis Figuier, by Professor E. Percival Wright, M.D., F.L.S. With 260 Illustrations. 10s. 6d.
- World Before the Deluge. Newly Edited and Revised by H. W. Bristow, F.R.S. With 235 Illustrations. *Fifth Edition.* 10s. 6d.
- Ocean World. A Descriptive History of the Sea and its Inhabitants. Revised and Corrected by Professor

- E. Percival Wright, M.D. With 427 Illustrations. *Third Edition*. 10s. 6d.
- Vegetable World. Revised and Corrected by an Eminent Botanist. With 471 Illustrations. *Third Edition*. 10s. 6d,
- Insect World. Revised and Corrected by P. Martin Duncan, M.D., F.R.S. With 576 Illustrations. *Fourth Edition*. 10s. 6d.
- Reptiles and Birds. Revised and Corrected by Captain Parker Gillmore. With 307 Illustrations. *Second Edition*. 10s. 6d.
- Zoology for Students: (A Handbook), by C. Carter Blake, Doct. Sci. With a preface by Richard Owen, C.B., F.R.S. 11s. 6d.
- Advanced Text Book of Geology, Descriptive and Industrial, by David Page, L.L.D., F.G.S. 10s. Also, Introductory Text Book of Geology. 3s. 6d.
- Lucile, by Robert Lord Lytton. 7s. 6d.
- Flowers; their Origin, Shape, Perfumes, and Colours, by J. E. Taylor, P.H.D., F.L.S., F.G.S., &c. Illustrated with 32 Coloured Figures by Sowerby; and 161 Woodcuts. 8s. 6d.
- A Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography and Mythology, of various Writers, by William Smith, D.C.L., L.L.D. Illustrated by numerous Engravings on wood. 3 vols.
- A Complete Epitome of Practical Navigation, by J. W. Norrie, containing all necessary Instructions for keeping a Ship's Reckoning at Sea; with a correct and extensive set of Tables, &c., &c. 22s. 6d.
- Autobiography and Memoir of Thomas Guthrie, D.D., by his Sons. 2 vols. 26s.
- Memoirs of Mary Somerville. Personal Recollections from Early Life to Old Age: with Selections from her Correspondence by her Daughters. 15s.
- Life and Remains of Theodore Edward Hook, by the Rev. R. H. Dalton Barham. 6s. 6d.
- Life of Sir William Fairburn, Bart., by William Pole, F.R.S. 24s.
- Pensees Choiesies Illuminees, Par M. Simpson. Extra gilt. 30s.
- Bridal Bouquet; culled in the Garden of Literature, by Henry Southgate Extra gilt. 26s. 6d.
- Clytemnestra, and Poems Lyrical and Descriptive, by Owen Meredith. 7s. 6d.
- Poems of Robert Burns, by Alexander Smith. 2 vols. 10s.
- Sir Walter Scott's Poetical Romances. 3s. 6d.
- Robert Chambers' Popular Rhymes of Scotland. 6s. 6d.
- The Cavalier and his Lady; by Edward Jenkins. Selections from the Works of the first Duke and Duchess of Newcastle. 5s. 6d.
- Lays of the Scottish Cavaliers; by William Edmondstoune Aytoun, D.C.L., with other Poems. 9s.
- Rev. R. H. Bayne's (M.A.) Home Songs for Quiet Hours. 4s. 6d.
- Works of Horace, rendered into English Prose, by Samuel Lee, M.A. 4s 6d
- Poetical Works of William Wordsworth, by William Michael Rossetti. Illustrated by Henry Dell. 4s. 6d.
- Flotsam and Jetsam; Rhymes Old and New, by Alfred Domett. 9s.
- Songs of Lord Byron. 4s. 6d.
- Joaquim Miller's "The Ship in the Desert." 5s. 6d.
- Moxon's Miniature Poets.—Extra gilt, 5s. each—
  - ♣ A Selection from the Works of Alfred Tennyson, D.C.L.
  - ♣ A Selection from the Works of Frederick Locker. With Illustrations.
  - ♣ Leaves from the Poets' Laurels, by Lady Wood.
- May Queen, by Alfred Tennyson. 6s. 6d.
- Harold, by Alfred Tennyson. 8s. 6d.
- Gareth and Lynette. &c., 6s. 6d.
- Holy Grail, &c., by Alfred Tennyson. 8s. 6d.
- The Inn Album, by Robert Browning. 7s. 6d.
- Poems, Songs, and Letters of Robert Burns. 4s. 6d.
- Nimmo's Popular Edition of the Works of the Poets. 4s. 6d. each, in full crown 8vo., printed on fine paper, with beautiful red-line border round each page. Each Volume contains a Memoir, and is illustrated with a Portrait of the Author engraved on Steel, and numerous full-page Illustrations on Wood, from Designs by eminent Artists.
- ♠ Longfellow's Poetical Works.
- ♠ Scott's Poetical Works.
- ♠ Byron's Poetical Works.
- ♠ Moore's Poetical Works.
- ♠ Wordsworth's Poetical Works.

€ Cowper's Poetical Works.  
 £ Milton's Poetical Works.  
 ¶ Thompson's Poetical Works.  
 © Goldsmith's Choice Works.  
 P Popes' Poetical Works.  
 B Burns' Poetical Works.  
 ¶ The Casquet of Gems. Choice Selections from the Poets.  
 ¶ The Book of Humorous Poetry.  
 B Ballads : Scottish and English.  
 B Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress and Holy War.  
 £ Lives of the British Poets.  
 ¶ The Prose Works of Robert Burns.  
 P Poems, Songs, and Ballads of the Sea.  
 # This Series of Books, from the very superior manner in which it is produced, is at once the cheapest and handsomest edition of the Poets in the market. The volumes form elegant and appropriate presents as School Prizes and Gift-Books, either in cloth or morocco.

## Golden Library Series.

- Emerson's Letters and Social AIMS. 2s. 6d.
- William Godwin's Lives of the Necromancers. 2s. 6d.
- Holmes's Autocrat of the Breakfast Table, with an Introduction, by G. A. Sala. 2s. 6d.
- Holmes's Professor at the Breakfast Table. 2s. 6d.
- Rochefoucauld's Maxims and Moral Reflections. With Notes, and an Introductory Essay, by Sainte-Beuve. 2s. 6d.
- St. Pierre's Paul and Virginia, and the Indian Cottage. Edited. With Life. By the Rev. E. Clarke, 2s. 6d.

## Foreign Countries and British Colonies.

- Australia. By J. F. V. Fitzgerald. 4s. 6d.
- Egypt. By Stanley Lane-Poole. 4s. 6d.
- Greece, by Lewis Sergeant. 4s. 6d.
- Peru, by Clements R. Markham. 4s. 6d.
- Austria-Hungary, by David Kay. 4s. 6d.
- West Indies, by Charles H. Eden. 4s. 6d.
- Japan, by Samuel Mossman. 4s. 6d.
- Russia, by W. R. Morfill. 4s. 6d.

## Bound Books.

- The Complete "People's Edition" of the Chelsea Philosopher (Thomas Carlyle). 37 books, bound half calf extra, in 18 volumes. £8 7s. 6d. the set.
- Plutarch's Lives. Translated from the original Greek, with Notes, Critical and Historical; and a Memoir of the Translator, by the Revs John and William Langhorne. Full calf. 16s. 6d.
- Author's Edition of Tennyson's Works, 5 vols. Half morocco. Gilt top. 8s. 6d. each.
- The Poetical Works of John Milton. Reprinted from the best editions. Full morocco. 17s. 6d.
- The English Circumnavigators. The most remarkable Voyages Round the World by British Sailors, by David Laing Purvis and R. Cochrane. Half colored calf. 10s. 6d.
- Byron's Poetical Works. Half colored calf. Small 8vo. 7s. 6d.
- White's Natural History of Selborne. Full calf. 15s.
- Christ and the Inheritance of the Saints, by Thomas Guthrie, D.D. Full colored calf. 11s.
- Dick's Christian Philosopher. Full calf. 10s.
- Sir Edward Seaward's Narrative of His Shipwreck and Discoveries From 1733 to 1749, by Jane Porter. Full green calf. 12s. 6d.
- Men of History, by Eminent Writers. Full calf. 11s. 6d.

- The Poetical Works of Lord Byron. Half morocco. Small 8vo. 7s. 6d.
- The Gospel in Ezekiel: A Series of Discourses, by the late Thomas Guthrie, D.D. Full colored calf. 10s. 6d.
- The New Illustrated Natural History, by the Rev. J. G. Wood, M.A. Half calf. 30s. Royal 8vo.
- Routledge's Picture Natural History, by the Rev. J. G. Wood, M.A. Half colored calf. 21s. Crown 8vo.
- Wood's Illustrated Natural History. Half calf. 11s. 6d. Post 8vo.
- The Bird, by Jules Michelet. With 210 Illustrations, by Giacomelli. *New Edition*. Revised. Full colored calf. 23s. 6d.
- Poetical Works of Lord Byron. Half colored morocco. 15s. 6d. Crown 8vo.

## Farming Books.

- Farming for Pleasure and Profit. 6s. 6d.
  - Dairy Farming; Management of Cows, &c. 6s. 6d.
  - Poultry Keeping. 6s. 6d.
  - Tree Planting, for Ornamentation or Profit. 6s. 6d.
  - Stock-Keeping and Cattle-Rearing. 6s. 6d.
  - Drainage of Land, Irrigation, Manures, &c. 6s. 6d.
  - Root-Growing, Hops, &c. 6s. 6d.
- All by Arthur Roland, and edited by William Ablett.
- Harris on the Pig : Breeding, Rearing, Management and Improvement, by Joseph Harris. Illustrated. 8s. 6d.
  - The History, Structure, Economy and Diseases of the Sheep, by W. C. Spooner, Mr. V.C. 6s.
  - The Diseases of Sheep Explained and Described, by Henry Clok, V.S. 7s.
  - The Practical Poultry Keeper. A Complete and Standard Guide to the Management of Poultry, by L. Wright. 4s. 6d.
  - Sheep Husbandry with an account of the different breeds, by Henry S. Randall, L.L.D. 9s.
  - Stock-Breeding: A Practical Treatise on the Application of the Laws of Development and Hereditary to the Improvement and Breeding of Domestic Animals, by Manly Miles, M.D. 8s. 6d.
  - The Racehorse in Training: With Hints on Racing and Racing Reforms, by William Day. 19s.
  - The Horse : Its Breed, Management, and Diseases, by William Youatt. 10s. 6d.
  - Horses and Roads; Or, How to Keep a Horse Sound in his Legs, by "Freelance."
  - The Horse and His Rider, by Sir Francis B. Head, Bart. 4s. 6d.
  - About Buying a Horse, &c., &c., by F. C. Burnand. 3s. 6d.
  - Sheep Breeding in Australia, containing an Historical Sketch of the Merino Sheep; the Pedigrees of the Principal Stud Sheep in the Australian Colonies; and a Treatise on Breeding, by George A. Brown. 45s.
  - How to Make the Farm Pay; Or, the Farmers Book of Practical Information on Agriculture, Stock Raising, Fruit Culture, Special Crops, Domestic Economy, and Family Medicine, by Charles W. Dickerman. 20s.
  - Cattle and Cattle Breeders, by William McCombie, M.P. 4s.
  - The American Cattle Doctor, containing the necessary information for Preserving the Health and Curing the Diseases of Oxen, Cows, Sheep, and Swine, by G. H. Dodd, M.D. 8s. 6d.

## Fine Arts, &c.

- William Blake.—Etchings from his works. By William Bell Scott. With descriptive text. 25s.
- Endymion. By John Keats. Illustrated with engravings on Steel, by F. Joubert. 30s.
- Vanity Fair. A Weekly Show of Political, Social, and Literary Wares. 60s. per vol.
- The Fables of la Fontaine, translated into English verse. By Walter Thornbury. With Illustrations by Gustave Doré. 40s.
- A World's Pictures. 26s. 6d.
- Home Life in England. Illustrated by engravings on steel after pictures by eminent artists. 25s.
- Murillo and the Spanish School of Painting. W. B. Scott. 27s. 6d.
- The Studies of Sir Edwin Landseer, R.A. Illustrated by sketches from the collection of Her Majesty the Queen. 42s.
- Pictures. By William Etty, R.A. 25s.

- Pictures. By Sir A. W. Callcott, R.A. With Descriptions and Biographical Sketch of the Painter. 26s. 6d.
- The British School of Sculpture. 25s.
- British Artists. Leslie and Maclise's Specimens of the Works of our most famous Artists. 42s.
- A Magnificent Assortment of the New Registered Photographic Albums; genuine English made in Morocco and Russian Leather. Illustrated in the best style of Chromo-Lithography, comprising the following series—Du Moyen Age, Herborita and Parterre, Le Pendant DuParterre. Prices ranging from 40s. to 120s. each.

**Lyon & Blair ARE Agents FOR THE FOLLOWING  
American Newspapers & Periodicals.  
SUBSCRIPTIONS TAKEN FOR NOT LESS THAN  
TWELVE MONTHS, PAYABLE IN ADVANCE. PRICES  
MAY BE HAD ON APPLICATION.**

**New York Daily Papers.**

- Bulletin
- Courier des Etats-Unis
- Commercial Advertiser
- Express
- Graphic (evening)
- Herald
- Il Progresso
- Journal of Commerce
- L'Eco d'Italia
- Messenger Franco-Américain
- New York Zeitung
- News (evening)
- Post (evening) Staats Zeitung
- Sun
- Star
- Telegram (evening)
- Times
- Tribune
- Volks Zeitung
- Truth
- Wall Street Daily New;
- World

**Sunday Papers.**

- Catholic Review
- Courier
- Courier des Etats-Unis,
- Dispatch (N.Y.)
- Dispatch (Phila.)
- Democrat
- Eagle (Brooklyn)
- Herald
- Irish American

- Mercury (N.Y.)
- Mercury (Phila.)
- Messenger Franco-Américain
- News
- News (German edition)
- Revue (New Yorker)
- Star
- Sunday Mirror (Phila)
- Sun
- Staats Zeitung
- Tablet
- Times (daily)
- Times (Noah's)
- Tribune
- Truth
- Volks Zeitung
- Weekly Union
- World

## **Semi-Weekly.**

- Eco d'Italia
- Express
- Journal of Commerce
- Messenger Franco-Américain
- Novedades
- Post (evening)
- Price Current
- Times
- Tribune
- World

## **Weekly.**

- Advance (The)
- Albany Law Journal
- American Architect and Building News
- American Cultivator
- American Grocer
- American Machinist (The)
- American Poultry Yard
- American Protectionist
- American Queen
- American Sentry
- American Ship
- American Stationer
- American, The
- Argonaut (The)
- Army and Navy Journal
- Arm Chair, The
- Austrian-American Zeitung
- Ave Maria
- Baltimore Item
- Banner of Light
- Bicycling World
- Boston Congregationalist

- Boston Globe
- Boston Journal
- Boston Medical and Surgical Journal
- Boston Post and Statesman
- Boston Traveler
- Boston Transcript
- Boys in Blue
- Boys of New York
- Burlington Hawkeye
- Cabinetmaker (American)
- Canadian Illustrated News
- Capital
- Catholic Herald
- Catholic Mirror
- Catholic Standard
- Chic
- Christian Advocate and Journal
- Christian at Work
- Christian Herald
- Christian Intelligencer
- Christian Register
- Christian Union
- Christian Weekly (Illus.)
- Clipper (N.Y.)
- Churchman (The)
- Columbian
- Commercial Advertiser, New York
- Commercial and Financial
- Chronicle
- Commercial Bulletin, Boston
- Commonwealth
- Country Gentleman
- Courier des Etats-Unis, New York
- Danbury News
- Detroit Free Press
- Die Union
- Ditson's Musical Record
- Dramatic & Musical Times
- Dramatic News (N.Y.)
- Dwight's Journal of Music Economist
- Engineering and Mining Journal
- Engineering News
- Episcopal Recorder
- Era, The
- Evangelist
- Examiner and Chronicle
- Express (N.Y.)
- Family Story Paper (N.Y.)
- Field, Chicago
- Fireman's Journal
- Fireside Companion
- Food and Health
- Forest and Stream and Rod and Gun
- Frank Leslie's Illus. Paper
- Frank Leslie's Lady's Jour.
- American Publications.—*Continued.*
- Frank Leslie's Boys' and Girls' Weekly
- Frank Leslie's Chimney Corner

- Frank Leslie's Illustrierte Zeitung (German)
- Freaks
- Freeman's Journal
- Gastronomer
- Gems of Poetry
- Golden Days for Boys and Girls
- Golden Rule
- Great West
- Grocer, The
- Grocers' Price Current
- Harper's Bazar
- Harper's Weekly
- Harper's Young People
- Harrigan and Hart's New York Boys
- Hebrew Leader
- Herald
- Herald (European)
- Herald and Free Press
- Home Circle
- Home Journal
- Hour, The
- Il Republicana (Spanish)
- Illus. Catholic American
- Illustrated Times (N.Y.)
- Illustrated Wasp
- Independent
- Index, The
- Index and Journal (New York Market)
- Investigator
- Iron Age
- Irish Democrat
- Irish World
- Jewish Messenger
- Journal of Commerce, New York
- Kansas City Times (Mumford's)
- Katholisches Volksblatt
- Kentucky Live Stock Re-cord
- Keystone
- Knickerbocker
- Land League
- Leadville Circular
- Living Age
- Mail (N.Y.)
- McGee's Illus. Weekly
- Mechanical Engineer
- Medical and Surgical Rep.
- Medical Record
- Medical Times, fortnightly
- Mercantile Journal
- Mercury, N.Y.
- Messenger Franco-Américain
- Metal Worker
- Methodist
- Mining Record
- Musical and Dramatic Courier
- Musical News
- Nation, The
- National Advocate

- National Journal
- National Weekly
- News
- New England Journal of Education
- New England Farmer
- N. Y. Catholic
- New York Weekly Fashion Bazar
- New York Ledger
- N. Y. Mirror
- New Path Finder
- New York Gleaner
- New York Zeitung
- N. Y. Shipping Gazette
- N. Y. Staats Zeitung
- New York Weekly
- N. Y. Review
- Nym Crinkle's Feuilleton
- Observer, N.Y.
- Oil, Paint, & Drug Reporter
- Our Home
- "Our Society"
- Paper Trade Journal
- Paper Trade Reporter
- People's Literary Companion
- Philadelphia Saturday Evening Post
- Philadelphia Weekly Press
- Philadelphia Weekly Times
- Pilot
- Ploughman
- Police Gazette, Illustrated
- Police News, Illustrated
- Poultry Yard
- Post, N.Y.
- Prairie Farmer
- Practical Farmer
- Printers' Litho. Weekly Gazette and Newspaper Reporter
- Programme, The
- Progress (The) Forney's
- Protestant Standard
- Publishers' Weekly
- Public, The
- Puck
- Railroad Gazette
- Railroad Journal
- Railway Age
- Railway World, Phila.
- Real Estate Record
- Religio-Philosophical Jour.
- Rubber Era
- Rural New Yorker
- San Francisco Weekly Bulletin
- Saturday Night
- Saturday Journal
- School Journal, N.Y.
- Science
- Scientific American
- Scientific American Supplement
- Scotsman, The

- Scottish American Journal
- Sheldon's Dry Goods Re-porter
- Shipping and Commercial List
- Shoe and Leather Reporter
- Spectator
- Sportsman, N. Y.
- Stockholder
- Stoddard's Review
- Straws
- Studio and Musical Review
- Sun, N. Y.
- Sunny South
- Tablet, N. Y.
- Times, N. Y.
- Thompson's Reporter
- Tobacco Leaf
- Tobacco Journal, U.S.
- Toledo Weekly Blade
- Trade Bureau
- Tribune, N. Y.
- True Flag
- Turf, Field, and Farm
- United Irishman
- Universal Programme and Amusement Guide
- Yolks Zeitung
- Watchman and Reflector
- Waverley Magazine
- Weekly Notes, Penn Mo
- Weekly Novelist
- Weekly Varieties
- Wild Oats
- Wilkes' Spirit of the Times
- Wit and Wisdom
- Witness
- Woman's Journal
- World, N. Y.
- World of Fashion (Am.)
- Yankee Blade
- Youth's Companion
- Young Men of America

## **Semi-Monthly.**

- Agents' Herald
- American Bookseller
- American Gas-Light Jour.
- Art Interchange
- Bookkeeper, The
- Critic, The
- Home and Farm
- Geyer's Stationer
- Journal of the Telegraph
- Literary World
- Munro's (Geo.) Fort. Rev.
- Musical Critic and Trade
- Review
- N. Y. Musical Times

- People's Journal
- Plumber & Sanitary Eng.
- Scientific News
- Wheel, The

## Monthly.

- Afield and Afloat
- Agriculturist (English)
- American Church Review (bi-mo.)
- American Entomologist
- American Exchange & Rev.
- American Journal of Microscopy
- American Law Register
- American Law Review
- American Mail and Export Journal
- American Naturalist
- American Observer
- American Poultry Journal
- American Punch
- American Wine and Grape Grower
- Anarchist
- Andrews' Bazar
- Appleton's Railroad Guide
- Appleton's Journal
- Archives of Medicine (bi-mo.)
- Arthur's Home Magazine
- Art Amateur
- Art Critic
- Atlantic Monthly
- Baby land
- Ballou's Magazine
- Banker's Magazine
- Beekeeper's Magazine
- Blacksmith and Wheelwr't
- Blade, The
- Bon Ton
- Boston Journal of Chemistry
- Brentano's Monthly
- Brewers' Gazette
- Brick, Pottery, and Glass Journal
- Builder and Woodworker
- Californian
- Carpentry and Building
- Carriage Monthly
- Catholic Fireside
- Catholic Presbyterian
- Catholic World
- Celtic Monthly
- Chautauquan, The
- Children's Museum
- Church's Musical Visitor
- Christian Monitor
- Coin Chart Manual
- Coin Collectors' Journal
- Comic Monthly
- Counterfeit Detector (Paterson's)

- Cricket on the Hearth
- Criminal Law Magazine (bi-mo.)
- Delineator
- Domestic
- Demorest's Magazine
- Dental Cosmos
- Dental Miscellany (Johnson's)
- Donahoe's Magazine
- Dramatic Magazine
- Druggists' Circular
- Eclectic Magazine
- Educational Monthly (Barnes's)
- Elite Milliner & Dressmak'r
- Fancier's Journal
- Farmer's Station Record
- Forest, Forge, & Farm
- Field Glass
- Fireside Monthly
- Floral Cabinet
- Folio (Musical)
- Frank Leslie's Budget of Wit, &c.
- Frank Leslie's Chimney Corner (mo.-parts)
- Frank Leslie's Lady's Mag.
- Frank Leslie's Pleasant Hours
- Frank Leslie's Popular Monthly
- Frank Leslie's Sunday Magazine
- Fur, Fin, and Feather
- Freeman Monthly
- Gardener's Monthly
- Gleason's Monthly Companion
- Godey's Lady's Book
- Golden Hours
- Good Company
- Gospel in all Lands
- Graham's Phonographic
- Student's Journal
- Grand Army Gazette
- Guide to Holiness
- Gynæcological Journal
- Hall's Journal of Health
- Harness and Carnage Jour.
- Harp, The
- Harper's Magazine
- Herald of Health
- Holloway's Musical M'thly
- Home World
- Household
- Household Guest Magazine
- Hub, The
- Index Medicus
- Industrial News
- Industrial Monthly
- Industrial Record
- Industrial Record (with supplement)
- Insurance Monitor
- Insurance Times
- Insurance Gazette
- International Review

- Jeweler's Circular
- Jewish Advocate
- Ladies' Monthly Review
- Lady's Bazar
- La Mode Elegante
- Laws of Life
- Leisure Hour Reading
- Leisure Hours
- Leslie's Once a Month
- Little Folks' Reader
- Little Gem and American Kindergarten
- Lippincott's Magazine
- Literary News
- Magazine of Am. History
- Magazine of Art
- Manufacturer and Builder
- Medical Journal, N. Y.
- Medical News & Abstract
- Medical Union
- Milliner
- Mind and Matter
- Monthly Index to Periodical Literature
- Monthly Novelette
- Musical Herald
- Musical World. Cleveland
- National Agricultural and Working Farmer
- National Car Builder
- National Counterfeit Detector
- National Literary Monthly
- National Live Stock Jour
- National Temp. Advocate
- Nevada Monthly
- New Englander (bi-mo.)
- New England Pictorial
- New Remedies
- New York and Its Suburbs
- New York Drama
- New York Monthly Fashion Bazar (mo. parts)
- New York Teachers' Institute
- North Am. Review
- Nursery (The)
- Original Chatterbox
- Orpheus
- Our Little Ones
- Pansy
- Painter's Magazine Paper Trade Reporter Paterson Labor Standard
- Penn Monthly
- People's Fireside Journal
- Perry's Musical Album
- Paterson's Magazine
- Pet Stock, Pigeon, and Poultry Bulletin
- Philadelphia Photographer
- Philanthropist
- Philo-Celt
- Phonographic News (Munson's)
- Phrenological Journal
- Popular Science Monthly
- Potter's Am. Monthly

- Poultry Herald
- Poultry Monthly
- Poultry World
- Practical American
- Preacher and Homiletic Mo.
- Presbyterian At Work
- Primary Teacher
- Princeton Review (bi-mo.)
- Printer's Circular
- Railway Age Monthly
- Rand & McNally's Guide
- Record & Gazette
- Revue de la Mode
- Rhode's Journal
- San Francisco Merchant
- Sanitarian
- Scholars' Companion
- Science (Mo. parts)
- Scientific American, M'thly, Export Edition
- Scientific News
- Scribner's Monthly
- Scott's Mirror of Fashion
- Silliman's Journal
- Singer's Journal
- Smith's Musical Album
- Snow's Pathfinder Guide
- South (The)
- Southern Farmers' M'thly
- Star-Spangled Banner
- St. Nicholas
- Sunday-School Journal
- Thompson's Reporter
- Tobacconist
- Traveller's Official Guide
- Useful Arts
- U.S. Official Postal Guide
- United Service Magazine
- Universal Songster
- Van Nostrand's Eclectic English Magazine
- Vick's Illustrated Magazine
- Voice, The
- Wallace's Monthly
- Waring's X Y Z Guide
- Washington Republic
- Watchword
- Western Review of Science and Industry
- Western Rural
- Wide Awake
- Workshop
- Young Catholic
- Young Folk's Monthly
- Young Scientist

Wanted the following Volumes of Notes and Proceedings of New Zealand Parliament—

- Journals of the Legislative Council from 1854 to 1857, and for 1859
- Journals of the House of Representatives for 1854, 1857, 1859, 1860, 1872
- Appendix to Journals all published before 1861
- Statutes for 1861 and 1874.

Persons having the above for sale will be liberally treated with by applying to

Lyon & Blair, STATIONERS,  
LAMBTON QUAY, WELLINGTON, N.Z.

LYON & BLAIR'S REVIEW. REVISED VERSION OF THE NEW TESTAMENT. Our first supply of the Revision reached us early in the month, but the demand being so great, we were compelled to replenish the stock. A further Shipment HAVING ARRIVED BY THE SUEZ MAIL, We beg to draw the attention of our Numerous Customers, in Town and Country, to the following List of useful sizes, in various bindings :— BY POST. s. d. S. d. Cloth Edition, 5x4 ... .. 1 6 1 9 Persian (Limp), 5x4 ... .. 3 6 3 10 Morocco (Limp), 5x4 ... .. 0 6 4 Persian (Stiff, with Clasp), 5 x 4 6 0 6 4 Cloth Edition, 6x4 ... .. 3 6 4 0 Roan (Limp), 6x4 ... .. 5 6 6 0 Persian (Stiff, with Clasp), 6 x 4 9 0 9 7 ALSO, A SUPPLY OF LARGER EDITIONS, IN ELEGANT MOROCCO BINDINGS, WITH CLASPS, ETC.

Masthead for the Monthly Review The MONTHLY REVIEW. *New Books & Contemporary Subjects*. Vol. II., No. 5. Wellington, N.Z. Monday, May 2, 1881

## Taxation in the United States.—Concluded.

### From The "Contemporary Review."

Another important expenditure is for the highways. I have *not* the statistics for the State, but in the town to which I have referred 20 per cent, of the taxes of the town were expended on the roads in 1879. At this rate about 5,000,000dols. would be expended in the State annually for this purpose. Much of it is practically thrown away. I know of no civilised country where the roads are so bad. There are roads everywhere, but they are very much what nature has made them.

The other expenses of the towns and the State are very much larger than they were twenty years ago, and some of these are open to severe criticism, but on the whole they cannot be considered as very extravagant. The most important is the interest on the debt, which must amount to more than 5,000,000dols. a year. The administrative, legislative, and judicial expenses did not amount in 1879 to more than 640,000dols. for the State Government. The country towns expend about 7 per cent, of their revenue for these expenses; the cities considerably more. We may roughly estimate the expenses of the State as follows:—

The national expenditure is to be added to this. For the year ending June 30, 1880, it was as follows, not including any payment to reduce the National Debt:—

The National Debt, nearly all of which was caused by the war, is now about 1,900,000,000dols., or about £400,000,000 sterling.

The expenditure of the National Government in the year 1860 was only 63,180,598dols. The increase is due chiefly to the war, and the expenses of the Government have been steadily decreasing since 1865. The present expenditure is perhaps open to criticism in some particulars, but it cannot be denied that on the whole the Government is administered with great economy. The expenditure in the War and Navy departments is undoubtedly much less than it ought to be. In our desire to avoid the error which is eating up the wealth of Europe, in our horror of great standing armies, we have gone to the other extreme, and deprived ourselves of the necessary means of self-defence.

There has been some question in Europe as to the expenditure for the payment of the National Debt, which has been reduced by about 840,000,000dols. in fifteen years, but in America the wisdom of reducing our debt as rapidly as possible is not questioned. The advantage of what has been done is seen in the fact that the annual interest charge has been reduced from 150,977,697dols. in 1865 to 79,633,981 dols., which is the present rate. This reduction is due in part to the reduction of the principal and in part to the reduction of the rate of interest which has been made possible by the manifest intention of the Government to pay its debts. In 1865 the annual interest, divided *per capita*, was 4.29dols. for each individual; in 1880 it was 1.56dols. In 1860 the Government could not borrow ten millions on its own credit at any price; now its 4 per cent, bonds are selling at 12 per cent, premium. We have made no mistake in paying our debts.

The expenditure on account of the Indians is really much greater than appears in the above statement, for the army is chiefly employed in fighting or watching the Indians. The whole Indian policy of the Government is not only very costly but an utter failure. It has sometimes been attacked as unchristian and even inhuman, but for many years it has been good in intention if not in its results. The problem is a very difficult one, and it is now receiving more attention than ever before. It may be said to be now practically in the hands of philanthropists, and this large item of expenditure will probably in a few years be much reduced, and finally disappear. The amount paid for pensions is unreasonably large, and is in danger of growing larger. There is

always a strong temptation for any party to purchase votes by appropriating the public money to pension soldiers and their families, and the opportunities for fraudulent claims are without number.

There are many points in regard to our taxation and expenditure which I have touched but lightly, which merit a full discussion; many others I have not mentioned at all; but my purpose has been simply to state facts, with such explanations as seemed necessary to make them understood. I was talking of this subject the other day with a Massachusetts Judge, and he remarked that the people were not interested in the subject of taxation because their taxes were so light. I think this is a very general impression here, but I doubt whether an average *per capita* tax of more than six pounds sterling a year will seem small in England, even for a wealthy and prosperous State. The great advantage which we have over the European States is in the fact that we do not have a large standing army, we do not take our producers from their work during the best years of their lives to make soldiers of them, and we do not expend our taxes on gunpowder. We are careless and often extravagant, but we *intend* to spend our public money in such a way as to make it productive for the general good. There are difficult questions to be studied and answered; there are dangers, serious dangers perhaps, in the future, in directions which I have pointed out; but there is nothing which may not be settled or avoided by wise statesmanship and the goodwill of the people. The difficulties and dangers are not more, nor essentially different in their essence, from those which beset European Governments in regard to the relations of labor and capital and the distribution of taxation. It is, in the nature of the case, far easier to settle such questions in a new country, abounding in wealth and with a population which is generally prosperous, contented, and free. There is more elasticity in the frame-work of this nation than is possible in an old country. Whatever may be the dangers of universal suffrage, the principles of civil and religious liberty, which we hold in common with England, are the surest safeguards against popular discontent. With full independent liberty and food enough to eat, men are generally willing to wait, to excuse mistakes, and to learn wisdom from experience. This has been the history of the United States in the past, and we hope that it will be so in the future.

## Tales of the Feudal Period.

AT Douay lived a burgess, esteemed for his prudence and his probity throughout the town. Unfortunately for him, he was not in very affluent circumstances, but he had a daughter, whose beauty and accomplishments made him forget the scantiness of his fortune.

On the banks of a river, at a small distance from the town, there stood a castle, at the foot of which there was a bridge across the river. The owner of this castle was a hump-backed object of deformity. Nature had exhausted her ingenuity in the formation of his whimsical figure. She had provided this baboon, in lieu of sense, with a monstrous large head, which was in a manner lost between two high shoulders, and covered with a prodigious quantity of thick hair. His neck was short, and his face so shockingly deformed as almost to terrify the beholder.

Such was the picture of the Castellan, who, notwithstanding all his ugliness, took it into his head to be enamoured of the burgess's beautiful daughter. He went still further. He even ventured to demand her in marriage, and, as he was the richest man in the district (for he had employed his whole life in amassing wealth), the poor girl was delivered up to him. But this acquisition did not add to his happiness. Full of jealousy, from a consciousness of his personal defects, he had no rest or tranquility of mind either by day or night. He was perpetually going backward and forward, prying and watching in every corner, and never suffering any one to come within the doors, except such as brought something that was wanted in the house. One of the Christmas holidays, as he was thus standing sentry at his gate, he was accosted by three hunch-backed minstrels. These men had made up a party together on purpose to amuse themselves at the expense of their rich brother in deformity. They saluted him in that quality, and demanded brotherly entertainment at the same time, to demonstrate the affinity, each displaying his hump. This pleasantry, which one would suppose could not have been very acceptable to the lord of the castle, was nevertheless extremely well received. He conducted the minstrels to his kitchen, served them with fowl, peas, and bacon, and even gave them each at parting a piece of money. But when they were at the gate he called out to them, "Observe this house attentively, and take care you never think of setting foot in it again, for if ever I catch you here, you shall take your last draught at the bottom of that river. Our musicians laughed at this threat of the Castellan, and took the road towards the town, singing, dancing, and skipping in a ridiculous manner to show their contempt of him. He on his part, without bestowing the least attention on them, went out and took his walk towards the country. His lady, who saw him cross the bridge, and who had heard the minstrels, called them to her, intending to amuse herself for a few minutes by hearing them play and sing. They returned into the house, when the doors were shut, and the musicians began to play some of their gayest and most approved airs for the entertainment of the lady. She had just entered into the spirit of this diversion when, in a sudden, the husband's knock was heard at the door. The fiddlers gave

themselves up for lost, and the wife was seized with the utmost consternation. Indeed, all four had equal cause for their terror. The lady, in this dilemma, happily discovered, three empty trunks upon a bedstead. She put a fiddler in each, shut the covers, and went to open the door for her husband. He had come only to pry into his wife's concerns, according to custom, so after a short stay he went out again, not, as any one may conjecture, to the great dissatisfaction of the lady. She instantly ran to the trunks, in order to free her prisoners; for the night approached, and her husband could not be long absent. But conceive her alarm when she found them all three suffocated; she almost wished herself in the same situation. However, she prudently considered that all the lamentation in the world would be too late to remedy the evil. The object now was to get rid of the dead bodies, and there was not a moment to be lost in attempting it. She ran to the door, and seeing a countryman pass: "Friend!" she cried, "have you any inclination to be rich?"—"To be sure, I have, lady. Try me, and see whether I have any objection."—"Well, all I ask in return is a service that you can render me in a moment, and I promise you thirty well told livers, but you must take a solemn oath to be secret." The countryman, tempted by the offer of so large a sum, entered into all the obligations she required. The lady of the castle then led the countryman into her apartment, and opening one of the trunks, told him all she required of him to do was to take the dead body he saw there and to throw it into the river. He asked her for a sack, put the carcass into it, and going clown pitched it from the bridge. Then returned, out of breath, for his payment. "I wish nothing more than to satisfy you," said the lady, "but you will allow that the bargain we made should be fulfilled on both sides. You agreed with me to rid me of the dead body, but here it is again. Look at it yourself." At the same time she showed him the second trunk, which held another of the hunchbacks. The Clown was confounded at the sight. "What, the devil! Has he come back again? I thought I had pitched him over completely. It is assuredly a sorcerer. But by all that's good I'll go through with it. He shall have another leap into the water." He instantly stuffed the second carcass into the sack, and went to throw it, as he did the other, into the river, taking care to put his head undermost, and to see that he fell to the bottom. In the meantime the lady changed the position of the trunks, so that the third, which was full, stood in the situation of the first. When the countryman entered she took him by the hand, and, conducting him towards the remaining carcass, said "You were certainly right, my friend, this must have been a sorcerer, and there never was his equal. For, do but observe, there he is again." The clown ground his teeth with rage. "What, then, by all the devils in hell am I to be all day carrying this wretched hunchback? The villain is determined not to die; but we shall see how that will be." He raised the body then with the most dreadful imprecations, and after tying a large stone about his neck, threw him into the middle of the stream, threatening violently, if he should escape a third time, to cudgel him to death.

The first thing that presented itself to him, on his return, was the master of the house, who was coming home. At the sight the clown was almost beside himself.—"What, are you there again? And is it impossible to get rid of you? Come, I see that I must make away with you at once." He immediately rushes upon the Castellan and knocks out his brains; and in order the more effectually to prevent his return, he throws him into the river tied up in a sack. I venture a wager you have not seen him again this last time, said the clodpole to the lady when he returned to her chamber. She answered that she had not. Yet you were not far from it replied he, for the sorcerer got as far as the door. But I took care of him. You may make yourself easy, madam. I'll answer for it, you'll not be troubled with him again.

## The Three Thieves.

THREE rogues, in the vicinage of Lan, uniting the ingenuity of their talents, had for a considerable time put both monks and laymen under contribution. Two of them were brothers; their names Hamet and Berard. Their father, who had followed the same profession, had just finished his career at the gallows. The name of the third was Travers. They never robbed or murdered; but only pursued the business of pilfering and kidnapping, in which they had arrived to an astonishing degree of skill.

As they were walking together one day in the wood of Lan, and talking of their several feats of dexterity, Hamet, the eldest of the two brothers, espied at the top of a lofty oak a magpie's nest, and saw the mother fly into it. "Brother," said he to Berard, "what would you say to a person that should propose to go and take the eggs from under that bird without alarming it?" "I should tell him," answered the younger brother, "that he was a fool, and proposed a thing impossible to be done." "Well, learn, my friend, that he who cannot accomplish so practicable a theft, is but a booby in his profession. Observe me." This said, he immediately climbs the tree. Having reached the nest, he makes a hole in it underneath, receives softly in his hand the eggs, as they slip through the opening, and brings them down, desiring his companions to observe that not a single egg was broken. "By St. Denis," cries Berard, "I must allow you to be an incomparable thief; but if you could go and replace the eggs under the mother, as quietly as you have taken them from her, we should acknowledge you our master."

Hamet accepts the challenge, and again mounts the tree: but his brother designed a trick upon him. The latter, as soon as he sees the other at a certain height, says to Travers, "You have just been a witness to Hamet's dexterity; you shall now see what I can do in the same way." He instantly climbs the tree, and follows his elder brother from branch to branch; and whilst the latter has his eyes fixed upon the nest, entirely taken up with his design, and watching every motion of the bird, the slippery rogue loosens his trousers, and brings them down as a signal of triumph. Hamet in the meantime, contrives to replace all the eggs, and coming down looks for the praise due to so clever an exploit. "Oh, you only want to deceive us," said Berard, bantering him; "I'll wager that you have concealed the eggs in your trousers." The other looks, sees that his trousers are gone, and soon finds out the trick of his brother. "Excellent rogue," cried he, "to outwit another!"

As for Travers, he was lost in equal admiration of these two heroes, and could not determine which had the advantage. But he felt himself humbled at their superiority; and piqued at not being able to contend with them, cried, "Friends, you are too knowing for me. You would escape twenty times, when I should be the sacrifice. I perceive that I am too awkward to thrive in this business; so I shall go and follow my own trade. I renounce thieving for ever. I have good strong arms, and will return home and live with my wife; with the help of God, I shall be able to procure a subsistence." He fulfilled his declaration and returned to his village. His wife loved him; he became an honest man, and set himself to work with so much industry that, at the close of a few months, he had earned wherewithal to buy a hog. The animal was fattened at home. At Christmas he killed it, and having hung it in the usual way against the wall, he went into the fields. But it had been much better for him to have sold it. He would then have saved himself a vast deal of uneasiness.

The two brothers, who had not seen him since their separation, came at this very time to pay him a visit. The wife was alone spinning. She told them that her husband had just gone out, and that he would not return till night. With eyes accustomed to examine everything, you might have sworn the hog could not escape their notice. "Oh, ho," said they, on going out, "this fellow is about to regale, and did not think us worth inviting! Well, we must carry off his pork, and eat it without him." The rogues then laid their plot, and till night should enable them to act, they went and concealed themselves behind a neighboring hedge.

At night, when Travers returned, his wife told him of the visit she had received. "I was much alarmed," said she, "at being alone with them; they had so suspicious an appearance, that I did not venture to ask either their name or business. But they searched every corner with their eyes; I don't think a single peg escaped their notice." "Ah! it must have been my two queer companions," cried Travers in great trouble; "my hog is lost; I now heartily wish that I had sold it." "We have still a resource," said the wife. "Let us take down the pork, and hide it somewhere for the night. To-morrow morning you may consider what is to be done." Travers adopted his wife's advice. He took down the pork and laid it under the bread oven, at the opposite end of the room; after which he lay down, but not with his mind perfectly at ease.

Night having come, the two brothers arrived to accomplish their project; and while the eldest kept watch, Berard began to penetrate the wall in that part where he had seen the pork hanging. But he quickly perceived that nothing was left except the string by which it had been suspended. "The bird has flown," said he; "we have come too late." Travers, whom the dread of being robbed kept awake, thinking he heard a noise, roused his wife and ran to the oven to feel if the pork was there; but as he was also apprehensive for his barn and stable, he determined to make the circuit of them, and went out armed with a hatchet. Berard, who heard him go out, took the advantage of that opportunity to pick open the door; and approaching the bed, and counterfeiting the voice of the husband, "Mary," said he, "the pork is removed from the wall, what have you done with it?" "Don't you remember, then, that we put it under the oven," answered the wife. "What, has fear turned your brain?" "No, no," replied the other, "I had only forgotten. But stop, I will secure it," in saying which, he lifted the pork upon his shoulders and ran off.

After having gone his rounds and visited carefully his doors, Travers returned to the chamber. "I have got a husband," said the woman, "who, it must be confessed, has a curious head upon his shoulders; to forget the next moment what he has done with his pork." At these words Travers set up a cry, "I told you they would steal it from me; it is gone and I shall never see it more!" Yet as the thieves could not be gone far, he had still some hope of recovering it, and instantly ran after them.

They had taken a bye-path across the fields, that led towards the wood, where they intended to hide their booty. Hamet went before, to secure their way, and the brother, whose load was a considerable impediment, followed him at a small distance. Travers soon came up with the latter. He saw him plainly, and recognised him. "You must be somewhat tired," said he, assuming the voice of the elder brother; "give me the load, and let me take my turn." Berard, who thought his brother Hamet was speaking to him, gives Travers the pork, and walks on. But he had not proceeded a hundred yards, ere, to his great astonishment, he falls in with Hamet. "Zounds," cried he, "I have been ensnared. That rogue Travers has taken me in; but let me see if I cannot make amends for my folly."

He then stript himself, put his shirt over his clothes, made himself a kind of woman's cap, and in that trim

ran as fast as he could by another path to the house of Travers, whose arrival he awaited at the door. As he sees Travers approach, he comes forward as his wife, to meet him, and asks with a feigned voice, whether he had recovered the pork. "Yes, I have it," answered the husband. "Well, give it me, and run quickly to the stable; for I heard a noise there, and I fear they have broken in." Travers threw the carcass upon the other's shoulders, and went once more to make his round. But when he returned into the house, he was surprised to find his wife in bed, crying and half dead with fear. He then perceived he had been again cheated. Nevertheless he was determined not to despair; and, as if his honor were concerned in this adventure, he vowed not to give up the contest, till by some means or other he should come off victorious.

He suspected that the thieves this trip would hardly take the same road; but he knew the forest was the place they would make for, and accordingly went the shortest way to it. They had in fact already got there, and in their triumph and eagerness to taste the fruit of their dexterity, they had just lighted a fire at the foot of an oak to broil a piece of the meat. The wood was green, and burned but indifferently; so that, to make it blaze, they were obliged to go and gather some dried leaves and rotten branches.

Travers, whom the light soon directed to the thieves, took the advantage of their distance from the fire. He stripped himself entirely naked, climbed the oak, suspended himself by one arm in the position of one who had been hanged; and when he saw the rogues return and busy themselves again in blowing up the fire, he roared out with a voice like thunder: "Unhappy wretches! you will come to the same end with me!" The two brothers in confusion imagined they saw and heard their father, and thought of nothing but making their escape. The other quickly snatches his clothes and his pork, returns in triumph to his wife, and gives her an account of his recent victory. She congratulated him on so bold and well-executed a manœuvre. "Let us not yet flatter ourselves with too much security," said he. "These queer fellows are not far off, and so long as the pork lasts I shall not think it out of danger. But boil some water: we'll dress it; and, if they return, we shall see what method they will devise to get hold of it again." The one then made a fire, while the other divided the carcass, and put it piece by piece into the kettle; they both then seated themselves to watch it, one on each side of the fire-place.

But Travers, who was almost exhausted for want of rest, and fatigued by the operations of the night, soon began to show a propensity to sleep. "Go and lay yourself down," said the wife, "I will take care of the pot; all is fastened; there is nothing to fear: and at all events, if I should hear a noise, I'll give you notice." On this assurance, he threw himself in his clothes upon the bed, and immediately fell fast asleep. The wife continued for some space of time to watch the cauldron; but drowsiness began to overpower her likewise, and at last she fell asleep in her chair.

In the meantime our thieves, after recovering from their alarm, had returned to the oak; but finding there neither pork nor man in chains they easily unravelled the plot. They conceived themselves dishonoured if, in this conflict of stratagems, Travers should finally have the advantage. So they returned to his house, resolved for this last time to strain their ingenuity to the utmost.

Before they undertook anything, Berard looked through the hole he had made in the wall, to see if the enemy was upon guard. He saw on the one hand Travers stretched out upon his bed, and on the other the wife, whose head nodded from one side to another, with a ladle in her hand, while the pork was boiling in the cauldron. "They had a mind to save us the trouble of cooking it," said Berard to his brother; "and indeed it was the least they could do, considering what work they have given us already. Be steady, and rest assured that I will help you to some of it." He then goes and cuts down a long pole, which he sharpens at one end. With his pole he climbs upon the roof, and letting it down through the chimney, he sticks it into a piece of pork and raises it up. Travers at that instant happened to awake. He saw the manœuvre, and judged that with such expert enemies peace was preferable to war. "Friends," cried he, "you have not done right in breaking through the roof of my house; and I have also been to blame in not inviting you to partake of my pork. Let us contend no longer for the superiority in artifice; for it is a contest that would never have an end: but come down and let us feast together." He went and opened the door to them. They sat down together at table, and were heartily reconciled to each other.

THE PENNY POST TWO CENTURIES AGO.—In an old volume bearing the date of 1682 upon its title-page, I found the other day some highly interesting particulars concerning the penny post, as established in the City at that time. After treating of the office of Postmaster-General, and the days upon which the mails left for the various countries of Europe, the author introduces the penny post, "lately erected to the benefit and advantage of this nation, but especially of this City":—"This post," continues the writer, "was invented and contrived by that ingenious and knowing citizen of London, Mr. William Dockwray, whereby for one penny is most speedily conveyed any letter, or any parcel, not exceeding one pound weight, or ten pounds in value, to and from all parts within the weekly bills of mortality; to the most remote places whereof letters go four or five times a day; and to other places of more business they go six or eight times every day, except Sundays, and except three days at Christmas, two days at Easter and Whitsuntide, and the 80th of January. For the better carrying on this

great and useful design, there are a very great number of messengers employed from morning to night; there are four or five hundred receiving-houses to take in letters within the City and suburbs, and other places within the bills of mortality, where the messengers call every hour, and presently convey the letters according to their respective directions. There are seven sorting-houses, and the principal office is kept in Lime Street, at the house of Mr. Dockway. The conveniences of this useful undertaking of the penny post are as follow: All gentlemen, country, chapmen, and others, may hereby speedily and cheaply give notice of their arrival at London; shopkeepers and tradesmen may send to their workmen for what they want; bills may be dispersed for publication of any concern; summons or tickets conveyed to all parts; brewers' entries safely sent to the excize office; appointments of meetings among men of business; much time saved in solicitation for money; lawyers and clients mutually correspond; patients may send to doctors, apothecaries, and chyrurgeons, for what they shall want; besides many other advantages." From the above it would appear that in some respects the penny post of 1682 was superior to that of 1880. The conveyance of parcels of one pound in weight by post is not at the present time so cheap as it was some two hundred years ago.—"DOGBERRY," in *City Press*.

MIXED METAPHORS.—A German author has made a collection of mixed metaphors, which he calls pearls of thought. Some of them are worth quoting, if only as a warning to high-flown orators not to allow their magniloquence to fly away with them altogether. "We will," cried an inspired Democrat, "burn all our ships, and with every sail unfurled, steer boldly out into the ocean of freedom!" A pan-Germanist mayor of a Rhineland corporation rose still higher in an address to the Emperor. He said, "No Austria, no Prussia, one only Germany—such were the words the mouth of your Imperial Majesty has always had in its eye." But there are even literary men who cannot open their mouths "without putting their foot in it." Professor Johannes Scherr is an example of such. In a criticism on Lenau's "Lyrics" he writes: "Out of the dark regions of philosophical problems the poet suddenly lets swarms of songs dive up carrying far-flashing pearls of thought in their beaks." Songs and beaks are certainly related to one another, but were never seen in that incongruous connection before. A German preacher, speaking of a repentant girl, said, "She knelt in the temple of her interior and prayed fervently"—a feat no indiarubber doll could imitate. The German parliamentary oratory of the present day affords many examples of metaphor mixture, but two must suffice. Count Frankenburg is the author of them. A few years ago he pointed out to his countrymen the necessity of "seizing the stream of time by the forelock;" and in the last session he told the Minister of War that if he really thought the French were seriously attached to peace he had better resign office and "return to his paternal oxen." The count had no doubt the poet's *paterna rura* in his mind at the time. But none of these pearls of thought and expression in the Fatherland surpass the speech of the immortal Joseph Prudhomme on being presented with a sword of honor by the company he commanded in the National Guard of France. "Gentlemen," said he, "this sword is the brightest day of my life!"—*Galignani*.

PARLIAMENTARY REPORTING.—Reporting is comparatively a new art. Less than a century ago it was little known, and its practice was confined to very few persons. True that reports of Parliament first began to be published in the seventeenth century, but they were not verbatim, as shorthand was then but little practised. Notwithstanding that reporters in our days are picked men, it was recently affirmed by Mr. John Bright that reporting has deteriorated; but he added that he had known the House make so much noise when a speaker was endeavoring to occupy its time that it would be quite impossible for any reporter to convey to the public what the speaker said. Many members grumble at the shortness of the reports. The proceedings are certainly reported at less length than formerly, but the reason is that they are not now so generally interesting. For the newspaper reader the present reports amply suffice. The principal speakers are honored with verbatim reports, and, as Dickens once remarked, every man is reported according to the position he can gain in public estimation, and according to the force and weight of what he has to say. The present method of reporting the debates is well known. Some ninety reporters occupy the house every evening. A few are summary writers, but the majority are shorthand writers who write according to the requirements of the papers they represent. They are men of wide knowledge, usually well suited for their work. With scarcely an exception they have been trained in the provinces, where they have gained that knowledge of Parliamentary men and of public questions which cannot readily be acquired in London. We differ from Mr. Gladstone when he says that Parliamentary reporting is not a work of high art or fine art. Reporting *is* an art, and excellence in it as difficult to attain as excellence in any other art. Although the reporters of the last twenty years may not have distinguished themselves in literature as greatly as some of their predecessors, it is not because their abilities are less, but because they have turned them into other channels more lucrative than book-making.—*Educational Guide*.

THE American Book Exchange, of New York City, have "out-Heroded Herod" by the cheapness of some of their late publications. Macaulay's "Life of Frederick the Great," Carlyle's "Life of Robert Burns," Thomas Hughes' "Manliness of Christ," and John Stuart Mill's "Chapters on Socialism" have been published at the ridiculously low price of three cents (1½d.); while Edwin Arnold's "Light of Asia," Goldsmith's "Vicar of Wakefield," and "Baron Mun-chausen's Travels" are five cents each; with "The Pilgrim's Progress" capping the

list at six cents. They are preparing for the Press "Young's Bible Concordance," with its 311,000 references, for 2 dols. (8s.) This book has not been published here before for less than 15 dols. (£3.) On account of the intricacy of its composition, and the consequent cost it would entail to be printed in the ordinary way, each page of an original copy is being photo engraved—a process which is much cheaper than "setting up." Several leading publishers have called them "Cheap John publishers" and "pirates," and the great Methodist Book concern refuses the Book Exchange advertising space in its many publications. As might have been expected, the first-named books are selling by the million.

BANK NOTES.—Not only did the Chinese possess coins at a very early period, but they were also, it is said, the inventors of bank notes. Some writers regard bank notes as having originated about 119 B.C., in the reign of the Emperor Ou-ti. At this time the court was in want of money, and, to raise it, Klaproth tells us that the prime minister hit upon the following device. When any princes or courtiers entered the imperial presence, it was customary to cover the face with a piece of skin. It was first decreed then that for this purpose the skin of certain white deer kept in one of the royal parks should alone be permitted, and then these pieces of skin were sold for a high price. True bank-notes are said to have been invented about 800 A.D., in the reign of Hian-tsong, of the dynasty of Thang, and were called *feutsien*, or "flying money."

AT the last entrance examinations at the Berlin Printers' School of Apprentices, by far the larger number of candidates were rejected, as they were very deficient in their knowledge of spelling. A report of the proceedings was sent to the School Board of the Berlin magistracy, together with an invitation to assist at the next examination. This report was by no means graciously received, and instead of accepting the invitation, a letter was sent stating that the magistrates would not any longer allow free schoolrooms to the Printers' School if the master printers kept on publishing reports about their pupils that must necessarily reflect unfavorably on the state of the Berlin people's schools.

The United States is the place for munificent salaries for editors and editresses. Miss Booth, editress of *Harper's Bazaar* (a ladies' fashion journal), receives 5,000 dols. (£1,040) per annum. The present superintendent of the *New York Herald* receives 10,000 dols. a year for his services; and it is interesting to recall, in this connection, that the late Mr. F. Hudson, who was chief editor of that paper under James Gordon Bennett, sen., received a pension of that amount after his withdrawal from active service until his death.

THE postal card is a great institution in the United States. In the second week in October the Parsons Paper Company, the manufacturers, shipped 15,000,000 of them, weighing 63 tons, which is the largest number ever yet supplied in one week. From July to September 72,000,000 were sold.

THE printing, together with the supply of paper, for the Census of England and Wales, has been undertaken by Messrs. McCorquodale and Co. On the last occasion (1871) this important work was entrusted to Messrs. Ford and Tilt, of Long Acre. The extent of the contract may be roughly estimated as 7,530,000 householders' schedules, 80,000 enumerating books, 110,000 forms for vessels, &c., were used, the whole requiring about 58 tons of paper.

A GERMAN newspaper lately gave its readers the following interesting piece of information :—"The Rev. Pelham Dale has been committed for contempt of Court to the Prison of Holloway. Holloway is a town near London, famous for its pills."

PAPER barrels are being manufactured from the pulp by the American Paper Barrel Company, of Hartford, Conn. They are light, durable, and do not leak. Large numbers are being used for flour, sugar, kerosene, lard, &c. The machine turns out two hundred barrels a day.

THE firm of paper car-wheel manufacturers at Pullman, Ill. (near Chicago), have taken on 500 extra hands during the last two months, to expedite production and fill the demand.

PEKIN has a paper which the Chinese declare is over a thousand years old. They claim to have had printing material there before Adam inhabited Paradise!

LORD BEACONSFIELD'S new novel, "Endymion," has been taken by the libraries to the extent of several thousands—Messrs. Mudie (Limited) subscribing for no fewer than 3,000.

## Tale of New Zealand.—Continued.

### Chapter XXXIII.

#### Edgecombe.

EDGECOMBE was, at the time we write, a quaint little town, with narrow streets and pebbled pavements. Not

a straggling town, like those mostly to be met with in the colonies, where each citizen *must* have an acre of ground for his diminutive shop front. The danger of a sudden attack from the warlike natives in the neighborhood had compelled the citizens to cluster under the shadow of their citadel, as did the Tyrians and Greeks when founding a colony in times of old, when Italy was a barbarous land, and the pillars of Hercules the boundaries of the world. Indeed, I am not certain whether a bull's hide could not have encircled the place, especially if the hide was taken from one of the enormous shorthorns grazing within sight of the town. Perhaps the African cattle of those olden times were as large as our own, only if I had been able to give poor Dido a hint, I would have suggested to her the choice of a four-year-old steer in preference to a bull, as the hide would have cut up better.

The citadel at Edgecombe looked down on the little township protectingly, and Edgecombe itself looked out on the sea. The wall of the citadel was of stout wood, high and loop-holed, and its long slits of eyes gazed far over the surrounding undulating country. Inside the wall were a few buildings of corrugated iron, constituting the barracks, and a well had been sunk to a tremendous depth in the middle of the enclosure to supply the garrison with water. Oftentimes had the women and children of the little township, and from the surrounding country hurried up the hill into this citadel for protection, carrying their valuable effects and household gods with them; whilst their husbands, brothers, and fathers prepared to meet the advance of the foe. The Edgecombeites had grown used to this sort of thing, and were always prepared to shift their lodgings. We are told that such is the case with some tribes in Central Africa, who, when they think they have built a town in a wrong place, shift everything; it not being an uncommon sight for a town of a couple of thousand houses to be rebuilt in a couple of months. Many a hard fight had taken place almost within sight, and well within sound of Edgecombe, and the little churchyard at the foot of the hill testified to the number of the slain. The numerous gravestones did not mark the resting place of single occupants, but in many instances half a score of names were monumentally emblazoned upon a single stone. Here rank and file lay in serried rows, equal at last in death, while mother earth enshrouded the remains of all alike, and the citadel above protected the enclosure.

The grave unites; where e'en the great And rest.  
And blended lie th' oppressor and the opprest!

In most country places in New Zealand the graveyards are open unprotected places, generally in a state of ruin and neglect, but the citizens of Edgecombe took some pride in their churchyard, and endeavoured to preserve the handsome monumental stones over the graves. For here lay the gallant and the brave, who formerly had protected them, and who had yielded up their lives in fair and honorable fight. The passing visitor may often be seen conning the names engraven on the stones; knowing little of the cost of the struggle that formerly had checked the Maori from driving the white man into the sea, and thinking little of the many bitter tears that had fallen in England from the relatives of the slain when the news of the dead had reached home.

Nor could the Maori foe be called a dishonorable enemy. Fairly enough had he given notice of his intention to fight, and fairly enough were the outsettlers warned to leave their homesteads. First came the trouble, generally about the land, then ensued negotiaton, followed by distrust and preparations for war. Strongholds were built, stores were accumulated, potatoes were dug and corn harvested. Then perhaps a couple of white men, who had foolishly exposed themselves to danger, were killed, and the Government knew that war was really meant, for that was the Maori method of declaring war. Herein our readers will notice the difference of the antipodean practice. Tacitus relates that Augustus to *prevent civil strife* enjoined the tribune appointed to the custody of his person, "not to delay to slay Agrippa whensoever he himself had completed his last day." At least Tiberius said so, and Agrippa duly "passed away." The Maories always kill a man to *stir up* strife. In Africa a different practice prevails. There, or at least in some parts, it is related that when men grow very old, or tell very long stories, they are killed, we imagine by way of example, which circumstance should prove a warning to some of the readers of this narrative. British troops, when British troops were in the colony, were sent in thousands, and their tents gleamed white o'er the country side. But British troops were almost useless in the bush, and their zeal in the open was restrained by the conflicting counsels of the chief commanders. Many a time were the men marched out to attack the enemy, and many a time were they marched back to camp again without making the assault, whilst officers threw down their swords passionately, and men sullenly piled their muskets.

Then, when the British troops were withdrawn, and the colonists had to defend themselves, how well did the small number of colonial Volunteers follow the enemy through the dense heart of the pathless forest. "Strike right in until we come to a track," was the maxim of a tough-hearted little commander, and what such a march as that meant is only known to any one who took a part in it. Bad is the best in a New Zealand bush, with its dense undergrowth and entangling creepers. But steadily our fellows pierced the bush, crossed rivers, scaled

precipices, straight to the place where a Maori stronghold had been erected, not knowing from one moment to the other that a hostile fusillade would cut them to pieces, and fancying every now and again that gleaming eyes followed at the side of their line of march.

With them, too, went the friendly natives; brave, patient allies, ever ready with good advice, and ever ready to fight. Pity is it that their advice had not more closely been followed, for by following it many a slaughter would have been saved. How often has some friendly native extricated our men from the heart of the bush, remaining with the column at the risk of his own life, and patiently waiting the weary march of the wounded and dying I Easily would it have been for him to have made back to his own people, *but he did not do so*. All honor to such actions. May they be better known and recorded than they have been hitherto.

My readers will consequently perceive that there was an air of the broad arrow over the little town of Edgecombe, and over its inhabitants as well. Many Majors and Colonels resided there, and society wore a strong dash of the military aspect. The rest of the colony charged the Edgecombites with being fond of a little war, as it made trade good, in consequence of Government money having to be spent in the place; but this was a calumny. The real truth of the matter was that the good people of Edgecombe had to bear the brunt of mistaken land legislation. Situated so far from the great ports—where the Government held its meetings; where the war ships of England anchored, and where population was so numerous that the Maori would have been foolish to show his head—and surrounded by the thickest of the Maori tribes, what wonder is it that the fostering sore of Maori discontent all over the colony here found a head and broke upon the peaceful inhabitants. Here the Maori *could* strike, and he did not fail to do so, for with the great unpathable bush behind him, he felt as secure in the face of 10,000 British troops as of ten. Here, too, the land itself was of the best quality, and he fought for its possession; while just as tenaciously the Saxon invader, knowing the value of the land, fought for the foothold he had gained upon it. Well is it reader for you and I that we never took up our residence in Edgecombe, or we might long ere this have lost the number of our mess.

"I see you are taking a couple of fine beasts up with you Easthorpe," said Major Gordon, the worthy Resident Magistrate of the place to Charley, suddenly meeting our two friends in the street. "Are you not afraid the Maoris will turn you out of Terua some day?"

"No, Major," replied Charley, "I am not. You must send me word when to come in and take up my quarters in the barracks."

"Well, I don't make any rash promises, but if you have nothing better to do come and dine with me this evening, and bring your friend Mr. Manning with you, and we will talk about it. I have a word or two to say to you."

"What is up," said Charley, after Major Gordon had left them. I wonder whether we are going to have another war?"

"Not we," replied Philip with all the candour of blissful ignorance. "And if we do, I shouldn't much care."

"Perhaps you wouldn't, Manning, but what about Terua and all my improvements?"

"Yes, that is an awkward question," said Philip, still thinking, however, of himself. "But let us go and see the bulls fed, and then we can see what the Major has to say."

Major Gordon's house was pleasantly situated in the suburbs of the town. It was a plain but comfortable one-storied villa residence, surrounded by a wide verandah. The *pinus insignis, macrocarpa* and *eucalypti* sheltered it completely from the fierce winds from the sea, leaving room, however, for a good view of the harbour from the front windows of the dwelling. The yellow flowers of the silvery *acacia* hung pendantly over the verandah, and creepers of honeysuckle and jessamine encircled the posts and trailed along the top. The mildness of the climate, tempered by the sea, enabled a wealth of geranium and fuschia to blossom nearly the whole year round, while the luxuriant shrubs and green carpet of closely-mown grass proved the richness of the garden soil. Little trouble was there in cultivating that soil. "Stick anything in, sir, and it will grow" was the gardener's estimate of its capability. From all parts of the world had Major Gordon obtained seeds and plants, and the pride he took in his floral treasures constituted some of the happy moments of his life.

The wide hall of the dwelling was ornamented with Maori weapons. Club, spear, mat, and stone adze hung upon its walls, and a curious collection of musketry added to the warlike air of the whole. Where those guns originally came from, or how they fell into Maori hands, was and still remains a mystery. There hung the good Brown Bess, good to miss fire once out of three times; a gun that had caused the original owner to use more bad language, perhaps, and to eat more powder—in the hurry of biting off the ends of his cartridges—than usually fell to the lot of mankind. Above it loomed a heavy blunderbuss, with its huge bell-mouth, the pride for a time of some ancient Maori chief, who had given for it more bales of flax and cured heads of slain friends and enemies than we should like now to recount. Below hung other quaint weapons: long raking Spanish muskets, with carved barrels and silver-ornamented stocks, utterly useless at a hundred yards; old Enfields and new ones, Sniders and needle rifles. All were there, the representatives of a century and a half, perhaps, of modern warfare. Heavy unservicable piratical-looking pistols hung peacefully on the walls, their muzzles breathing

weird some tales of buccaneering days long gone bye. A Malay kreese and the Major's own sword hung side by side, while some half-rusted but ugly-looking bayonets, of an extremely old type, completed the collection. These weapons the Major had gathered from friendly and hostile natives. The latter taken, likely enough, from the stiff fingers closed around the barrels in death. Anything that could fire shot or slug was eagerly sought for by the Maoris of old, as it still is even now, for the terrible raid of Hengi, who swept the Northern Island of the colony in olden days with his then newly-acquired present of muskets, scattering death and desolation in every village, driving the inhabitants into pathless swamps, and leaving hecatombs of slain behind him, first proved to the native the necessity of arming himself with something that could meet a similar attack. Many a chief carefully dried the tattooed head of a slain enemy (it did not matter whether the man was actually an enemy, provided he was well tattooed), and many a score of women prepared numberless bales of flax, to exchange with the passing trader from Sydney for the coveted musket and keg of powder. But all those days are gone bye, and the Maori can purchase as much material and ammunition as he cares to pay for, stringent laws to the contrary notwithstanding. Occasionally dray-loads of guns have been seen to pass through Edgecombe. But wherever there is a restriction in the sale of war material to savage tribes, it is curious to relate that the said tribes usually buy such material, not singly, but by the dray-load.

Major Gordon was in his garden when Charley and Philip opened the front gate, and after being shown all the rare plants, and before going into the house, they stopped to look at the wide expanse of sea and noble beach below.

"Aye, Mr. Manning," said the Major, "the beach is worth looking at from this point. I could tell you a few queer stories about that beach too, only we musn't keep the ladies waiting for dinner." And the Major led the way into his house.

In the drawing-room our two friends found Mrs. Gordon and three of her daughters, tall, slim, quiet-looking girls, who had, however, passed through all the troubles of the early settlement of the place, with as much composure as English girls ordinarily do under such circumstances. Once, though, they had to go into the barracks for a few days, and much objected to the giving-up of their own comfortable home. Whenever troubles followed afterwards their one wish was "not to have to go into the citadel." They could all talk the Maori language fluently, and from the lips of an English girl, native languages appear to flow pleasantly. On the whole, in spite of the wars, they rather liked the natives, and each had sundry female friends of her own in the enemy's camp who were always ready to tell them "Not to be afraid; but that they (the friends) would say when the fighting was going to begin." Indeed, Mrs. Gordon completely relied upon an old crony of a native woman to tell her such news, which the old woman usually did; and, if the truth were known, the Major himself paid attention to such warnings. But I am speaking now of days long gone bye, when the Gordons were little girls, and rather enjoyed an outbreak, if the truth could really be fathomed, for then their Maori or half-caste nurse could tell them fearful tales in the twilight, and send them wonderingly to sleep. The bad part of the affair to them was having to go into the barracks. That they always objected to.

## Chapter XXXIV.

### The Major's Dinner.

MRS. GORDON was an invalid, and the cares of the house fell upon her daughters, who each took her week of management, and were fairly good housekeepers. The palm of housekeeping fell by general consent to the younger of the three girls. The eldest shirked the business dreadfully. Sometimes the Major would confess his inability to understand how it was that his daughter Lizzy (the youngest) could manage the servants as she did, but there the fact remained, she did manage them; and whenever her week came round (Miss Elizabeth's week usually consisted of ten days, and sometimes of a fortnight, upon special occasions), the Major could not grumble about his dinners. If anything disagreeable was to be said in the kitchen, Miss Lizzy was by universal consent declared the deputy, and never a murmur was heard. This strange power of charming servants is worth a vast deal in these degenerate days, when the maid is as good as the mistress; for with some poor people servants are the bane of their existence; and with some servants all the power of the charmer, "charm he or she never so wisely," is completely thrown away. Yet if Major Gordon is to be taken as an authority, his daughter Elizabeth had a peculiar charm of her own, and the most unruly Bridget submitted to her sway.

The dinner passed pleasantly enough, as all such dinners do, and the Major filled up the most part of the conversation with laughable reminiscences of the olden time, occasionally varied by an all round attack on the parsons. A new clergyman had lately arrived in Edgecombe, and the gentleman appeared to be the object of the Major's aversion.

"Don't go to church, Easthorpe," said he, "until we get a better specimen of a minister than we have at

present."

"I am afraid there is little chance of my being able to," replied Charley, "as we must get away to-morrow morning."

"Well, you will miss nothing, I can assure you. Why on earth the people at Home should send us out such woe-begone specimens of humanity I cannot conceive."

"Mr Hardy is not so bad, papa," said his eldest daughter. "He will get used to us by-and-by."

"Bad," replied the Major, with withering contempt. "Bad! Well, he may not be bad so far as parsons go, but what earthly use would he be for a brush with the natives. Besides, I can't bear a ranter."

"You don't expect clergymen to fight the Maoris surely, papa," said his daughter Lizzy. While Mrs. Gordon explained to Philip that "the clergy" was the Major's sore point.

The Major was nonplussed for a moment, and paid attention to his knife and fork.

"No, Lizzy," said he at last, "I don't expect a clergyman to fight, but I do expect to find something gentlemanly about him. Why they should send us out such fellows I can't understand. Now, look at the old Archdeacon. There *wat* a parson for you, and a man to boot, although he did happen to adjourn service one fine Sunday morning to go and unload a cargo of cattle he had got down from Sydney."

"Why, couldn't the cattle wait," laughingly asked Philip.

"No, sir, they could not, at least the Archdeacon thought so, for directly the clerk whispered to him that the ship had come in than he very briefly dismissed the service, and off he went. What is more the congregation went with him. There wasn't many cattle in New Zealand in those days, but there were plenty of parsons. It was a great day for Edgecombe when the cattle were landed safe and sound on the beach, and some of the natives who had never seen a beast before were rather surprised at seeing the cattle come out of the ship. The Archdeacon worked like a man that day, and took his coat off besides. I guarantee your Mr. Hardy hardly knows what a cattle beast is. And as for fighting, of course he will have to fight some day."

"You surely don't expect ever to have another war," said Charlie, enquiringly.

"Don't be too sure of that, Easthorpe," replied the major, looking straight at him, and then becoming silent.

"You mus'nt mind my husband, Mr. Easthorpe," said Mrs. Gordon; "he always says that we are to have another war, but I don't believe we ever shall."

"You are not aware, my dear," said her husband, quietly looking down the table, at his wife, "that Huru te Kure's mob have broken out of prison, and there is no knowing what they will be up to."

"No, Harry!" said Mrs. Gordon, somewhat anxiously. "When did that occur?"

"Only yesterday," replied her husband. "I received the news this afternoon."

"And where are they now?" asked Philip, who with Charlie had often heard of Huru te Kure in the south.

"Making a bee line for Edgecombe, as fast as their legs will let them," replied the major. "But don't be alarmed my dear," continued he to his wife, "they are not here yet. Only it will be just as well for Lizzy to lay in a stock of provisions in case we do have a seige."

Mrs. Gordon and her daughter heard the news without showing any particular alarm, although Charlie felt a slight touch of nervousness when he thought of the exposed position of Terua. Major Gordon's women-folk, as we have before related, had been too much accustomed to items of intelligence, such as this, to allow it to disturb the decorum of a dinner table. If the truth were known, slight glimpses of volunteers under arms, and garrison balls in Edgecombe, crossed the minds of the girls, and very likely they thought more about furbishing up their ball dresses, and the state of their wardrobe, than laying in a stock of provisions. Five women out of six usually think about these things first of all when anything unexpected happens. Did not Creüsa hang behind to save some of her wardrobe when Troy was in flames, and is not this example one of the earliest records of history? The French say that the unexpected always happens. When it does, it may be taken as a safe rule that the female portion of British humanity usually think of the state of their wardrobes.

"You will have to volunteer, and take a rifle up with you to protect your cattle and sheep," said Miss Lizzy Gordon to Charley.

"I don't know whether I can," answered Charley. "What say you, Manning. Shall we join, and build a stockade at Terua?"

"I wonder whether we could hold it?" answered Philip.

"That depends," replied the major, who remembered cases quite as unlikely as this turning out well. "But don't let my daughter quiz you, Easthorpe?"

"Oh, papa, I am not quizzing," indignantly replied Miss Lizzy, blushing deeply at the charge. "Will not Mr. Easthorpe really have to defend himself?"

"Arn't you?" answered her father, who apparently knew his daughter's ways pretty well. But just then Mrs. Gordon, rising, put a stop to her further reply.

As the ladies passed out of the room Miss Lizzy made a half-shy look at Charley, who stood at the door, and reddened-up again when she caught him looking smilingly at her, which clearly enough showed how unjust

and groundless had been her father's charge.

"No doubt," continued the Major, after Charley had resumed his chair, "no doubt there will be a little trouble, and you may have to look after yourselves out there, but we shall soon have Mr. Huru. Colonel Clair is after him by this time with the Rangers, and unless Huru takes to the King country and doubles back the Colonel will very likely get-up with him. I hope the rascal won't cut the wires."

"But will the King shelter him?" asked Philip, alluding to the Maori chief who had, in direct contradiction to the Treaty of Waitangi, lately set-up the title of King, and openly defied the authority of the Queen by closing his country to the whites.

"I can't say," replied the Major. "It is very likely he will, as he is allowed to shelter all the murderers and villains in the country side. A Maori now-a-days has only to murder a white or two to be petted and caressed by the King and his people.

"Why doesn't the Government depose him, Major," asked Charley, sipping his wine and preparing to light the cigar that he had selected from the Major's box.

"Depose him," laughed the Major, "Why, man, if we don't look out the King is very likely to depose the Government. He wants to know now what business we have in the country at all at all."

Charley and Philip remained silent, not being acquainted with all the intricacies of Maori troubles.

"Yes," continued the Major, pursuing his own train of thoughts, "it is very likely that Huru will create a disturbance, and the worst of it is that these disturbances always spread. We shall have the natives here kicking up a noise, I suppose. However, Easthorpe, don't you alarm yourself unnecessarily, and here the Major knocked the ash off his cheroot. If you will take a bit of advice from me, I advise you to look after your cattle and sheep out at Terua until you are told to let them look after themselves."

"Thank you, Major," replied Charley, and from the quiet tone in which he spoke, Philip knew that Charley would follow the advice.

"You should keep friends with the natives about you," continued the Major, "as you will learn a good deal from them. Do you intend making a long stay in this part of the country, Mr. Manning," enquired he of Philip.

"I really have not made up my mind," replied Philip. If broken bones require setting I may as well be here as anywhere else."

"Manning is a bit of a saw-bones," said Charley laying back in his chair, and gazing upon Philip as a sort of medical curiosity, not knowing much about his powers in that line, and thinking him a better hand with a stock-whip than a lancet.

"Ah, indeed," said the Major, courteously thankful for the information. "Then if anything happens out at Terua you will be in safe hands, having a medical man with you."

"I don't know that," laughed Charley, and Philip smiled, pretty well guessing at what Charley was hinting.

Here Miss Lizzy Gordon's entrance created a move, that young lady returning to look for a book on one of the sideboards. Whereupon her father caught her, and wished to know what she meant by disturbing gentlemen during their after-dinner smoke?"

"I really beg your pardon, papa," said his daughter, standing near his chair, while the soft light of the dinner-lamp fell upon her white dress and pleasant face, "but mamma wanted her book."

"Then mamma will have to wait a little, and you must just sit down until we finish our cigars," said the Major, but directly he let her go she was off. "It is a curious yet strange circumstance how it comes to pass that girls do not like singly to face the after-dinner cigar. Instances are on record in which a couple have together ventured to brave the danger, but these are rare and exceptional cases, and can only be considered in the light of a *lusus naturæ*. Now, nothing tends to the degraded subjection of English women more than this special banishment to the drawing-room, and why the 'strong-minded Women's Rights' person does not rebel is a mystery. Here is a grand opening for agitation literally thrown away, yet what a deal of agitation it would take to break-down the invisible bands of even one of the slightest of our social customs, the Women's-Rights person to the contrary notwithstanding.

## Chapter XXXV.

### Back Again.

Charley and Philip, after finishing the evening at Major Gordon's, and thanking him very much for his advice, returned to their hotel, and early the next day started for Terua, Charley having borrowed horses for the journey. The following evening by pushing the stock rather hard found them at Terua. It was pleasant to see the way Philip's two dogs Lassie and Darkey entered the homestead. After all their knocking about by sea and land, after being tied-up in out-of-the-way corners and strange stables, the barking chorus of the dogs at Terua

sounded like music to their ears, and they sniffed round Henry Easthorpe, and then jumped upon him with all the delight of old acquaintanship. They certainly did not know Terua, but they knew Henry, and consequently they felt themselves at once at home, and immediately went up to the Terua dogs and made friends. The Tenia dogs growled a bit, as if they didn't exactly agree to this sort of familiarity, but Lassie wriggled herself pretty quickly into their remembrance, and gradually it occurred to them who she was and where she came from, for some of them had come from Woodlands, and of course remembered Apanui. Whereupon they walked away and ceased barking.

"I see you have brought the dogs with you Manning," said Henry Easthorpe, smiling all over his face at the sight of his old friend and neighbour.

"Yes, Henry, I couldn't very well part with them, you know. We found them useful in bringing the rams over the hill. What a wretched track. Why haven't you a decent road?"

"That is nothing to what you will see yet," replied Henry. "Wait till you come out at the back. But you fellows must be hungry," and Henry rang for the Chinese cook to bring in some tea.

"You had better get Dick to stable those bulls somewhere, Henry, for a few days, until we can knock up a place for them," said Charley, unbuckling his leggings.

"There isn't a place to be found, except the wool-shed," replied Henry. "We can put them in a couple of the horse stalls, if you like:" and Charlie consented to this proposition.

No conveniences in the shape of farm buildings existed at Terua, and, what is more, were not likely to exist for some time to come. A scrub stable had been run up for the plough horses, at the cost of a few days' labor for a couple of men. It was a kind of break-wind, with four or five stalls, and one side completely open. A few upright posts and top cross pieces formed the frame, and the back and sides were then lashed. Divisions were run up inside; a brandy case, or other kind of handy box, formed the feeding boxes; some pegs, driven in the uprights, received the harness, and there was the thing complete—as good a stable as one would wish to work in, there being plenty of room for the horses to kick freely out into the ambient air. Of course the horses were not kept in at night; they never are, except in the extreme south of the Colony, and the animals appear to be all the better for this mode of treatment. The draughts of the stable are thus avoided and the horses do well. Of course some grow old and are often sold for a song, but on the whole the open paddock and gorse hedge save a deal of illness; so that the horse works on until it is time to shoot him. This is better than the sport mentioned by Pepys in his diary, called "selling a horse for a dish of eggs and herrings."

In this commodious building the two bulls were tied, some dry fern cast for litter, and there they were bedded down comfortably after their long drive. They had made friends on the journey up, after a severe tussle on the public road, wherein the old bull had fairly home the young one back off his legs into the ditch, and when he got up, looking rather foolish, and showed fight again, had borne him across the road on to the other side and jammed him up against the fence, which proceeding settled young Mr. Bully, and he grew civil ever afterwards. The oldest of the bulls was a bit footsore, and when he got to the station, and Dick had stood him in a pool of water for a little while (the said pool being encircled by all the hands about the place) to take a "thrifle of th' inflammation" out of him. Amidst many criticisms the bull stood, bellowing lowly at the sight of the cows, but evidently enjoying his bath. After that night however the old bull was put in the cow paddock, and the young one in the horse paddock, and from that day to this it is to be doubted whether either of these animals has ever even smelt the inside of a stable.

The rams were put in the ram paddock, which by this time had been enlarged and made secure, and the ewes ran with the cows until a little paddock could be got ready for them. Henry did not believe in carrying on as Beeton had done. Each class of stock was kept in its own paddock, as much as possible, whereas Beeton had allowed every thing to go where it pleased. True enough, there were a few fences on the place, but these had never been kept properly secure, and, as a general rule, the slip rails at the gateways were in so wretched a state of delapidation that stock preferred to go through them rather than the fence. Henry very quickly had the slip rails seen to, and the fences patched up, but it took the shepherds a long time to break the sheep from poking themselves through, or at least trying to poke themselves everywhere.

The sheep yards at the homestead had been patched up sufficiently to pass the stock through, but they were of so unworkable a plan that Henry had utterly condemned them, and was erecting a new set of yards upon a plan of his own

"Just look at the way the sheep had to go," said Henry to Philip next morning pointing to the race, the end of which butted up against one of the yard fences, as if a clean run for the sheep could not have been found somewhere or another. "Beeton often used to complain about the difficulty of passing the sheep through, and no wonder."

"It faces the son too, said Philip."

"Of course it does," replied Henry. "But don't look at them any longer. I will show you the plan of my new yards bye-and-bye," he continued, with all the conscious pride of an architect and designer. "Come along man,"

and the two started off to where the ewes were lambing.

Charley had, after his long absence, settled down to his books and accounts, and almost all the contractors about the place thought it fit to sacrifice a day's or half a day's work in order to say something or another about their particular jobs. One wanted the posts he had delivered counted, another his fence chained up, a third his scrub measured. So Charley's hands were pretty full. A few had, of course, got drunk down at the little public-house, and were still there for that matter, having perhaps quarrelled with their mates. They were waiting for a settling-up, and had spent all, and more than all, of the money due to them. When Charley and Philip passed the house with the bulls it was peculiar to see how these fellows melted, as it were, from off the verandah and disappeared inside. Of course, the men would not have made such fools of themselves if there had not been a public-house in the neighbourhood. Much more scrub and fern would have been cut and fallen, and consequently a greater area of grass laid down, had they kept sober, but then they could not keep sober with all those tempting bottles gleaming on the shelves not three miles off. Nor was there any necessity for a public-house, or, rather, drinking-bar (for no one would care to sleep or eat in the place if he could help it), in that particular spot. True it was a ferry in winter-time, and the authorities, by granting a license, received a certain number of pounds sterling in exchange, and so added to the revenue; but at what cost? In place of putting their money into a piece of land and becoming decent settlers the labourers regularly transmitted their wages to England for a certain quantity of alcohol, which, when drunk, was completely lost. Nothing did so much harm and was the cause of so much annoyance to Charley and Henry Easthorpe as the wretched little shanty of a public-house down by the river.

Charley therefore had his hands full, and Philip went about with Henry during the following two or three months, and assisted him with the lambing. The ewes lambed in the large paddock they had been accustomed to lamb in, and a most miserable lot of sheep they looked. Until the boiling-down place, in process of erection, was finished little or nothing could be done in the way of culling, for it was no use sending the culls over the hills to Egdecombe.

"You must do the best you can, Manning," said Henry, "but a good many of the old ewes will die on your hands."

"I expect they will, replied Philip, but we will see what sort of a percentage we can get."

Philip had about eighteen hundred to two thousand sheep to look after in his rough boundaries, while Henry and the other shepherds looked after the remainder. There were in all about six to seven thousand ewes to lamb. Beeton had allowed the sheep to lamb without giving them more than one shepherd's regular attention, the consequence being that the man could not possibly look after all the sheep. Deaths were therefore numerous, and the percentage of lambs small. Henry Easthorpe, on the other hand, adopted a more humane system. The ewes were carefully looked after, and instead of getting 55 to 60 per cent, of lambs he got nearly 70, which meant an extra five to six hundred lambs. Certainly the hills afforded good shelter to the sheep from the fierce cold south-easters, for from whatever quarter the wind blew shelter could be found. The feed was wretchedly bare in consequence of the overstocked state of the run, and it was pitiable to see the poor things crawl about biting the scant herbage.

All this, however, was in course of rectification. The hills were good dry limestone ranges, and there was nothing to prevent their being brought into splendid feeding condition.

"We will boil-down all the old crawlers, Manning, as soon as we can," said Henry, "and Charley says that he will have a five hundred acre paddock ready during the autumn, and that will relieve us of a good many of the dry sheep next winter."

"How many will you cull?"

"I think about three thousand," replied Henry.

"And will you be able to sell any of the fat stock," asked Philip, for even upon the most wretched run some sheep will get fat.

"Yes," replied Henry, "and boil-down what the butchers won't take. I shall get rid of at least six thousand this year all told, and if Charley finds new ground for a couple of thousand that ought to relieve the lambing-paddock next winter."

"So it will," replied Philip, "and two or three years of that sort of work will soon give you plenty of feed. Why, you ought to carry thirty thousand sheep on this ground!"

"Forty," laconically replied Henry.

"No," said Philip incredulously.

"Charley says we shall carry forty," repeated Henry, "and if he goes on clearing I think we shall."

"If the Maoris don't stop you."

"Hang the Maoris," replied Henry, pitching a piece of stone from where he was sitting, right away down to the bottom of the gully. For this conversation occurred one day when the two were out on the run together, and had sat down to have their lunch. Horse-flesh was not much used at Terua, all the work having to be done on

foot.

"They haven't caught Huru yet," said Philip.

"No," replied Henry. "I wish they had."

"What would you do, Henry, if he was to come here?"

"Well, I'd have a fight for the stud sheep," replied Henry, after thinking for a few moments, and coming to the conclusion that it was his bounden duty to save the stud flock. "But there was a Maori woman up yesterday from the pa down the river wanting some medicine. Didn't Charley toll you?"

"No," replied Philip.

"Well, there was then," said Henry. "Suppose you go down to-morrow and see what you can do for her. We might get some news. I will get Alex to give an eye to your sheep."

"Agreed," replied Philip, and having finished their lunch, our two friends went on their rounds.

*(To be continued.)*

Masthead for the Monthly Review The MONTHLY REVIEW *New Books & Contemporary Subjects*. VOL. II.] [No. 11. Wellington, N.Z. November 1, 1881

## Some Characteristics of Robert Burns.

WHAT characteristics that Burns had gained from his predecessors was a direct-speaking style, and to walk on his own feet instead of on academical stilts. There was never a man of letters with more absolute command of his means; and we may say of him, without excess, that his style was his slave. Hence that energy of epithet, so concise and telling, that a foreigner is tempted to explain it by some special richness or aptitude in the dialect he wrote. Hence the Homeric justness and completeness of description which gives us the very physiognomy of nature, in body and detail as nature is. Hence, too, the unbroken literary quality of his best pieces, which keeps him from any slip into the weariful trade of word-painting, and presents everything as everything should be presented by the art of words, in a clear, continuous medium of thought. Principal Shairp, for instance, gives us a paraphrase of one tough verse of the original; and for those who knew the Greek poets only by paraphrase, this has the very quality they are accustomed to look for and admire in Greek. The contemporaries of Burns were surprised that he should visit so many mountains and waterfalls, and not seize the opportunity to make a poem. Indeed, it is not for those who have a true command of the art of words, but for peddling professional amateurs that these pointed occasions are most useful and inspiring. As those who speak French imperfectly are glad to dwell on any topic they may have talked upon or heard others talk upon before, because they know appropriate words for it in French, so the dabbler in verse rejoices to behold a waterfall, because he has learned the sentiment, and knows appropriate words for it in poetry. But the dialect of Burns was fit to deal with any subject; and whether it was a stormy night, a shepherd's collie, a sheep struggling in the snow, the conduct of cowardly soldiers in the field, the gait and cogitations of a drunken man, or only a village cockcrow in the morning, he could find language to give it freshness, body, and relief, he was always ready to borrow the hint of a design, as though he had a difficulty in commencing—a difficulty, let us say, in choosing a subject out of a world which seemed all equally living and significant to him; but, once he had the subject chosen, he could cope with nature single-handed, and make every stroke a triumph. Again, his absolute mastery in his art enabled him to express each and all of his different humours, and to pass smoothly and congruously from one to another. Many men invent a dialect for only one side of their nature—perhaps their pathos or their humour, or the delicacy of their senses—and, for lack of a medium, leave all the others unexpressed. You meet such a one, and find him in conversation full of thought, feeling, and experience, which he has lacked the art to employ in his writings. But Burns was not thus hampered in the practice of the literary art; he could throw the whole weight of his nature into his work, and impregnate it from end to end. If Dr. Johnson, that stilted and accomplished stylist, had lacked the sacred Boswell, what should we have known of him? and how should we have delighted in his acquaintance as we do? Those who spoke with Burns tell us how much we have lost who did not. But I think they exaggerate their privilege; I think we have the whole Burns in our possession set forth in his consummate verses.

It was by his style, and not by his matter, that he affected Wordsworth and the world. There is, indeed, only one merit worth considering in a man of letters—that he should write well; and only one damning fault—that he should write ill. We are little the better for the reflections of the sailor's parrot in the story. And so, if Burns helped to change the course of literary history, it was by his frank, direct, and masterly utterance, and not by his homely choice of subjects. That was imposed upon him, not chosen upon a principle. He wrote from experience, because it was his nature so to do, and the tradition of the school from which he proceeded was fortunately not opposed to homely subjects. But to these homely subjects he communicated the rich commentary of his nature—they were all steeped in Burns—and they interest us, not in themselves, but because

they have passed through the spirit of so genuine and vigorous a man. Such is the stamp of living literature; and there was never any more alive than that of Burns.

What a gust of sympathy there is in him, sometimes flowing out in by-ways hitherto unused, upon mice, and flowers, and the devil himself; sometimes speaking plainly between human hearts; some-times ringing out in merry exultation like a peal of bells! When we compare "The Farmer's Salutation to his Auld Mare Maggie" with a clever and inhuman production of half a century earlier, "The Auld Man's Mare's dead," we see in a nutshell the spirit of the change introduced by Burns. And as to its manner, who that has read it can forget how the collie Luath, in "The Twa Dogs," describes and enters into the merry-making in the cottage?

"The luntin' pipe an' sneeshin mill,  
Are handed round wi' richt guid will;  
The canty auld folks crackin' crouse,  
The young anes rantin' through the house—  
My heart has been sae fain to see them  
That I for joy hae barkit wi' them."

It was this ardent power of sympathy that was fatal to so many women, and, through Jean Armour, to himself at last. His humour comes to him in a stream so deep and easy that I will venture to call him the best of humorous poets. He turns about in the midst to utter a noble sentiment or a trenchant remark on human life, and the style changes and rises to the occasion, I think it is Principal Shairp who says, happily, that Burns would have been no Scotchman if he had not loved to moralise; neither, may we add, would he have been his father's son; but (what is worthy of note) his moralisings are to a large extent the moral of his own career. He was among the least impersonal of artists. Except in "The Jolly Beggars," he shows no gleam of dramatic instinct. Mr. Carlyle had complained that "Tarn o' Shanter" is, from the absence of this quality, only a picture and external piece of work; and I may add that in "The Twa Dogs" it is precisely in the infringement of dramatic propriety that a great deal of the humour of the speeches depends for its existence and effect. Indeed, Burns was so full of his identity, that it breaks forth on every page; and there is scarce an appropriate remark, either in praise or blame of his own conduct, but he has put it himself into verse. Alas for the tenor of these remarks! They are indeed his own pitiful apology for such a marred existence, and talents so misused and stunted; and they seem to prove for ever how small a part is played by reason in the conduct of man's affairs. Here was one at least who with unflinching judgment predicted his own fate; yet his knowledge could not avail him, and with open eyes he must fulfil his tragic destiny.

Ten years before the end, he had written his epitaph; and neither subsequent events, not the critical eyes of posterity, have shown us a word in it to alter. And, lastly, has he not put in for himself the last unanswerable plea?—

"Then gently scan your brother man,  
Still gentler sister woman;  
Though they may gang a kennin wrang,  
To step aside is human :  
One point must still be greatly dark—"

One? Alas! I fear every man and woman of us is "greatly dark" to all their neighbours, from the day of birth until death removes them, in their greatest virtues as well as their saddest faults; and we, who have been trying to read the character of Burns, may take home the lesson and be gentle in our thoughts.—*Cornhill*.

## Books.

It is really an appalling thing to think of the people who have no books. Can we picture to ourselves a home without these gentle friends? Can we imagine a life dead to all the gracious influences of sweet thoughts sweetly spoken, of tender suggestions tenderly whispered, of holy dreams, glowing plays of fancy, unexpected re-minding of subtle analogies and unsuspected harmonies, and those swift thoughts which pierce the heart like an arrow, and fill us with a new sense of what we are and what we may be? Yet there are thousands and tens of thousands of homes where these influences never reach, where the whole of the world is hard, cruel fact unredeemed by hope or illusion, with the beauty of the world shut out and the grace of life destroyed. It is only

by books that most men and women can lift themselves above the sordidness of life. No books! Yet for the greater part of humanity that is the common lot. We may, in fact, divide our fellow-creatures into two bunches—those who read books and those who do not. Digger Indians, Somaulis, Veddahs, Andaman, Islanders, Lancashire wife-kickers, Irish landlord shooters, belong to those who do not. How few, alas! be those who do! I lately saw in some paper, and was not surprised to see it, that the result of a complete Board-school course is generally that the boys and girls who have been triumphant in special subjects for the sake of the grant go away without the least idea ever to read anything else for the rest of their lives. This seems a disappointing outcome of any system of education. With infinite pains and at great expense we put into a boy's hands the key to all the knowledge whereunto man has attained, to all the knowledge whereunto he may hereafter attain, and to most of the delights of life—and he does not care to exercise that power. Perhaps it is not altogether the fault of the system. In every school, one knows there is the boy who loves reading, and the boy who does not. He is found as a matter of course in the Board school as much as at Rugby. And many most respectable men, it must be confessed, have got on in the world without any love for books, with no desire at all for knowledge, and with absolutely no feeling for the beauty and force of language. One such I knew in days bygone, an excellent person who had read but one book in all his life: it was Macaulay's Essays. Nor did he ever desire to read another book; it was enough for him. On a certain evening I persuaded him to come with me to a theatre, for the first time in his life. He sat out the performance with great politeness and patience. It did not touch him in the least, though the piece was very funny and very well acted. When we came away, he said to me, "Yes, it was a pleasing exhibition, but I would rather have been reading Macaulay's Essays." Another man I once knew who made one book last through a considerable part of his life, but this was perhaps mere pretence, with craft and subtlety. Thus, for many years, if he was asked for an opinion, he invariably replied, "I have not yet had time to investigate the question. I am at present engaged upon Humboldt's 'Cosmos.'" The taste for reading in fact is born with one. We may even conceive of a man born with that taste, yet never taught to read. He would grow up melancholy, moody, ever conscious that something was absent which would have made an incomplete life harmonious and delightful. Fancy the prehistoric man born with such a taste, uncomfortable because something, he knew not what, was wanting; restless, dissatisfied, yearning after some unknown delight, sorrowful yet unable to explain his sorrow; taking no solid pleasure like his fellows in sucking his marrow-bones, crouching among the bones in the innermost recesses of the cave, regardless of his kitchen midden. Happy, indeed, for that small section of previously unsatisfied mankind, when someone, after intolerable searchings of spirit, and with infinite travail, produced the first rude semblance of hieroglyph, Phoenician, Cuneiform, or Hittite. As for the rest of mankind, they might have gone on to this day, as indeed they practically do, without an alphabet, and would never have missed it. So that, after all, we need not feel too much indignation over the failure, of the School Board.—*Froude*,

## **Jim Keene's Washerwoman.**

### **AN ENTERPRISING FEMALE WHO WASHED SOILED LINEN IN A \$80,000 HOUSE.**

"THE fact is," said Jim Keene, the great New York rival of Jay Gould, as he relaxed his usual taciturnity under the genial influence of one of Sam Ward's dinners the other day, "The fact is no matter how clever and thorough a man's system of stock operating may be, there is always occurring some little unforeseen and apparently insignificant circumstance that is forever knocking the best laid plans into a cocked hat."

"As how?"

"Well, for instance, about a year ago I was doing a good deal in Lake Shore, and counted on making a good clean up. I discovered, however, that there was some hidden influence in the market that was always against me. It didn't exactly defeat my plans, but it lessened the profits. I soon saw that there was some operator who was kept informed as to my movements in time to make me pay for his knowledge."

"Broker gave you away?" said several.

"Not at all. I never gave an order in advance, and, besides, I used, as now, half a dozen brokers, and also gave 'cross' and 'dummy' orders in plenty. One day, while I was standing by the window of my up-town place, cogitating over this state of affairs, an elegant private coupe drove past, and stopped just around the corner from my door. It contained a richly-dressed lady and a ragged looking girl. The latter got out, rang my basement bell and was admitted. I sent for my man servant, and inquired who the girl might be."

"She comes for the wash, sir," he said.

"Does she generally come in a coupe?" I inquired.

"Why, no, sir," said my man, very much surprised; 'her mother, the washerwoman, is very poor.'

"Just then my own carriage drove round for me, and as it passed the other I could see the lady eagerly sorting the soiled clothes in the coupe on her lap. This excited my curiosity, so I had my driver follow along behind. Pretty soon the coupe stopped, and the dirty little girl got out with the bundle and went into a brownstone front on Twenty-ninth street. The coupe then kept straight on down to Wall street, and stopped in front of a broker's office, where the lady alighted with my entire lot of soiled shirt cuffs in her hand.

"Shirt cuffs?" cried the entire company.

"Exactly, shirt cuffs. I saw through it all in a moment. You see, I am—or rather was—a great hand while at dinner, or at the theatre in the evening, to think over my plans for the next day, and to make memorandums on my cuffs to consult before starting down town in the morning. My washerwoman had found this out, and had been quietly 'coppering' my game by means of my cuffs for over a year."

"Well, by jove!" said Sam Ward, pausing a single instant in the sacred mystery of salad dressing.

"It's the cold fact," continued Keene. "In less than eight months she had cleaned up over \$6000,000 and was washing my clothes—at least my cuffs—in an \$80,000 house. She had diamonds and horses until you couldn't rest."

"You didn't make any more cuff mems, after that?" laughed several.

"Well, not many—just a few," said the great operator, holding his Burgundy up to the light. "I believe I kept it up about a month longer, at the end of which time I had raked in the washerwoman's bank account, and even had a mortgage on the brownstone house. It was quite a coincidence, wasn't it? But perhaps the information she found on the cuffs after that wasn't as exact as it had been, somehow, nor as reliable."

And the "king of the street" emptied his glass with an indescribable wink that made Beach, who was short on Harlem, shiver like a cat who had just swallowed a live mouse.

SPEAKING on the Irish Land Bill, the Duke of Argyll thus humourously spoke of certain members of the House of Lords opposed to him in debate :—"My lords, when I look at my noble friends below me I cannot help regarding them as very like what I have seen in the Western Highlands of Scotland—a row of jelly fishes. (Laughter.) My noble friends need not be affronted at this. Jelly fishes are among the most beautiful creatures in the world. (Renewed laughter.) They have been the study of eminent biologists for many years. They have a very delicate nervous system; but hitherto it is believed that they are destitute of a skeleton and backbone. They have this peculiarity : They make most beautiful convulsive movements in the water, and they seem to swim along the water; but when you look more closely you find that they are only floating with the currents and the tide. That is the position of my noble friends." (Cheers and laughter.)

A comet which travels a million and a half of miles per day must get tired towards night. Give the poor thing a rest.

If 6,000 old maids should pile into Nebraska each and every one could find a husband to love cherish and protect her.

Peace, gentle peace, broods o'er the land, and yet Krupp has erected two new cannon foundaries and engaged 2,000 extra workmen.

An Indian never snores in his sleep, until after he has become partly civilised. In his natural state he is too lazy to even turn over in bed.

A government clerkship, in Germany, involves 180 days of waiting, sixteen examinations, and enough red tape to reach across the Atlantic.

Drink plenty of water. Leave liquor for a cooler season.—*New Orleans Picayune*. This is the coolest season we ever knew.—*New Haven Register*.

It has lately been discovered that Washington, Napoleon, Franklin, Watts, Harvey, Newton, and Shakespeare snored in their sleep. It is an evidence of greatness.

## **Tale of New Zealand.—Concluded.**

### **Chapter XLV.**

#### **Making Ready.**

ALL was now excitement in Edgecombe. The little place was crowded beyond accommodation, as nearly

all the settlers had sought the shelter of its citadel. Huru was camped about seven miles away with all his mob, and had built a strong pah. It now rested with the authorities when the troops should attack him, for, in Maori fashion, he was waiting for battle. He was not strong enough to take to the open yet awhile, but, if he could only hold his own a sufficient time, he reckoned upon being joined by plenty of other malcontents. He would fight us in the pah he now held, and if we beat him out, he would take to another in the bush, where he had accumulated provisions. By such tactics he hoped to prolong the struggle until the whole Island was in a blaze of war.

All the good citizens of Edgecombe were under arms, and being drilled. A gazette had been issued calling out the militia and volunteers, both in town and country, and Charley and Henry had been duly enrolled as full privates in the latter force. Ammunition had been served out, and everyone was eager to close with the disturbers of the district. The friendly natives under their separate chiefs looked on in silence. They knew what work lay before them, better than our men, and were not so eager for the fray. Besides they had plenty to eat and drink, and Huru was safe in his pah. Time enough for fighting when the actual day of battle arrived.

Everyone regarded Colonel Whitmore's advance into the bush as a mistake, but the end proved that the Colonel was right, and he returned to the town in triumph. The spirits of our amateur soldiery rose, and all clamoured to be led against Huru. But the Colonel watched the face of Ihaka, the principal chief of the friendly natives, and waited. Time enough to give battle when our allies were ready. The Maori is a strange creature. Sometimes he is ready to fight, sometimes he is not. When he is ready, take him at his word; but if he is not, if the dream has not been favorable, or some ridiculous omen propitious, don't hurry him. When once his mind is fairly made up, no braver ally steps the ground than the dusky New Zealand native.

One morning the steamer from the South brought the Hamilton letters, and one from Mary Easthorpe to her cousins, telling them that Mrs. Easthorpe had been taken ill. "The doctors say it is typhoid fever," wrote Mary, in trouble, "and I don't know what to do. Try and come down, Charley, if you can, as Mamma is very ill. Dr. Manning has offered his services to the Government, and intends going to Edgecombe at once. He and Dr. Harvey have been attending her, but I hope he will not leave us yet." By which it will be seen that Philip considered it his duty, in spite of his lady-love and Mrs. Easthorpe's illness, to be near his two friends.

"Aunt, ill," cried Henry. "You had better go at once, Charley."

But Charley took the matter more quietly than his brother, and said he must consult Major Gordon, as he could not leave without the permission of his commanding officer. Besides, it would not look well to leave his fellow settlers, just on the eve of battle.

Major Gordon read Mary's letter, and gave Charley permission to go down by the next steamer. At the same time, the worthy Major stated "that every man was wanted in the place," but advised Charley to take his own course. Mr. Easthorpe being absent in England was a sufficient excuse for Charley to leave, and the Major promised to explain the reason of Charley's departure.

Here was a predicament. What would the people say to his going? It would look bad, but what was to be done? Every hour was precious; but then at any moment Colonel Whitmore might order the attack. Charley determined not to leave. He sent a telegram to Philip, begging him to stay where he was for a few days, until he could get down to relieve him. There would be plenty of time for him to come up after Huru had been attacked. The war had only just begun. "Do stay where you are," the message said, "I will come down immediately." Charley also wrote to Mrs. Goring, asking her assistance, and that good lady complied by sending her daughter Kate to help Mary. Katey Goring very gladly complied, only too anxious to assist any of Charley's friends.

The next day—Thursday—Colonel Whitmore resolved to attack the pah, and Charley and Henry fell into the ranks with beating hearts, glad that the matter was so soon to be brought to an issue. A couple of days' provisions were served out. The men, women, and children remaining in the town silently saw the column off, and about eleven o'clock that night our small force marched out of the place, accompanied by a detachment of naval volunteers from the men-of-war lying in the harbour. Our friendly native allies, and a strong company of the armed constabulary, had been sent off a little earlier to take up a proper position, so that Huru might not give us the slip unawares. The navy men mustered a hundred strong. Companies No. 1 and 2 of the militia consisted of about eighty men each. The two companies of country settlers mustered about 50 men each, and as it had become known that Huru had about twelve or fourteen large canoes hidden in the swamp, at the rear of his pah, the second company of armed constabulary had been started off just after the first detachment, to endeavour to get the canoes, and cut off the enemies' retreat, in case of the attack being successful. These canoes were large *tiwais*, and would hold from twenty to sixty men each. They were duly secured, and an attempt was made to bring them into Edgecombe, but it failed, and they were cast adrift. Some went over the bar of the little river into the sea; the rest were stranded on the mud flats.

The men-of-war sent a party ashore to guard the town, and Major Gordon was left in charge of the place. Charley's last remembrance was the tearful face of Major Gordon's daughter, Lizzy, bidding him adieu. Poor Miss Lizzy never had such a sinking at her heart before in all her remembrance of Maori troubles, and Charley

Easthorpe is to be excused if he needlessly pressed her hand when saying good-bye. When Lizzy Gordon sought her bed that night, what a heart-felt prayer did she send to heaven for the safety of the man who could never be anything to her but a name.

## Chapter XLVI.

### The Attack.

It was a calm starlight summer night, and our men marched silently along the road, and then struck across the country to where Huru had erected his pah. Colonel Whitmore rode ahead with a couple of native chiefs. The gallant little Colonel had briefly addressed the men on the parade ground, but little necessity was there to ask them to do their duty. Most of the volunteer settlers were enraged at Huru for being the cause of their having to leave their homesteads, and besides they had many a grudge to wipe off against Maori bounce. Very long had they borne with native audacity and impudence—restrained by the Government from obtaining satisfaction. Now had the time arrived when old scores were to be paid off, and if the enemy could then have been met with, it would have been made very short work of. Unfortunately, the enemy never is met with just at the right moment, and the courage of our irregulars gradually cooled down. By daylight on Friday, the whole of the forces were opposite the Hauhau encampment, the friendly natives on the hills, the militia, armed constabulary and volunteers on the flats.

A small river ran at the base of the little hill on which Huru had erected his stockade, which looked gay and pretty in the morning light; for a Maori pah, with its bizarre palisading, is rather attractive to the eye; the posts standing upright like a long line of spears of irregular height, with here and there a rude carving, or a little paint, or a few feathers. The corner posts of Huru's pah had been most grotesquely carved into heads, and, moreover, had long "stove-pipe" hats on. The entrance to the stockade was a very narrow one, and inside the palisade was the ordinary serpentine sort of earthwork, which we have found so difficult to deal with. Should the palisade be captured we would still have the enemy in their earthworks; and as these works communicated with each other and, moreover, commanded each other, our men would have a difficult task to oust the enemy. One side of the pah was flush with a precipice of about sixty feet in height dipping into the river. An extensive impassable swamp lay at the other side, leaving only two sides for attack. A long fern-covered slope led up to these two sides, off which every bit of cover had been carefully removed. A couple of lines of rifle pits had been constructed in front of the pah along this slope, but the rocket-tubes of our navy-men quickly dislodged the hardy occupants of these little nests, and caused them to return into the pah. As it was estimated that Huru had fully two hundred people with him, and as the women fight just as well as the men, and quite as bravely, our little force had all its work cut out.

Charley and Henry Easthorpe had fallen in and marched together. They did not say much to each other. Both felt that the affair was more serious than they anticipated, and, if the truth must be told, both felt frightened. Charley afterwards said that they confessed this much to each other, at which poor Henry Easthorpe laughed, and told Charley, jokingly, to take a lock of his hair home if anything did happen to him. Whereupon Charley told him not to laugh, as it was too serious a matter, and requested him to keep as close as they could together the whole day.

A flag of truce was sent by Colonel Whitmore with a demand for an unconditional surrender, but it was laughed at by the Hauhaus. Huru was heard to call to his people "not to give in, for his God had promised him the plunder of Edgecombe." The Hauhaus could be plainly seen dancing round their pole, and shouting at the top of their voices. At half-past seven another and a final flag of truce was sent. The answer of the natives was "that they were quite ready for the fight and awaiting the attack." The order was given to cross the river and attack, and the little force advanced.

Here a fact, showing the bad generalship, or intense infatuation of the Hauhaus, became apparent. *Not a single shot was fired as our men crossed the river.* The water was very cold, and the current strong, and our men had to wade thigh deep, yet not a shot was fired. Had they fired or attacked our raw volunteers then, instead of waiting to be attacked, the advance would have been quickly thrown into confusion. As it was there were a good many white faces among the militia, but still they steadily crossed, and mounted the steep bank of the river on the other side. The blue jackets, however, behaved splendidly and took the water in gallant style, and were up the bank like cats, waiting for the word to advance, and rush the pah.

Colonel Whitmore, however, restrained the courage of his men, and took advantage of the slight shelter of the river-bank until a good landing had been effected, and then ordered the advance. No. 2 Company of country settlers came under fire first. Charley and Henry belonged to No. 1 Company, and soon they heard the whiz of the bullets, fired in enmity, for the first time in their lives. They saw a man or two fall in No. 2 Company, but at

the same time heard the cheers of the blue jackets. It was curious to see the look of astonishment that some of the men put on at the commencement of the firing. One of the officers nearly cut off his nose with his own sword, so agitated did he become; while another, I am sorry to relate, hid himself in a bed of thistles, and never showed out till all was over. The firing continued for nearly two hours, when the rockets were evidently beginning to tell. Wherever there was danger, there Colonel Whitmore could be seen, encouraging his men, and quietly noting the progress of the attack. Just as he had given orders to charge the pah, a Hauhau ran out with a white flag and surrendered. At this time the volunteers charged like mad, headed by an infuriated captain; but, unfortunately for their glory, they were too late, the blue jackets having captured the place. The dead and wounded were seen in all directions. Some women were wounded, and one child shot in the arm. Huru was shot dead, and Colonel Whitmore had scored a victory.

But where was Charley Easthorpe? Away down the slope, resting upon the ground, with his brother Henry's pale and livid face in his lap, wiping the clammy lips, and gazing into the glassy eyes, sat Charley, with a terrible cold sinking at the heart, and crying to his brother to look up and speak to him.

Henry! Henry! cried he in anguish. But poor Henry only smiled and nestled a little closer to him; closer, then closer, as if seeking a resting-place, and then died; shot near the heart in the middle of the fight. May God have mercy upon him, for a sadder fate ne'er was his.

## Chapter XLVII.

### A Retrospect.

A YEAR has passed away. Charley Easthorpe is back again at Terua, and Philip Manning is staying for a few days with him. Huru's death had settled the war. The Maoris had been taught a lesson, the only true lesson too that we can teach them. Nothing satisfies the savage mind like a good thrashing, and nothing renders it more obedient and amenable to the laws for many a year afterwards.

But at any rate Colonel Whitmore had given them a lesson this time, fifty having been taken prisoners in the pah, sixty killed, forty-five wounded, and about sixty managed to escape through the swamp, while our list of casualties happened to be exceedingly small. Peace was immediately restored throughout the island, and after attending poor Henry's funeral, Charley hurried down to Hamilton. The news of Henry's death had preceded him, and he found, when he arrived, truly a house of grief and mourning, Mrs. Easthorpe not being expected, to live, and Mary in great trouble. The roadway strewn with tan and straw, to deaden the noise of passing vehicles, he noticed as he walked up to the house, and wondered to himself whether his aunt too was dead.

His cousin Mary met him at the door, but would not allow him to enter the house, in consequence of the dreaded typhoid fever.

"Oh, Charley, Charley! how could I have been so cruel to poor Henry," cried Mary, holding his hand in both of hers, and sobbing quietly, for she had not long been told the sad news, and was reproaching herself for many an unkind word uttered in former days. It is not until death deprives us of some friend or relation that we really see what erring creatures we are.

"Never mind, Mary," replied Charley, consoling her, "you didn't mean it all."

"Oh! but I did, Charley," sobbed Mary, "and now he is gone, and I can never ask him to forgive me."

"But he did forgive you, Mary, and sent you his dying love," replied her cousin, at which Mary only sobbed afresh. What would she not have given to have recalled those unkind words? But Charley had to be told about Mrs. Easthorpe, and the two sat down on the verandah, and he learnt how near death's door his aunt was also.

It is a curious thing to find in a new country how virulently typhoid fever attacks the colonists. One would have thought that humanity would be more free from the diseases that afflict people in the older lands, yet it is not so. Some one unaccountably is suddenly stricken down with the dreaded fever, and we marvel at our ignorance of its cause or origin. Truly the faculty of medicine is an occult science. In some towns it is said to be more unhealthy to live upon the hill sides than upon the level land. In others *vice versa*, the contrary is found to be the case. Some ascribe the spread of the disease to one thing, some to another, but as to its origin, that remains a mystery.

"Yes," said Mary sadly, "we do not yet know whether mamma will recover, but if she does, it will be entirely owing to Dr. Manning. He will be here presently, and then you can see Katey." Hereupon poor Mary stifled another sob, and looked as if it was a foregone conclusion that Charley was at once to interview Miss Goring.

"What, is Katey here?" exclaimed Charley.

"Yes," replied Mary; "she has been staying here ever since mamma has been ill. "Mrs. Douglas came and

stayed for a short time, but the danger of contagion became too great, and now she only comes to see how mamma is getting on. Oh! Charley," said Mary, with a little sob, "you would'nt believe how people avoid coming to the house. I meet every one here where we sit."

What need is there to continue this recital of grief. Suffice it to say that Philip Manning stuck to his post, even when the other doctors had given Mrs. Easthorpe up, and pulled her through the fever safely, by which he made a great name in Hamilton, and assured himself a good practice. What need to tell of the heroism of little Katey Goring, who so nobly assisted Mary; or of Charley's utter recklessness in pushing his way into the fever-stricken house, and for a few days trying his best to cheer up the two girls. There was, however, little harm done by this, as he had to stay with Philip while he remained in town, and ran just as much chance of the danger of contagion from him as from Mary or Kate Goring. By which it will be seen that we have a very poor opinion of Philip, or of any of the doctors for that matter, being proof from the spread of disease, and that, so far as we are concerned, we would neither stay with nor have anything to do with a medical man who would be likely to bring us into danger. The gentle reader will please to note the utter unselfishness of these remarks; yet is not the world unselfish, and by the world we mean our cousins and other relations in this matter of sickness.

As soon as Mrs. Easthorpe was out of danger, Charley had to return to Terua, where he found the rams all over the country, the cattle in all the paddocks, and the sheep pretty well mixed up again. Olson had stuck to his post manfully, and done his best to keep the gates shut and slip-panels closed; but in the summer time, when water runs short, where will not stock go to? Fences certainly will not hold them. We have in our mind as we write a cow, a poley cow, who, with her calf (a poley calf, too, by the way), carefully took the country as she found it, and wandered about at her own sweet will. Nothing would hold her. She was what is termed and known among dairy people as a "poker," and truly she was an inveterate one. There was nothing wild or vicious about the beast. On the contrary, both she and her calf looked meek and mild; but place them where you would, out on the run, back they would come, for the especial purpose of getting into the orchard. Wherever the mother went the calf followed, and the knowing, yet sleepy look of that calf's eye, when at the mother's heel, was a sight to make the stockman dance with agony. He poor man had knocked up one of his horses, and broken a whip or two after and over that cow and calf. If then he swore a little, let us hope that it will not be scored up against him too severely. Special reference is made to this matter, for the purpose of calling the attention of the world to the fact that poley cattle are the worst sort of "pokers," and the determined enemies of peaceful and contented minds amongst stockmen. Therefore, those who intend breeding the "Black Angus" had better look to their fences.

Charley Easthorpe, however, soon had things placed in order again, and from that day to this, nothing has disturbed the even tenor of his way. Terua is now almost capable of carrying the forty thousand sheep poor Henry spoke about. The fossil, Olson, still remains upon his beloved boundary, having well earned such a pension, by sticking to his post during the brief war. At present Charley has found it necessary to set about the erection of a neat substantial homestead; a matter of time, as the timber would have to be sawn, and bricks made upon the ground. For what purpose Charley was building a house we cannot yet exactly say. Perhaps Beeton's little cottage was really too small. Perhaps Master Charley had other ideas.

Mr. Easthorpe had returned from England, shortly after Mrs. Easthorpe's recovery, and that gentleman was very thankful to Philip for his attention to his wife.

"It was Philip who saved her papa," said Mary, one winter's evening, when the two happened to be alone together, sitting by the fire; Mr. Easthorpe in his great easy chair, and Mary in one of her old attitudes by his side.

"Philip!" said Mr. Easthorpe, surprised. Philip, Mary! Dr. Manning you mean.

"No, no, papa," replied Mary, burying her face in her hands. "He will always be Philip to me." And then her father told her to hush, and so the two sat for a long time. What passed through Mr. Easthorpe's mind we cannot say, but when he bid his daughter good-night, he tenderly kissed her. We only know that as he went down to his office the next day, he called in at the Hospital, and told Philip that he should be glad to see him the first evening he had to spare, whereat our friend Philip became extremely red in the face, and then turned pale, and altogether looked extremely confused. Nevertheless, he did not fail to comply with Mr. Easthorpe's request, and before he left the house that night Mr. Easthorpe had consented to the engagement. We only further know that as Philip left Mr. Easthorpe's study, after the said important conversation, he met Mary Easthorpe, who was suddenly surprised to find herself caught round the waist and passionately caressed. Whereupon Mary made no particular protestation, that we can remember, but simply put her arms round Philip's neck, and hid her face from his. And herein the reader will perceive that there is a good deal of fudge and nonsense touching the ordinary declaration of love, and that the said declaration is oftentimes but a dream of the poets. In this case we know, upon the very best authority, that there was no formal declaration. Instances have been known, we suppose, in which some Deucalion has bent the knee to a relentless Pyrrha, but whoever adopts that course of proceeding, now-a-days, deserves very properly to be scorned. The stage is about the only receptacle of the old

practice; young men and young women of the present day taking some such sensible course as Philip pursued. If that course cannot be adopted, then we have nothing whatever to say, but are quite content to allow Deucalion to go upon his knees as often as he pleases, as we hold the thought that young people should first of all love each other sufficiently to dispense with any such form or ceremony.

Mrs. Easthorpe had told her husband, too, of Katey Goring's unselfish conduct, and of Charley's love for her, when they were discussing Mary's frank confession about Philip, and Mr. Easthorpe watched Kate's graceful winning ways, until unconsciously he grew to like to have her in the house. For Kate Goring remained with Mary for some little time after his return, until indeed he took his wife and Mary for a trip through the wondrously beautiful lake scenery of the South Island. Katey returned to the Willows with a swelling heart, happy in the knowledge of Mrs. Easthorpe's affection. Mrs. Goring was surprised to find how wonderfully well Kate looked, and how contented she appeared to be. Upon remarking this to Dr. Goring, that gentleman replied "that he thought a little nursing did most girls good," and instanced the case of Flora Nightingale, which showed that the worthy doctor was as usual wide of the mark. He expressed, however, some little surprise at the number of letters Katey now received from Mary Easthorpe, and others, bearing the Edgecombe post mark, but ended by concluding, in his own mind, that things were going favorably for his daughter's happiness. Kate resumed her old habits, and accompanied her sister Nelly in many a long ride across country, or visited Mount Ida with her, or rode down to the Douglas's, at the Glen. She noticed, too, what a wonderfully good understanding appeared to exist between Mr. George Tempest and Nelly, and what an unconscionable time it took that young gentleman to help her sister into the saddle. First he had to see that the martingale was all right, then the two could not exactly agree as to the "now," and after Nelly was up in her seat, it appeared to take them a long time to find the stirrup. Not that we for a moment suppose that there was anything peculiar in this, for riding dresses are a nuisance, and really do sometimes have a strange habit of being remarkably in the way, and difficult to arrange.

There was nothing now to prevent our friend Philip from fencing in and stocking his Maori leasehold, and further arranging about obtaining some of the country lying immediately to the back of it. For this purpose he had got down one of his old shepherds, whom he had when he used to live at Apanui, and had sent him up to get the place into shape. But it is too late for us to trouble the reader with all that Philip did in this direction, as the stocking of a new run, and reclaiming such a piece of land from the wilds, is a short history in itself. We may have already grown wearisome in the recital of what has been done at Terua, which, as the reader knows, was partly improved when Beeton sold the place. Suffice it to say, that Philip having managed to get a brother practitioner to look after his practice and the hospital, for a week or two, in Hamilton, was up at Terua himself, seeing how matters were progressing. Let us return to that homestead for the last time, and see the two friends together.

## Chapter XLVIII.

### Looking Ahead.

It was a lovely day in spring, and the air felt warm and balmy on the hills. One of those glorious New Zealand days which rouse the body and elate the spirits and tend "to drive dull care away." A day when all one asks is a swinging canter for half-a-dozen miles oves some breezy down, or a stiff, sharp, springing walk over the hills. A day that makes one feel better and more at peace with the world, and thankful to the Great Creator for all His mercies. A sort of day the full significance of which rarely strikes the thousands of dwellers and toilers in the townships; but which comes with all the sweet force of nature to the country settler. For has he not passed through the tempestuous weather of winter—the rain and hail and storm and wind? Has he not been out on the hills or plain, when some bitterly bleak south-easter was blowing, piercing his clothes and chilling him to the bone, yet compelled to face it in order to give a look to the stock? Or has he not been caught in some sudden storm, when the downpour of rain, in a few moments, has drenched him to the skin, and caused his poor horse to turn its back for a time its fury? To such as he, a day like the present one is truly enjoyable; and both Charley and Philip were again in the saddle, thoroughly enjoying it.

"I tell you what it is, Manning," Charley was saying as they passed the Maori pah, "that piece of ground of yours will carry any amount of stock when you get it in trim, and if I were you I would take up the whole of those hills as far as the black spur."

Here Charley swung his whip in a careless sort of manner, embracing in the sweep some five or six thousand acres of ground.

"Too much bush," replied Philip, looking carefully at the hills. "I don't think it would pay to clear and sow down."

"You will excuse my saying, Manning," said Charley, "that you don't know anything about it. I find that the best feed on Terua is in the gullies, which I have cleared of bush and sown down. People have made a great mistake by being too frightened of the bush. You try and pass those hills through the Land Court, and tackle them. I intend to have eight or nine parties of bush contractors at work this year at Terua."

"No doubt you will, Charley," replied Philip thoughtfully, still looking at the hills, and wondering in his own mind how he was to find the necessary means to get his thousand acres in order. With his limited income, even that would have to be a work of time, and if he took to himself a wife, he would have very little money to spare for station improvements.

[We may at once tell the reader, that the hills were never taken up, but remain to this day, in exactly the same state as when Philip and Charley last rode beneath them. The two occasionally look at them even now, but they have quite enough to do to look after Terua itself; by which statement we make the further confession that, in consequence of his marriage with Mary Easthope, our friend Philip acquired an interest in that run, much to his own good fortune, and the happiness of a certain young lady at Ashton, who, in course of time, went to reside at Terua, and who was pleased to have her old friends paying somewhat lengthy visits to the homestead].

"No, Charley," continued Philip, "I think it will be best for me to keep to the reserve. I shall have quite enough to do to get that into grass and stock it. You must give a look to my shepherd occasionally, like a good fellow."

"I don't think he requires much looking after," answered Charley, "although, I suppose, if poor Henry had been here, he would have condemned many of his proceedings. You are lucky in not having a fellow like Olson."

"Is Olson as stupid as ever?" asked Philip.

"Quite," replied Charley, "you should go out and see him. He is laid up with rheumatism."

"Still in his hut?"

"Yes," replied Charley, "he doesn't intend to leave there until we carry him out feet foremost. What is more, I intend to let him have his way; only I have built another whare at the other end of his boundary, and sent Alex, out to it."

"Are you getting the wild sheep down?" asked Philip.

"Pretty well," replied Charley, "but there are still a few in the bush. I believe that there are wild sheep all through these hills, and that it will take years to get them in."

Then the two rode slowly home, along the river bank, past the ferry, and the little public-house, which still flourished in its dingy way, and which still sent its victims to destruction; along the road (where Beeton had formerly stopped to take his last look at Terua; through the entrance gates (the pines had shot up into big trees now), across the paddocks, and then home. The little homestead looked more cheerful than when Charley took possession of it. The garden had been attended to, and looked neat and orderly. No litter encumbered the verandah, and inside, the rooms bore the unmistakable air of being occupied by people of refinement.

Charley had pointed out to Philip the lines of the new house which was to be built close to the homestead, and, indeed, would form an addition to it, but an addition that would throw the original building quite into the shade.

"The sawyers are only just cutting the timber," Charley had said.

"Does Mr. Easthorpe know?" Philip had asked.

"The letter you brought with you contained his consent," replied Charley, looking a bit shy and awkward. And Charley had replied in the affirmative, whereby Philip knew that that gentleman had given his consent to Charley's marriage with Kate Goring. Whereupon Philip placed one hand upon Charley's shoulder, and the two young men had looked into each other's eyes, and had quietly shaken hands, and each knew that their paths in life would be close together during the rest of their days.

## Chapter XLIX.

### Wedding Bells.

Joy bells are ringing in the rising town of Hamilton, sending their music through the streets, and causing the busy citizens to ask each other what could be the matter. Carriages were dashing to and fro, and coachmen, in white gloves and marriage favors pinned to their coats, were carrying the invited guests, first to the Church to see the marriage, and afterwards to the Easthorpes; for to-day, Charley Easthorpe and Kate Goring, Philip Manning and Mary Easthorpe, were to be married.

Crowded was the little edifice as Charley and Philip led their brides up to the altar, followed by a long train of bridesmaids and groomsmen. Hushed was the congregation as the worthy Bishop read the marriage service,

and insolubly tied the knot, that made Mary and Kate wedded wives. Gravely looked on Mrs. Easthorpe and Mrs. Goring, while as quietly grave stood by the Doctor and Mr. Easthorpe. Trembled some of the bridesmaids at the thought of *their* approaching fate, and one imploring look did Eleanor Goring cast at George Tempest, who happened to be standing near her.

They all looked very pretty. Little May Douglas even felt awed, and was glad when the thing was over, and was able to run up to Mary, and throw her arms round her neck, and crush her veil and flowers, which particular diversion Mary accepted as a relief and a change, in spite of her bridal attire, which of course became crushed and put out of shape.

High swelled the organ as the people left the church, and Charley and Philip handed their brides into their respective carriages. Does not the music still linger in their ears even now, and do they not often think over those few moments, when they waited at the church doors until the carriages slowly took them up? Was it not a relief to get out of the people's sight, and find themselves seated by each other, and on the way home to breakfast?

"Oh! please let me go with Mary." May Douglas had asked, but the young lady was firmly conducted into one of the vehicles set apart for the bridesmaids.

Need we relate what occurred at the all-important breakfast, and how the doctor (by this we mean Doctor Goring) shone and beamed in a most benign way on all around, and told amusing anecdotes, and cracked jokes, and smiled, and looked a most happy elderly gentleman, as he was, and publicly called his wife's attention to the day when they were married "some half-century ago," at which his wife blushed slightly, and denied the date. Nor need we say how quiet Mr. Easthope, and Charley, and Philip were, and how slightly excited Mary and Kate became. Nor of the speeches, and good wishes, and cutting of the great cake, which towered aloft, and had been an object of envy to half the girls in Hamilton for a fortnight previously. All these things are best known to those who were most interested, and who often think of them.

Then, when the breakfast was all over, and Mary and Kate had exchanged their wedding array, and the carriages had driven up the gravelled pathway to the house, did not all the guests crowd the porch and broad verandah; and what further smiles, and nods, and becks occurred, as the wedded couples drove away, followed by a shower of orthodox slippers, ragged, yet withal happiness—wishing. Nor need we say anything of the slight aching pain in Mrs. Easthorpe's heart, as she stood by her husband's side, and saw her daughter depart from her old home, leaving her, indeed, lone and solitary in her declining years. It is enough for you and I, gentle reader, to look on, and to witness these proceedings, and wish Mary and Kate, Philip and Charley, God speed and a fair sum of happiness in their new journey in life. As they drive away from Mary's old home, so they pass from our sight. We may see them again in the course of time, in their new homes (that pleasure is open to any person enquiring for them in Hamilton), and if you are sorry to lose them for the present, so too are we. Perhaps you are not sorry. Mayhap the record of this short tale has already wearied you. If so, farewell. Slightly altering Pope's splendid pastoral let us say :—

"Adieu, ye vales, ye mountains, streams, and groves,  
Adieu, ye shepherd's rural lays and loves;  
Adieu, my flocks, farewell ye sylvan crew,  
Terua farewell, and all the world adieu."

THE END.

Jason Smith, of Cairo, called a fellow-townsmen "old beeswax," and in a suit for slander he was honey-combed to the tune of \$1,200. There is such a thing as being too sweet on a man.

At a State dinner given by an African King last year, some boxes of American sugar-coated pills furnished the dessert. That was when the King was a little green, but he can't be fooled again.

Smoking tobacco is said to colour the bones. We do not know why people should want their bones coloured, but if they do, smoking is probably the cheapest and easiest way to do it.

An American revision of the New Testament is talked of. The next thing we know people will clamor for a State revision, and pretty soon each man and woman will revise the Scriptures to suit him or herself. Then we'll have a temperance revision and an anti-temperance revision; a Democratic revision, a Republican revision and a Greenback-Labor revision that permits fishing on Sunday and a revision that prohibits angling on that day. And so forth.

An Ohio man who pumps the bellows of the organ in his own native town says he can pump any tune into an organ which any musician can play.

Madame Menter is a new expounder, on the piano, of Liszt and Rubenstein's music, and she reminds the *London Truth* of Wellington's remark to his soldiers at Waterloo :—"Hard pounding this, my lads, hard

pounding."

Husbands are not as exact in their statements as they should be. One of them said that he suffered from cold feet, then, looking at his wife, he added, "but they are not mine," leaving the company to suppose that they were his wife's. Again, a Rhode Island husband advertises that his wife has run away and left him, and adds, "caused by rum," but he doesn't say whether it was he or she who drank the rum.

WANTED— VOTES AND PROCEEDINGS OF THE LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL OF NEW ZEALAND FOR 1854, 1855, 1856. STATUTES OF NEW ZEALAND, 1861, 1874. VOTES AND PROCEEDINGS OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES FOR 1854 AND 1860. LYON & BLAIR, LAMBTON QUAY, WELLINGTON. REVISED VERSION NEW TESTAMENT. We beg to draw the attention of our Numerous Customers, in Town and Country, to the following List of useful sizes, in various bindings :— BY POST. s. d. s. d. Cloth Edition, 5x4 ... .. 1 6 1 9 Persian (Limp), 5x4 ... .. 3 6 3 10 Morocco (Limp), 5x4 ... .. 6 0 6 4 Persian (Limp), 5x4 ... .. 6 0 6 4 Cloth Edition, 6x4 ... .. 3 6 4 0 Roan (Limp), 6 x 4 ... .. 5 6 6 0 Persian (Stiff, with Clasp) 6 x 4 ... 9 0 9 7 ALSO, A SUPPLY OF IN ELEGANT MOROCCO BINDINGS, WITH CLASPS, ETC.

Masthead for The Monthly Review The MONTHLY REVIEW *New Books & Contemporary Subjects*. Vol. I., No. 9. Wellington, N.Z. Saturday, May 1, 1880

It appears that the world has been misinformed as to the nature of the Hudson's Bay Territory—a vast region, uninhabitable, it was thought, by civilized people requiring the comforts and means of life. But a gentleman sent out by the Dominion Government to examine the Nelson River Valley and other parts, denounces the prevailing belief as to the barrenness of the territory and severity of the climate. The country boasts of some of "the grandest scenery in the world," abundance of fertile land, and a climate in which all the common vegetables are raised with ease, so mild that at the end of September the emissary found cucumbers, tobacco, and beans flourishing in the open air. This will be a grand addition to the extent and importance of the Dominion.

The *Daily News* says :—"The Australasian colonies are piling up their public debt faster than has ever been known. With a population of about two-and-a-half millions they have contrived to owe more than seventy millions—a larger proportion per head than the National debt of the mother country . . . .In 1872 these colonies owed forty-one millions, now they owe seventy-two."

Two gentlemen belonging to Brazil are about to set up a cotton mill in the town of Montes Claros in a southern inland province—Minas Gems—of Brazil. The machinery is being bought at Lowell; the mill is to be of a capacity of 40 looms and will stand in the middle of "a fine cotton-raising district, the cotton growing wild, and being of very fine staple" (according to the *Textile Manufacturer*), with unlimited motive power from the San Francisco—one of the largest rivers in Brazil—the Falls of Paulo Alfonso, close to which the establishment is located being also among the largest in the world. This mill is to be "on purely American principles"—which are what?

The Chinese value very highly jade and carvings in that mineral. When a piece of unusual size is discovered the Emperor calls a council of artists to settle how it shall be worked. On such a nugget of jade the artist may perhaps spend twenty years, or even all his life. When such a piece of work is completed it is exposed to public criticism for a year. If it is pronounced satisfactory the artist is duly rewarded, and perhaps made a mandarin; if a contrary verdict is given he gets a bad name and loses his head. Some of our readers may be willing to learn something about this important and well-known material; if so they should read a full and interesting article in the *Popular Science Review* for October, by F. W. Rudler, F.G.S., of the Jermyn Street Museum.

It is remarkable how one by one the distinct or peculiar "principles" of the Constitution of the United States are given up. It was almost their chief pride that they welcomed all men of all races and religions to their shores, to their cities, woods, and prairies, to come and live in peace, and happiness, liberty, and equality. But now the people of California have, by an overwhelming majority, decided to stop the immigration of the "heathen Chinese" into that state. In San Francisco a plebiscite was taken on the question of permitting the immigration of Chinese into California. Against permission 154,600; for 883! Fancy the feelings of Thomas Paine, Thomas Jefferson, Benjamin Franklyn, and others, who died believing in liberty, equality, and the Constitution of the United States.

THE caterers for the innumerable wants and fancies of the public have brought out a variety of articles resembling Rolls, Cucumbers, Cakes, Buns, rivalling in deceptiveness that fruit alluded to in Lalla Rookh—the

Dead Sea fruit, that tempts the eye,  
But turns to ashes on the lip;

this mimicry ware being in reality a hollow-ware of some papery material, and forming boxes, with lids at bottom, and each containing a cake of soap, or bottle of scent. Some of these practical and visible jokes sell at One Shilling each, others, larger, and containing both soap and scent, at One Shilling and Sixpence each. They are capital imitations, can be utilized to cause a little fun, and are strong and durable; useful also, we may add, as little boxes for trifles.

ACCORDING to the *Revue Industrielle* complaints are rife in France as to want of perfection in the so-called "instruments of precision" now turned out by some of the most eminent Paris firms. The exactitude and finish on which so much depends in mathematical and philosophical instruments, and for which Parisian workmen were at one time so famous, appears to be altogether a thing of the past, the only object aimed at being to get through as great a quantity of work as possible, without the least regard to its quality. In this discreditable state of affairs the Government has arranged to have a number of young persons put through a three years course of training in the manufacture of "instruments of precision," concurrently with their curriculum at the La Villette Institute. The municipal authorities have decided to apprentice ten youths each year to firms well known for the accuracy of their workmanship in these important branches of industry.

The Russian Press is showing its anger at the influence which the English are acquiring in Japan. The St. Petersburg *Vedomosti* says: "The engineers of England already occupy the island of Yesso, in proximity to our own Saghalien, constructing there a railroad, and developing industries to an alarming extent. In the administrative spheres of Japan the English are also beginning to exert influence, half the foreigners employed as officials by the Mikado being individuals of English birth. Little by little the English are pushing their way into every corner of Japan, and unless some powerful influence be speedily brought to bear against them the policy of the country will pass exclusively into their hands,"

## Fighting Fitzgerald.

THE portrait of Fighting Fitzgerald has been painted by enemies as vindictive as any that ever slandered the dead, and is therefore distorted in every feature.

George Robert—his baptismal name—was born in 1749. Through his father, a fair specimen of the profligate and reckless Irish landlords of long ago, he was the heir of Torlough, an estate near Castlebar, then worth £4,000 a year; and also the representative of the Desmond, the eldest branch of the haughty Norman-Irish Fitzgeralds. His mother came of a race so conspicuously eccentric that the saying ran concerning it—"God made men, women, and—Harveys." Separating from her husband after two years of miserable married life, she remained for many years one of the gay leaders of gayest London society. She was the sister of that splendid singularity, the Earl-Bishop of Derry.

Brought up in England from infancy to his sixteenth year, George Robert was for a time an Eton scholar. In 1766 he was gazetted to a lieutenancy in the 69th regiment, then stationed in Ireland. Here, while yet a mere boy, he fought several duels, in which he displayed not a little generous feeling, and in one of which he lost a portion of his skull. In February, 1770, he made a love-match with one of the daughters of a redoubtable Irish personage, the Right Honourable J. Conolly—otherwise known as "the Great Commoner." Thus he obtained a fortune of £30,000, and eventually became the brother-in-law of an Irish viceroy.

Ten thousand pounds of the money was handed over to the owner of Torlough, who was then, as ever, in pecuniary difficulties. In return he signed deeds securing George Robert £1,000 a year in the present and the reversion of his estate, whole and unimpaired. This settlement was the main cause of our hero's faults and misfortunes, and ultimately of his doom.

Immediately after his marriage George Robert resigned his lieutenancy and went to France. At this period his appearance was singularly striking, nor did it ever undergo any change. The portrait painted of him at twenty remained perfectly true to the last.

He was under the middle height; "his person very slight and juvenile; his countenance extremely mild and insinuating. The existing taste for splendid attire he carried to the utmost. The button and loop of his hat, his sword-knot, and his shoe-buckles were brilliant with diamonds. His coat and vest were as rich as French brocade and velvet could make them. He wore a muff on his left arm, and two enamelled watches, with a multitude of seals dangling from either fob." Another writer describes the muff as "drawing the eye of the public by its uncommon size; it fell from his chin to his toes!"

Indeed, his fondness for glittering baubles and ultra-finery amounted to a passion. At a later date, when his house at Torlough was sacked by the mob of Castlebar, he estimated his loss, in jewels and embroidered robes, at upwards of £20,000.

Among the articles purloined on that occasion he mentions—"a casquet containing a complete set of diamond vest buttons, two large emeralds, a hat band with five or six rows of Oriental pearls worth £1,500, a

large engraved amethyst, a gold watch and chain studded with diamonds, several other gold watches and seals, a great number of antique and modern rings, gold shoe and knee buckles, silver shaving apparatus, several pairs of silver shoe and knee buckles, with £6,300 worth of other jewels."

This diminutive, youthful-looking and ornate Fitzgerald was pronounced "an effeminate little being" by those of his own sex who did not know him. As to those who did—"He was so light, foppish, and distinguished, none could think he was the man who had fought more duels than any other of his time."

The dames, without exception, pronounced him "a fascinating creature," nor was the opinion confined to them. One who owed him no goodwill, Sir Jonah Barrington, allows that "a more polished and elegant gentleman was not to be met with." And the renowned "Dick" Martin, who met him pistol to pistol and got the worst of the encounter, confessed the strong impression made upon him by "the elegant and gentleman-like appearance" of his antagonist.

Even polished Paris admitted itself surpassed in all that was graceful and splendid by this extraordinary young Irishman. "Qui est ce seigneur?" asked the Parisians of one another, on seeing him for the first time. "D'où vient-il? Il n'est pas François. Quelle magnificence! Quelle politesse! Est-il possible qu'il soit étranger!"

Let us now conceive this dazzling outside as covering the best and boldest rider, the deftest swordsman, the surest shot, and the most reckless gambler of the day; let us conceive him with literary tastes, an author, and a pattern of authors; with as much subtlety as daring; with intensest pride of race and intensest contempt for all that was vulgar; and with a repugnance that was absolutely passionate for the gross vices and carnalities and the course amusements of his era—and we shall have some idea of what "Fighting Fitzgerald" really was.

Received with enthusiasm by the Parisians, our hero plunged headlong into what was then the all-absorbing pursuit—gambling. Thanks to it, and to his inordinate taste for splendour, not a farthing of his twenty thousand pounds was left by the end of the first year. As to his annuity, he never received a penny of it.

He might have found a home with the Bishop, who could see nothing but perfection in him; or, had he desired it, nothing would have been easier than for his numerous powerful friends to have thrust him into a lucrative sinecure. But he could not bring himself to quit delightful Paris and its whirl of refined excitement. So he sent his wife home to her friends, and remained in the gay capital, relying on the gambling skill he had acquired by this time for the support of his splendour. And here he showed to the fullest that strange capacity for rapid and complete transformation of character which seems peculiar to the Celtic race. In an incredibly short space of time he was all over the cruel and remorseless gambler, yet still as brilliant and fascinating as ever.

Among our hero's chosen associates was the Count d' Artois—afterwards Charles X.—who was then the votary of every pleasure, and notably as keen a gambler as Paris could boast of. The Prince had pocketed a very royal share of George Robert's fortune; and when that was gone, continued to pocket an equally royal share of his dashing young friend's winnings. On one occasion Charles happened to win three thousand louis, which Fitzgerald would not pay down. The latter vanished therefore for a time from the presence of the Prince. A few days later he reappeared, with his purse replenished, but forgot to pay his debt of honour. Nevertheless, he presumed to take a part in the game that was going on, betting in his usual plunging style "a thousand louis against the Prince's card."

Raising his head, Charles remarked very coolly, "you owe me three thousand louis; are you prepared to pay?"

"No."

"Then how dare you bet in my presence?"

Suiting the action to the word, his Royal Highness took Fitzgerald by the shoulder, led him to the stair-head, and dismissed him with an ignominious kick.

George Robert was now in an unpleasant position. As a man who had been publicly dishonoured, he was excluded from good society. Nor could he set himself right by crossing swords with the Prince, who was beyond the reach of a cartel, even from the head of the house of Desmond. To a common mind there was no getting out of the predicament, except by flying from the land or from life. Our youth, however, was not the possessor of a common mind. Disdaining both the alternatives, he hit upon a means of setting himself right with everybody, and that too with *éclat*.

Louis XVI. was a mighty hunter of the deer, and Fitzgerald, the *beau idéal* of horsemanship, was a constant follower of the royal pack. Shortly after the affair of the kick, the deer took a course not at all in harmony with the views of the mass of hunters, making straight for the Seine.

Along the bank ran a road, fenced from the river by a wall some three feet high on the land side, but having a descent of fourteen or fifteen feet towards the current, which here ran deep and strong.

The deer leapt the wall, swam the stream, and gained the forest on the other side. So did the dogs. But all the hunters pulled up, with a single exception—Fitzgerald.

He dashed at the wall with a cheer and cleared it, amid the astonishment of the gentlemen and the screams

of the ladies. Everybody concluded that horse and rider must surely be drowned. In a few minutes, however, the gallant horse was observed breasting the river and making straight for the opposite shore, which it reached in safety with its rider. The latter did not even lose a stirrup in achieving the hair brained feat.

Fitzgerald became more popular than ever with the courtiers. But though he had effaced his ignominy from every other mind, he could not forget it himself. As soon, therefore, as etiquette would allow he transferred himself to England.

Here he appeared under very favourable circumstances. The Harveys held high place in society, of which his mother, Lady Mary Fitzgerald, was one of the leaders. But our hero's most effective recommendation to the more exclusive London circles was the great reputation that had preceded him across the Channel. And a conspicuous item of that reputation was the fact that he had already fought *eleven* duels, though not yet twenty-four!

He soon became a favourite of fashion; and, moreover, a social leader him-self—gathering round him a body of golden youth who formed themselves in most essentials on him. And foremost among those exquisites were the "wicked" Lord Lyttleton, and the officers of the elegant regiment of the day, Burgoyne's Light Horse.

In company with these curled darlings, he frequented all brilliant assemblies, surpassing everybody else in glitter and deep play, and treating whoever and what ever he encountered at variance with his delicate tastes with merciless ridicule and scorn. The last peculiarity involved him in a number of scrapes, including one duel, from all of which he extricated himself in a way that added to his brilliant reputation. At length an event occurred which showed his darker side, and brought forth in very bold relief his more repulsive characteristics as a gambler and a duellist.

Shortly after his arrival in England, a youth known as Daisy Walker—the son of an honest tradesman who had left him £90,000—had a cornetcy purchased for him in Burgoyne's Light Horse by his rather injudicious guardians. The plebeian, who was still a minor, was very much looked down upon by the exquisites of that refined corps. Nevertheless they condescended to introduce him to all the fashionable follies of the day, and especially to win his money.

Ere many months had flown the Daisy was in difficulties. All his ready money had passed into the purses of his acquaintances, and with it bills to a large amount. Fitzgerald, a constant visitor at mess, and one of the largest winners, held some of the bills to the nominal value of £8,000.

Walker's guardians now interposed. Removing their charge from the regiment, and indeed from fashionable society for the remainder of his minority, they compounded for his debts of all sorts, Fitzgerald receiving £500 for his share. Our punctilious gentleman took the money, but not as Walker's guardians intended. In his eyes debts of honour were not to be compounded for like rascally trade debts; and he held himself ready to claim the residue of his account whenever the Daisy should furnish him with an occasion. This was all very French; and our hero was intensely French in most respects.

Walker chafed a good deal under the restraint imposed by his guardians, and the moment it was removed hurried back to his old haunts and habits. Fitzgerald kept him well in view, but made no move until he happened to surprise the Daisy making a heavy bet on a forthcoming race. No sooner had Walker booked his wager than Fitzgerald—following the august example of the Count d' Artois—met him with a claim for £2,500. Walker refused to pay, and for the next six months was made supremely uncomfortable by the persecutions of Fitzgerald.

The Daisy was not remarkable for valour, and did his best to avoid Fitzgerald, who, on his part, was equally assiduous in hunting up the Daisy; and a game of hide-and-seeK was maintained between the two which furnished the lookers-on with a good deal of amusement. Walker could not keep away from fashionable resorts, but he attended them in fear and trembling—always keeping a sharp eye on the door, and hastening to retreat at the first indication of the approach of his terror. But he could not avoid his fate. The two met at length on Ascot racecourse, and Fitzgerald caned the Daisy, who was now compelled to challenge him. The duel, which had a good many sides, including a ludicrous one, was fought in the Low Countries towards the end of 1774.

Walker, being entitled to first shot, fired and missed; because, just as he pulled trigger, Fitzgerald flung himself into his favourite duelling attitude, and thus greatly diminished his height. It was now Fitzgerald's turn, and Walker prepared himself for the shot with very evident trepidation. Our hero saw what was passing in his mind, and resolved to take advantage of it. Instead of firing, he affected to consider his pistol somewhat out of order, and spent some minutes in hammering the flint with a key. The pistol being adjusted at length, he then turned round and lectured Walker's second concerning his neglect of some of the rules of the duels. The second received the rebuke with due humility, and hastened to rectify his error. All this time, be it observed, the poltroon was waiting to be shot at. At last all was right, and Fitzgerald, taking a very deliberate and ostentatious aim, lowered his pistol and apologised in very graceful terms for having used his cane on Walker. The latter and his second—being evidently unacquainted with the law of the duels, which insisted that a caning was always to be apologised for before the caner could take a shot at the caned one—indulged in a feeling of relief,

which was rather premature.

Having made his apology, Fitzgerald resumed his fighting air and demanded his £2,500, or the resumption of the duel at the point where it had been interrupted. Walker was much inclined to comply, but his sense of the overwhelming disgrace which must attend submission mastered his terror, and he refused to pay. Levelling his pistol, but lingering on his aim, Fitzgerald offered to bet anybody a thousand guineas that he would hit Walker wherever he pleased, but of course received no reply.

"You won't take the bet?" cried the duellest; "then here goes at the right shoulder!"

The bullet struck the spot indicated, but did not penetrate—thanks to a couple of thick coats which Walker wore. However, it inflicted a contusion which disabled the arm and terminated the duel, though the quarrel itself was kept up much longer.

On his return to town, Fitzgerald reiterated his demand for "his" money or another meeting. Both alternatives being rejected, he attempted to renew the quarrel on other grounds, proclaiming everywhere that Walker had been "padded" on the late occasion, and had thus escaped injury by fraud. This device proving as ineffectual as the others, and society frowning on the system of hunting his victim about which our hero had resumed, the latter published an account of the affair which certainly hit Walker very hard, but which also revolted most people by the cynical frankness of its avowals, gambling sentiments, and duellistic practices which, though common enough on the continent, had not yet obtained currency in England.

In short, the Walker business—displaying as it did so many un-English qualities in our hero—ruined him for ever in London society. Nobody cared to consort with him afterwards. He therefore took an early opportunity of returning to France and to close gambling partnership with an old comrade, Major Baggs—like himself an ex-officer of the 69th, and the original of "Captain Duff Brown" in Charles Lever's novel, "Barrington."

There was then a mania among French fashionables for English horses and horse-racing as it was in England; and Fitzgerald (in addition to his gambling speculations took to supplying his Parisian acquaintances with the one and to initiating them into the practices of the other, making full profit the while out of their sublime ignorance of both. Somehow or other, few people can have much to do with horse transactions without contracting some of the peculiarities of the lowlived horse-dealer, and ere long George Robert became rather too well known for such peculiarities. A bit of sharp practice of this kind enabled him to fasten his acquaintance on another Irish celebrity of that day, Archibald Hamilton Rowan, who happened to be then in Paris.

Rowan who was very unwilling to have anything to do with Fitzgerald, but whose easy good nature would not allow him to repel the other's advances, has left an account of this acquaintance. It is the only notice extant of this portion of Fitzgerald's career, but it is sufficient. A better picture than it gives of our hero as he then was could not be desired. This perfection, however, is not due to any artistic skill on the part of Rowan, but to the fact that Fitzgerald was one of those people whose attitudes are always picturesque in the highest degree, and who interest us in any portrait, however coarsely drawn, which has the merit of fidelity.

Not long before, a Mr. Sandford, a very young man and a stranger in the French capital, was fastened upon by Fitzgerald, who was always on the watch for such victims, and led him to supper at the most dangerous house in the city—that kept by Baggs. Play of the deepest kind succeeded the supper, and Sandford lost a large sum. Then came a dispute between the plunderers respecting the division of the booty; and this developed rapidly into a mortal quarrel, the true cause of which neither cared to avow. Baggs, who considered himself the party aggrieved, found a more decent pretext, asserting that he had lent Fitzgerald much money from time to time, and that the latter refused to acknowledge the debt.

One evening, when Fitzgerald was quitting the theatre with Rowan, he encountered Baggs in the lobby. There was a short but sharp dispute between the gamblers. In the end George Robert drew his glove over Baggs' face—an insult to which Baggs replied by dashing his hat in the other's eyes.

Here the guard appeared and laid hold of the Major, while Fitzgerald slipped out and was driven off by Rowan. Several days passed, Baggs remaining under arrest and Fitzgerald finding shelter in Rowan's hotel. At length the Major was released, and it was arranged that the parties should meet on Austrian territory, in the vicinity of Valenciennes, and fight the quarrel out. Baggs was to be attended by a Captain O' Toole, and his opponent by a Mr. Hodges, and the parties were to leave Paris on the same day.

The day came, and Baggs and his second started as arranged. Hodges did not appear, but sent his principal a note in which he apprised him that he had just been seized by a severe attack of gout, and could not move. A messenger was despatched in the hope of arresting Baggs, but the Major was gone. Fitzgerald now appealed piteously to Rowan to save his honour; and the latter, who had no desire to mix himself with the affair, consented, though reluctantly, to act as second.

Here occurred a difficulty, which, as Rowan significantly remarks, explained the sudden attack of gout which had prostrated Hodges—Fitzgerald had no money, and no means of raising any. He drew a bill for £100, but nobody would cash it until Rowan was induced to endorse it. Ultimately the good-natured second had to

pay the money.

The pair set off in pursuit of Baggs and O'Toole, and soon reached Valenciennes. A suitable piece of ground was soon met with, and the distance—eight paces—measured. Baggs knew too well with whom he had to deal to let him have his pet distance, five paces. When the parties were placed in position, Baggs beckoned his second and whispered a few words. The next moment O'Toole drew Rowan aside, and, apologizing for the remark, said he had reason to think that Fitzgerald was *plastronné*—a word meaning padded, or plated. What followed was remarkable.

Overhearing the remark, Fitzgerald threw off his coat and vest, "exhibiting himself," writes Rowan, to our great astonishment, with his shirt tied round the body by a broad ribbon, *couleur du rose*, while two narrower ones closed shirt-sleeves round the upper and lower joints of the arms." George Robert gave an explanation of this which we omit. It did not satisfy Rowan; and it does not satisfy ourselves. The Major was afterwards examined to the same extent, and no further, though he invited Rowan, in his bluff, English way, to "Feel sir; feel." The duel then went on.

"Baggs sank on his quarters," writes Rowan, "something like the Scottish lion in the Royal arms, while Fitzgerald stood as one who has made a lounge in fencing. They fired together, and were in the act of levelling their second pistols, when Baggs fell on his side, saying, "Sir, I am wounded."

"But you are not dead?" said Fitzgerald.

"At the same moment he discharged his second pistol at his fallen antagonist.

"Baggs immediately started on his legs and advanced on Fitzgerald, who, throwing the empty pistol at him, quitted his station, and kept a zig-zag course across the field, Baggs following. I saw the flash of Baggs' second pistol, and, at the same moment, Fitzgerald lay stretched on the ground. I was just in time to catch Baggs as he fell, after firing his second shot. He swooned from intense pain, the small bone of his leg being broken. Mr. Fitzgerald now came up, saying—

"We are both wounded; let us go back to our ground."

Such a proposal could not be entertained; and the wounded duellists—for Fitzgerald had been hit in the thigh—were carried off the field.

"I could not help asking him," adds Rowan (meaning George Robert), "how he came to fire his second pistol. His reply was, "I should not have done it to any man but Baggs."

Our hero was long confined by his wound, which left him slightly lame for the rest of his life. When he recovered he went straight to Ireland, which he reached towards the end of 1775.

Thanks to his uncle, the Bishop of Derry, with whom he was always a favourite, he was able to make a suitable appearance in Dublin. Here he fixed himself for some years, and met with the greatest success; and here, again, he displayed that capacity for rapid and complete change of character which we have already remarked. In untoward circumstances he had flung aside his nobler qualities and conformed to degradation, until it seemed as if that, and no other, had been his native state; and in success he cast off the baseness which penury had fastened to him, and resumed his old self with the same facility and completeness.

For the next three years he was in most things the superb representative of the haughtiest race on the island. His house in Merrion street was the resort of all that was high-bred in Dublin society. He was the idol of the mob, too; for, in addition to his dash, glitter, and fighting reputation—things always dear to the Irish—he took impetuously to patriotism, which was then a passion with all that was great and noble in the land, as well as with the masses.

He took the lead wherever he went; outshining all that was brilliant; humiliating all the swaggerers—notably those legal and pugnacious celebrities, Barry Yelverton and Fitzgibbon—two men who remained ever after his mortal enemies; and winning, it is said, no less than a hundred thousand pounds during this short period.

Whatever he might have been elsewhere, he always gambled in princely style in Ireland. His stake was never less than fifty guineas—his sideboard was heaped with rouleaus to that amount; while he seldom stirred abroad without having a hundred of them carried along by a couple of servants in gorgeous liveries.

There was no sharp practice now, but much wild wagering, on which tradition still loves to dwell.

Other traditions tell how he dealt with the "bucks," a plague then infesting the streets of Dublin, and, indeed, the streets of every town in Ireland. These "bucks" were half-bred young fellows of some means and high animal spirits, whose sole occupation consisting in making town-life intolerable to quiet people. Parliament was more than once compelled to frame penal enactments with the view of restraining their peculiar ruffianism; but, as there was no properly-constituted police to enforce them, these statutes were of small effect.

Among the tricks of the Dublin "bucks" was this : One of them would take his stand in the middle of a crossing on a dirty day, and, drawing his sword, thrust everybody who wanted to pass into the mud. It was a common thing to see half-a-dozen or more of these unpleasant sentries lining a leading thoroughfare all ready to afford each other support. Nor were they content with merely obstructing the passage. They knocked off hats,

ripped up garments, and pricked the limbs of the wearers with the points of their weapons, and broke ribald jests on them the while—to the vast amusement of the ragamuffins who used to collect in the vicinity. If anybody turned on one of these bullies, the rest would rush up and form a circle round him; then seizing him by the collar and the arms they would prick him about the legs until they considered him punished sufficiently.

Fitzgerald proposed to some of his brother exquisites and fire-eaters that they should clear the streets of the metropolis of these pests. It was just the sort of proposal to suit such daring spirits, and an association was immediately formed to carry it out. After Fitzgerald himself, the most conspicuous members were three Sligo notabilities—Mat Ormsby, Abram Fenton, and Pat O'Hara, one of whom, round whose knees the writer often has played, attained the patriarchal age of ninety-seven. Like their leader they were consummate swordsmen, and dandies of the first water—the Dandy being in all essentials the antipodes of the Buck—a distinction which people who write about the Ireland of the past are very apt to forget.

The association set to work most heartily, and in this way : Whenever a fine afternoon followed a showery morning, they would sally forth in knots of four or five, each being followed by a lusty valet carrying an oak sapling. On reaching the haunts of the bucks, the servants kept the rabble off while the exquisites did the work they had undertaken. For a couple of months, few days passed without three or four affrays between the bucks and the dandies, in which the former invariably came off second-best. Ere long the mainstay of the bucks, the mob, turned against them too. This meant that defeat was sure to be followed by hooting and pelting with mud and stones. Then the pleasant pastime of blocking the thoroughfares in broad daylight was abandoned. Oddly enough, the man who had the chief hand in putting down the bucks for the time, is the one who, more than anybody else, is credited with their brutal tricks.

*(To be continued.)*

## Miss Churchill (*Concluded.*)

come and play billiards, and have a smoke, and get out of all this. I'm about tired of it, ain't you?"

"Fine manners, I must say," growled Sir Thomas, eyeing his son with intense disgust.

But Tom Ridly was the only one of the family who was not a bit afraid of Sir Thomas. He was, in fact, independent of him, the property being strictly entailed on the eldest son, and, as Tom was the only one, he knew his father could not injure him.

In one of their many quarrels, Sir Thomas, enraged beyond endurance, had declared he would no longer put up with the extravagance of his son.

"I have the remedy in my own hands, then, you know, sir," said Tom. "I can borrow money on the estate."

"Do you mean," cried Sir Thomas, "do you mean you unnatural, ungrateful scamp, that you will raise money reckoning on the event of my death?"

"You leave me no option," replied Tom. "If you won't give me money now, what can I do?"

Sir Thomas gave Tom the money he asked for after that; but he never forgave him. He, indeed, hated his son—the son who was waiting for his death. The vain pompous old man could not get over *that*; and perhaps his feelings on the subject were not so very unnatural after all.

His wife and daughters were, of course, in a different position. Sir Thomas had saved, or inherited, a large sum of ready money which was entirely at his own disposal, and they, therefore, respected and honoured him accordingly, and were in constant fear of giving him any serious offence.

"What an old bear he is," said Tom to me that evening, alluding to his father, as we went up to the smoking-room together, "and how he bullies everyone. By Jove! *what will he say* when he hears of my little girl?"

## Chapter III.

The next day was Christmas Day, and I shall never forget it. It was a fine sunshiny morning, and a slight shower of snow had fallen during the night, which made all the country round look wonderfully beautiful; and as I came running down the broad staircase to breakfast, I felt inclined to enjoy my holiday in spite of Sir Thomas.

I found that my aunt and Miss Churchill were the only members of the party who had made their appearance before me.

Lady Ridly was sitting behind the massive antique sliver urn, and was looking so fresh and so handsome, that I could not help thinking of my dear mother's kind, sweet face, and soft grey hair, and mentally comparing the two sisters, for there had been but two years' difference in their age, and the cynical Frenchman's receipt for wearing well—of a bad heart and good digestion—rose involuntarily in my mind.

She was talking in a very patronising way to Miss Churchill as I entered the room, and I heard her saying something about a "situation" as I went up to the breakfast table; but she held out her hand very cordially to me.

"Well, Walter, a happy Christmas to you," she said, and after I had returned her greeting, I went round to Miss Churchill's side.

She smiled as I did so, and also shook hands with me, but before we could exchange a sentence, Sir Thomas came in, and went straight up to the letter-bag, which lay locked on the table, beside what, I concluded, was his usual seat.

"Good morning, good morning," he said shortly, as he proceeded to unlock it, with a little nod to each of his guests. "Glad to see you are an early riser, sir." This was addressed to me. "That is a good sign. I always rise early."

He took out the letters as he made this self-congratulatory remark, and carefully examined each separate address.

"Hum!—one of your son's correspondents writes a fine hand, I must say, madam," he said presently, throwing contemptuously down, as he spoke, a letter directed in a scrawling woman's hand to Tom; but Lady Ridly took no notice of his remark. She was opening one of her own letters, and Sir Thomas, after a growl or two, began reading some which he had received, and as neither Miss Churchill nor I got any, we commenced a little conversation to amuse ourselves.

Suddenly we both started and looked at Sir Thomas. With something between an oath and an exclamation, he had dashed an open letter on the breakfast table, and was gasping like a man in a fit; his face a deep purple, and his eyes rolling in his head.

"What is it, Sir Thomas?" said Lady Ridly, rising and coming towards him.

"What is the matter? What on earth is the matter?"

"Matter!" cried Sir Thomas, "matter! Look, madam, what's the matter. Look what that graceless scoundrel, your son, has done!" and he made a kind of movement as if to push the letter he had flung down towards her.

Lady Ridly took it up and began reading it, and I shall never forget the change which passed over her face as she went on. Her fine complexion seemed suddenly to fade away, and she drew in her lips as if to suppress some violent feeling of pain by force, while her whole frame began to tremble.

"Well," said Sir Thomas, savagely, "well, madam, what do you think of your favourite, *now?*"

"I do not believe it," said Lady Ridly, in a slow collected tone. "It is probably the idle gossip of some of the clubs, which Colonel Bouverie has picked up, Sir Thomas," and she looked at him almost sternly. "Do not forget yourself so far. Remember what the effect of such a report might be. I implore you to consider."

Sir Thomas looked at her helplessly as she said this, and kept on muttering half-articulate oaths.

"Compose yourself," continued my aunt. "Walter, get your uncle a little brandy. Some foolish report in his letter has annoyed him. And, Sir Thomas, I pray you to remember—I ask you to remember the others. Just think—"and she dropped her voice into a whisper as she concluded her sentence; but I thought I caught the name of "Sir Harry."

My uncle made no reply. He sat like a man who is stunned—like a man who has had a sudden shock; and when the rest of the party came in, and went up to their host with the usual Christmas greeting, he scarcely answered any of them. I remember seeing Sir Harry Royston shaking Sir Thomas's hand in his hearty genial way, and the old man trying to smile in reply. It was only a very feeble attempt, though; and presently, when Tom Ridly entered, and, after kissing his mother's cheek, called out, "Well, father, are you very fresh this cold morning?" Sir Thomas absolutely glared at him as he spoke. But the reckless Tom scarcely noticed it, and, after giving a slight shrug of his shoulders, began coolly eating his breakfast, and during it made a bet with Sir Harry Royston that the ice on a sheet of water a mile or so distant from the house would bear skating on that morning.

Breakfast was barely over when he was all eagerness to test it. "Who are the skaters?" he cried, jumping up. "Harry and I are off to the lake."

"Minnie, you skate tolerably well," said my aunt, and at this hint my pretty cousin ran upstairs to put her hat on, and in a very short time reappeared, ready to accompany her brother and his friend on their expedition.

Lady Cullompton never appeared at breakfast, and Fannie Ridly had not done so this morning, therefore Miss Churchill was the only other young lady present.

"Would you like to go, Miss Churchill?" I asked, "I dare say you have learned skating abroad."

"Yes; but this morning—," and she hesitated, and her rich complexion deepened.

"But it is a fine morning," I said, not quite understanding what she meant

"Yes, but I would rather go to some church. I have been accustomed to go to some place of worship on Christmas morning."

No one spoke. I expected some sharp speech from my aunt, but none came. She was sitting, poor lady, gazing as it were into vacancy, and looking so aged and haggard you could scarcely believe it was the same

handsome woman who, but half-an-hour ago, had seemed so prosperous and so well.

"I daresay there is some church near," I said, after a few moments' pause. "Aunt, how far is it to your church?"

My aunt half-started as I addressed her, then she collected her scattered thoughts.

"Our church," she said, "Lamesley Church, is close here, not more than a quarter of a mile from the house."

"Then, Miss Churchill, if you will allow me, I will go with you," I said.

"No, Walter, no," said my aunt quickly. "I want you; I want you to help me a little about something. If Miss Churchill wishes to go, one of the servants can show her the way."

"Yes," that will do very well," said Miss Churchill, smiling; "but I thank you all the same, Mr. Franklyn," and she rose and left the room as she spoke.

After she was gone, with almost a nervous glance at Sir Thomas, my aunt also rose, and went up to him, and began whispering something in his ear. Thinking they might wish to be alone, I stood hesitating for a moment whether to leave the room, and was just turning for that purpose, when my aunt looked up, and, leaving her husband, came towards me.

"Walter, come with me," she said, and led the way to a small private sitting-room of her own, which adjoined the breakfast-room we had just left. When there, she carefully closed the door, and then, going up to the lire, began stirring it with a restless nervousness, which was painful for me to witness.

"Walter," she began, without looking at me, "Walter, I want you to tell me the truth—"

"I will if I can, aunt." I answered.

"Your uncle has heard some news—some such dreadful news; it will kill me if it is true—but it is not true; I am sure it is not true; it cannot be true," said Lady Ridley, becoming much excited.

"I hope it may not," I said; far I knew not what to say.

"Young men like you would know if it were true. It is that old dotard's folly—that idle gossiping Colonel Bouverie, who has invented it. What do you think he has written to your uncle, Walter? What do you think? Absolutely that Tom—that *Tom* has married some disreputable woman of notorious character, and that the marriage is well known all over the town."

I turned away my head. My aunt was telling me no news. I had known Tom's secret for nearly two months; but it was no business of mine to tell this to his mother now.

"The person to ask is Tom, aunt, and not me," I said.

"But you don't believe it?" replied my aunt, grasping my arm with her strong white hand. "You don't—say you don't, Walter? Who is it? Who is it? Tell me everything you know—tell me everything, but that he has married her! Oh! if it should be true. Oh! God, if it should be—it would break my heart!" And she sat down, and rocked herself to and fro.

"My dear aunt," I said, and laid my hand kindly on her shoulder.

"Boy," said she, flinging it back, "don't touch me—don't touch me, unless you will contradict this hateful story. You must know something about it," she continued, looking eagerly into my face. You saw Tom often, did you not, all the time we were abroad? If there is any truth in it you must know."

"Ask Tom yourself, aunt; that is the best way," I repeated, and I was thinking, hopelessly, how to escape from further questioning, when we both heard a heavy footstep approaching the door, and the next moment it was opened, and Sir Thomas walked in.

"Well," said he; addressing my aunt, "what does he say?"

Lady Ridly made a slight gesture to me to keep silent, and then turning round to her husband, and composing herself with a violent effort of will, she said—

"He knows nothing. It is just as I thought—the idle gossip of some club. Do not say anything more about it, Sir Thomas, and, above all, say nothing to Tom."

"There must be something in it," said my uncle savagely, "or Bouverie would never have written it to me; and if there is, I tell you this, madam"—and here he raised his voice and swore a tremendous oath—"if there is, that graceless, worthless reprobate who cannot wait patiently for his father's death, shall never enter these doors again. Say no more," he continued, as the poor mother put up her hands beseechingly, "say no more; for I have said it, and I mean to keep my word."

"My dear Sir Thomas, consider for a moment," said my aunt, "Do not, I implore you, make any scene just now;—just now, when nothing is settled about Minnie—"

"Ain't you going to church, or for a walk, or something, sir?" said my uncle, addressing me, and I was but too glad to avail myself of his dismissal, and left the room full of compassion for Lady Ridly, and even with some for the embittered and angry father.

The church-bells were ringing when I went out, a few minutes afterwards, into the open air, and I was glad I would be in time to go. The miserable family scene, which I had just left, had made me think of some very different ones, and compare my poor mother's lowlier fate with her proud and handsome sister's; and I felt then

who had chosen "the better part." I remembered, when I was a very young lad, how a great grief had come to our household also; for my only little sister died, quite suddenly, of fever in Canada. But in her sorrow my mother was not alone.

The husband of her youth and the husband of her love was then by her side, and in his faithful and tender affection she found both comfort and repose.

But poor Lady Ridly had no one to share her trouble. The coarse and selfish man, whom she had married for position and wealth, would, I felt, but add bitterness to her pain; and every feeling of envy which I had ever indulged in at the higher fortunes of my relations died completely out as I walked that morning through the snow to church.

I waited, when the service was over, for Miss Churchill, and during it, once or twice, looked at her with some curiosity. She was sitting where I could see her face, and its noble and touching expression struck me more than it had done in the lighted rooms the night before. She looked such a good woman—a woman whose thoughts and hopes were fixed on something higher and better than those idols which most of us in our hearts fall down and worship. "Yet it is all nonsense, I daresay," I reflected the next minute, with some of that knowledge which young men without fortune insensibly acquire. "Miss Churchill is probably a poor girl scheming for a husband, and bringing her beauty into the market ready for the highest bidder, like the rest."

But she did not look it; and I could not help admiring her, as she sat there with the winter sun glinting through the dim windows on her black dress and noble, thoughtful face; and I noticed, also, with what deep attention she followed the service, and even the Vicar of Lamesley's not very original sermon.

There was not a shade of coquetry in the smile with which she greeted me when she found me waiting for her at the church door, but some little pleasure, I thought, and we started together on our walk back to the Hall.

"Have you been in church?" she asked.

"Yes; I got there just in time."

"Lady Ridly did not keep you long then," said Miss Churchill; "I fear they received some very bad news this morning."

"I am afraid they did," I answered, gravely; and she looked up at me inquiringly as I spoke, but, as I said nothing more, she made no remark.

Our walk home was very pleasant, and before it was over I felt almost as if I had known Miss Churchill for years. She had a bright and original mind, and knew well how to mix the subtle ingredients which constitute the art of conversation; and I felt sorry when we encountered the party of skaters just at the entrance of the park.

Minnie Ridly, who looked remarkably pretty, and was flushed with exercise, lingered behind the others for a moment when we met, and stopped me by calling my attention to some trivial object on the road.

"Why did you not go with us, Walter?" she said, when we were alone.

"Because you did not ask me for one thing, Minnie," I answered; "and for another"—and I gave a slight nod at Sir Harry, who was in front—"for another, I might have been in the way."

Minnie sighed and looked down. "Mamma wishes it so much, you know," she said, after a moment's pause.

"Yes, I know," I answered, with a little laugh. "Well, he seems a good fellow, and I shall be heartily glad to congratulate you, Minnie."

"Will you?" said my cousin; and an expression of annoyance passed over her pretty face as she spoke. She was annoyed that she had not succeeded in making me utterly miserable.

"Yes," I said, I am afraid a little spitefully, "I really am glad. Your Mamma told me to make love to you sometimes, Minnie; for the purpose of making the young baronet jealous. Shall we begin now?"

"You are rude and ungentlemanly," said Minnie, indignantly, and certainly with some truth; and she walked on at once and overtook the others. But in the last few minutes she had lost considerable ground with Sir Harry.

"My dear fellow, who is that splendid girl you were walking with?" he said, slipping his arm into mine, as the ladies were going up the Hall steps. "I noticed her last night, and the old boy talked something about her grandfather being a Jew; but I didn't exactly understand what he meant, and when I asked Minnie Ridly who she was, she said a governess or companion, or something of that sort, who had come to seek a situation in England. But who really is she?"

"She is Miss Churchill," I said, coldly.

"Churchill, Churchill!" cried Sir Harry; "my mother knows some Churchills. I'll ask her if she is any relation. What a lie, if that is her name, to call her a Jewess."

At luncheon Sir Harry pointedly insisted on sitting next Miss Churchill, and presently an animated conversation was carried on between them. I saw Lady Ridly look once or twice in their direction, and I began to fear that now Miss Churchill's visit would not be of long duration. I noticed, also, how ill and anxious my aunt still looked, and how, when Tom Ridly came into the room, an expression of absolute pain passed over her face. But still she kept acting her part—acting the cheerful pleasant hostess, whose business it was to make life agreeable to us all; to all, I mean, whom she considered worth her trouble to amuse.

When the meal was over, and we were dispersing in different directions, I saw her beckon to her son. She whispered a few words to him when he went up to her in answer to her summons, and Tom Ridley changed colour as she did so, and stood for a moment with an irresolute expression on his face, and then apparently assented to her request, for they left the room together a few minutes afterwards, and I knew my aunt was going to learn the truth—the fatal truth, that would crush her pride so low.

It made me feel restless and miserable to think what she must endure, for Tom Ridley had married a woman utterly unworthy of regard. I could guess her agony when she heard the notorious name which the infatuated boy had changed for his. He had been her darling and her pride, and nothing that could have happened to any of her other children would, I knew, be so bitter to her as this.

I was glad to leave the house till it was all over. I felt I could do no good by staying, for I had no influence with either Sir Thomas or my aunt, so I started for a long walk over the snowy country, and did not return till just before the dinner hour, and had to dress hurriedly as the gong sounded very shortly after I arrived.

Everything seemed the same as usual when I entered the drawing-room. There was a large party assembled, and several of the country neighbours, and one or two officers from the nearest barracks. My aunt, gorgeous in ruby velvet and diamonds, was talking and laughing with apparent cheerfulness. But when I watched her closely I saw her face was terribly altered, and looked aged and haggard, in spite of the forced smiles and rouge with which it was freely adorned.

Tom Ridly came up to me as I went in, and whispered a few words in my ear. "It is all out," he said. "At last I have told the old lady. She is awfully cut up. Try to make the best of it, like a good fellow, to her; for it cannot be helped now."

Already it had come to this, then. Already the unhappy man had doubtless repented the rash act which had hung a millstone round his neck for ever. But there was no help for it now, as he said, and I promised my cousin to say what I could.

There were more gentlemen than ladies present, and shortly after Tom had spoken to me, dinner having been announced, Miss Churchill passed us, leaning on some stranger's arm, but when we took our places at the table, I saw that Sir Harry Royston had contrived to secure a seat next her, though he had taken another lady down.

Everything was very magnificent. Both Sir Thomas and Lady Ridly liked that their hospitality should appear so before their country neighbours, and the long table was literally a glittering mass of silver, glass, and flowers.

Miss Churchill was looking remarkably well, and had interwoven some crimson berries in her dark hair in honour of the festival, while my three cousins were charming, as usual; and, as there were two other pretty girls present as well, the whole effect of the table was very attractive.

The dinner went on as such dinners do. On all sides you heard little bits of half-serious, half-affected sentimentality, or sharp jests and raillery, as the case might be. I had no one to talk to, or perhaps I did not feel inclined to talk to anyone. Somehow I felt lonely and unhappy among them all, and once or twice I could not help looking at my aunt sitting at the head of her stately table, and thinking of the misery and disappointment she was trying to hide so well.

But it would not do. Nature was stronger than she was, and about the middle of dinner a terrible scene occurred, the remembrance of which will never be effaced from my mind.

Suddenly there was a kind of stir and hush, and then half cries and exclamations from nearly everyone present, and when I looked up to see the cause, I saw that my poor aunt's head had fallen to one side, and that a frightful distortion had taken place in her features.

I rose at once, and hurried towards her. By this time she would have fallen to the floor, if Miss Churchill and Tom Ridly had not rushed to her assistance. I shall not soon forget the expression of poor Tom's face, as he held his stricken mother; he was, indeed, utterly incapable of doing so from the effect of the shock he had received, and Miss Churchill motioned to me to take his place, and hold Lady Ridly up.

In a minute the whole room was in confusion. I heard Sir Thomas calling for this and that, and swearing at the servants; and I saw him come and look a moment at the poor lady's writhing and disfigured face, and give some exclamation of horror, and turn away, while her daughters uttered the most piercing cries, and were themselves actually in need of assistance.

Amid all this, Miss Churchill alone was collected. She ordered a servant at once to ride for the nearest doctor, and then tried the simple remedies that for the moment she thought of and showed such thoughtful and tender kindness in her manner, that it was impossible not to regard her with admiration.

"We had better try to take her upstairs," she said presently, and turning round, she chose two of the steadiest of the servants to help us, and then gently laid her thin handkerchief over my poor aunt's altered face as we bore her away from among her horror-stricken guests.

In a few minutes we succeeded in removing her, and carried her to her luxurious bedroom, and I noticed

while the servants were running hither and thither generally for no purpose, that Miss Churchill went and dipped her handkerchief in some water, and then returned to my aunt's side, and motioned slightly to me to turn away. As I did so, I saw what the good girl wished to hide. She was quietly washing off the rouge which looked so ghastly now, and she did not care that the servants or I should see her womanly and tender act.

About half-an-hour after the first seizure the country doctor arrived. He looked very grave when he first saw my aunt; but, as I left the room almost immediately after he entered it, I heard nothing further until nearly a quarter of an hour later, when Miss Churchill came out on the gallery, where poor Tom Ridly and I were waiting impatiently to hear his opinion.

"He thinks her very ill," she said sadly. "Where is Sir Thomas, Mr. Franklyn? Dr. Holden wishes him to telegraph to London for the first advice at once."

"I will see about it immediately," I said, and I left her trying to console poor Tom. Who utterly broke down when he heard the almost fatal news.

I found Sir Thomas in the dining-room, with a deeply flushed, almost purple face. He had been chinking glass after glass of his old port, to drown the dread of the awful visitor which had come so unexpectedly to his Christmas feast; but he rose eagerly as I went in, and the few remaining guests also gathered round me to hear what the doctor thought.

"What does he say?" asked Sir Thomas, in a trembling voice, and when I told him Dr. Holden's opinion the old man groaned aloud.

"Good God!" he said. "Who would have thought it! Send, of course. Send for Sir—, and for Dr.—. Let us have the best advice at once. Young Franklyn will you go to the station and do it yourself? I cannot trust those blockheads of servants. Go at once, and let everything be done." I said I would, and hurried out into the hall, and there met poor Minnie Ridly, who clasped both my hands, and held them fast.

"Oh Walter, tell me the worst," she cried, lifting up her tear-stained blue eyes to my face. "I dare not go upstairs. Oh! is mamma going to die? Oh Walter, tell me what you think."

"What are you stopping him for, you idiot?" said Sir Thomas from behind, coming out of the dining-room, and grasping the poor girl savagely by the arm. "Every moment is of consequence, of vital consequence; and you standing crying there, doing no good whatever."

"Oh! papa," sobbed Minnie, "don't speak like that. Oh! papa don't don't—"

"Leave him alone then," said Sir Thomas, more gently. "Come, Minnie; come, my dear, with me. Your poor mother will, I hope, be spared to us yet."

I left Minnie with her father, after saying a few words of comfort, and then found my way at once to the stables. Ten minutes afterwards, I and a young groom to direct me, were galloping as fast as the best horses Sir Thomas had could carry us to the station, and in half-an-hour the telegrams to the two famous London doctors were despatched, and then, slowly and thoughtfully, I returned to the Hall

"There was no change for the better," was the news that awaited me when I arrived; and so, mournfully, ended our Christmas Day,

## Chapter IV.

ON the following morning, when the two London doctors reached Lamesley, a con-sultation was held at once in the sick-room, and shortly afterwards a report crept through the household that they considered Lady Ridly in a highly dangerous condition.

She had been struck by paralysis, and, though partially sensible, the whole of her left side was completely powerless, and the painful distortion of her features continued unaltered.

"She will probably survive this attack, though it is a very severe one," Miss Churchill told afterwards that Sir—had said; "but a second or third will be fatal."

When the doctors' opinion became known, the greatest gloom naturally prevailed. All the guests who had not left the Hall the night before did so now, with the exception of Sir Harry Royston who, at the earnest entreaty of Tom Ridly, consented to remain a few days longer, as poor Tom declared he would go mad, he thought, if he were left alone.

I went into the library during the morning, intending to make my adieux to Sir Thomas; but, to my surprise, he pressed me to stay.

"Why should you leave us?" he said. "I may want you to do some little things for me by-and-bye, perhaps; for that scoundrel, who has struck his mother dead, shall be no more son of mine. Don't speak, sir; don't excuse him. I know well what he told his poor mother, and that it has killed her; but it shan't kill me," continued the baronet, rising and pacing the room in his furious anger. "No, I'll live just to cheat him. What, was he going to waste the old land on a vile creature like that!" But why go on? Nothing could exceed the bitterness Sir Thomas felt against his son, and I knew that any word of mine would only be in vain; and, indeed, what could I say?

Our interview ended in my consenting to stay, at least, a short time longer, and I said if I could be of any use to my uncle in his distress, I really would be glad to be so.

The old man made no reply to my civilities, except nodding his head; but when I offered to leave him, he seemed irritated that I should wish to go, so I sat down beside him, and opened the yet unfolded morning papers, and began to talk on some of the topics of the day.

At first he would scarcely answer, but, by-and-bye, hearing of some of those "confounded Radical meetings" roused him a little from his sorrow, and I think it did him good to express his opinions in his usual forcible language, but every now and then he relapsed.

"Yes, stay," he said, as I was at length leaving the room, "Mind you stay. You are her nephew, poor soul, after all, and you have, as far as I know of, behaved yourself with propriety, and kept to your own station, and I am glad to give you my countenance, and by-and-by I will see after getting you some better place."

The next few days passed away very drearily, but still there was no change in my poor aunt. But gradually we became accustomed to our position. Even her daughters, after the first, came down to dinner as usual, and Sir Harry and Tom and I skated and shot woodcocks in the morning, and in the evening played billiards and smoked.

We saw very little of Miss Churchill. She, indeed, scarcely ever left the sick room, and only appeared at luncheon when she took her early dinner; for Lady Ridly had taken a fancy, apparently, to be nursed by her, and with painful, inarticulate sounds, expressed her desire that she would stay constantly by her side.

"It is a good thing she is here," my cousins said; and Lady Cullompton told me that she had made an offer to Miss Churchill to remain permanently as Lady Ridly's paid companion, as there seemed a very remote chance that she would ever regain her health.

To my cousin's surprise, Miss Churchill declined this offer. She said she would most gladly remain with Lady Ridly as a friend, as long as she could be of any service, but that she did not wish to accept any situation at present.

"It is very unaccountable," Lady Cullompton said, when she told me the story. "I distinctly understood from poor mamma she wished to have a situation, and I offered to pay her very handsomely, but perhaps she has some other plans now;" and as Lady Cullompton said this, she looked at me and nodded archly.

I daresay I turned red and looked like a fool, for Lady Cullompton and Fanny Ridly, who was also present, began to laugh, and I know that I felt exceedingly annoyed. Once or twice lately they had begun to chaff me about Miss Churchill, and perhaps my manner to her had betrayed some of the great admiration which I could not help feeling both for her character and beauty.

But it was no more than this, I told myself frequently. What good was it for a man with three hundred a year, and that depending on his life, and even health, to think of falling in love with a woman without a penny? Yet, at the same time, I felt very indignant and angry because I began to suspect that another man—a man with position and fortune—was falling in love with her, and that she did not seem very averse to receive his attentions.

This was Sir Harry Royston; and sometimes now, in the evenings, after various glasses of brandy and soda, the young baronet would go into the most absurd raptures about her before Tom Ridly and myself. "She is lovely." "She is fit to be a queen." There was nothing too ridiculous for him to say; and Tom Ridly, sitting gloomily by, once gave him a word of warning.

"All very fine, my boy," he said; but take a fellow's advice, and look for a wife in your own station."

"But Miss Churchill is a lady—a born lady," answered Sir Harry. My mother knew her father years ago. I have written to ask her all about them; and, though Mr. Churchill did marry beneath him, it did not make him less a gentleman."

Tom Ridly made no reply. Perhaps he was disappointed his friend had not learnt to love one of his sisters; or perhaps he was conscious he was in no position to say very much on the subject. At all events, he made no further interference, and never mentioned a word about Sir Harry's admiration to my cousins, and Sir Harry himself also took good care to hide it from their observation, for he knew very well it would not improve Miss Churchill's position in the house.

The new year arrived, and my poor aunt's condition continued unchanged. Sir Harry left Lamesley before it took place, and went to spend the day with his mother, but promised to return the following week. Several times I had proposed to end my visit, but my cousins had always earnestly entreated me to stay for the rest of my holiday, as they said they dreaded their father and Tom being left together alone there.

It was, indeed, a painful and pitiable sight to see Sir Thomas in company with his son. When my cousins retired from the dinner table was the most trying time. Sir Thomas never addressed or answered Tom when he spoke, and pointedly began to talk on a different subject at the same time if ever he ventured to open his lips. The young man bore it pretty well. He had told me he would not leave his mother as long as she lived, and I think, therefore, he had made up his mind to bear with his father; but it was only the precarious state of Lady

Ridly's health which prevented Sir Thomas turning him out of the house. So these two men sat day by day at the same board, nourishing hatred and defiance in their hearts, while upstairs the poor wife and mother lay painfully breathing her last dark hours away.

On the 3rd of January my aunt was attacked by another and yet more severe stroke of paralysis, and after that both the London and country doctors gave no hopes of her recovery; nay, limited the term of her existence to days.

As soon as Miss Churchill heard this she went at once to my eldest cousin, and earnestly entreated her to tell her dying mother the truth. But Lady Cullompton would not even listen to what she said. She cried and wrung her hands, and sent for me, and said that she dare not; that it was no use asking her; that she could not, she thought, ever see poor mamma again. "It was so dreadful—oh! so dreadful." And Minnie Ridly went into such violent hysterics at the news that for a time we were seriously alarmed for her health.

When Sir Thomas was told his wife was about to leave him, he covered his face and wept aloud. He had loved her in his way—for she had been his; and he had been proud of her beauty and success; and as she had always behaved with tact and discretion, their quarrels, at least had been few.

"What shall I do without her. What shall I do?" was his cry. It was not the poor sick woman's sufferings but his own loneliness which seemed most dreadful to him then, and, when I hinted that Lady Ridly should be informed of her imminent danger, he angrily upbraided me for my want of feeling for him.

"Do you want to break my heart, sir?" he cried. "I tell the poor soul!—no, never. Let her alone. She has done what few of us do; she has done her duty in her own station of life; and, if ever it is right with anyone, it will be right with her."

Neither Miss Churchill nor myself, however, could reconcile our consciences to the idea of my poor aunt being left so completely in the dark. The doctors had told us that her life would not, probably, last many days—certainly not longer than a week at most; and since the last stroke nearly the whole of her body had become entirely powerless, and though she was perfectly sensible, she could scarcely make herself understood, as her speech was so terribly affected.

Under these unhappy circumstances there could be no mistake. It seemed to us both a plain duty not to let her pass away without knowing her danger; and we agreed to go together and tell her that her days, perhaps her very hours, were numbered.

The short winter's afternoon had just closed in, and the lamp was lit as we entered the sick room, and I could scarcely control my feelings when I first saw the awful change which had come over Lady Ridly.

Lying there, propped on laced pillows, was as it were, the face of a dead woman. All expression and life seemed to have gone from it, and the distortion and leaden tint of the skin made it inexpressibly ghastly. Only the eyes seemed living—the large blue restless eyes, which had shone and glittered so long amid scenes which now she had left for ever.

She recognised me at once, I saw as I approached, and said a few inarticulate words which Miss Churchill seemed to understand, and repeated.

"She asks if you have been out shooting," said Miss Churchill, "and if Sir Harry has come back."

"No, aunt, no," I said, and fell down on my knees by her bedside, and kissed the powerless hand which lay on the coverlet. She could move her fingers a little still though, and she moved them slightly, as I held them then.

"When does Sir Harry come?" she said, the next minute, more distinctly, but still with the same thick laboured articulation.

"I do not know," I answered. "But—oh! aunt, think of something else—think of something which now is more momentous to you than all."

She moved her eyes restlessly as I spoke, and her hands trembled; and when, in faltering and broken language, I went on with my painful task, she suddenly uttered a wild wail of terror, and her hitherto almost powerless hands began to work convulsively.

"No—no—no," she cried, struggling for breath between each word. "No—I cannot—I *dare not die!*"

Oh, my dear mother, I was by your side also, when our kindly doctor told you your life was about to close, and I saw you look upwards and smile, and I thought of your holy and happy face as I knelt there, clasping your miserable sister's hand, and imploring her to find some comfort and peace.

But Lady Ridly had nothing now on which to rest. She had lived for the world, and the world and worldly things were passing away from her powerless grasp. She was going out on a journey where her life's chief aims were lost, and whose fruit now only served to darken and impede her path.

At last, from those writhing lips we heard one word—one word of comfort, at least, to us.

"Pray," she said, "pray!" and Katherine Churchill knelt down by her side, and, in heart-felt broken words, poured forth an almost passionate entreaty for pardon and peace. Gradually, as she continued, my poor aunt's face grew more composed, and lost its first terrified expression, and presently she closed her eyes and began

moving her lips as if she were praying also; and when, in simple and touching language, Miss Churchill went on, she seemed more resigned, and lay for nearly an hour quite quiet and still.

After this she again became restless, and began struggling, as if she wished to speak.

"What is it, dear Lady Ridly?" said Miss Churchill, bending tenderly over her.

"Is it anything you want? Is it your children?"

"T-o-m," said my aunt, with painful indistinctness.

"T-o-m,—and his—father."

I understood in a moment what she meant, and left the room at once to seek Sir Thomas and his son. She wished to reconcile them before she died, and with some hope that her last request might influence her husband, I sought him, and told him she had asked to see him.

Slowly and heavily Sir Thomas followed me to the bedside of his dying wife, and stooped down and kissed her altered face; his own working nervously as he did so. I saw my aunt look at me with eyes of dumb enquiry as he went in as if asking where was her boy; but I thought it better that Sir Thomas should see how near death was before he heard what she was about to ask.

Then I went for Tom, and told him he must come to see his mother. When he entered the room, and fell down weeping by the bed, his father's face darkened and he was about to turn away; but Lady Ridly's twitching fingers tried to hold him, and even the stern old man could not resist their weak appeal.

"For-give—forgive—him," she faltered. "T-o-m—put—out—your—hand."

My—husband—for—my—sake—forgive—our—son."

Sir Thomas's face changed and altered, and with half averted glance, held out his hand over his dying wife.

"For your mother's sake," he said, in a thick broken voice; and Tom, who was kneeling at the other side of the bed, sprang up and put his hand in his father's.

"Forgive me;" he said. "Father, forgive me!" And so they shook hands and were reconciled; and then Tom stooped down and kissed his mother's face.

"Let me stay with you to-night, mother," he whispered. "Let me stay with you always, now?" and poor Lady Ridly's faltering voice said, "Yes!"

I also felt that I could not leave her; and it was finally settled amongst us that Miss Churchill, Tom Ridly, and myself should remain up during the night, and Sir Thomas whispered in my ear, as he left the room, that I was to call him "if there was any change."

For some hours there did not appear to be so, and Lady Ridly lay, apparently, in a kind of half-slumber : but towards the turn of the night she grew restless, and began muttering indistinctly.

By this time Tom Ridly, worn out with his violent emotions, was sleeping heavily in an easy chair by the fire; but in a moment Miss Churchill and I were by her side, and at the first glance I saw a great alteration had taken place; so I whispered to Miss Churchill, "I had better call her husband."

"No—no," said Lady Ridly, who had overheard me, "No!" And then her eyes fell on the poor sleeping lad by the fire.

"Watch-ch—over—him—Walter," she said. "Watch—over—my—poor boy."

I took her hand, which was now beginning to work convulsively, and promised solemnly that I would, and then Lady Ridly looked at Miss Churchill.

"She—is—a—good—girl—be kind to her—after—I am—gone."

They were her last words! The next moment her face changed colour, and a violent convulsive trembling seized her whole body; and though Miss Churchill ran at once for her husband and daughters, before they entered it was all over, and her poor quivering frame was still for ever!

## Chapter V.

IN VERY grand and decorous fashion my poor aunt was carried to her grave,

Sir Thomas was, I believe, deeply and sincerely affected at the time of her death; but I think he felt relieved when she was finally hidden from his sight for ever, and that the presence of a dead body in the house struck discomfort and terror into his soul.

Tom Ridly left Lamesley the day after the funeral, and, before he did so, he had a brief interview with his father, at which, by the request of both, I was present.

"Young Franklyn tells me you are going to town to-day," said Sir Thomas, nervously, as his son entered the library. "We had better understand each other before you go."

"Father," said Tom, with a kind of honest manliness in his manner, which I could not but admire, "I have, I know, given you great cause for annoyance; but, for the sake of her who is gone—," and here his voice broke and faltered, "for her sake, I hope you will forget it."

"No," said Sir Thomas, sharply, "no sir, I won't; but, for your mother's sake, as you say, I will try to regard

you as my son. You will now," he continued, with a half-sneer, unconsciously, I believe, appearing on his lips, "have increased expenses, and I propose, therefore, to double your present allowance, on the understanding—or rather, if you'll give your solemn word of honour as a gentleman—that you will raise no money on the estate."

"I will give you my solemn word I will not," said Tom.

"In that case," continued Sir Thomas, "my house will still be open to you; but not to the woman—"

"Sir," said Tom, interrupting him, "she is my wife. Will you please spare any comments on her now."

With a violent effort of will, Sir Thomas controlled himself. I saw his face change colour, and he bent his fingers nervously on the green baize of the table before him; but he did not commit himself, and after a few moments of painful silence, he brought out his cheque-book, and drew a very heavy cheque on his banker.

"There, sir," he said, holding it out towards Tom, "there, will that satisfy you?"

Tom glanced at the amount, and his face flushed, and he held out his hand. "My dear father," he said, "let us be friends."

"I would give you no more," said Sir Thomas, bitterly, "even if we were, so I don't suppose, in that case, that you care."

"You will be late for the train, Tom," I said, hastily, looking at my watch, for I saw it was better they should part. "You had best say good-bye to Sir Thomas, for we will have to drive fast."

"Good-bye, then, father," said Tom; and for a moment their hands just touched, and then father and son each went on his different way.

"It is impossible to care for him," said Tom, as we drove slowly to the station—for we were in reality much too early for his train—"impossible! He could not, you heard, even spare me that taunt, though, in all probability, we shall never meet again!"

I did not return to London with Tom Ridly. Sir Thomas had requested me to stay to the end of the week, to assist him with some business arrangements for one reason, and for another he wished me help to entertain Sir Harry Royston, who had come to Lamesley for Lady Ridly's funeral, and had promised to remain for a few days; and I also was anxious to see something more of Miss Churchill.

All the four ladies, in their deep mourning, appeared downstairs the day Tom left. My cousins naturally looked very grave and sorrowful at first, but before dinner was over Minnie was laughing and jesting with Sir Harry Royston, and, for the moment at least, her poor mother was forgotten.

She, however, might have spared herself any trouble on account of Sir Harry. I saw his eyes wander from her face across the table, and fix themselves again and again on Miss Churchill's nobler one, and I knew well, with the bitter knowledge which jealousy teaches, that he had remained at Lamesley, not for her sake, but for that of their despised but beautiful guest.

After dinner was over, for the first time since Lady Ridly's death, I had an opportunity of speaking privately to Miss Churchill. She was sitting reading in her old place in the drawing-room as I entered it, and I went up to her at once. We talked about different things for a little while, and then she asked me when I intended to return to town.

"In a few days," I told her; and, after a moment's hesitation, I continued, "but I want to ask you also when you are going—when you leave here?"

"I shall have to seek a situation, you know," she answered, looking at me with rather an anxious smile.

I bit my lips and looked down nervously as she spoke. I was thinking of my aunt's last words. I was thinking should I tell her of the good fortune which, I felt convinced, now lay in her grasp, yet I felt that to do so required almost more self-control than I possessed.

"Do you know of one?" went on Miss Churchill; "I think you would help me if you could."

I rose hastily, and walked once or twice up and down the long room before I answered her. There was no one there but ourselves. My cousins and Sir Harry were in the inner drawing-room, and I could hear them laughing and talking as they sat round the fire, and we were, therefore, virtually alone.

"Yes," I said, returning to her, and speaking quickly and with much emotion; "yes, I would help you if I could. Do you think I have forgotten Lady Ridly's last words, or that now I ever can regard you with indifference?"

She looked up steadily and inquiringly in my face for a moment, and then a burning blush rose in her own, and dyed it crimson; "I thank you!" she said, and held out her hand.

At her touch, all prudence, and all my generous resolutions regarding Sir Harry, passed from my mind.

"Katherine," I said, clasping her hand tightly, "Katherine, you know what I am. You know all I can offer you; but if you are willing to share that—and, if you feel half for me what I feel to you, you will be—I ask you now, will you be—my wife?"

"You would marry me with nothing?" said Miss Churchill, in a low, faltering voice.

"With nothing but your love," I answered. "Without that I would marry no woman; but if you give me—have given me—that, then I am content."

"Shall we be very poor?" asked Miss Churchill, and she smiled.

"Yes," I said, "we shall be very poor—what you, I daresay, will call very poor; but, if a man and woman are all in all to each other, I don't think they need much besides; and, after all, you know," I added with a laugh, "I can afford to give you butter to your bread sometimes."

"That will do," she answered, and she laughed also, "I daresay we shall do very well."

I sat down by her side and looked at her after she had said this. I could scarcely believe that I had won her—scarcely believe that my darling was to be mine. But, amid my rapturous reflections, I suddenly started at the sound of a voice coming from the room beyond.

"Do you like Sir Harry Royston?" I said; "Do you hear him there?"

"Yes, I like him very much," she answered. "I think he is so unaffected and good-natured. She will be a happy woman, I believe, who marries Sir Harry Royston."

"Of course," I said, sneeringly, while my heart seemed almost to cease to beat; "of course—he is rich."

"He is better than rich," said Miss Churchill, gently; "he is good. Don't you like him?"

I turned away my head. If she loves me, I thought, she will be true to me; if she does not, I had better let her go. I will put her to the test.

"Katherine," I said, the next moment, "you like Sir Harry Royston; well before you bind yourself for good to a poor man, it is only right you should know that I believe you can have the offer of a rich one; I believe Sir Harry Royston—"

"And you pretend you love me!" said Miss Churchill, throwing back her head, and looking at me with more indignation and scorn than I thought it possible her face could express. "You, who have just asked me to be your wife, tell me, if I like, I can have somebody else! Truly, you must hold me cheap!"

"No, no, do not say that. I meant to be generous; I meant only that if you cared for money—"

"More than you!" interrupted Miss Churchill. "Had I done so, Mr. Franklyn, I would never have said what I have to you. Perhaps I, too, may have noticed Sir Harry's feelings; but had I seen any rich heiress admired by you, do you think I would have told you that you might have her instead of me if you liked?"

"Forgive me," I said, "dear Katherine, forgive me. I have lived so long with those who make money their chief idol, that I can scarcely believe in a noble and generous heart like yours."

"But you do not make it your chief idol, do you?" said Katherine.

"No, I make you," I answered; and so our little quarrel was forgotten, and, when we joined the others, I felt too happy to be jealous, even of Sir Harry Royston.

Our arrangements were soon made after this. We agreed next day that Katherine was to remain for the present at Lamesley—at least for the two following weeks, and then that she was to come up to town, and stay for a short time with an old friend of her father's, and that we were to be married from his house.

"And who may the gentleman be?" I asked.

She mentioned in reply the head of a highly respectable firm of solicitors, and added, "You know Mr. Pocock manages all my little affairs; so I hope, sir, you are able to give a very good account of yourself."

"You know, Katherine, I have nothing."

"Nothing to settle on me, as you call it in England," she replied, smiling, "What a dreadfully bad match I must be going to make! I shall have to settle my hundreds on you, instead."

I told her then, what I had not before, of the railway-shares, and added that we should be able to take a small house, and that I would look out for one immediately on my return to town.

"No," she said, "we must not think of such a thing at first. We must not go to unnecessary expense, and, by-and-bye, if we really want one," she added gaily, "I will see after it far more economically than you would."

"Well, have it your own way," I answered. "I don't much care where I live as long as I live with you."

We did not name our engagement to any one at Lamesley, and I had to listen for two nights longer to Sir Harry's rhapsodies on my future wife. I felt half savage at the lad, and half proud at the same time that I had won her in spite of everything he had to offer. Still, it is not pleasant to hear another man raving about the woman you are in love with, after all. Jealousy is a subtle passion, which comes and goes very often alike without reason in the human heart, and I saw I hurt Katherine sometimes during these two days by some very stupid displays of mine. "But she loves me!" I told myself a hundred times on my journey back to town. "She loves me! and what sweeter thought could I have than that?"

When I parted with Sir Thomas he produced his cheque-book.

"Fifty pounds," he said, with something in his manner approaching his old grim jocularly, "won't, I suppose, do a young fellow like you any harm?" And he wrote a cheque, and held it towards me as he spoke.

"No, Sir Thomas, no," I said, drawing back; "I cannot take it."

"Let it alone, then," said the baronet brusquely. "All I can say is, few would have refused it, and I think you are a fool for doing so."

But he was glad, I believe really, to save his money, for in a little while he continued, more affably, "Well,

at all events, I suppose you would like something to keep in memory of her, poor soul. I have a ring here I picked out for you; for I do not forget you are her own sister's child—though your mother was a very foolish woman, still the relationship is there—and it pleased her, poor thing, to remember it; so take this, if you are not too proud to accept it;" and he offered me an old and valuable ring of my late aunt's.

I said I was not, and, after thanking him in a few words, I told him I was grateful for what he had already done for me.

"That's enough; that's enough," said Sir Thomas, waving his hand. "I do what I think my duty, sir, and I trust you will try and follow my example."

Minnie Ridly parted with me very coldly. I think she guessed that the little feeble love I had once felt for her had died away in a new and stronger one; for, though she never for a moment dreamt of marrying me, still she resented my not breaking my heart for her sake.

Lady Cullompton and Fannie were, however, very kind, and pressed me to visit them on their return to town; and Katherine and I parted with a simple handclasp—a hand-clasp which to us meant now so much.

It was, however, more than a month after I left Lamesley before she came to London. She was detained at the Hall by a very serious illness which attacked Lady Cullompton a few days after my departure, and my cousin would not hear of her leaving till she was better.

During this time, though I heard very often from Katherine, I felt restless and jealous to a miserable degree. I knew from Tom Ridly that Sir Harry was constantly with them, yet in her letters she never mentioned his name. One day, however, I accidentally met him in town, and was struck at once with the evident depression of his manner.

He asked me to dine with him, but had apparently lost alike his appetite and his good nature. He was, indeed, cross, absent, and almost capricious, and I am afraid I felt my spirits rise in proportion to the very lowness of his. After dinner it all came out. Sir Harry had asked Miss Churchill to marry him; and to the perfect amazement of the rich and flattered young man, she had refused him, and had given no reason as to the cause of her rejection.

"It is unaccountable," said Sir Harry, with perfect ingenuousness. "I'm not such a bad-looking fellow as all that; and a girl who absolutely means to go out for a governess or something, for Minnie Ridly told me that was true. I could not have believed it possible. There's some mystery about it, Franklyn, depend upon it," went on Sir Harry. "Girls don't refuse fifteen thousand a year in a hurry now-a-days. She, in my opinion, couldn't marry."

"How do you mean, my dear fellow?" I asked, rather sharply.

"She's married, or something, already, that's the secret," said Sir Harry, mysteriously, rapping down his doubled fist on the table. His vanity was too great to allow him to think that anyone would refuse him if they could help it.

Yet he was scarcely to blame for this. Tom Ridly told me that from boyhood this young baronet had been set at and made love to wherever he went. At his private tutor's a mature young lady of five-and-twenty had actually tried to run away with him when he was only sixteen, and had but been prevented from doing so by the boy-lover taking an awkward attack of measles just at the very time. Poor Sir Harry then was certainly to be pitied under his first disappointment, and I was amused to see how his injured vanity was stronger than his love, for he preferred to cast an aspersion on Miss Churchill's good name rather than let it be supposed she could have had the bad taste to be indifferent to him.

I left his rooms, however, with a lightened heart, and found a letter from my Katherine waiting for me at home. She was coming to town in a few days, and scolded me in her pretty way for being extravagant, because I had sent her a ring. "A ring far too handsome for poor people like us," she told me; "but still she would wear it and value it too."

She came when she had promised, and I met her at the station, and escorted her to Mr. Pocock's house. She asked me to call again the next day, and when I went, I was received by rather a crusty old gentleman, who eyed me all over—I did not think with very approving looks.

"You must like Walter for my sake," said Katherine, and Mr Pocock said, "Well, my dear, for your sake I would do much; but—"

"But nothing," said Katherine, putting her pretty hand over the old gentleman's mouth. "You must know Walter," she continued, "that my guardian here thinks no one good enough for me. He knew me when I was a little girl; and he knew dear papa all his life; so that accounts for his delusion," and she laughed as she spoke.

"Well," said Mr. Pocock, "you are your own mistress, and, of course, must have your own way; but Mr. Franklyn is not in a position I think—"

"He promised me bread—and butter sometimes," said Katherine, gaily, "and so I am content." And I, too, was content; so what more could there be said?

We were married just three weeks after she came up to town, and in the quietest possible manner. Mr.

Pocock gave Katherine away, and presented her with his blessing, and a very magnificent silver tea service.

"Utterly ridiculous for people like us," Katherine said, when he gave them; but she went up and kissed her old friend's forehead, and, in spite of her joking speech, I thought I saw tears for a moment dimming her bright eyes.

We had fixed to go for one week to Brighton after the ceremony, as Katherine said we could not possibly afford a wedding tour; and as, in my heart, I agreed with her, we made our arrangements accordingly.

Well, we were married, and from the church door drove to the station, and presently found ourselves comfortably seated in the train. We were all alone, and as I wrapped my young wife's shawl closer round her, I told her what I felt and believed, that I was one of the happiest men on earth.

"But I have a confession to make to you, Walter," said Katherine, lifting up her head from my shoulder, and looking with her dark eyes straight into mine.

"A confession!" I echoed, and my heart sank.

"Yes, one you should hear now," said Katherine, quietly.

"Don't, don't," I cried, with sudden pain, half pushing her from me. "Don't tell me now, Katherine, I cannot bear to hear," and I turned away my head; Sir Harry Royston's suggestion flashing back with a terrible pang into my mind.

"Why, Walter," said she, looking at me, "of what are you afraid? Don't look like that, my dear, I am not going to tell you anything to hurt you. Why you have turned pale, silly child—and it's only—well, it's only—I am still, and was always, an *heiress*."

"What?" I said. I could scarcely understand her.

"It is a long story," said Katherine, putting her hand into mine; "but I will try to make it as short as I can. You know dear papa married, what is called, beneath him. He married, in fact, the daughter of a German Jew, who was a dealer in diamonds, and also a very wealthy man. How he came to do this was easily accounted for. He had been engaged, and deeply attached, for years to a very handsome young English lady. Can you guess, Walter, who it was?"

"No," I said; "how could I guess?"

"It was your aunt Lady Ridly," replied Katherine; "and for more than two years it had been an understood thing between them, when suddenly Sir Thomas Ridley made her acquaintance, and, almost without notice, she threw over my poor father, and married the rich new lover she had won.

"Papa was at Homburg when the news came, and so violent was the shock, that, after a few days of miserable suffering, he was attacked by brain-fever in a strange city, and lay between life and death for many days.

"In the same hotel where he was, my grandfather and my mother—then a beautiful girl of nineteen—were also staying. The dangerous illness of the handsome young Englishman naturally aroused all my poor mother's sympathies. She was ardent and impulsive, and insisted on helping to nurse papa, and overwhelmed him with kindness and attention.

"The natural consequence ensued. Papa, smarting from the heartless conduct of one woman, was glad to find refuge in the tender affection of another, and, in spite of the violent opposition of her father—in spite of some strong prejudices of his own—he married the lovely Jewish maiden, and was, I believe, truly happy with her while she lived.

"But poor mamma's life was a very short one. She died when a little brother of mine was born, about a year after my own birth, and she and her babe were buried together in the cemetery of Père la Chaise, in Paris, and papa and I led a kind of wandering life ever afterwards.

"Papa was not a fortunate man. The few thousands he possessed as a younger son, and from his mother, were soon either squandered or lost, and his father cast him off completely from the time of his marriage. His life, therefore, was rather a bitter one. Indeed, we had generally to depend on assistance from my grandfather to satisfy our daily wants.

"At last, about five years ago, grandpapa died, and I found myself unexpectedly the heiress of a very large fortune. By this time poor papa had grown, from his many disappointments, a bitter and misanthropic man. He was for ever railing at the heartlessness of the world, and one of his favourite subjects now became that I would fall a victim to some despicable fortune-hunter, and that my very wealth would only serve to make me a miserable woman.

"By accident we met Lady Ridly, just before papa's last illness, at Homburg, and, as our position was well known there, she welcomed her old friend with the greatest cordiality. Here, then, was a case in point. Papa forcibly represented to me that, had we been in poverty or distress, our reception would have been very different. The sight, in fact, of his old love, seemed to waken all the bitterest feelings of his nature. It became a sort of monomania with him to be ever impressing on me that the smallest kindness or attention he then received was *bought*. That there was much truth in what he said I knew. I had learnt by bitter experience that

the want of money is regarded as a sort of crime by most people, which they punish by neglect and contempt; but, naturally, I did not feel as he did, and one day I jokingly told him I thought I was good-looking and nice enough to be married for myself alone.

"You would see if you tried, silly child," said papa, and his words struck deeper than he thought. Our acquaintance with Lady Ridly continued, and it ended in her giving us a pressing invitation to visit them in England. Papa, however, made his health the excuse for declining her hospitality; but he said he would like me to see a little of English life, and it was finally agreed that I should visit them.

"Very shortly after Lady Ridly left Homburg, poor papa was attacked by his last fatal illness. On his death-bed the old-vexed subject was renewed, and he implored me to consider well before I trusted my happiness to any of the vile fortune-hunters, as he called them, who were sure to surround me.

"At last the idea occurred to me to tell him, that, if he liked, I would pretend to have lost my fortune, and take my chance as a penniless girl after all. The very thought, I believe, made his last days happy! With tears he entreated me to keep to my resolution, and never, till I was married, to allow my husband to know of my wealth.

"You understand the rest, silly boy," went on Katherine, smiling fondly. "You understand how I liked somebody's dark face, and what a fright I was in lest I should find I had been mistaken in thinking myself charming enough for you to care for myself alone. But I was, wasn't I?" she asked, lifting up her face half coquettishly to mine; and I do not think that my answer need be recorded here.

When we returned to town, I (as in duty bound) went to call on my cousins, and tell them of my good fortune. Lady Cullompton and Fanny received the news with hearty good nature and apparent pleasure; and Minnie, after reflecting a moment or two, also said that she was glad.

"But she gave you some hint about her money, Walter, I believe," said my pretty cousin, before our interview ended. "Ah! don't tell me she did not; I am sure of it. I noticed from the first that she wished to attract you; and you were quite right, and have done very well for yourself, and I hope you will be happy."

Sir Thomas's congratulations were yet more characteristic. I met him in the street shortly after our return, and he stopped me, and shook me by the hand.

"Ah! sir," he said. "Ah! so you knew what you were about, eh?—Knew how the land lay? Ha, ha, ha! you were a sly dog, and knew what you were after"—and he poked me in the waistcoat. He even condescended to be jocular *to me*.

Of poor Tom Ridly I have but little that is pleasant to tell. The unhappy marriage he has made hangs as a drag and a millstone round his neck, which I fear will only pull him deeper and deeper down. He, however, is a very constant visitor at our house, and has a strong feeling of regard and admiration for Katherine, who, like a good woman as she is, ever tries to raise him above degrading and lowering influences. But the poor lad is his own worst enemy; and I often think, sadly enough, what his fond mother would have felt if she could see him, now, reeling away the hours of his unhappy and wasted life!

#### Vignette

MESSRS. Speller and Preston have just brought out a new and good "Newspaper Scrap Book," appropriately ornamented, well bound, large 4 to, containing 100 pages of excellent stiff paper, each page divided into three columns by perpendicular lines, and ready folioed, with the proper provision for additional leaves if needed. There is also a lettered index in ledger style, so that each item entered can be readily referred to. Every housekeeper, everyone with a hobby, or specially interested in one or two things—price of stocks, butterflies, and what not—should keep a scrap-book—a very improper old term, by the way; for "scrap" means what is rejected, inferior remains, fit for dogs, or waste; whereas a scrap-book is a receptacle of facts, hints, truths, ways of doing things, &c., choice and complete, all of special value, and to be kept for use or for reconsideration. A carefully filled scrap-book is a thing of value to the collector.

THE Caledonian Club of New York, it is stated, intend to publish this year "the most sumptuous edition of the works of Robert Burns that the world has seen." It is to be hoped that in the first place it will have all the essentials of good book printing, which are seldom studied. Again, as with most editions of poets' works, the works of Burns would be much more read if many of the less interesting and important pieces were omitted; the present generation have not leisure to look for beauties or study fragments; and the general reader judges of an author by a sort of average-taking, so that he (the author) gains by the omission of inferior matter. If they could engage Mr. Arnold to give such an edition of Burns as he has just published of the poetry of Wordsworth, they would confer a favour on the English-speaking world.

## Fine Arts, &c.

- William Blake.—Etchings from his works. By William Bell Scott. With descriptive text. 25s.

- Endymion. By John Keats. Illustrated with engravings on Steel, by F. Joubert. 30s.
- Vanity Fair. A Weekly Show of Political, Social, and Literary Wares. 50s. per vol.
- Beautiful Pictures by British Artists. New and old series. 25s. per vol.
- The Fables of la Fontaine, translated into English verse. By Walter Thornbury. With Illustrations by Gustave Doré. 40s.
- A World's Pictures. 26s. 6d.
- Home Life in England. Illustrated by engravings on steel after pictures by eminent artists. 25s.
- Murillo and the Spanish School of Painting. W. B. Scott. 27s. 6d.
- The Studies of Sir Edwin Landseer, R.A. Illustrated by sketches from the collection of Her Majesty the Queen. 42s.
- English Scenery. Illustrated by eminent British artists, with 21 steel plates. 42s.
- Pictures. By William Etty, R.A. 25s.
- Pictures. By Sir A. W. Callcott, R.A. With Descriptions and Biographical Sketch of the Painter. 26s. 6d.
- The British School of Sculpture. 25s.
- British Artists. Leslie and Maclin's Specimens of the Works of our most famous Artists. 42s.

## Chatto & Windus's Publications.

- Haunted London. By Walter Thornbury. 10s.
- The Sports and Pastimes of the English People. Strutt. 9s.
- History of Clubs and Club Life. By John Tinill. 9s.
- Dean Swift's Choice Works. 9s.
- The Works of Thomas Hood. 9s.
- Complete Works of Artemus Ward. 9s.
- The Englishman's House. By C. J. Richardson. 9s.
- Choice Humorous Works of Theodore Hook. 9s.
- Decameron of Boccaccio. Illustrated. By T. Stochard. 9s.
- Life of Theodore Hook. 7s. 6d.
- Charles Lamb's Complete Works. 9s.
- German Popular Stories. 9s.
- The Works of Rabelais. 9s.

## Statutes, Acts, Hand Books, &c.

- Hand Book for the use of County Councillors. 2s. 6d.
- Handy Book on the Land Transfer Acts. 3s. 6d.
- The Statute Law of Evidence in New Zealand. 5s.
- Rules and Orders for Regulating the Practice of the District Courts of New Zealand. 4s.
- Lessons in the English Language for Maori Schools. 1s.
- New Zealand Justice of the Peace. 2 vols., half calf. 35s.
- Handbook of New Zealand (Sydney Exhibition, 1879). By James Hector, M.D. 2s. 6d.
- New Zealand Court, Sydney Exhibition, 1879. Official Catalogue. 2s.
- Statutes of New Zealand. Half calf. 30s.

## Serial Volumes to Hand.

- Good Words, 1879. Cloth gilt. 8s. 6d.
- Sunday Magazine, 1879. Cloth gilt. 8s. 6d.
- Sunday do. 1879. Boards. 4s.
- Children's Friend, 1879. Boards. 2s.
- The Infant's Magazine, 1879. Boards. 2s.
- British Juvenile, 1879. Boards. 2s.
- The Prize, 1879. Cloth gilt. 2s. 6d.
- Aunt Judy's Christmas Volume. Cloth extra gilt. 8s. 6d.
- Peter Parleys Annual for 1880. Cloth extra gilt. 6s. 6d.

- Little Wide-Awake, 1880; cloth, extra gilt; with 400 pictures, 6s.
- Little Wide-Awake, 1880; cloth, extra gilt; boards. 4s.
- Kind Words for young people. Boards, 4s.
- Chatterbox. Beautifully illustrated. Boards, 4s.
- The Child's Companion and Juvenile Instructor. Boards, 1s. 6d.
- The Child's Own Magazine. Boards, 1s.
- Leisure Hour, 1879. Half-calf. 10s. 6d.
- Sunday at Home, 1879. Half-calf. 10s. 6d.
- Leisure Hour, 1879. Cloth. 7s. 6d.
- Family Herald. Vol. 43. Gs. 6d.
- British Workman, 1879. 2s.
- Band of Hope, 1879. 1s. 6d.
- Family Friend, 1879. 2s.
- Strahan's Grand Annual for the Young, 1879. 8s. 6d.

## New Novels to Hand.

- Twilight Stories, by Rhoda Broughton. 3s. 6d.
- Piccadilly, by Laurence Oliphant. Cloth. 5s.
- Piccadilly, by Laurence Oliphant. Boards. 2s. 6d.
- Sunshine and Storm in the East, or Cruises to Cyprus and Constantinople, by Mrs. Brassey. Illustrated 26s.
- Poganuc People, by Harriett B. Stowe. 7s. 6.
- Thornroft's Model, by Mrs. Alfred W. Hunt. 7s. 6d.
- Bow Bell's Annual, illustrated, by John Dicks. 1s. 6d.
- Mistletoe Bough; edited by Miss Braddon; illustrated. 1s. 6d.
- Christmas Number of London Society. 1s. 6d.
- John Hazel's Vengeance, by Hayard. 2s.
- Picturesque Europe, with illustrations on wood and steel by the most eminent artists. 42s.
- The Heroes of Britain in Peace and War, by Edwin Hodder. 1 vol. just published. 10s.
- Science for All; illustrated; by Robert Brown, M.A., &c. Vol. 2, just published. 12s. 6d.
- Our Own Country, Descriptive, Historical, and Pictorial. Vol. I., just published. 10s. 6d.

## New Books and New Editions.

- Life and Work at the Great Pyramid, with a Discussion of the Facts ascertained : by Piazzzi Smyth, F.R.S.S. L. & E. In 3 vols.; with Illustrations on stone and wood. 65s.
- The Australian Abroad; branches from the main Routes round the World, by James Hingston, (*J. H. of the Melbourne Argus.*) 1 vol. 18s.
- Old England and New Zealand, with an Historical Sketch of the Maori Race, by Alfred Simmons. 1 vol. 3s. 6d.
- Studies On Fermentation; the Diseases of Beer, their causes and the means of Preventing them, by L. Pasteur. 1 vol. 26s.
- A Few Months in New Guinea, by Octavius C. Stone, F.R.G.S. Illustrated. 1 vol. 17s.
- Sermons Preached Before the University of Oxford, by H. P Leddon, D.D. Second Series, 1868-1879. 1 vol. 7s. 6d.
- Diderot and the Encyclopædists, by John Morley. New edition. 1 vol. 16s. 6d.
- A Magnificent Assortment of the New Registered Photographic Albums; genuine English made in Morocco and Russian Leather. Illustrated in the best style of Chromo-Lithography, comprising the following series—Du Moyen Age, Herborita and Parterre, Le Pendant Du Parterre.
- Locomotive Engine Driving, by Michael Reynolds; a Practical Manual for Engineers in charge of Locomotive Engines; comprising, besides other additional matter, a Key to the Locomotive Engine. 5s. 6d.
- Australian, Engineering, and Building News : A Journal devoted to Engineering, Architectural, and Scientific Subjects.
- We have been appointed WELLINGTON AGENTS for the above. It will be published on the First of each

Month. Already there are five parts out; and in consequence of the great demand for No. I the first edition is completely exhausted; should the demand continue it is intended to reprint it. Intending Subscribers are requested to send in their names as early as possible.

- The Subscription is Twelve Shillings per annum, payable in advance.
- Tramways; their Construction and Working, with special reference to the Tramways of the United Kingdom, by D. Kinnear Clark, C.E. With wood engravings and folding plates. 21s.
- Essay on Gravitation, by T. Wakelin, B.A. Price Sixpence.
- Balance of Emotion and Intellect, by Charles Waldstein, Ph.D. An Essay introductory to the Study of Philosophy. 7s. 6d.
- Fern Paradise; Plea for the Culture of Ferns, by Francis George Heath Illustrated. 14s. 6d.
- "The Economy of Consumption," by Robert Scott Moffatt. An omitted Chapter in Political Economy. 24s. And The Principles of a. Time Policy: being an Exposition of a Method of Settling Dispute between Employers and Laborers. 5s.
- Hale's New American Remedies: and Special Therapeutics, Symptomatology, &c, 2 vols. £35s.
- Handybook of Object Lessons, from a Teacher's Note-Book, by J. Walker. 6s.
- Co-Operative Agriculture; a Solution of the Land Question, as exemplified in the History of the Ralahine Co-operative Agricultural Association, County Clare, Ireland, by William Pare, F.R.S. 7s.
- Tales From Blackwood. Complete in 24 parts, at 1s. :—  
 No. 1. Irene Magillicuddy.—Nan; A Summer Scene,—The Bells of Botreaux.—A Recent Confession of an Opium-eater.  
 No. 2. Shakespeare's Funeral.—A Night with the Volunteers of Strathkinahan.—The Philosopher's Baby.  
 No. 3. The Battle of Dorking.—Late for the Train.—The Congress of the Agapedome.—Maga's birthday.
- Riding Recollections, by Whyte Melville. 7s. 6d.
- Dick Sands, The Boy Captain, by Jules Verne. Translated by Ellen E. Frewer. Beautifully illustrated. 12s. 6d.
- Joan the Maid, Deliverer of England and France: a Story of the 15th Century, by the author of the "Schönberg Cotta Family."
- Cartoons From *Punch*:—  
 The Right Hon. John Bright, M.P. Paper covers. 1s.  
 The Earl of Beaconsfield, K.G. Paper covers. 2s. 6d.  
 The Earl of Beaconsfield, K.G. Cloth gilt. 3s. 6d.  
 The Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, M.P. Cloth gilt. 2s. 6d.  
 The Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, M.P. Paper covers. 1s. 6d.  
 Pictures of Life and Character, by John Leech. From the Collection of *Mr Punch*, in 5 vols, each 12s. 6d.
- Dramatic List, by Charles Eyre Pascoe. A Record of the Principal Performances of Living Actors and Actresses of the British Stage. With Criticisms from Contemporary Journals. 12s. 6d.
- Robert Browning's Dramatic Idyls. 5s. 6d.
- Plays for Young People, by J. Barmby, B.D., with Songs and Choruses suitable for Private Theatricals. The music adapted, arranged, and partly composed by T. Rogers, M.A. 6s.

## **Letts's Australasian Diaries—For 1880,—**

## **CONTAINING CALENDARS FOR 1880 AND 1881.**

## **Rough or Scribbling Diaries.**

Contain Almanack, List of Stamp Duties, Customs Tariff, Postal Regulations, Telegram Rates, List of London Bankers, and many useful Tables.

Registered Suspending Rack, with 500 Sheets Waste Or Curl Paper.

## **Fresh Supplies of Standard Works.**

- Constitutional History of England, by Sir Thomas Erskine May, K.C.B., D.C.L. 3 vols. 22s. 6d.
- Rough Ways Made Smooth, by R. A. Proctor, 14s.
- Through the Dark Continent, by H. M. Stanley. Maps and Illustrations. 1 vol. 16s.
- Cassel's Technical Manuals. Drawing for Carpenters and Joiners; with Elementary Lessons in Freehand and Object Drawing. 250 Illustrations; and Drawing Copies. 4s. 6d.
- Orthographic And Nometrical Projection; Development of Surfaces and Penetration of Solids, with additional Chapter and Plates. Illustrative of Traces, Normals, Tangent-Points, and Tangent-Planes, by Ellis A. Davidson. 3s.
- Systematic Drawing And Shading; giving Practical Lessons on Drawing, by Charles Ryan. 2s. 6d.
- J. Richards' Mechanical Engineer. A Treatise on the Construction and Operation of Wood Working Machines; including a History of the Origin and Progress of the Manufacture of Wood Working Machinery. Illustrated numerous Engravings, showing the Modern Practice of Prominent Engineers in England, France, and America. 30s.
- Smiles' Lives of the Engineers; from the earliest times, to the death of the Stephensons; with an account of their principal works: Comprising a History of Inland Communication in Britain, and the Invention and Introduction of the Steam Engine and Locomotive. *Revised Edition*. With Portraits and 340 Woodcuts. 5 vols. Crown 8vo. 10s. 6d. each. Each volume is complete in itself, and can be obtained separately.
- Cooley's CyclopÆDia of Practical Receipts and Collateral Information in the Arts, Manufactures, Professions, and Trades, by Richard V. Turon, F.C.S., including Medicine, Pharmacy, and Domestic Economy, &c., &c. 35s.
- Theory of Strains in Girders and Similar Structures; by Bindon B. Stoney, M.A.; with Observations on the Application of Theory to practise, and Tables of the Strength and other Properties of Materials. 35s. 6d. Illustrated.
- A Handbook of the Steam Engine, by John Bourne, C.E., containing all the Rules required for the right Construction and Management of Engines of every class, with the easy Arithmetical solution of those Rules. Constituting a key of the Catechism of the Steam Engine. Illustrated. Tables. Examples, &c. 11s. 6d.
- Theory and Action of the Steam Engine, by W. H. Northcott, C.E. (For Practical Men.) ss. 6d.
- Electric Lighting and its Practical Application; by Paget Higgs, L.L.D.; with Results from existing examples. With Illustrations. 12s. 6d.
- Logarithms of Sines and Tangents for Every Second; by Robert Shortrede, F.R.A.S.; additional Preface and Examples by Major-General Hannynghton, F.S.A., F.S.S. 42s. 6d
- Mechanics for Beginners, by S. Todhunter, M.A., F.R.S., with numerous examples. 5s. 6d.
- Elements of Machine Design; An Introduction to the Principles which determine the Arrangement and Proportion of the Parts of Machines, and a Collection of Rules for Machine Design, by W. Cawthorne Unwin, B. Sc. Assoc. Inst. C.E. With 219 Wood Engravings. 4s. 6d.
- Plane and Solid Geometry, by the Rev. W. H. Watson. 4s. 6d.
- Workman's Manual of Engineering Drawing, by John Maxton. 6s.
- A Book on Building, Civil and Ecclesiastical; with the Theory of the Domes and of the Great Pyramid; and a Catalogue of Sizes of Churches and other large Buildings, by Sir Edmund Beckett, Bart. 10s. 6d.
- Pyrotechny; or, The Art of Making Fireworks, at a little Cost and with complete Safety and Cleanliness. With 124 Illustrations of Forms and Diagrams for Manufacture and Exhibition. 4s. 6d.
- Pyrotechnist's Treasury; or, Complete Art of Making Fireworks, by Thomas Kentish. 6s.
- Metals—Their Properties and Treatment, by Charles Loudon Bloxam. With 105 Wood Engravings. 4s. 6d.
- Elements of Mechanism, designed for Students of Applied Mechanics, by T. M. Goodeve, M.A. With 257 Engravings on Wood. 4s. 6d.
- Art of Electro-Metallurgy, including all known processes of Electro-Deposition, by G. Gore, L.L.D., F.R.S. With 56 Wood Engravings. 7s.
- Posts and Telegraphs; Past and Present; with an Account of the Telephone and Phonograph, by William Tegg. 5s.
- Darwin (Charles) Works—
  - Origin of Species by Means of Natural Selection; or the Preservation of Favoured Races in the Struggle for Life. Woodcuts. 9s. 6d.
  - Descent of Man, and Selections in Relation to Sex. 12s.
  - Various Contrivances by Which Orchids are Fertilised by Insects. Woodcuts, 12s.
  - Movements and Habits of Climbing Plants. Woodcuts. 7s. 6d.
  - Insectivorous Plants. Woodcuts. 17s. 6d.

- Effects of Cross and Self-Fertilization in the Vegetable Kingdom. 15s  
 Different Forms of Flowers on Plants of the same Species. 12s. 6d.
- Proctor's Pleasant Ways in Science. 14s.
  - Proctor's Pleasant Other Worlds than Ours. 14s.
  - Proctor's Pleasant Transits of Venus. 10s. 6d.
  - Outlines of an Industrial Science, by David Seyme. 8s. 6d.
  - On Natural Selection, by Alfred R. Wallace. 10s. 6d.
  - Human Race, by Louis Figuier. Edited and Revised by Robert Wilson. With 242 Illustrations. 10s. 6d.
  - Mammalia: Their various Forms and Habits popularly Illustrated by Typical Species. Adapted from the French of Louis Figuier, by Professor E. Percival Wright, M.D., F.L.S. With 260 Illustrations. 10s. 6d.
  - World Before the Flood. Newly Edited and Revised by H. W. Bristow, F.R.S. With 235 Illustrations. *Fifth Edition*. 10s. 6d.
  - Ocean World. A Descriptive History of the Sea and its Inhabitants. Revised and Corrected by Professor E. Percival Wright, M.D. With 427 Illustrations. *Third Edition*. 10s. 6d.
  - Vegetable World. Revised and Corrected by an Eminent Botanist. With 471 Illustrations. *Third Edition*. 10s. 6d.
  - Insect World. Revised and Corrected by P. Martin Duncan, M.D., F.R.S. With 576 Illustrations. *Fourth Edition*. 10s. 6d.
  - Reptiles and Birds. Revised and Corrected by Captain Parker Gillmore. With 307 Illustrations. *Second Edition*. 10s. 6d.
  - A Manual of Zoology, for the use of Students, by Henry Alleyne Nicholson, M.D., D.Sc., M.A., Ph.D. (Gött.) F.R.S.E., F.G.S., with a General Introduction on the Principles of Zoology. 17s. 6d.
  - Zoology for Students: (A Handbook), by C. Carter Blake, Doct. Sci. With a preface by Richard Owen, C.B., F.R.S. 11s. 6d.
  - Advanced Text Book of Geology, Descriptive and Industrial, by David Page, L.L.D., F.G.S. 10s. Also, Introductory Text Book of Geology. 3s. 6d.
  - Beeton's Book of Birds; showing how to rear and manage them in sickness and in health. 4s. 6d.
  - "Idstone," the Dog; with simple directions for his Treatment, and Notices of the Best Dogs of the Day, and their Breeders or Exhibitors. With 12 Full-page Engravings, from Life. By George Earl. 3s. 6d.
  - Practical Kennel Guide; by Gordon Stables, M.D., C.M., R.N., with plain instructions how to Rear and Breed Dogs for Pleasure, Show, and Profit. 5s.
  - Principles of Mental Physiology, with their Applications to the Training and Discipline of the Mind and the Study of the Morbid Conditions, by William B. Carpenter, M.D., L.L.D. F.R.S., F.G.S. 15s. 6d.
  - Analysis of the Phenomena of the Human Mind, by James Mill. Edited with Additional Notes by John Stuart Mill. 2 vols. 38s. 6d.
  - Æsthetics, by Eugene Veron. 10s. 6d.
  - Problems of Life and Mind, by George Henry Lewes. 2 vols. 32s. 6d.
  - The Final Philosophy, by C. W. Shields, D.D. 16s.
  - Science Lectures at South Kensington. 2 vols. 8s. each.
  - Rise and Influence of Rationalism in Europe, by W. H. Lecky. 2 vols. 20s.
  - Macaulay's Works :—  
 ✦ Writings and Speeches. 7s. 6d.  
 ✦ Essays by Macaulay. 2s. 6d.
  - Life and Letters of Lord Macaulay. 2 vols. 15s.
  - Tropical Nature and Other Essays, by Alfred R. Wallace. 15s. 6d.
  - Story of My Life, by Colonel Meadows Taylor. 2 vols. 21s.
  - Dictionary of the English Language, by Noah Webster, L.L.D. 21s.
  - Chambers' English Dictionary. 13s. 6d.
  - Flowers; their Origin, Shape, Perfumes, and Colours, by J. E. Taylor, P.H.D., F.L.S., F.G.S., &c. Illustrated with 32 Coloured Figures by Sowerby; and 161 Woodcuts. 8s. 6d.
  - Albert N'Yanza, Great Basin of The Nile, by Sir. Samuel W. Baker, M.A., F.R.G.S. With Illustrations. 7s. 6d. Also, The Nile Tributaries Of Abyssinia.
  - Mathew Arnold's Mixed Essays. 12s. 6d.
  - Beeton's Dictionary Of Geography, by S. O. Beeton, F.R.G.S. A Universal Gazetteer. 10s
  - Rise and Progress of the English Constitution, by Sir Edward Creasy, M.A. 9s 6d
  - Great Thirst Land. By Parker Gilmore. A Ride through Natal. Orange Free State.
  - A Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography and Mythology, of various Writers, by William Smith, D.C.L., L.L.D. Illustrated by numerous Engravings on wood. 3 vols.

- A Complete Epitome of Practical Navigation, by J. W. Norrie, containiug all neces-sary Instructions for keeping a Ship's Reckoning at Sea; with a correct and extensive set of Tables, &c., &c. 22s. 6d.
- English Men of Letters: Edited by John Morley, price 3s. 6d. each—  
  - Defoe. By W. Minto.
  - Gibbon. By J. C. Morison
  - Shelly. By J. A. Symonds.
  - Goldsmith. By William Black
  - Johnson. By Leslie Stephen.
  - Scott. By A. H. Hutton
- Coral and Coral Islands, by James D. Dina. With Illustrations. 12s.
- Sea of Mountains, by St. John. An Account of Lord Dufferin's Tour through British Columbia. 2 vols. 25s.
- The Pope and the Council, by Janus. 10s. 6d.
- French Revolution and First Empire, by William O' Conner Morris. 9s
- Letters from Russia, by Field Marshal Count Moltke. Translated by Robina Napier. 8s 6d.
- Democracy in Europe, a History, by Sir Thomas Erskine May, K.C.B., D.C.L. 2 vols. 40s.
- Autobiography and Memoir of Thomas Guthrie, D.D., by his Sons. 2 vols. 26s.
- Life of Sir William Fairburn, Bart., by William Pole, F.R.S. 24s.
- Memoirs of Mary Somerville. Personal Recollections from Early Life to Old Age : with Selections from her Correspondence by her Daughters. 15s.
- A Memoir of Sydney Smith, by his Daughter, Lady Holland; with Selections from his Letters by Mrs. Austin. 7s. 6d.
- New Greece, by Lewis Sergeant. With Maps. 26s. 6d.
- History of European Morals, from Augustus to Charlemange, by W. H. E. Lecky. 2 vols. 20s.
- Life and Remains of Theodore Edward Hook, by the Rev. R. H. Dalton Barham. 6s. 6d.
- History of England from the Year 1830-1874, by William Nassau Molesworth, M.A. 3 vols. 22s. 6d.
- Old English History, by E. A. Freeman, D.C.L. 7s. 6d.
- "Far Off;" or, Asia Described, with Anecdotes and numerous Illustrations, by the Author of "The Peep of Day" 5s. 6d
- "Far Off;" or, Australia, Africa, and America Described, by the Author of "The Peep of Day." 5s 6d
- "Near Home;" or, the Countries of Europe described, by the Author of "The Peep of Day." 5s 6d
- Mythology of Greece and Rome from the German, by O. Seeman; with Special Reference to its use in Art. 7s. 6d.
- Lucretius, by Alfred Tennyson. 3s. 6d.
- Sucile, by Robert Lord Lytton. 7s. 6d.
- Pensees Choisies Illuminees, Par M. Simbson. Extra gilt. 30s.
- Bridal Bouquet; culled in the Garden of Literature, by Henry Southgate. Extra gilt. 26s. 6d.
- Clytemnestra, and Poems Lyrical and Descriptive, by Owen Meredith. 7s. 6d.
- Poems of Robert Burns, by Alexander Smith. 2 vols. 10s.
- Dramatic Works of G. E. Lessing; by Ernest Bell. M.A., Trinity College, Cambridge. Translated from the German. 5s. per vol.
- Scottish Song: a Selection of the Choicest Lyrics of Scotland, by Mary Carlyle Aitken. Compiled and arranged, with brief Notes. 5s. 6d.
- The Cavalier and His Lady; by Edward Jenkins. Selections from the Works of the first Duke and Duchess of Newcastle. 5s. 6d.
- Bentley Ballads, comprising the Tipperary Hall Ballads; by John Sheehan. 6s. 6d.
- Sir Walter Scott's Poetical Romances. 3s. 6d.
- Robert Chambers' Popular Rhymes of Scotland. 6s. 6d.
- Lays of the Scottish Cavaliers; by William Edmondstoune Aytoun, D.C.L., with other Poems. 9s.
- Rev. R. H. Bayne'S (M.A.) Home Songs for Quiet Hours. 4s. 6d.
- Poetical Works of William Cowper, by William Beuham. 4s. 6d.
- Works of Horace, rendered into English Prose, by Samuel Lee, M.A. 4s 6d
- Algernon Charles Swinburne's Poems and Ballads. 12s.
- Charles and Mary Lamb's Poetry for Children. 5s. 6d.
- Poetical Works of William Wordsworth, by William Michael Rossetti. Illustrated by Henry Dell. 4s. 6d.
- Algernon Charles Swinburne's "Erectheus," a Tragedy. 8s. 6d.
- Flotsam and Jetsam; Rhymes Old and New, by Alfred Domett. 9s.
- Divine Comedy of Dante—Alighieri. Translated by Longfellow. 12s 6d extra gilt.

- Selected Poems of Matthew Arnold. 5s. 6d.
- Songs of Lord Byron. 4s. 6d.
- Golden Treasury of the best Songs and Lyrical Poems in the English Language, by Francis Turner Palgrave. 6s.
- Joaquim Miller's "The Ship in the Desert." 5s. 6d.
- Fairy Book; the best Popular Fairy Stories, selected and rendered anew by the Author of "John Halifax Gentleman." 6s.
- Moxon's Miniature Poets.—Extra gilt, 5s. each—  
 ♣ Selection from the Works of Alfred Tennyson, D.C.L.  
 ♣ Selection from the Works of Frederick Locker. With Illustrations.  
 ♣ Leaves from the Poets' Laurels, by Lady Wood.
- Works of Alfred Tennyson, complete in 1 vol.; half-roan, gilt edges. 10s. 6d.
- May Queen, by Alfred Tennyson. 6s. 6d.
- Harold, by Alfred Tennyson. 8s. 6d.
- Gareth and Lynette, &c., 6s. 6d.
- Holy Grail, &c., by Alfred Tennyson. 8s. 6d.
- Through Rough Waters, by the Author of "Rose Gorden," "Unawares," &c. 7s. 6d.
- Mathew Arnold's Poems. 2 vols. 15s.
- "The New Album," by Robert Browning. 7s. 6d.
- Pacchiarotto, and How He Worked in Distemper; with other Poems, by Robert Browning. 7s. 6d.
- Fables In Song, by Robert Lord Lytton. 2 vols. 15s.
- Works of Virgil, rendered into English Prose, by James Lnsdale, M.A. 4s. 6d.
- Poems, Songs, and Letters of Robert Burns. 4s. 6d.
- Kenning's Masonic Cyclopædia and Handbook of Masonic Archaeology History, and Biography. Edited by the Rev A. F. A. Woodford, M.A. 13s. 6d.
- History of Freemasonry, from its origin down to the Present Day, by J. G. Findel. 14s.
- Laws and Constitutions of the Grand Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons of Ireland; to which is appended the Masonic Ritualist and Lecturer, the Ancient Charges and Prayers to be used in Lodges, &c. 3s. 6d.
- Institutes of Masonic Jurisprudence, by the late Rev. G. Oliver, D.D. 12s. 6d.
- The Masonic Manual; or, Lectures on Freemasonry, by the late Rev. Jonathan Ash, D.D., M.M. With Remarks by the Rev. G. Oliver. 8s. 6d.

Masthead for The Monthly Review The MONTHLY REVIEW *New Books & Contemporary Subjects*. Vol. II., No. 4. Wellington, N.Z. Friday, April 1, 1881

## Taxation in the United States.

### From The "Contemporary Review."

THERE is probably no country in the world in which the people pay their taxes more easily and more cheerfully than they do in the United States. This is as true now as it was before the war. There seems to be a general impression that since this is a free country, in which the people tax themselves, everything must be for the best. Individuals grumble sometimes, and certain cities have acquired a bad reputation, but in general the people give comparatively little attention to the subject. There are men who have made it a study, but they have not yet acquired any great influence in the country. We need a Gladstone here to make it popular. The subject is made difficult and complicated by the fact that separate taxes are assessed by the Nation, the State, the county, the town, and sometimes the district. Some of these are direct, others indirect. In some towns the taxes are very small, in others they are enormous. Then again there is no general principle of valuation, and in some places personal property is not taxed at all. The common mind cannot grasp the subject in all its bearings. But few men know how much they do pay, and since the war extravagant expenditure seems to have excited little attention. I can remember when economy in the administration of the government was one of the most common party watchwords, but it seems to have gone out of fashion. The nation is proud of the reduction of the National Debt, and of the financial administration at Washington. It is proud of the abounding prosperity of the country, which makes it possible to treat the subject of taxation with indifference. It looks with pity upon the over-taxed people of Europe, and fancies that because it does not waste its substance on royalty and standing armies it can

afford to be careless of other things. The time is at hand when it will be roused to look the question of taxation in the face; but it is not the purpose of this article to discuss the possibilities of the future, or to instruct Americans as to their true interests. I propose to do nothing more than to give as clear an idea as possible to English readers of the system of taxation and public expenditure in the United States.

To avoid confusion, and to bring the article within reasonable limits, I shall confine my statement in regard to State, county, and town taxation to the single State of Massachusetts.

As this is a popular rather than a scientific review of this subject, I may be excused for calling attention at the outset to some elementary principles. A comparison is often made of the taxation in different countries by dividing the total revenue of each country by the number of its inhabitants. In this way Fuad Pacha, in the first Budget of the Turkish Empire, issued under the patronage of Sir Henry Bulwer, represented the taxation as very light and capable of indefinite increase, as it amounted to only six shillings a head, while in fact it was far more difficult for the people to pay this sum than it was for the English nation to pay fifty shillings. The power of a people to pay taxes depends not upon number but upon wealth and income. Turkey has been ruined by its system of taxation, notwithstanding the small amount per head reported by Fuad Pacha. The great principle of the right of the people to tax themselves is too well understood to need illustration, but in writing of taxation in America we cannot avoid recalling the fact that it was the attempt to tax the Colonies without their consent which led to the rebellion against George III. and the independence of the United States. "No taxation without representation" was the first war-cry of America.

The right of a State to tax its citizens rests upon its sovereign power to control, within constitutional limits, all persons and things within its territory. This right must be exercised for the common good, and nothing more be taken from the people than their good demands. Frugality is as essential for a State as for an individual, and extravagant public expenditure is sure to demoralise the people, discourage industry, and diminish the wealth of the country. On the other hand, so far as public expenditure tends to encourage the industry, promote the wealth, and develop the intelligence of the people, it is a blessing, and taxation to this extent a necessity.

The *system* of taxation may be unjust and even ruinous when the amount is not excessive. In regard to this, the most important part of the subject, Americans seem to be both careless and ignorant. I looked through a large public library in the city of Boston to-day without finding a single book by an American author devoted to this subject. Yet here is the true field of social science and genuine statesmanship. I venture to specify a few important principles under this head.

The system should be *permanent*. Constant changes are fatal to prosperity. This has long been one of the most serious difficulties in the United States, especially in regard to indirect taxation. No one can tell what absurdities a new Congress may bring forth, and our House of Representatives is renewed every two years. Business is constantly disturbed by the fear of new interpretations of existing laws.

Another fundamental principle is *equality* in the distribution of taxation. It should reach all classes of people and all kinds of property alike, without unjust discrimination in favor of any. The application of this principle involves many of the most difficult of social problems. We may even question as to what equality means. For example, it may be said that it is easier for a man with an income of a thousand pounds to pay a tax of 10 per cent, than for a man with an income of a hundred pounds to pay a tax of 5 per cent.; that equality demands this difference. On the other hand, if this idea were accepted we might go still farther, and exempt all except the rich from taxation. The same question comes up in regard to revenue derived from import duties. Shall we tax only those articles used by the rich? The application of the principle of equality is difficult, but the neglect of it is subversive of civil liberty. Unequal taxation has always been characteristic of despotic and barbarous governments. It is the curse of the East, where the burden of taxation is borne chiefly by the agriculturist, and where the rich generally escape. In the United States the tendency is in the other direction—to favor the poor at the expense of the rich. Certain kinds of property are also exempted from all taxation. In some places all personal property is exempt. All property in Government bonds is exempt. Generally churches, schools, and benevolent institutions are not taxed. On the other hand, excessive taxes are levied on banks and corporations generally.

Another fundamental principle is *publicity*. This is the greatest safeguard against inequality and injustice. Too great publicity cannot be given to the amount of tax assessed upon each individual in the community. In this respect there is nothing more to be desired in the United States, and this is the one thing which has compensated to a considerable extent for the general ignorance of other important principles. Everything in regard to the taxes is made public. Every man can compare his own position with that of his neighbor, and if he can show any inequality he has public opinion on his side in demanding redress. The same publicity is given to every item of public expenditure, so that if there is extravagance it is the fault of the people themselves.

Still another principle is that *the taxes should be assessed in such a way as to interfere as little as possible with the industry of the country*. Labour is the only source of wealth, and of course labor must in some form or other pay all the taxes. It is also true, within certain limits, that taxes, however they may be levied, tend to

diffuse themselves; but notwithstanding these facts, it is a matter of experience that some forms of taxation are ruinous. Some distress and demoralize the people, while others turn industry from its natural course. We have here the question of direct or indirect taxes—of taxing labour or capital, and of taxing the luxuries or the necessaries of life. The question of free trade or protection may also come under this head. The national taxes in the United States are either indirect or upon luxuries, and are based upon the theory of protection to home industry. The other taxes are generally direct and upon capital, although there is a small poll-tax in most of the States.

One more important principle should be mentioned. *Economy in collection.* Under the old system of "farming the taxes," which still prevails in the East, the cost of collection was enormous. It is estimated that in Turkey, at the present time, not more than 50 per cent, of the taxes paid by the people reaches the Imperial Treasury. During the war, taxes were imposed in the United States which could only be collected at a cost of more than 50 per cent.; and there are many such taxes in Europe. There are also certain forms of taxation which encourage fraud and oppression on the part of the collectors, and subject the people to serious loss. It is said, for example, that at least half the last harvest in Bulgaria was lost by the delay of tithe-collectors to examine and estimate the value of the crops. This often happens in Turkey, and is a source of universal plunder. The peasant must bribe the officer heavily before he will visit his fields, and then bribe him again to make a fair estimate of the value of the tithe. Such a system is ruinous, and under any system the cost of collection is a dead loss to the country whenever it exceeds a possible minimum. The cost of assessing and collecting the State, county, and town taxes in Massachusetts is estimated at only 2½ per cent. Loss by fraud or defalcation is extremely rare.

In regard to public expenditure it is generally said that it should be as small as possible, but this cannot be accepted as a true principle. It may be very large, and still be for the advantage of the people. Frugality, whether in an individual or State, does not necessarily imply small expenditure. It is opposed to useless and unproductive expenditure. The expenses of a State should be within the means of the people, so as not to interfere with the accumulation of capital by individuals. The expenditure should be in itself productive and for the general good. The application of these principles involves many practical questions, and affords scope for the highest statesmanship. Considering how little serious attention has been given to this subject by American statesmen, we no doubt have reason to congratulate ourselves that we have so little to complain of in regard to either taxation or expenditure, but it will be seen in the course of this article that we are somewhat in the condition of a spendthrift who has fallen heir to a rich estate and fancies that it will last for ever. He leaves everything to his agents, and does not trouble himself to inquire into the wisdom of their administration so long as they furnish him with money. The commercial distress of the last few years has done more to call attention to this subject than all our writers on Political Economy. It will no doubt soon take a prominent place in our party politics. There are many who fear that as it becomes prominent the inclination of the non-property-holding majority to vote away the money of the rich will be still more developed, that party leaders will be more inclined to win favour with the masses by encouraging extravagant expenditure than by teaching them the principles of Political Economy. The principle of Universal Suffrage is certainly on its trial. It cannot be denied that there is danger in the direction indicated. The experience of the City of New York is too startling to be forgotten by any one in the country, and there are other cities which have suffered almost as much. There is a city in New Jersey whose public debt is greater than the total valuation of property within its limits. Even in the State of Massachusetts about one-fourth of the voters pay nothing but a poll-tax, and it is not difficult to pack a town meeting with these men, who always favour high taxes and large debts. So far as property-holders are concerned, taxation by Universal Suffrage may be taxation without representation, as much as taxation by a single despotic sovereign. It remains to be seen how far it can be controlled by general education, and by a diffusion of knowledge in regard to the special principles which relate to this subject. It would be a great triumph for the advocates of free education, if it should be found that the people can be convinced that the interests of the poor and the rich are identical in the matter of taxation and public expenditure. They hope for this result.

But I have already dwelt too long on these preliminary matters. I do not propose to discuss the subject of taxation in this article, but simply to state the facts in regard to taxation in the United States, confining myself, as I have already said, to the State, county, and town taxes in Massachusetts. These facts cannot be understood without a full explanation of the separate taxes and the system as a whole.

This system was examined and reported upon by a committee appointed by the Legislature in 1875, and their report, which is now out of print, and which the Government has refused to have reprinted, is the only serious discussion of the subject that I am acquainted with. Similar reports, however, have been made in other States. This committee base the right to tax upon the following grounds—

"The individual person has no inalienable rights except that to his own righteousness. His property, his labour, his liberty, his life are not inalienably his. He may forfeit them by his own act or the State may require them for its own needs, in which cases the individual yields them justly to the State. The State may demand

everything which belongs to a man, except his manhood and his moral integrity, which he has no right ever to surrender." The theory of "social contract" is then expressly repudiated. "From this it follows that proportional and reasonable assessments should be imposed and levied upon all the inhabitants of, and persons resident and estates lying within, the Common wealth."

The report then goes on to discuss the different forms of taxation and to recommend certain changes. Some of these have since been adopted. The taxes now assessed by the State are the following :—

- A direct tax, which varies in amount from year to year. This is assessed on polls up to a maximum of one dollar a head. Any balance is assessed on property. The State also assesses a tax for county expenses, which is assessed on polls also to the same amount.
- A tax of three-quarters of one per cent, on all deposits in savings' banks, assessed on the banks.
- A tax on all premiums collected by insurance companies (except life companies), varying from one to four per cent., and discriminating in favour of companies incorporated in the State against foreign companies doing business here.
- A tax of one-half of one per cent, on the nett present value of all policies held by residents in life assurance companies, assessed on the companies.
- A tax on the shares in the national banks at the rate of taxation in the towns where they are situated, assessed on the banks. The proceeds of this tax are distributed to the towns where the shareholders reside, and the balance, *derived from shares held by persons not residing in the State*, goes into the State Treasury. About twenty-five per cent, of the shares are held by non-residents.
- A tax on the shares of all joint-stock companies at the average rate of taxation on property in the whole State. The proceeds are distributed as in the case of the bank tax. This tax is assessed on the corporations. It does not include the value of real estate and machinery, which is taxed separately by the towns.
- A small sum is collected by the State for license to pedlars and liquor-dealers, and also fees in different departments.

The amount realised by the State from these taxes in 1879 was as follows :—

In addition to those taxes assessed by the State, the towns and cities assess a tax on all *real estate* within their limits, except churches, educational, literary, and benevolent institutions; on all *personal property*, except that mentioned above as taxed by the State and United States' bonds; on all *incomes* exceeding two thousand dollars per annum. The rate of taxation on property and income is the same, and it varies in different towns from less than one-half of one per cent, to three and a half per cent. These taxes are assessed and collected by persons chosen for that purpose every year by the people of the town at the annual town meeting.

The total taxation of the State, including everything but national taxes, for 1879, was 24,755,927 dols., for a population of 1,651,652, and a total valuation of property of 1,584,756,802 dols. Deducting the poll-tax of 898,503 dols., we have a balance of tax on property of 23,857,524 dols. The valuation of property varies in different towns from 50 to 120 per cent, of a fair cash value, but it is believed that, taking the State as a whole, the valuation is not far from correct. This gives an average tax on property of about one-and-a-half per cent., and an average tax per head for each individual of about 15 dols., more than three pounds sterling. The taxation of the National Government is to be added to this.

The debts of the State and of the towns amount in all to about 90,000,000 dols.

There are some things in the system of taxation in Massachusetts which merit special notice. The first is the fact that, under the law taxing banks and corporations, the State taxes non-residents who pay another tax on the same property in the States where they reside. The injustice of this double taxation is apparent. The second is that depositors in savings banks pay only half as much as the average tax of the State, and still another advantage is secured to them by a provision that National Bank stock held by savings banks is exempt from taxation. The importance of this will be seen in the fact that deposits in savings banks amount to about fourteen per cent, of the total valuation of the State. Another important fact has already been noticed. The poll-tax is limited by a State law, while the amount of the tax on property in the towns is determined by popular vote. There are towns, including Boston, where those paying only a poll-tax are in the majority, and they can vote to raise the taxes to any extent without increasing their own taxes at all. I see no reason why they might not vote a tax of a hundred per cent., and thus confiscate all the property. How would such a law work in Ireland? The income tax is another source of complaint. The amount exempted is too large, and the whole method of assessment is a discrimination against the rich. There is no uniformity in its construction or enforcement, and in many towns it is ignored altogether. It is everywhere unpopular. Assessed as it is on the income of the preceding year, it is a tax on money already expended, and in many cases is nothing more than a double tax on property. There is also much complaint in regard to the taxation of mortgages, bonds, and other certificates of indebtedness. Some of the best men in the State insist on the principle of taxing nothing but *tangible* things, exempting all personal property, but there is no probability of any such change being made at present. The propriety of exempting church property from taxation is fully discussed in the report to which I have referred.

The majority favour the present law, and the minority oppose all exemption, whether of church or other property. The amount of church property exempted is more than 30,000,000 dols., and of schools and other institutions at least an equal amount. I think the tendency of public opinion in the State is towards the views of the minority report, although there is probably no immediate change in the laws to be expected. Other things of interest might be mentioned, such as the additional taxes, which are often assessed under the name of "betterments," in country towns as well as in cities, and certain district taxes, which are sometimes very heavy, but are irregular. They amount sometimes to half of one per cent, on the property of the district.

To ascertain the total taxation we must add to the taxes already enumerated the taxation by the National Government. This is collected directly by the officers of the general Government, and is in every way entirely distinct from State and town taxation. These taxes are fixed by Congress, and are all expended for national purposes.

The revenue of the Government for the year ending June 30, 1880, was from—

The amount received for *Customs* results from an average duty of 45 per cent, on the value of nearly two-thirds of all the foreign goods imported into the country. Something more than one-third of the imports are admitted free of duty. This sum therefore constitutes an indirect tax on consumers of dutiable imports. The cost of collecting this tax is about four per cent.

The *internal revenue* is derived from several different sources. I have not been able to obtain the items for 1880, but for 1879 they were—

The cost of collecting these taxes is less than four per cent. The revenue from *other sources* includes—

It is not easy to estimate the distribution of this taxation between the different States, but the amount paid by the State of Massachusetts must be much greater than her numerical proportion on the basis of population. This would be about 13,000,000 dols. The Southern and Western States pay more than their proportion of the tax on spirits, liquors, and tobacco, but they consume comparatively few dutiable imports, and have but a small banking capital. The consumption of imported goods is chiefly in the cities, and Massachusetts is a State of cities. One of the principal importers in Boston estimates the amount paid in the State at 25,000,000 dols., an amount equal to the whole direct taxation of the State, but divided among the people in a very different way. This would make the total taxation of this State about 50,000,000 dols. The population and valuation have been given above.

We may now form a fair estimate of the amount paid in taxes by different classes, although the indirect taxation can only be stated approximately. We commence with the labouring man who has no taxable property. He pays two dollars a year for State and town taxes, and, if he neither drinks nor smokes, he pays nothing more except the duty on the imported goods which he consumes. I do not find any authority as to the amount of this, but I have made careful inquiries and brought together such facts as I could find. The Massachusetts Bureau of Statistics of Labour in 1878, made very careful investigations in regard to the wages and expenses of working men. They published the following Table:—

It will be seen at once from this Table that the working classes consume very few manufactured goods. These are almost all of American make. Provisions are all American. Groceries are partially imported, but some of the most important, as tea and coffee, are free. Others pay a small duty. It is not probable that a labouring man without property pays an indirect tax of more than ten dollars a year. Nor can it be shown that his expenses are much increased by the indirect results of a protective tariff. Most of the things which he consumes are not affected directly or indirectly by protection of American manufactures. He probably gains by the increased demand for labor and by the taxes paid by manufacturing companies more than he loses. His total tax amounts to only twelve dollars, which the lowest class of labourers can pay by ten days' work, the average wages of this class in this State being 1.25dol. a day. The cost of living is such that we constantly see men of this class laying up money enough in a few years to buy land and build a house. In these cases, however, the wife generally works also in a mill or as a charwoman. This class is certainly not oppressed by taxation.

Let us now go a step higher and take a man who has property to the amount of 5000dols., and an income from labour of 1,200dols. a year. He pays a poll-tax of two dollars, a property tax of 75dols., and an indirect tax to the National Government which may be estimated at 75dols. Total, 152dols. This represents about thirty-eight days' labor. This estimate is based on the same principle as the last, but in view of the fact that a man with an income of 1,200dols. not only buys more imported goods, but a much larger proportion of what he uses is imported, it is evident that he is taxed much more heavily than the common laborer. His income from labor and property is about 1,400dols. This tax is nearly 11 per cent, of his income, while the other man pays only 4 per cent.

Let us now take the case of a man with real and personal property worth 100,000dols., who lives upon his income from this—say 4,000dols. a year. He pays a poll tax of 2dols., a property and income tax of 1,530dols., and an indirect tax to the National Government which we may estimate 200dols. Total, 1,732dols. This is 43 per cent, of his income. There are many holders of real estate whose whole income is not sufficient to pay their

taxes, and in the cases I have mentioned I have made no allowance for extra taxes for betterments, district expenses, and others which are only too common. Whatever may be said in favour of this system it certainly does not illustrate the principle of *equality*.

The national taxation is much more equally divided than that of the State. The laborer with 300dols. income pays  $3\frac{1}{3}$  per cent., with an income of 1,400dols.,  $5\frac{1}{2}$  per cent., and the capitalist with an income of 4,000dols. pays 5 per cent, on this to the National Government. It is also true, contrary to what is often said, that the taxation resulting from a protection tariff falls chiefly on those who are benefited by it. Imported goods and those American manufactures whose price is raised by the tariff, are consumed chiefly in the manufacturing States. Any other form of taxation would fall much more heavily upon the West and South. It is true that there are certain indirect results of protection, such as the increased cost of railways, through the duty on iron, which need to be taken into consideration; but the railways of the country have generally been constructed by Eastern capital, and the charges for the transportation of passengers and freight are less than in any country in the world. The present tariff is undoubtedly a bad one. It needs revision in many particulars, and it will be revised by the next Congress. It is to be hoped that the changes made will be the result of the wise application of general principles, and not the result of what we call "log-rolling," or a combination of interests based upon the agreement, "You support my interest and I will support yours." It will be, and it ought to be, a protective tariff as well as a source of revenue or a form of taxation, but there is unwise and destructive as well as wise and productive protection. We have had too much of the former, and unless we can get the latter there will be a reaction in favor of free trade. As to the principle of indirect taxation involved in the tariff question, it is generally criticised on the ground that in a free country the people should know exactly what taxes they pay, as they do not in case of indirect taxes; but we have seen that these taxes are more equally distributed than the direct taxes, and it is a singular fact that the greatest extravagance in public expenditure is not at Washington, where it is removed from the eyes of the people and is the result of indirect taxation, but it is in the towns where direct taxes are imposed upon property by the popular vote, or in the cities where they are voted by the direct representatives of the non-tax-paying voters. Here taxation sometimes becomes confiscation.

Having examined the system of taxation in the United States as it is seen in the State of Massachusetts, we naturally inquire whether the amount collected is unreasonably large. Can the people afford to pay such taxes? Is the expenditure of the Government productive, and essential to the welfare of the State? It is with the State as with the individual. It may be a good thing for a man to reclaim the waste land on his farm, and put up new buildings; but he may do these things in such a way as to ruin himself. He has to wait until he can spare the money for these improvements. So public expenditure may be for things in themselves good, but if it consumes the working capital of the people, it is ruinous. A town may be ruined by its public improvements. It is claimed that as the valuation of the State of Massachusetts has doubled within twenty years, the taxes cannot be considered as beyond the means of the people; but this increase has been principally in the cities, and arises to a considerable extent from the increased value of the land, and the increase of population. It is said again that the taxes are paid easily, and without complaint. There is truth in this; but it is a question whether this is not a result of ignorance and carelessness—whether the people ought not to complain. It is said that wages are high and profits large; but the interest on capital is not more than 4 per cent, at the present time. The taxes tend, to increase rather than diminish. The valuation in this State has increased 100 per cent, in twenty years, but in the same time the taxes have increased 350 per cent., not including the national taxes, which have increased still more. The valuation is less now than it was eight years ago, but the taxes have increased 10 per cent, in this time. On the whole, it can hardly be denied that the taxes are greater than the people can afford to pay. It is not a wise and economical disposition of the wealth of the country to expend so much for public purposes.

But aside from this question, we have to inquire whether the money raised by taxation is expended economically and for the public good. The most important item of expenditure in this State is for public schools. The amount expended in 1879 under this general head was 5,182,487dols. In 1860 the total taxation of the State was only 7,600,000dols. It is now a generally accepted principle that schools should be maintained by the State; but it is a fair question whether the enormously increased expense of education in this State is justified by a corresponding improvement in the education given, and also whether the State has a right to assess taxes to support free High schools. As to the first question, there has been a great change in what we may call the machinery of education. Great sums have been expended on school buildings, and this expense is still going on at the rate of about 600,000dols. a year; and more money than formerly is expended upon furniture and apparatus. There is more talk about system and scientific methods, and more is expended upon superintendence. More attention is given to the grading of the schools, and the teachers are better paid, and changed less frequently; but on the whole there has been no great advance in the character of the education given in the schools. Perhaps the best thing that can be said is, that there is a fuller appreciation of the essential deficiencies in our system. There is a feeling prevalent in the United States, as well as in England, that money will buy anything, and it has been taken for granted that the schools must be twice as good if they cost twice as

much money. This is the general feeling now, and it seems to be carefully fostered by the Board of Education. It publishes tables every year to show the amount of money expended by each town, and the "banner town" of the State is not that which has the best schools, but the one that taxes property most heavily for school purposes. This is the simple explanation of the increased expenditure in the State. But there are men, and their number is increasing, who realize the necessity of a radical change of system. The defects of the system are now a subject of public discussion. They are such as these :—Want of enlightened superintendence, lack of uniformity in the schools, neglect of elementary branches, unscientific methods of instruction, failure to educate and develop the thinking powers of the children, lack of interest on the part of parents, the unpractical character of much of the instruction given, too great use of text-books to the exclusion of oral instruction, and failure to teach good behaviour. All of these are mentioned in a single report of the Secretary of the Board of Education. The same report illustrates the condition of the schools, by giving the result of an examination of the primary and grammar schools in Norfolk county. In the primary schools the average age was 9-8 years; the examinations were marked on a scale of 100. The average of the county in arithmetic was 73; in penmanship 49; in spelling 58; in reading 62; in letter-writing 52. In the grammar schools the average age was 13-10 years; the average marks were—in arithmetic 48; in penmanship 52; in spelling 62; in reading 70; in narrative writing 56. The word "whose" was spelled in written exercises in 108 different ways, "which" in 58 ways; and "scholar" in 231 ways! The schools in Norfolk county are probably equal to any in the State.

The same report discusses at some length the second question which we have suggested, and claims that it is the right and duty of the State to give a free secondary education. There are 216 of these High schools in the State, with 600 teachers and 20,000 scholars. The establishment of these schools is the only important change which has been made in our system since 1860. There is a growing difference of opinion as to the right of the State to maintain such schools at the public expense. Those opposed to these schools claim that the principle on which they are founded is false, and that the education given is superficial, and adapted to raise up a multitude of conceited, half-educated demagogues too proud to work, and feeling that the community which has educated them is bound to find places for them. The Board of Education takes the extreme view that it is the duty of the State to furnish as much education as is needed for the preparation of the community for all the duties and occupations of life. It appeals again and again to the popular favour on the ground that these schools have a levelling influence, and tend to break down all social distinctions. It claims that they are essential to the maintenance of Republican institutions. The opponents of the system do not deny that education is a good thing, nor that it is essential to the maintenance of free government, especially to one resting upon universal suffrage. But they claim that *free* education should be limited to the common schools; that the State has no right to tax property to give a higher education to the poor; that the "general good" does not demand any such expenditure. They claim that, on the contrary, the history of this country furnishes abundant evidence that under the old system those who were capable of appreciating a higher education had no difficulty in securing it; that the very struggle which was necessary to attain it was itself the highest education. They claim that the principle that the poor have a right to live on the rich, the lazy and improvident upon the industrious and frugal, is more dangerous to republican institutions than any other. It is a curious fact that within these twenty years, marked by the establishment of free High schools, the cost of university or collegiate education has doubled. A complete professional education costs far more now than it did before 1860. If the principle laid down by the Board of Education is correct, this also ought to be made free, and it is difficult to see where the expenditure of the State should stop. One step seems to follow the other logically until we reach pure Communism. The question is no doubt a difficult one, and wise men differ in regard to it. Perhaps the present system may be regarded as a compromise between extreme opinions. A very ably conducted Review has just been founded in Boston for the discussion of educational questions.

The next important item of expenditure is for charitable institutions, the support of the poor, and pensions and aid to soldiers of the Civil War and their families. The same extravagance and the same want of system is seen here. The most costly buildings in the State, outside of Boston, are the charitable institutions erected and maintained at the public expense. The State Government expended 455,261dols. in 1879 for the maintenance of these institutions and for alien paupers. But the expenditure of the towns for their poor is still more open to criticism. There is no rule nor system about it. Each town is practically a law to itself. The helpless poor are generally supported in alms-houses, and outside aid is given very freely and often to persons who have no proper claim upon the public money.

*(To be concluded.)*

## **Tale of New Zealand.—Continued.**

## Chapter XXIX.

### Philip Accepts an Appointment.

"And what brings you here, Charley?" asked Philip, when the two young men were alone that evening.

"On my way South to get a couple of young bulls the governor has bought," replied that young gentleman.

"What! are you going to keep cattle at Terua?" asked Philip.

"Yes," said Charley, "it is much easier working the place with cattle."

"And what do you think of it now?"

"A splendid place," replied Charley, "only it wants a lot of money to work it."

"But what on earth are you going to do with a couple of well-bred bulls up there," asked Philip? "Any scrubbers ought to do you on rough hills."

"Very true," replied Charley, "but the governor bought these from Maitland without saying a word to me, and as he has bought them I may as well take them. The steamer doesn't go South till Tuesday, and I thought I should have time to get as far as your place, so I rode out here this afternoon.

"Well, Charley, it is no use your going to Apanui to find me," replied Philip; "for, you see, I have left. Douglas has the place now, and I hope he will do well out of it."

"I am afraid, Manning," replied Charley, after a short pause, "that you have made a mess of it, if you didn't mind my saying so. Why did you not lay the case before Mr. Easthorpe? He told me, only yesterday, that if you had mentioned the matter to him, he would have done what he could for you with the Bank, and you know what that means? He fancied that something was wrong, seeing you with Leighton; but he didn't know that Apanui was actually in danger of being sold."

"Well it was, you see, and it has gone; but it was very good of his saying that," replied Philip, referring to the former part of Charley's remark. "I wish now that I had asked him? But don't trouble about it, like a good fellow. Let bye-gones be bye-gones. (Philip was not in this mood the day before.) Apanui has gone, and I am coming up to Terua to stay with you for a time, if you will have me, and then I intend to turn medico, at least Dr. Goring advises me to do so."

"Ah!" said Charley, "did you call at the Goring's yesterday?"

"Yes."

"Many there?" queried Charley.

"No," replied Philip.

Then there was a silence, broken by Philip asking, "What sort of a horse have you got?"

"Not much of a one," answered Charley. "I hired him in town, and his legs are too puffed for much work."

"Then, if you are going as far as Ashton to-morrow," continued Philip, "instead of waiting for the coach, take my horse, and you can easily be back here to-morrow night."

Philip appeared to take it for granted that Charley was going to Ashton.

"I think I will," replied Charley. "Stay here till I come back like a good fellow, and we will go to town together on Tuesday morning. I will get you to look after some rams for me that have just come over from Australia, and we will go up to Terua together."

"Thank you for the appointment," said Philip. "It will be something for me to do. What are they; merinoes?"

"Yes. Some of the ugliest beggars you ever saw. There is one 'King Billy;' you never saw such a fighting character."

"I suppose they are pedigree rams."

"Yes," said Charley, "the governor sent for the best he could get, and I think he did right."

"Any ewes?" asked Philip.

"Fifteen," replied Charley. And our two friends then talked sundry and divers matters about sheep and stock.

When a man sends for the best of anything, he usually is careless about the price, and he generally gets the thing good. These twenty-five sheep (there were ten rams) had no doubt cost a lot of money. Charley thought about £500. This was rather a long price, but the advantage of importing and using good stock cannot be over-estimated, as the strain of blood tells through the whole flock. It is also a general advantage to the colony at large, for good blood lasts long, and of course gives a good foundation to future herds and flocks. In this case Mr. Easthorpe was simply looking to his own interests. He wanted to throw a strain of good blood into Beeton's poor crawlers, and the best way was to get some good rams and a few ewes as the foundation of a stud flock. Then in the course of a few years, especially if he picked up some small flocks of good ewes in the colony, the

sheep would improve, and in place of clipping two or three pounds of wool on the average, he would get five or six, and a five pound clip on a rough run from merino sheep is very fair indeed. Of course people in New Zealand are but moderate men, and cannot afford to give the fancy prices that rule for good stock in Australia, where sometimes as much as £700 is given for a single ram. Yet there are many stations, not quite so out of the way as Terua, where everything is done in the best possible manner. To see forty or fifty thousand well-bred sheep, a hundred good Clydesdales, and fair enough thoroughbreds, the sires imported from Home at perhaps a cost of £500 each, and eight hundred or a thousand well-bred shorthorns is not an everyday occurrence even in America. Indeed, it is much to be doubted whether America possesses such well-bred stock as New Zealand in proportion to size. The pigs, fowls, and dogs too, are of the best, for when a man determines to have one thing good, he may as well have everything. If men and women before emigrating to Australia had undergone the process of selection so thoroughly as stock has been subjected to that process, what a splendid race the colonists would become! Not that it is to be supposed the original colonists came of a poor race, especially those migrating to New Zealand, where warfare with a savage tribe was to be expected. On the contrary, it took a great deal of courage for an emigrant to make up his mind to leave the shores of Old England, so that we must give the colonists credit for possessing the free roving spirit of adventure which animated their Saxon ancestors. That spirit cannot be encased in a very poor body, and we must suppose a certain amount of natural selection even amongst the human migrators.

Let us go back. In those early times it required a spirit of adventure to face the difficulties of emigrating so far as New Zealand. Shipwreck and disaster by sea and on the coast, and a warlike race of natives on the land, were no common objects of opposition. Charts of the harbors were hardly to be obtained, for little had been done in the way of minute surveying. "Keep the reef on your larboard hand," were all the instructions the captain of one of the first emigrant ships received at Gravesend when departing for the almost unknown port of Hamilton, and "Get out of the Channel as quickly as possible" was combined with it. For Her Majesty's Government in those days would not countenance this emigration, and we can fancy the emigrants stealing down the English Channel, in dread of being detained by one of the war vessels. Then, as soon as the good ship was out in the open ocean, the people on board breathed free, and cried "Hey for the new land," and regarded a strange sail with a little more confidence. That the first emigrants should have set out for the Colony in this underhand way, defying the wrath of the Home Government, the dangers of the sea, and the terror of the natives is certainly to their credit; but it is curious also, for little thought had they, stealing thus away from England's coast, that they were to become the founders of a great and wealthy Colony. They must have come of good stock or they would not have braved all this.

*Illi robur et ces triplex*

*Circa pectus erat,*

Oak and three-fold brass must have surrounded their hearts.

"Nothing like good stock, said Charley philosophically. I wish to heaven, though, that those sheep were up at Terua. They will be a bother to drive, and I haven't brought any dog with me."

"I intend to take Lassie and Darkie with me," replied Philip, "and I can easily look after the sheep for you. I expect you will have enough to do with the bulls. But what *did* your governor want to buy two bulls for?"

"Can't say," replied Charley, "but he bought them. One of them is only a youngster, though, and has a better pedigree than the other. He will come on all right if the old bull doesn't kill him on the way up.—Awfully glad though, Manning, that you will look after the sheep for me. I should have had to have sent Henry to Edgcombe for them if you had'nt your dogs with you." And Charley went away next morning to Ashton pleased that he had satisfactorily arranged about driving his stock.

The next day passed away quickly. In the morning Willie Douglas took Philip round the run, and the afternoon was occupied by a geneal game in the garden. May Douglas, not being in any particular disgrace, took charge of Philip, and offered to swing him when he declined to swing her, or to play croquet or shuttlecock, and give him long odds that she would beat him, or even to run him as far as the entrance gate, if he would give her fifty yards start, or, finally, to catch her pony before he could catch it—Some of which offers Philip accepted, until Mary came and joined them.

"Oh, Mary," at last said the young vixen, "You are not going to sit there all the afternoon,"—for Philip and Mary had quietly seated themselves under one of the trees,— "Do come and have a game!"

"You are a great nuisance, May," said Mary, taking her upon her lap—whereupon Miss May rested her head upon Mary's shoulder, and became quiet for half-an-hour, looking at Philip, and joining occasionally in the conversation with various wise and profound remarks. Then her sister Ethel came and sat down by Philip, and the talk lasted into the twilight, when—

The falling dews with spangles decked the glade,  
And the low sun was lengthening every shade.

It was time to go into the house. Only this is to be recorded, that when Mary was seeing the little cousins in bed that night, May stopped her from going away, and earnestly asked whether she really had been a nuisance. Now Mary had quite forgotten having said so, but when she recalled the circumstance to her mind she laughed and kissed the little thing, and told her to lie down and go to sleep, and never to mind. And May went to sleep comforted with the thought that she had not been a nuisance after all.

## Chapter XXX.

### The Journey Up.

Charley returned to the glen very late. He had stayed too long at the Willows. It must have been nine o'clock before he left, and he had a four hours' ride before him. It was a cold night, too, but the stars glittered brightly, and Prince carried him well along the road. Had he not been with his lady-love, all the evening—the remembrance of which would have to last him for longer than a few hours' ride? The doctor too appeared delighted to see him, and altogether he had passed a most pleasant day. On parting, he had told Kate not to be foolish, nor to think he was to be eaten up by the Maoris (although it was true that on the other coast some tribes of natives had become troublesome of late), but that some day he hoped to take her up to Terua and show her what sort of a place it was.—At which Kate blushed prettily, and Master Charley, I am sorry to say, did his best to effectually hide the blushes.

Doctor Goring very wisely left the young people to themselves, or rather attempted to do so by going into the surgery and making a determined attempt to make up his books. The worthy doctor, however, could not set his mind to the task, but fell into many reveries, and thought more of his daughter's happiness, perhaps, than of his books. One thing is quite certain, that when his wife entered the room to see how he had got on, she found him in about the same position as when he started.

"You see, Jimmy," said he, apologetically, "I've been thinking,"—and then he told his wife of what he had been thinking, and the matter ended by Mrs. Goring helping him to make up the books—which, indeed, was her usual custom.

Charlie left Prince in the stable for the night. It was hardly fair to turn the horse out after pushing him along as he had done, and then went to bed. The next morning he and Philip caught the mail coach and drove into Hamilton.

"I suppose you will tell everybody that I went to Ashton," he had said to Mary, on parting. But Mary replied—"No, Charley, I shall not," so quietly, that he could not help observing to Philip, that "his cousin had grown quite solemn since he had last seen her."

Philip appeared to agree with him, and there the matter ended, for just then Lassie, in place of riding quietly on the top of the coach, made strenuous and determined attempts to hang herself over the side, which caused Philip to take her down and tie her up with Darkey underneath the coach. A couple of hours' drive took them without further accident into Hamilton, and Charley had barely time to see his friends and catch the steamer South.

"The sheep are up at the house," said he to Philip. "You must give a look at them occasionally. I shall be back on Friday with the bulls. Good-bye, old fellow," and the steamer was off.

So Philip looked up the sheep occasionally in a bowling green sort of paddock near the house, and passed one or two evenings with Mr. and Mrs. Easthorpe. He had partly got over his fit of the miserables since he had been at the Glen, and was looking forward to better prospects ahead. Something would turn up somewhere he felt certain, and to Mr. Easthorpe's surprise the ruined young man appeared cheerful enough. Luckily that gentleman was blissfully ignorant of the true cause of Philip's serenity.

"If you really think of practising your profession," Mrs. Easthorpe had said, "I shall send you some patients."

At which remark Mr. Easthorpe smiled quietly, and warned Philip not to rely too much upon his wife's patients, that is if he expected any fees out of them.

"I am sure Mr. Manning would prescribe for little Newell," replied Mrs. Easthorpe somewhat indignantly to her husband.

"No doubt he would," Mr. Easthorpe said; "but some of your patients are not so deserving as Newell. You

remember Marshall?"

Mrs. Easthorpe appeared to be convinced of the truth of her husband's charge in Marshall's case, but not in Newell's; and she explained to Philip that Newell was an orphan whom the Benevolent Society, of which she was a member, had managed to get into the hospital whilst suffering under a temporary illness, and then had managed to keep him there so as to take him out of the hands of the police, there being no provision in Hamilton for the custody of orphans. The lad would either have had to go to gaol or to the Industrial Home, another name for a Reformatory, where he would have had to mix with extremely bad characters. The society had advertised and made enquiries for some benevolently disposed person to take charge of this waif and stray of humanity, the usual custom in such cases, but no person had answered the application. The Superintendent of Police kept an eye on the lad also (an orphan was one of his *bête noirs*, as he really did not know what to do with it); but Mrs. Easthorpe, by getting the boy into the hospital, evidently was master of the situation; and Philip, struck with the case, cordially promised to look after this patient at any rate.

"Yes, but tell Mr. Manning about Marshall," said Mr. Easthorpe.

"Well, my dear," replied his wife laughing, "Marshall was a lazy young fellow." And then the good little lady told Philip how she had been deceived by a lazy young scamp who had imposed upon her good nature, and who had travelled through the country from station to station for years, receiving his food, but never doing a hand's turn of work, and finally had brought himself up in Hamilton and imposed upon Mrs. Easthorpe, much to her husband's amusement.

Walking through the streets of Hamilton was rather wearisome just then to Philip, and he consequently kept away from the heart of the city. It is not pleasant to be reminded of our misfortunes, however well disposed the speakers may be. Philip could not help meeting with many men who were acquainted with the late sale of Apanui, and who stopped him, good naturedly enough, to commiserate upon the hardness of the Bank, and the severity of the crisis. Nor could he be cordial with Mr. Leighton, the Bank Manager, who in such cases as this thought it best to refrain from any expression of sympathy, but contented himself in Philip's case with enquiring as to what he intended to do. Old Mr. Borthwick came up as the two happened to be speaking—so Philip very shortly answered the question—and felt glad of the interruption.

On the Friday the steamer North brought Charley back with the cattle, and there was not too much time to spare to take the sheep down to the wharf. Philip much regretted Charley's punctual return, as Mary Easthorpe was to be back from the Glen that evening. But the tide waits for no man, and the steamer had to proceed on its journey. The sheep were put into some small pens on deck, near to the horse boxes, which contained the bulls. Darkey and Lassie were tied up alongside, and Charley had his valuable freight safely together under his eye.

Mr. Easthorpe came down to the steamer to have a look at his purchases, and to see how the old bull enjoyed the journey. That fine animal did not appear to recognize him in the circle of onlookers, but snorted a bit, and made a playful attempt to gore its new owner to death; whereupon he gave up scratching him, remarking to Charley "that he would find him a good bull for the few cows he had at Terua."

"Maitland would'nt send me a bad beast," continued Mr. Easthorpe, running his eye over the animal, "but I hardly know what to think of the young one."

"We cannot well tell how he will turn out yet awhile," observed Charley. "He is rather young"

"He will get used to the place," replied Mr. Easthorpe. And as it was necessary for him to express some sort of an opinion upon the merits of the animal (he was not a particular good judge of cattle) he hazarded the remark "that he thought the young bull was rather light behind." This was a safe opinion, especially as he could not well see the bull, and neither Charley nor Philip differed with him. The two animals were doubtless glad enough when the inspection was over, and the steamer again on its journey, for it was not pleasant to be pinched and poked about by a score of strange hands. But they had to put up with this, and as a reward received each a great bundle of freshly cut grass which Charley had brought down to the vessel. Luckily the weather was good and the sea pretty smooth. By the time Edgecombe was reached all the animals and their two new masters were on better terms of intimacy. True, Lassie became dreadfully sea-sick, but a few moments play of the hose, when the decks were washed down of a morning, soon knocked all that sort of thing out of her, and as soon as she got better, the extraordinary exhibits of affection, whenever Philip or Charley happened to stroll near to where she was tied up, was a sight to the other passengers. A sheep dog on board a coasting steamer is generally one of the most miserable, woe-begone sights, and fairly enough resembles a fish out of water. Only when its master goes near does it brighten up, and then almost begs to be let loose.

Charley and Philip meanwhile strolled the deck together, exchanging thoughts upon past events, and watching the other passengers. There happened to be a greater number than usual upon the steamer, and there was plenty of amusement in observing them. Nearly all the travelling in New Zealand is done by steamer, so people are more used to the sea than in other colonies, and enjoy themselves more when on board ship. Ladies are not so sea-sick (or if they are unwell they soon recover), and men not so unsocial. Intimacies are quickly struck up; as quickly to be broken. People come and go at each port, and one never knows whether the same

person will be seated by one's side at table at the next meal as at the last. One class alone always appears the same, the noisy commercial traveller, full of fun and joke, and anecdote; the king of the smoking-room, and apparently the most cheerful of mortals under the most untoward of circumstances. His dreadfully sporting looking costume, heavy watch-chain, and heavier luggage, quickly proclaims the individual as one of the class, and his cheerful good humor usually supports his appearance. We do not say that his conversation is particularly bright or intellectual, but to a casual *voyageur* it is amusing enough. The evening before Edgecombe was reached, one or two of these passengers had decoyed the Captain into the smoking-room on deck, and the night being fine, but dark and cold, the invitation could not be resisted. True, the room contained a numerous company, and the atmosphere was dense with smoke, but the Captain managed to find a seat near Philip, and was soon bandying compliments in a quiet way with the noisy commercial men.

"Come, Captain," said one of them at last, who appeared to know him most intimately, "spin us a yarn. Tell us of the wreck of the William and Julia."

"Perhaps the gentlemen have heard it before," replied the Captain, looking round him with the air of a man ready to tell a story to a good circle of listeners.

"Not they," said his questioner, looking at Charley and Philip, and the other casual passengers, and answering for them, "so out with it man. We haven't heard that story for many a long day."

"Well, I will just take a look outside," said the Captain, and got up to see that the vessel was going her proper course. He was a quiet reserved sort of man, and had been for many years on the coast; thoroughly trustworthy, and well known as a careful master of a ship. His story is still in Charley and Philip's remembrance, and in after years, when Captain Wilson was lying "five fathoms deep" in the blue sea, they often thought of it. But this chapter is sufficiently long, and we will relate what the Captain said in a fresh one.

## Chapter XXXI.

### The Captain's Story.

"Well, gentlemen," continued the Captain, after he had resumed his seat, "I expect you will hardly believe what I am going to tell you, but it is true enough, I can assure you, although there is no one alive to vouch for its accuracy except my self. We were running for Edgecombe when the mishap I am going to tell you about occurred, and had left the Wairoa with a fair breeze and the prospect of a quick voyage. The William and Julia was only a small topsail schooner of about sixty tons, and not a big steamer like this. I was master and half owner of her, and had for a crew Andy Murray and three seamen. We were loaded with timber, grass seed, a couple of tons of carrots, some wine, and a big case of machinery. It was on a Sunday, about two bells in the forenoon, that we were capsized, after passing the Straits all right, and about 30 miles from Kapiti Island, bearing S.E. After leaving Wairoa it came on a stiff nor'-wester, and blew me away from Kapiti into the mouth of the Straits, so we took shelter under the Island for nearly a week until the gale was over. Many of you gentlemen, perhaps, have had to take shelter there too?"

"Yes," answered one of the passengers, "and unpleasant work it is."

"Well, continued the Captain in his quiet manner, as soon as the weather cleared off, we made sail for Edgecombe, and just as I made the port, a southeaster came on and blew me away for a week off the Cape; and on the Sunday we were capsized, nearly three weeks out. The sails had been knocked about too much, and were old. The nor'-wester had blown away one set, and the southeaster had blown the mainsail clean away. We bent the jib, but she wouldn't come to the wind, but laid in the sea. There we were, and nothing further could be done. About 9 o'clock on the Sunday morning I was down below changing my clothes; two of the men were at the pumps, and Andy, that was the mate, was standing on the companion, just about going on deck. "If we get back all right," says he, turning round, "you won't find me doing the Straits in a hurry again in the winter;" and the words were hardly out of his mouth when a terrific sea struck the schooner, threw us on our beam ends, and turned us bottom up. I tried to get on deck, but Andy was jammed in the companion. It was lucky I didn't get out, for no man could have lived out that gale. I just caught a sight of the deck through the water, and saw the men fall away from the pumps, and then Andy and I were splashing away in the cabin with the floor above our heads. I had told the two men to look to the pumps before they went below, and before Andy spoke I heard one of them say to the other, "Oh, she's all right, she'll weather it. The other man was down below for' ard. He was drowned, and found afterwards when the schooner drifted ashore."

"What, captain, "asked one of the passengers, "had the scooner turned bottom up?"

"Yes," replied the captain, "turned turtle completely."

"Don't interrupt the story, sir," said the noisy traveller from the corner where he sat; and the captain continued.

"Well, as Andy and I were splashing about, the lazarette hatch at the foot of the companion ladder fell between us, and I said to Andy:—

"If we could get up there, Andy, we should be all right;" and knowing that the little lazarette was full of stones, which had been put in to trim the vessel, I told him to pull out as many as he could so as to make room for himself, which he did; and then I got up and did the same. There was not more than 18 or 19 inches of height in the little place; only just sufficient to lay down in, and I can assure you, gentlemen, it was pretty close quarters. We turned out about twenty fathom of chain, but the end got foul between the big case and the bulk head, and there it hung. There was plenty of light, and I could just reach the water by stretching down my arm. But gradually the water got higher and higher as the vessel settled down, and we had to clear out or be drowned like rats.

All day Sunday we worked away at clearing out the stones, and trying to make a trunk way forward through the timber to get at the wine and provisions; and on Monday we tried to do the same, but had to give it up, as the timber was too long. Still the work did us good and kept evil thoughts away. We didn't speak much to each other, but leant over the hatch for hours watching the constant bubbling of the water beneath, as it rose and fell in the little cabin. A mist appeared to be constantly rising from the water, and we never felt any want of air. Indeed a cold draft appeared to sweep through the vessel's hold. Perhaps the little bubbles and mist supplied us with air. We both felt very tired, while each had a curious pressure in the drums of the ears. We weren't hungry or thirsty, only tired. The rolling of the vessel wore our arms into holes, while the coal-dust fell into our eyes, which we scooped out as well as we could with our fingers. I had some bricks for a pillow, but my own pillow took to floating about, so I seized it, and it gave me some help. I was right aft, and the mate close alongside. The noise in the ship all day and night was constant, and we hardly got any sleep.

On the Tuesday, the water was still rising, and I said to Andy, as plucky a young fellow as ever lived, "I'm not going to stay here to be drowned" (I felt that the sea was getting calmer outside), and I tried to get down three times that morning to see how to get out, for although you gentlemen may not think it, it was very dangerous work getting out of that cabin. We couldn't dive, for the water was nearly level with the hatch, and the only chance was to pull ourselves down, get through the companion, and out on deck as best we could, then under the taffrail, and so up to the surface. The companion ladder had been broken away by some locker boards, and the chain had also slipped away. The swish-wash in the cabin, as the vessel rose and fell, was like a sucker; and if I once had let go of the combing, I should never have reached it again. I tried to make use of a piece of canvas over one of the bunks, but that gave way. However, I managed to reach under the bunk with my foot, and *that* was the way to effect our purpose; first to pull ourselves down with the foot, then with the hands, then lay hold of the scuttle, and so out on deck.

Was it very cold asked one of the listeners as the Captain here made a pause and sipped his grog.

"Aye, that it was," replied he, "bitterly cold." I had torn off my coat and waistcoat when the vessel turned over, and I can tell you that it was cold enough lying in the lazarette. Every time she rose and fell the wind cut past like a knife. I had kept on my sou'-wester, and I had also a large comforter, with which I tried to keep myself warm. We once thought of cutting ourselves out, and had actually made a commencement, when the thought struck me that if we once let the air out the vessel would sink. I have heard since of vessels being thrown ashore that had capsized, and from which the poor fellows had tried to cut themselves out, but directly they made a small hole with a knife, out rushed some of the imprisoned air, and the vessel sank deeper down, drowning those inside.

But to continue with my own yarn. After discussing the matter, I told Andy to go first, as it was my duty to be last on board, and to lend the mate a hand if anything happened. Andy wanted me to go first, but I gave him the extra chance, and he slipped down and got his toe under the bunk. I told him "to hold on till I said the word," for there were times when the suction was not so great as at others. I watched a favorable moment, and said "off with you, lad," and Andy pulled himself down all right, and I saw him go out of the companion. I had told him which way to cant so as to clear the boom, not knowing the masts had gone by the board. I saw him go the proper way, and then waited ten minutes to hear him knock as we had arranged, but poor Andy never knocked. So I went after him; got down all right, but never thought of opening my eyes till I got between the wheel and the scuttle, with my head, elbows and knees pinned up to the deck. My eyes stuck together like glue, but I managed to open them, and looked about for a second. The deck looked quite plain, though a little misty, and the masts were gone. But I hadn't much time to look at things, and quickly pulled myself by the wheel and companion to the taffrail, under the wire, and catching hold of a piece of chaffing-gear gave myself a pull up, and pu-u-u rose to the surface very nearly gone for breath. I had taken in a long breath before leaving the cabin, but it hardly lasted me.

Well, I found myself near the ship, with Cape Edgecombe in the distance. The water was still pouring over the vessel's bottom, so I said to myself, treading water all the time, "Old man," said I, "it won't do to go there," for as the water fell off, the back-wash would have drowned me. I fancy Andy got drowned trying to get on to

the bottom. At any rate, I saw nothing of him. Looking round I perceived, just astern, the wreck of the masts, fastened by the cordage to the vessel, but the hulk apparently was drifting faster than the spars, and they hung behind, so I made for the spars, and got on the main boom. The boom rolled too much, and I could hardly hold on. I saw the deck end of the foremast standing up nearly four feet out of the water, so I made for that, and with the help of a part of the little winch, which had been broken, managed to get a foothold for one foot, spell and spell about. Luckily, there was a piece of about four fathom of line left on the winch, and with this I bound myself to the mast, and stayed there all that night.

On the Wednesday morning, about eight bells, I determined to make for the ship, as it was too tiring standing with the water up to one's knees. Oftentimes during the night I had felt drowsy, and badly wanted to lay down. I did go to sleep a little, but the sea occasionally struck the mast and wetted me all over. So I unbound myself and struck out for the wreck. It was bitterly cold, and I could hardly swim, being very weak. The bowsprit had somehow got across the bows, and the water was still falling off the bottom, and the back-wash would have sucked me down. I made for the bowsprit, and paddled slowly, as I sank very deep, the water just up to my lips. I got on to the bowsprit and then on to the bottom, or rather on to the keel, which was about a foot above the floor of the vessel, and sat down. I badly wanted to lie down, and as the keel was a foot broad I did so, but the water occasionally splashed over the keel, and directly I fell asleep I rolled off and woke up again. Then I tried to walk, but was too weak and had to crawl, but I tried, and tried, until I could walk.

About 12 o'clock I saw a vessel bearing down towards me, so I waved my sou'-wester, but no notice was taken. I waved again and again, and then I saw her sails flap as if she were going about, but she still kept on. I waited a few moments to allow her to come within a mile or so (for as long as she kept on her course I was right), and then waved again. Then I saw somebody jump on the rail, and look searchingly towards me with a pair of glasses. Then up went the flag, and I knew I was saved.

They lowered a boat, and when it came alongside I actually jumped into it almost briskly. They asked me if there was anybody else, but I said no. I had to be assisted up the vessel's side, and I couldn't walk aft. The captain had me undressed and put to bed, and some hot water bottles put to my feet, and gave me a little weak brandy and water occasionally. About 4 o'clock I had some soup, as the captain wouldn't give me any water, but a cup of coffee about 12 o'clock that night was the nicest thing I ever tasted in all my life. I couldn't get any sleep, but just dozed off.

Next morning I saw some clothes placed by the side of the bunk, but the slippers were too small as my feet were much swollen. I turned out, but couldn't stand. However, I persevered, and managed to dress and crawl up the companion, and by a good many efforts at last managed to walk. The captain thought me a pretty strong sort of fellow to be able to get about so quickly as that, and so I must have been. We reached one of the little ports near Edgecombe on the Saturday, whither the vessel was bound. Her name was the Hannah Brown, and I shan't forget her in a hurry—for, although I am a Bideford man, and have been five-and-twenty years at sea, and seen many curious things, I never had such a narrow squeak as in that capsizing. When we got to Edgecombe I telegraphed to my wife and the owners that I had lost the vessel, and when I got home my wife took my coming in as naturally as if the William and Julia had been lying alongside the wharf all the time.

"And what became of the wreck?" asked Charley.

Well, the hulk drifted about for some time and then drifted ashore on the Sandspit, where it was afterwards found and sold for a song. I have never seen it from that day to this, but she was a good little craft both aloft and aloft, and had I only had a storm trysail with me we should never have been capsized. But I never wish to live in a lazerette again, for those few days gave me a good many grey hairs and lost Andy the number of his mess.

"Thank you, captain," chimed in the passengers. "A very good story."

"You almost tell it as if it were true," said the commercial traveller. At this the captain gave his quiet smile, and went out to look after his ship.

## Chapter XXXII.

### A Close Shave.

THE next morning the vessel reached Edgecombe, and the sheep and cattle were safely landed. There was some little bother in taking the young bull up the wharf, for directly he felt himself on *terra firma*, if a wooden wharf can be called hard ground, he became restive and played up a bit, but Philip held him firmly, and he soon gave in. Charley had arranged to put the two animals in a stockyard for the night, and the sheep in a paddock adjoining. Charley took charge of the old bull, and marched him off to the stockyard, and Philip followed. A man had come down to take the bull, but as he appeared rather frightened of the animal Charley took him

himself.

"Don't let the dogs go, Charley," said Philip. "Wait till we get the sheep ashore. They will stay better with the sheep."

"All right," acquiesced Charley, busily engaged fastening the bull. "What an obstinate beast this is."

However, Charley got his nose ring in, and the stick fast to that, and Mr. Bully had to walk up the wharf. He just turned once or twice as if he was going to toss Charley into minute atoms, much to the alarm of the lookers on, but a prod or two in the nose with the stick soon brought him to his senses.

The animals were got into the yards safe enough, and tied up to the fence, and their nose rings taken out.

"We had better give them a little water," said Philip, and the man brought a couple of buckets of water to the gate.

Philip took his bucket, and as he happened to be close to the gate of the yard in which the old bull was he went in, leaving Charley to give the water to the young bull. (I call the bull old, but only in comparison with the young one. He was only five years of age or a little over.) The bull drank the water, and our friend Philip seeing him still holding down his head in the bucket, fancied he wanted more. He therefore went to take the bucket away, but no sooner was his hand fairly on the handle than the bull rushed him.

"Look out, Manning!" cried Charley from his yard, but there was no necessity for warning. Philip sprang across the yard at racing speed, and the bull after him. The yard was not more than thirty feet across, but the bull from his long confinement couldn't get up speed sufficient to catch Philip, in that short distance, who reached the fence just as the bull's horns were within six inches of him. Philip turned and saw the bull's head beneath him, and sprang up the fence all fours with the agility of a lamplighter, and sat on the top rail, and gazed at the animal still standing below, looking up at him, while Charley laughed so much at seeing Philip's frightened look and the way he went up the fence that he had to lean against a stockyard post.

"It's all very well, my boy," said Philip, walking along the top of the fence to where Charley stood, while the bull kept him company down below, wondering how Philip managed to get up there, and anxious to give him just one taste of his horns; "but if he had pinned me against the fence, he would have cracked me like a nutshell."

"What did you do to the beast?"

"Nothing," answered Philip. "I was just taking the bucket away. By Jove, where did I get that blood?" and then Philip perceived that his hands were smeared with blood.

"You must have got that taking the ring out of the young bull's nose." said Charley. "Why didn't you wash your hands?"

"Well, if I had known the beast was such a Tartar, I'd have been more careful. But let us go and get the sheep. You will have to keep an eye on that animal, Charley, or he will be up to mischief."

"I don't care much when we get him out on the run," answered Charley.

"You can't use a horse in your country, or I should like to have the cutting out of that gentleman," grimly thinking of a good stockwhip, said Philip, and they then went down and fetched up the sheep, much to the delight of Darkie and Lassie, who were as wild as two hares, and quite frightened the sheep up into the smallest of bunches. But a stone or two soon brought them to their senses, and they behaved properly, and took the sheep safely through the town.

As soon as the sheep were in their paddock our two friends went to Charley's hotel, brushed themselves up a little, and then strolled through the town. Charley had many things to see after, and Philip accompanied him into all the stores and shops he had to visit, where Charley arranged about saddlery and other matters.

"Everywhere Charley was received with the utmost courtesy and good nature. It was quite evident he was earning a good name with the people of Edgecombe. Besides, he had much money to spend, and so good a customer was not to be offended. Not that the people of Edgecombe, storekeepers or others, were needlessly attentive. They were a sterling race of colonists, and had too often borne arms in defence of their lives and their homes from the raids of the Maoris to be in any way sycophantic. The greater number of them had perhaps farms of their own, and they consequently felt themselves to be quite as independent as the greatest runholder in the land. It was Charley's *bonhomie* that carried the day with them, and made them ready to serve him with so much willingness and pleasure. Besides, were they not acquainted with large owners of property in the neighborhood who haggled over the price of a cask of biscuits, or tried various stores to see where a chest of tea could be purchased most cheaply. Charley was sufficiently careful in his purchases but never mean, and the consequence was that he lost nothing by it in the end, for people took care to supply him with the best they had, even if it cost a little more. Be warned therefore, oh ye runholders, taking up new country. Never haggle in the neighboring townships over the price of a teapot. It doesn't pay. A little liberality goes a long way, besides it is expected from a great landowner. In Charley's case there was not a resident who had had business transactions with him who would not cheerfully have looked after his two bulls, or given him a paddock for his sheep, had he requested such a favor for the next month to come, or any other such accommodation free gratis and for

nothing. But we have not described Edgecombe to our readers, and we had better do so.

*(To be continued)*

## **New Books.—Continued.**

- On the Choice of Books, by Thomas Carlyle. 2s.
- Human Race, and Other Sermons, by the late Rev. F. W. Robertson. 10s.
- Coral Lands, by H. Stonehewer Cooper. 2 vols. With photographic illustrations. 32s. 6d.
- Sketches of Eminent Statesmen and Writers, with Other Essays. 2 vols. By A. Hayward, Q.C. 34s. 6d.
- Memoirs of Madame de Rimusat, 1802-1808. Translated from the French by Mrs. Cashel Hoey, &c. 2 vols. 31s. 6d.
- Reader's Handbook of Allusions, References, Plots, and Stories, by Rev. Dr. Brewer. 15s.
- A Popular History of Science, by Robert Routledge, B.S.C., F.C.C., 15s. 6d.
- Letters to the Clergy, by John Buskin, D.C.L. 10s.
- Early History of Charles James Fox, by George Otto Trevelyan, M.P. 23s.
- The Racehorse in Training: With Hints on Racing and Racing Reforms, by William Day. 19s.
- The Horse : Its Breed, Management, and Diseases, by William Youatt. 10s. 6d.
- Horses and Roads; Or, How to Keep a Horse Sound in his Legs, by "Freelance."
- The Horse and his Rider, by Sir Francis B. Head, Bart. 4s. 6d.
- About Buying a Horse, &c., &c., by F. C. Burnand. 3s. 6d.
- Sheep Breeding in Australia, containing an Historical Sketch of the Merino Sheep; the Pedigrees of the Principal Stud Sheep in the Australian Colonies; and a Treatise on Breeding, by George A. Brown. 45s.
- How to Make the Farm Pay; Or, the Farmers Book of Practical Information on Agriculture, Stock Raising, Fruit Culture, Special Crops, Domestic Economy, and Family Medicine, by Charles W. Dickerman. 20s.
- Cattle and Cattle Breeders, by William McCombie, M.P. 4s.
- The American Cattle Doctor, containing the necessary information for Preserving the Health and Curing the Diseases of Oxen, Cows, Sheep, and Swine, by G. H. Dodd, M.D. 8s. 6d.
- The Builder. January to June, 1878. Vol. 6. 15s.

## **Annual Volumes for 1880.**

- Sunday at Home, cloth, 7s. 6d.; Sunday at Home, half-calf, 10s. 6d.; Leisure Hour, cloth, 7s. 6d.; Leisure Hour, half-calf, 10s. 6d.; Sunday Magazine, 8s. 6d.; Quiver, 8s. Cd.; Good Words, 8s 6d.; Cassell's Magazine, 8s. 6d.; Family Herald, vol. 45, 6s.

## **Christmas Numbers,**

## **Containing Coloured Chromos.**

- Illustrated London News, 2s.; Graphic, 2s.; Winter, 1s. 6d.; Queen, 1s. 6d.; Father Christmas, 1s. 6d.; London Society, 1s. 6d.; Belgravia Annual, 1s. 6d.; Live Stock Journal Almanack, 1s. 6d.; Punch Almanack, 6d.; Judy Almanack, 1s. 6d.; Illustrated London Almanack, 1s. 6d.; Illustrated Queen Almanack, 1s. 6d.; Bow Bells Annual, 1s. 6d.; Diproses Annual, 1s. 6d.; High Water Mark, 1s. 6d.; Good Cheer, 9d.; Aunt Judy's Annual Volume, 9s. Gd.; Band of Hope Review, 1s. 6d.; British Workman, 2s.; Infants' Magazine, 2s.; Children's Friend, 2s.

## **Golden Library Series.**

- Emerson's Letters and Social Aims. 2s. 6d.
  - William Godwin's Lives of the Necromancers. 2s. 6d.
  - Holmes's Autocrat of the Breakfast Table, with an Introduction, by G. A. Sala. 2s. 6d.
- The Minerals of Otago.

By W. R. Buchan.

## ***Tungstate of Soda has the peculiar effect on cloth and paper of rendering them non-inflammable—see page 8.***

Printed at "Daily Times" Office Dunedin High Street MDCCCLXXXII.

## **The Minerals of Otago.**

The history of mineral mining in this Province is short and easily told. Very little has been done in the way of systematic mining except for gold and coals—these two branches are in a fair way of development. The discovery of a copper lode in the Wakatipu District in 1863 was the first find of importance; since then many valuable ores have been found, comprising nearly all the ores of commercial importance. It is quite evident that a mineral bearing bed of schist stretches from the east to the west coast of Otago, and at various places all the way from Taieri Mouth, where manganese occurs, to Dusky and Milford Sounds, where copper is found, there are, at irregular distances, lodes of various ores. Up to the present time the principal substances of the ores or the metals which have been found are aluminum, antimony, chrome, copper, iron, lead, manganese, mercury, silver, and tungsten, and if we add graphite, petroleum shale, and marble, these may be said to be all the substances of commercial value that have been found in quantity. There are a vast number of elementary bodies that if known of in Europe would soon be operated upon—such as arsenic and sulphur—both of which occur plentifully in our pyrites lodes. Business men know that such ores as cinnabar, copper, antimony, and galena, are marketable commodities, and if it can be shown that they exist in payable quantities, their development is only a matter of time. But we have in this Province a large, true, and well defined lode of scheelite, the very name of which is almost unknown in New Zealand, except to scientists, and it is with the object of drawing attention to it that this paper is written. Besides being a new and interesting subject, I hope to be able to show and to prove that scheelite is not only of commercial value, but that it will open a large field of profitable industrial application. In discussing the subject technical and scientific phraseology cannot altogether be dispensed with, but will be avoided as much as possible.

### **Scheelite.**

When searching for minerals at the head of Lake Wakatipu, in November, 1880, in company with Mr. Pryde, of Bannockburn, we learned that a heavy white substance occurred a short distance up the Bucklerburn Creek, not more than a mile from the north shore of the Lake. Finding the outcrop of what appeared to be a large quartz reef, we put a cut into it, and with little trouble exposed a lode of scheelite 3ft. 6in. in width. As the outcrop of the lode was easily traced, we marked out a claim about one mile in length, embracing all the ground easily got at and containing the outcrop. There is not a doubt as to the extent and permanency of the lode, and as the Lake steamboats can get to within a mile of it, the ore can be put on board at a trifling cost per ton. We had 15 bags of the ore taken out and forwarded, some to England and some to Scotland, to be tested. From England we have an offer from one firm of £8 to £10 per ton for the ore in its natural state, from another firm an offer to erect the necessary works to extract the various substances found in the ore. As yet we have no returns from Scotland, but these offers will be sufficient to show that the consignment sent to London fell into the hands of those who knew something about it. The ore has been repeatedly analyzed. On October, 6, 1881, it was analysed by Robert H. Davies, F.H.F.C., Chemist to Apothecaries' Hall, Public Analyst for the District of Fulham and Hamersmith, E.C., and was found to contain aluminum, potash, and tungstic acid, associated with quartz. The quantity of quartz varies according to whether the sample is a picked piece or taken promiscuously from the lode. As near as can be ascertained about one-third of the lode in bulk consists of scheelite. The question of separation of the quartz from the scheelite is only a matter of grinding and running the stuff over shaking tables, in order to separate the two by specific gravity—a very easy matter as the scheelite is more than six times the weight of quartz. This operation will cost about 10s. per ton of scheelite. I will therefore deal with the product of the lode as clean scheelite.

Tungstic acid was first discovered by Scheele, a celebrated German chemist, in 1781, just 100 years ago,

and the mineral has been named after him, and is now known as Scheelite. For many years, indeed until well into this century, the metal was recognised only as a scientific curiosity. But amongst the many facts of applied science is the application of this rare metal to useful purposes. One prominent feature of this metal is its great weight, its specific gravity being 17.4, that of iron being 7.8. It will be seen to be two and a half times the weight of iron. It is found, in nature, as scheelite, and as an associate of sulphur, iron, and manganese. Not unfrequently the latter combination, known as wolfram, occurs in the tin mines of Cornwall, and for many years it baffled the skill of metallurgists to separate it from the tin ore, except at great cost. Now the difficulty has been overcome by adding soda to the pulverized tin ore, and calcining, when a tungstate of soda is formed, and the tin is relieved of a troublesome neighbour. On account of its frequent occurrence in tin, it came to be looked upon as a plentiful substance, but, when its value as an acid and an alloy was discovered and quantity was wanted, it was found to be very scarce. It may be said to be plentiful in the same sense as gold is plentiful in the auriferous drifts of Otago, but very hard to get in quantity.

Ure's Dictionary of Mines and Manufactures, page 924, says—"Amongst miners tungsten has the reputation of being an abundant mineral, but on close enquiry it is found to be comparatively rare, schorl, specular, and other iron ores and gossan being commonly mistaken for it."

The useful application of tungsten to manufactures is a fulfilment of the prediction of a great many chemists, but being of recent date its history is not yet written; but I am convinced, after twelve months' careful investigation, that tungstic acid and the metal tungsten will take a prominent place amongst the useful metals, will be much sought after, and, on account of the scarcity of scheelite, will become of still greater value.

Having perused all or nearly all the publications in which tungsten is referred to, I will quote from the most reliable authorities only.

Millen's Chemistry, part second, page 646 :—"Larient says—There are no fewer than six modifications of tungstic acid, each of which forms a distinct class of salts. This was disputed at the time, but it is now an established fact, and it is in this great range of division that its usefulness in the arts is apparent."

The metal has not been entirely unknown to the New Zealand chemists, scheelite having been found in water-worn boulders in the Bucklerburn as far back as 1864. It attracted the attention of the goldseeker on account of its great weight, and is known to the digger as "White Maori." A piece of ore from the creek at the head of Lake Wakatipu was exhibited at the New Zealand Exhibition held in Dunedin, 1865. Mr. Skey, who officiated as Analytical Chemist to the Exhibition, examined the scheelite, treated it in a variety of ways, and reported on it at great length : see Juror's Report, pages 414, 415, and 416. He formed a very high opinion of its value and usefulness, as will be seen from the following quotations :—"A very fine specimen of scheelite mixed with quartz, having the external appearance of quartz boulders, was exhibited by the Queenstown District Committee. From the specific gravity of this mineral there would be about 59.35 per cent, of pure tungstate of lime in the specimen." He goes on to say—"The metal tungsten and its compounds are attracting a good deal of attention at the present time (1865). It is thought by some that steel alloyed with a small quantity of this metal is much superior to any other kind of steel. Some of its soluble salts are used as mordants in the place of compounds of tin. Tungstate of lime and tungstate of lead are used as substitutes for white lead and oxide of zinc in painting. The salt called tungstate of soda, besides being used for a mordant, is employed to render fabrics non-inflammable. The clothes are steeped in a solution containing 20 per cent, of this salt, and then dried, when, unlike other salts recommended for this purpose, it does not interfere with the process of ironing, but allows the iron to go over the fabric smoothly. It is said to be used constantly in Her Majesty's laundry. The various oxides of tungsten afford excellent pigments of different colours. From a few hasty experiments made in the Laboratory certain new properties were observed sufficiently interesting and relative to this article to allow of their announcement here. The blue oxide was found to be soluble in certain acids, and the ben oxide in muriatic acid, under certain conditions, communicating respectively magnificent colours of blue, pink, or red. A brilliant ruby red pigment, in the form of crystals, was obtained by fusing tungstate of soda with the acetate for some time, and supposed to be benoxide of tungsten, but, from the pressure of other work, this substance has not yet been fairly studied. Recently it has also been discovered that the metal tungsten can be substituted for tin in the substance called 'Purple of Cassius' without affecting its properties for all the purposes to which it has been hitherto been applied, as far at least as can be determined. Indeed, this new Purple of Cassius is not to be distinguished from the genuine by its outward appearances.

"It will be seen, too, that inversely, we have in these solutions of tungsten a new and exceedingly delicate test for gold. The reaction also of these oxides of tungsten with silver and mercury is similar to that of the oxide of tin.

"But, interesting as it is to trace out all these analogies between two metals having so great physical differences of constitution as tin and tungsten, belonging, too, to separate isomorphous families, the most important to us is this property of tungsten before instanced—that of substituting tin in the compound called Purple of Cassius, this substance being largely used in the colouring of porcelain. It can be produced in its

greatest purity by the method first used for its production, by boiling ordinary tungstate of soda with weak acetic acid, adding hydro chloric acid to the hot solution and deoxidizing the tungstic acid by zinc; the clear blue solution is then poured off and the chloride of gold added; the precepsitate when washed is the new compound.

"The following is a brief outline of the method that was found most successful in extracting the tungstic acid in a pure state from the quartziferous ore :—The ore is finely pulverized, water is then poured upon it and the mixture well stirred, and allowed to rest for ten minutes; the liquid and suspended matters are then poured off; the liquid is allowed to get perfectly clear, when it is poured carefully off from the deposit. The fine powder so obtained is then treated with ordinary muriatic acid, and the mixture raised nearly to boiling and kept at this temperature for nearly half-an-hour; the white color of the mineral will then have changed to a perfect yellow, from the liberation of the insoluble acid; the soluble substances are then washed away by frequent decantation. Any of the ordinary soluble tungsten salts are then produced by gently warming the mixture of quartz and tungstic acid with the solutions of the carbonates of their bases. Several of the combinations and salts of tungstic acid above alluded to were represented in the Otago Geological Museum along with the other Chemical products manufactured from the native minerals of Otago."

It will be seen from the above quotations that Mr. Skey's researches were most satisfactory in their results. The existence of the ore in a lode was not then known.

Not the least important feature of the metal tungsten, is its value as an alloy of steel. Steel, it is well-known, is fast superseding iron. If the last 50 years' period has been the "iron age," the next 50 years will likely be the steel age. By the Bessemer process alone, over half a million tons of steel are turned out every year; consequently anything tending to improve steel must be of great value.

A very able and exhaustive work on "Steel, its history, manufacture, and use," has been written by J. S. Jeans, Secretary to the Iron and Steel Institute. In the preface he states : "That the volume is designed to aid in placing within easy reach of the manufacturers and users of steel, the most recent, as well as the most authoritative notabilia relative to that metal." The book was published so late as 1880, and the following interesting account of tungsten steel is given in page 529 : "Various patents have been taken out for the use of tungsten in the manufacture of cast steel, and at several works, both in England and on the Continent, steel containing sometimes as much as 8 per cent, of tungsten is produced. An elaborate series of experiments has been made at the Royal Iron Foundry, Berlin, on the alloys of iron and tungsten with the most satisfactory results. Mayer, of Leoben, Styria, is assigned the credit of having first applied tungsten to cast steel, on a large scale, and owing to the success which he attained, tungsten steel has been declared to be of the highest quality in respect to fineness of grain, uniformity of structure, hardness, toughness, strength, and durability. By melting tungsten and iron together, it is possible to obtain a steel much harder than one with carbon alone. For uses which require a special degree of hardness, a steel rich in tungsten, called 'special steel,' is frequently employed. Thus, a fine Sheffield steel for lathe tools, according to an analysis made by Baron Barnekow, in the laboratory of the Stockholm School of Mines, contained 9.3 per cent, of tungsten and 0.7 per cent, of silicium, with only 0.6 per cent, of carbon. This steel, which is used without being tempered for turning cylinders of hard cast iron, is of sufficient hardness to scratch glass, and yet, it is not fragile, for great difficulty is experinced in breaking a  $\frac{3}{4}$  inch square bar. Tungsten is added for obtaining not only a steel of great hardness, but one of moderate hardness, combined with high ductile capacity, and suitable for the tubes of cast-iron cannons. According to M. Le Guen, tungsten increases the hardness of steel, and up to a certain point its tenacity also. Mushet's patent tungsten steel is manufactured at the works of Wund and Co., at Buckaw, near Magdeburg, in Prussia, and in Hanover. The magnets used at Siemen's telegraphic works in Berlin, are also said to be made of this steel. Tools made of tungsten steel, in use for planing and other machines, are reported to stand longer than those made from the best Sheffield cast steel. A special steel, patented in England, August 10th, 1872, by H. A. Levallois, of Paris, is an alloy containing tungsten and nickel in various proportions, and claims to be less liable to oxidize or rust than ordinary steel. C. W. L. Bierman, of Hanover, manufactures alloys of cast iron and steel containing from 20 to 50 per cent, of tungsten, in ingots, which are sold for mixing with, and so introducing any desired percentage of tungsten into iron or steel."

The following is taken from a late number of the Year Book of Facts :—"By the order of the French Minister of War, a series of experiments has been instituted to determine the influence produced by tungsten upon the qualities of bronze, cast iron, and steel. Caron, who carried out the experiments, reported that the addition of tungsten to cast iron was found to increase both the hardness and tenacity in about the same ratio with the quantity of tungsten added. Even a small percentage, not exceeding one per cent., was found to exert a marked influence, the grain of the iron becoming regular, fine, and grayish, and the fracture showing great homogeneity. The addition of tungsten to steel was found always to increase both its hardness and tenacity. In conclusion, Caron confidently recommended the employment of tungsten to improve the quality of steel, and shows that with tungsten at 3.70 francs the kilogramme, the price of steel would be increased by only seven or

eight francs per 100 kilogrammes."

The reference here to the price of tungsten indicates it to be worth about £6150 per ton in France.

Fownes' Inorganic Chemistry, page 482, "Steel alloyed with tungsten acquires an extraordinary degree of hardness. Wotz, or Indian steel, from which swords are made, contains tungsten. Tungsten has also a remarkable effect on steel in increasing its power in retaining magnetism. A horseshoe magnet of ordinary steel, weighing 2lbs, will not carry more than 7lbs weight. Seimens, the great electrician, says a magnet of that weight (2lbs), if alloyed with tungsten will suspend 20lbs. In view of the important part played by magnets in the generation of electricity, and the application of it to so many useful purposes this is not the least important feature of the metal tungsten.

The latest Supplement recently published of Ure's Dictionary says :—"A patent has been obtained for the manufacture of metallic alloys by Mr. Roxland. Steel of very superior quality, manufactured under this patent, is now coming extensively into use. In Germany it is prepared by simply melting with cast steel, or even with iron only, either metallic tungsten or an alloy of tungsten from two to five per cent. The steel obtained works exceedingly well under the hammer. It is very hard and fine-grained, and for tenacity and density is superior to any other steel made."

The same dictionary, after giving the chemical composition of tungstate of soda, and referring to its use for dyeing, for the making of tungstate of Barytes, and of lead, to be used as pigments, says :—"Still more recently, it has been found to be valuable and preferable to any other substance for rendering fabrics non-inflammable so as to prevent the terrible accidents constantly occurring from the burning of ladies' dresses. For this, purpose a patent has been obtained by Messrs. Versmann and Oppenheim. Metallic tungsten is also used for the manufacture of brittania metal, by alloying with copper and tin. By this useful application this metal has already become a desideratum." These are the facts as stated in Ure's Dictionary, one of the most reliable works published.

In a Manual on Metallurgy, published in 1874 by W. H. Greenwood, F.C.S., the following occurs at page 53, paragraph 65:—"Tungsten reduced from tungstic acid in the presence of iron readily alloys with the latter. Thus, when gray iron is heated to a high temperature along with tungstic acid, the graphet of the pig iron, by combination with the oxygen of the tungstic acid, reduces the metal, which alloys with the iron and produces an exceedingly hard, fine-grained, and almost silvery-white steel, which is more or less malleable according to the quantity of tungsten present."

In Engineering Facts for 1868, page 333, it is stated :—"That which is already known of tungsten proves that it exerts great influence on steel. The price of tungsten is somewhat high on account of its comparative scarceness in nature. On the Continent it is said to make puddled steel equal to cast steel, and so hard as to be suitable for files, saws, edge tools, &c. For wheel tires, from 2 to 3 per cent, of tungsten has been found to answer best. For files, saws, &c., from 2½ to 4 per cent. For dies, punches, bushes, &c., from 4 to 7½ per cent."

The Scientific Review of August, 1868, says:—"If there is one subject more than another attracting and requiring attention at the present time, it is the alloys of tungsten and steel."

The Quarterly Journal of Science says :—"Attention is being directed to the combination of tungsten with steel, and the adaptation of tungstate of soda as a mordant, and the use of tungsten as an alloy. Pig-iron made at Brest, containing 2 per cent, of tungsten, shows an augmentation of resistance equal to 68 kilogrammes per square centimetre. Numerous other tests proving equally favourable to this new alloy of tungsten and iron have been made."

Millen's chemistry, pages 647 and 652, has the following—"When tungsten is alloyed in certain proportion, it yields steel of remarkable hardness. Small quantities of tungstate of lime (scheelite) is found in Germany. Tungsten is always estimated in the form of tungstic acid, 100 grains of which contain 79.32 of the metal."

It will be seen from these quotations that there is a remarkable unanimity of opinion as to the value and importance of this metal which is found so plentifully in the scheelite lode at Lake Wakatipu. One striking feature is the variety of products that can be extracted from the ore, I mean products of economic value, for which there is evidently a large market with a limited supply. Iron and steel are elements of such extraordinary importance to civilization, that any agent capable of improving them must necessarily be applied. It will also be observed that tungstate of soda—a substance that can be made from scheelite at a very small cost, has the power of resisting fire. There is possibly no limit to the uses to which this material may be put. Fire-proof cloth is already in the market, fire-proof paint, and fire-proof paper. Fireproof roofing for wooden houses would find a large and ready market in the Colonies. The following is a significant advertisement by a London firm :—"Frederick Versmann, 7 Bury Court, St. Mary's Axe, London.—Scheelite ore colours; tungstate of soda—ladies antflammable life preserver." Another advertisement is "Briggs and Co., Great Peter St., Westminster.—The ladies' life preserver from fire.—Ladies dresses and other textiles steeped in a solution of this compound are rendered *non-inflammable*, without injury to texture, colour, or appearance."

## Alumina.

By reference to the analysis of the ore made at Apothecaries' Hall, it will be seen to contain four substances—scheelite, alumina, potash, and silica. I have already shown and also verified by repeated experiments that the scheelite can be extracted at a very trifling cost, and as the scheelite is not chemically combined with the silica, alumina, and potash, the residue, after its extraction, will contain these substances in the proportion of alumina 19 02, potash 1150, the rest being silica, which means quartz. Alumina is used in the Arts principally as an alloy; it occurs plentifully in nature, but generally in such a state of combination as to render its extraction extremely difficult and expensive, hence its great cost, the metal being worth about £4000 per ton. Up to the present time Greenland is the only part of the world where the ore of aluminum is found, called cryolite.

As to the general uses and importance of the metal aluminum, I will give a few extracts bearing on the subject :—Cassells' Popular Educator, Vol II., pages 65 and 116, Vol II., page 214.—"The metal aluminum is white, resembling silver. The pure metal has lately been found in quantities available for manufacturing purposes, and from its extreme lightness, its freedom from tarnishing, and its sonorousness, it promises to become a most useful product. It is obtained from the silicate of alumina, but more economically from cryolite found in Greenland."

Year Book of Facts, 1865, page 178 :—"A new method for obtaining metallic aluminum has just been discovered by Mr. Corbilli. He takes a quantity of silica containing aluminum (*i.e.*—in the state in which it is found in the scheelite lode), and dissolves say 100 grammes in six times its weight of concentrated sulphuric, nitric, or hydrochloric acid. The solution is then allowed to stand and afterwards decanted. The residue is first dried and then heated to 450 or 500 degrees centigrade, after which it is mixed with 200 grammes of prussiate of potash, which may be increased or diminished according to the quantity of silica. To this mixture 150 grammes of common salt are added. The whole is then put into a crucible and heated until the mixture becomes white. When cold a button of pure aluminum is found at the bottom of the crucible."

Various methods are adopted in the production of the metal, but the one just mentioned appears to be the most economical I have seen described. M. Dumas, in the *Comptes Rendus*, details another system lately discovered by a Paris chemist, but like all the rest, although effective, it is very complicated.

Seeing that the ore can be got at a very trifling cost, and the metal being as valuable as silver, the cost of extraction must be enormous, but as experiments are being made in all the laboratories of Europe, it is generally believed some cheap process will be hit upon. Two alloys of aluminum have been manufactured at Newcastle, viz.: copper 95, aluminum 5, and copper 92½, and aluminum 7½, called aluminum bronze, and from its appearance it cannot be told from gold, even by experts. Vast quantities of cheap jewellery are being made from it. The hardness is quite equal to the best brass and 44 times more rigid, and it shows excellent casting qualities and behaves well under the file. It can be drawn out to a very fine wire, which, on account of its extreme lightness, is preferable to silver. No metal equals it for the manufacture of astronomical instruments, as it is not affected by oxygen and very slightly by acids.

Mr. C. M. White, in the Journal of the Society of Arts, observes : "The discovery of an easy method of procuring this noble metal from the silicate, would open the way to fame and fortune for the discoverer. Notwithstanding its present high price its consumption is steadily increasing."

## Antimony.

There are three antimony lodes in the Province, one at Waipori one at Carrick Range, and one at Doolan's Creek. I will deal first with the Waipori lode. It occurs about 12 miles north-west of the Lawrence railway station. The outcrop of the lode was discovered about 15 years ago, when a few tons of ore were sent to England, in order to ascertain its value. The returns gave 47% and the ore realised £12 per ton. The discoverer, knowing nothing about ore, did not dress it, or it could have, with very little cleaning, been raised to 55 or 60 per cent. At that time, there were no roads fit for heavy traffic, and the railways had not then been even thought of. The lode being 60 miles from the port of Dunedin, the cartage, which was then very high, would have absorbed most of the proceeds. Besides, labour was also very high and not easily got, as the gold fever was then at its height. Consequently nothing further was heard of this antimony lode until January 1880, when Mr G. Watson and others, of Dunedin, applied for a lease of 80 acres. About that time one of the Government Geological staff reported on the lode. The report is published in the Geological Explorations for 1881, pages 155 and 156. The report speaks very highly of the lode and strongly recommends it being worked. The following are a few extracts :—

"The lode crops out in Stony creek (celebrated for its gold producing qualities), and strikes 70 degrees east,

underlying north 20 degrees west, two feet in a fathom, structure massive, formation regular. Mineralogically the lode is composed of fibrous and compact stibnite; the former being almost pure. An adit level driven east on the course of the lode, by the original discoverer, shows a very promising lode. In another place a shallow shaft is sunk on the lode; at this place the lode is from 4 to 5 feet thick. A very large area of moss, which makes excellent peat, exists close to the mine, which will be quite sufficient to bring this easy reduced ore in to a concentrated state of rough metal. In conclusion, I consider the working of this mine a most legitimate undertaking, and one likely to be beneficial alike to shareholders, and to the Colony."

The expert in his report advised plans for opening the mine which were adopted, and work shortly afterwards commenced. A road had to be made to the railway station, the necessary cuttings for which were done by the County Council; and by July, the first shipment of 111 bags of ore was despatched to Melbourne. In a few months the lode had been found cropping out at various places, for a distance of quite half a mile, the ore occurring in large bunches and pockets. Several tunnels having been commenced on the line of lode, on what is known as the west or upper end of the lease, it was decided to put a shaft down near the outcrop of a large body of ore near the east end, where the ground will not permit of tunnelling to advantage, being too flat. At a depth of little more than 70 feet the shaft cut the lode, but here the party's troubles commenced, water coming in too freely to be profitably lifted by buckets. A pump was got, but proved too small. The manager in charge of the mine knew very little about lode mining, and disagreements arose amongst the shareholders, the result being that one party bought the other out. Soon after an experienced antimony mining manager from Victoria was employed, who advised the erection of water wheel, more powerful pump, winding gear, &c. This was done, the water overcome, and work resumed on the lode. No systematic stoping has as yet been done on the lode, but from the various drives and cuts 1500 bags of ore have been taken out, and sold to a Melbourne smelter who gives £10 10s per ton of ore. There was reason to believe that £10 10s was not a fair price, and to ascertain what the same ore would realize in London, a few tons were sent through Messrs. A. & T. Burt to their agent in London, who sold it at £18 per ton. But very little enquiries will serve to show that it is a mistake to dispose of the ore in its raw state, even at £18 per ton; that is to say when there is fuel procurable near the mine. To procure information on this point, Mr G. Watson and the writer visited the antimony mines of Victoria. The most productive in the world is one of the Costerfield lodes, having given half a million in dividends.

The metal, antimony, is generally worth about £60 per ton; two tons of 55 per cent, ore will give one ton of pure metal, allowing for loss, which makes the raw ore worth £30 per ton, less the cost of smelting and transit to market. Allowing £12 for smelting, and £4 for freight, &c., to London, that would make the ore worth £22 per ton to the miners. But that is not the only advantage gained by having a smelting works on the ground. In all mines there is a quantity of poor ore, which can be put into the furnace and turned into metal, which would otherwise be wasted, and the cost of hand dressing and bagging would also be saved. In exporting the unrefined ore, the rubbish contained in it, costs as much for transit as the metal; so that is another saving, by smelting locally. The Waipori mine is now in a fair way of development, with every prospect of a successful future.

The Carrick Range lode was not discovered till about 1871. Its discovery caused some sensation at the time, as the miners, who were unacquainted with antimony, thought it was silver, and as an outcrop of considerable size and purity was exposed, all the interested parties thought their fortunes were suddenly made. But the report of the analytical chemist dispelled the silver theory by showing that it was only antimony of good quality. As nobody appeared to have any knowledge of antimony, nothing was done with the lode till taken up by the writer and party. A track was cut from the road leading up the range to the outcrop of the antimony, and with very little trouble 103 bags of ore were taken out by two men, bagged, and despatched to London, where it was sold by a broker for £12 per ton. The report that came from London was to the effect that the ore was of extra good quality, but very badly cleaned. In fact, a large quantity of blue quartz, containing very little if any ore, had been, through the ignorance of the miners, put into the bags in mistake for ore. If ordinary care had been taken the consignment would have realised several pounds per ton more. However, £12 was the price got, and considering the distance of the mine from a port, the very bad roads, the expense of carting at that time, which was £8 per ton, the margin of profit was not sufficient to justify anything further being done until some cheaper means of transit was available. The question of smelting the ore did not occur to the then owners. If they had made enquiries and ascertained the cost of smelting and the value of the "Star" metal, no doubt they would have continued working, because, notwithstanding the heavy items of cartage, a handsome profit would have been got by sending away pure metal. Nothing, however, was done at that time beyond sending away the 103 bags. Since then a railway has been made, connecting Lake Wakatipu with both Dunedin and the Bluff, consequently the only obstacle against the lode being profitably worked has been removed, and instead of £8, the ore or the metal can now be put on board of ship at Port Chalmers for £3 per ton. In view of this cheap means of transit, the lode is again being opened out, the owners being principally Dunedin men. The lode occurs about three miles west of the Bannockburn, at an elevation at the highest point of the outcrop of about

600 feet, and at the lowest part of about 400 feet above the level of the nearest flat. The general run of the lode is east 15 south, dipping north at an angle of 55°. It is opened at a number of places, and can be traced for about one mile in length, and as it travels diagonally the face of a steep hill, the difference in height of the highest and lowest outcrops found is about 200 feet. The lode between the walls varies from a few inches to three feet. In some places the ore is clean, in others mixed with quartz. On account of the precipitous nature of the locality, the mine can be worked to a great depth without the usual expensive machinery. Three miles from the mine, and on the road towards the Lake, there is a coalpit which the Company have wisely secured, near which the furnace will be erected and the ore reduced to metal, and sent by way of Lake Wakatipu to either Dunedin or the Bluff for shipment.

The Doolan's Creek antimony lode occurs about two miles from the main road, and 15 miles from Frankton Jetty, Lake Wakatipu. The largest blocks of ore yet found in the Province came out of this lode, showing that the lode is massive. The ore is of the ordinary class, containing something over 50 per cent, of metal. Fuel is also abundant, as Coal Creek, where there is a good seam of coals, from which supplies for the surrounding district is taken, is within two (2) miles of the antimony. As it is only within the last few months that any work has been done on the Doolan's Creek lode not a great deal is known as to its value, but as it is only a short distance from the Carrick Range lode, and on the same line, it is supposed to be a continuation of it.

On account of the increased uses to which the metal antimony has been put of late years, the demand exceeds the supply, and a consequent rise in price has taken place. The metal, as an alloy, is used in type metal, Britannia metal, pewter, German silver, and such like, but by far the largest quantity used as an alloy is in the patent metal, known as white metal, now coming extensively into use for the bearings of machinery. It is also used in medicine and in the art of dyeing.

For many years England depended for supplies of antimony from Borneo, but the mines there having been constantly worked for generations are now nearly worked out, and as the continental nations have none to spare, with the exception of Italy, which still exports 700 tons per year, and there being no lodes of importance in America, England is now depending almost entirely on the Australian Colonies for supplies of this metal.

Antimony being very heavy, (412 lbs. to the cubic foot), a very thin seam pays to work. One of the lodes examined by the writer in Victoria, was in no place more than eight inches thick, and in many places not more than 2 inches, and for hundreds of feet in some of the levels showed no ore at all. An average of four inches, under favourable circumstances, is a good payable lode. Allowing the ore to be only 300 lbs. per cubic foot, a lode of 4 inches will yield over tons to the fathom.

Furnaces for reducing the ore to "Star" metal, cost under £300. It will be seen that unless there are roads to make, no great amount of capital is required to prosecute antimony mining, consequently a small output of ore will not only pay but leave handsome profits. To make the bare statement that an output of 6 tons of ore per week would give a profit of over £4000 a year would be looked upon as ridiculous, but the following calculations are made on the very best authority, and from information gained from experience:—

## Copper.

There are only three copper lodes of importance as yet found in the Province, two near Lake Wakatipu and one at Waitahuna. When searching for gold in the bed of the Waitahuna river, some miners about 1864 found blocks of copper ore in the gravel. A party was formed to prospect for the lode, several shallow shafts were put down near where there were indications, and with little trouble what appeared to be a good lode was found. A mining engineer was then employed to report on the lode, and Dr Hector also visited it about the same time, and reported favorably. The following is from the engineer's report, dated 25th November, 1865,—"The mine is situated S.S.W. of the township of Waipori and 2 miles from the Waitahuna faces. In the bed of the river, massive blocks of ore from 2 to 3 feet thick were found immediately under the water level. The trend of the lode is N.W. to S.E. with a dip of 30° to the S.W. A shaft has been sunk in the bed of the creek, where the lode was cut at a depth of nine feet, showing a thickness of 4 feet, with ore of superior quality, having a product of 14 per cent, of metallic copper. The lode consists of perfectly solid ore, dipping at an angle of 20° S. W., and continues uninterrupted through a cross run of 2 feet thickness." After giving advice as to the working of the deposit, the Engineer estimates the cost of raising ore at .£1 per ton, with cartage to Dunedin and lighterage to Port Chalmers at £3 15s. Summing up he says :—"The ore, copper pyrites, is that species of ore found in great quantities and regularity. The ore found in the shaft is of sufficient richness to bear the heavy expense of transport and shipment to England. On the whole, therefore, I consider the mine well worthy of a fair trial, and hold that the present indications of the lode and the position of the mine fully justify the outlay of capital." For this purpose, on the strength of this report, Mr. John Bathgate, Mr. W. H. Reynolds, Mr. Julius Vogel, and others endeavoured to float a company, but at the time nothing was in favor but gold mining, so the capital required was not subscribed. In 1881 a great change had taken place. Instead of heavy clay roads, with bullock

teams, a railway had been made to within a few miles of the mine, causing a great reduction in the cost of transit, labour had become cheaper, and capital more plentiful. Another attempt was made to get the necessary capital to work the Waitahuna Copper Mine, and again amongst the names of the Provisional Directors were those of Mr Bathgate and the Hon. W. H. Reynolds, those two gentlemen never having lost faith in the mine. This time the company was successfully floated, and now a powerful plant is being erected to test the lode.

As the cost of smelting copper ore will be discussed further on, I will proceed to give some account of the two copper lodes near Lake Wakatipu, one of which was discovered in 1863, and the other last year.

Regarding the lode found in 1863, it has been the subject of so much controversy that to give a detailed account of it up to the present time would fill a volume.

The gentleman to whom is due the credit of first having drawn attention to it, is Mr J. T. Roberts, the well known commission agent of Manse street, who discovered it when gold mining in the Wakatipu district. Shortly afterwards it was taken in hand by J. B. Bradshaw and party. In 1864 the Government commissioned Mr T. R. Hackett, a copper mining engineer of 20 years' experience, to visit, examine, and report on the supposed copper lode. From his report, which is accompanied by a map showing the position and bearing of the lode, I take the following extracts :—

*"In pursuance of instructions I have examined the copper lode at Moke Creek, near Queenstown, both in regard to its geological position as well as respecting the facilities it presents for mining, and have the honor to report to you the data connected with it, and the conclusions I have drawn. The lode is composed of mundic, quartz, and copper ore. Its run is north 40° west, being apparently the same as that of the strata. The underlie of the lode is 15° west, the dip of the strata being 50° west; it therefore dips at a considerable angle to that of the strata. The fact of the dip of the lode being at an angle to that of the strata, and that of the rock adjoining the two "walls" of the lode being different from the adjoining strata, clearly prove that this is a true lode and not a mere contemporaneous vein. Where the lode is exposed there is one foot six inches of ore that I estimate to yield 12 per cent, metallic copper. The facilities for working the lode on either side of the valley, are considerable, as the hill rises on both sides at a considerable angle and to a great height; so that 'adits' driven on the lode into the hill above the flood lines of the creek would develop the lode to a great depth from the surface, at a very small expense. These 'adit' levels should be driven first, which with the necessary 'air shafts' would at once prove the lode. By one smelting process (with a previous inexpensive calcination in the open air) the ore could be reduced to a regulus of 70 to 75 per cent. The ore could be smelted by either charcoal or wood, which is abundant in the vicinity. Smelting works capable of reducing 1000 tons of ore per month would cost about £2000. My impression is, from the 20 years' experience I have had in copper mining, in various countries in Europe, that this lode is fully worthy of a trial, and that the expenditure of capital in driving levels, would be quite justified, the local facilities for working the lode being quite sufficient to compensate for its distance from the seaport. Should by this expenditure the lode prove as productive as I expect, the further expenditure for the erection of smelting works could then be undertaken."*

Notwithstanding that at the time Mr Hackett visited the lode, there was no road between Lake Wakatipu and the Bluff, he recommended that the lode should be worked. Even supposing there had been a good cart road, the cartage would not have been less than £5 per ton. At that time, too, the cost of labour was very high.

The opinion of so distinguished and highly competent a geologist justified the owners in endeavouring to open the mine. This they did by putting in a tunnel, but after laying out £1500, work was suspended with the view of getting increased capital. But nothing further was done for some considerable time, and as the country was being rapidly opened up and roads extended it was thought that by waiting a few years they would be able to avail themselves of the public roads.

Then began a series of attempts by other claimants to oust the original party from the lease which had been granted them; and in 1881 their right to the ground was cancelled. In the meantime not only roads but railways had been formed, including one connecting Lake Wakatipu with both Port Chalmers and the Bluff.

The new owners of the mine, with the view of raising the necessary capital to work the copper lode, erect furnaces, &c., secured the services of another mining engineer to examine and report on the lode.

In his report dated October 26th, 1881, he says :—"The lease of 80 acres I find contains a copper lode in a copperous slaty formation in the mica schist rock. The ore consists of veins of copper and iron pyrites, varying in thickness, expanding and contracting within a few feet. There are no deep underground workings (the tunnel put in by Bradshaw and Company having fallen in on the lode), but I was able to examine it at various different points on the surface. On the north side of the creek there are three veins of ores comprised within a compass of five feet. On the south side of the creek there are four veins of ore comprised within a compass of seven feet, one of the veins being nearly pure copper pyrites. At an altitude of 250 and 700 feet above the creek the lode has been opened; also 2000 feet distance from the creek on the south side, and at several places on the north side. Regarding the prospects of the lode as a mining venture, I may state I consider it presents inducements for its further exploration. The outcrop of the lode has been traced within and beyond the Company's boundaries a

great distance, shewing the metalliferous character of the formation to be persistent. At the same time it possesses the advantage of being prominent to some extent on the north side and considerably so on the south side, where it extends in length half a mile—the hill attaining in that distance a height of 700 feet, thus affording great facilities for carrying on operations by tunnels, and there is besides water power to any requisite extent available for machinery."

Mr. Mundy, the mining engineer who came from Victoria specially to make the report from which these quotations are taken, estimates that the lode will produce three and a-half tons of ore to the fathom. Although that is a very large product, as will be presently shown by comparison with other copper lodes, it is no less than six tons short of what it was represented to be capable of producing; hence Mr. Mundy's report with its results.

Mr. Hackett, the mining engineer who previously reported on the lode, estimated it to produce five and a-half tons per fathom.

In the Official Handbook of New Zealand, and in other works published by the Government for general information, the product of ore from the lode is estimated to be over 10 tons per fathom. When the mine fell into the hands of the present owners the above data was accepted and reiterated by them. Regarding the quality of the ore there are also differences of opinion, but that is accounted for by the fact that there are various qualities of ore in the lode. It will be seen that Mr. Mundy states that some of the veins are nearly pure copper pyrites. Mr. Hackett gives the average at 12 per cent. Professor Ulrich gave a sample of the ore to Professor Black, who reported as follows :—"This is a sample of copper pyrites ranging from 5 per cent, to 19 per cent, of copper. The qualitative analysis shows that gold is present in a very marked quantity, and recommends that a larger quantity should be assayed."

Between the years 1864 and 1875, Dr. Hector analysed 9 samples of the ore with the following percentages :—11.57; 25.60; 24; 24; 27.5; 58.20; 11.57; 25.60; 15.10; or an average of over 24 per cent.

A quantity of ore assayed by Mr J. B. Bradshaw gave from 22 to 24 per cent.

A sample of the ore presented to the New Zealand Exhibition by Mr Julius Vogel, and examined by Mr Skey, see juror's report page 406, yielded 24 per cent.

Another sample presented by Mr V. Pyke gave from 24 to 30 per cent. In the same report, page 405, the following occurs :—A number of samples of ore from the Moke Creek copper mine, shows it (the ore) to be a double sulphide of copper and iron. Its colour is yellow on a fracture, but acquires a deep tinge upon exposure. From a great number of specimens of this ore which have been analysed, it has been ascertained that the percentages of copper in this ore varies from 11 to 25 per cent. In the Cornwall copper mines, this kind of ore is frequently worked at 4 per cent. The average of the sales for the last quarter shows an average produce of 6 per cent.

At the Exhibition held in Dunedin last year, blocks of ore from this mine were exhibited by the present owners. They were also analysed by Professor Black with the same result as before. It is sometimes said that the analysis of samples cannot be relied upon. But that is a mistake. It is most reliable provided a series of tests of the various qualities of the ore found in the lode be made. In the case of the Waitahuna mine for instance, Professor Black analysed a great many samples, and before the ten tons of ore were sent to be smelted, he gave it as his opinion that it would yield, allowing for loss and the small quantity, 11 per cent. The result of the smelting of the ten tons was exactly what he predicted. But experts such as Professor Ulrich can tell within a percentage of two simply by looking at a sample of copper pyrites. A few months back Professor Ulrich examined 15 bags of ore from the Moke Creek and estimated it to contain from 15 to 20 per cent. Mr J. E. Wren, engineer to the Great Cobar Mine, N.S.W., gave the same opinion. It will therefore be seen that without actually smelting a very large quantity of ore, no more satisfactory data can be got. When the tests made in England, Victoria, New South Wales, and New Zealand give approximately the same average, the value of the ore may be relied upon.

The average of the different estimates of the quantity of ore in the Moke Creek lode is 6¼ tons to the fathom. And the average of 30 different assays and analyses show the ore to contain 18 per cent, of metallic copper.

The annual product of the copper mines of Austria is over 90,000 tons of ore, average 3 per cent.; see Mining Journal, September, 1877. Sweden averages 4 per cent.; see Whitney's Metallic Wealth. France averages per cent.; see Cailioux Mines Metalliques de la France. The British Isles for their size are the greatest copper producing countries in the world. There are 101 copper mines yielding £400,000 worth of copper. Cornwall alone had 65 mines yielding 43,000 tons of ore, averaging 6¾ per cent.; see Hank's Mineral Statistics of Great Britain. South American mines yield 113/8 percent.; see Henwood's Metalliferous Deposits. The mines of South Australia, including the celebrated Burra Burra, average 15 per cent. The Great Cobar copper mine in N.S.W., averages 11 per cent.

Regarding the product of copper lodes generally, we have seen by the statistics quoted that the average value of copper ore mined in England is 6¾ per cent. A lode, such as the Moke Creek, yielding the lowest

estimate made, viz., 3½ tons per fathom of 18 per cent, ore, is of more value than a lode giving 15 tons to the fathom of 5 per cent. ore. In England a copper lode giving 2 tons to the fathom of 10 per cent, ore is good property, even when the ore has to be raised from great depths, entailing great expense for heavy machinery for pumping, &c.

The cost of smelting copper ore ranges from £4 to £6 per ton in Europe, and from £6 to £12 in the colonies, according to the quality of the ore and the facilities for getting fuel, &c.

From the foregoing statistics it will be seen that the ore from Moke Creek is of unusually good quality. There being railway communication with the coast, fuel and lime abundant, it is not surprising that Professor Ulrich winds up his reference to the lode in these words :—"I do not see why this lode should not pay for working, and it seems strange that it should have been, and for so long, neglected." At the time Professor Ulrich penned that paragraph there was no railway connection.

Some people fancy that if we export large quantities of copper ore the price will be affected. It must be remembered that as the lodes in one part of the world are being opened lodes in the older countries are being exhausted, and the consumption of copper is so large that it is not easily affected. The value of copper used in Great Britain in 1857 was L2,815,831; see McCulloch's Dictionary, page 409. Some lodes give enormous yields. A copper mine at Fohlum, Sweden, has been worked for 1000 years, and has given as much as 35,700 tons in a single year.

The Burra Burra, from 1850 to 1860, turned out 92,000 tons of copper, or over L7,000,000 worth, a fifth of which went in dividends. The Moonta Mine, near Adelaide, has divided over L1,800,000 in dividends, showing a very large output of ore. The Great Cobar mine, N.S.W., has only been opened four years, and up to June 26, 1880, had yielded 37,722 tons of ore, smelted 34,800 tons, getting from that 4,700 tons of marketable metal. In 1859 New South Wales only exported L500 worth of copper; in 1879 the total had reached the respectable figure of L2,494,437, and this increase was made notwithstanding the fact that copper had reached during that period the lowest price on record; see Mining Journal.

Davies, in his volume on Metalliferous Mining, published in 1880, says at page 139 :—"On Parry's Mountain, near the town of Amlwch in Wales, many years ago, Alexander Frazer, a mining adventurer from Scotland, found traces of copper, and making that locality the scene of his explorations, he discovered a lode, the profits from which, up to the end of 1876, were no less than L7,000,000. The district is now the most important for copper mining in Wales."

I have mentioned these facts to show the immense consumption of copper.

Regarding the other copper lode in the Wakatipu district, it was only opened a few months ago. It is in the same strata and distant only 400 yards from, and running parallel with, the Moke Creek lode. The lode crops out in the form of gossan near the Creek, and at an elevation of 600 feet, and a quarter of a mile further south it also crops out. A shaft has been put down 15 feet, which yielded over 10 tons of ore, worth about 15 or 16 per cent. The shaft is the width of the lode, about three feet, and five feet long.

Mr. Mundy, when reporting on the Moke lode, examined this also, was much pleased with its appearance, and recommended that the shaft should be continued down on the underlay.

## Cinnabar.

Cinnabar, or Quicksilver ore, is found in all the creeks or gullies leading from a depression in the Waitahuna heights. The ore is found in the gravel, and in a strange looking quartzose formation at the base of the mountain. Party after party has explored the locality in search of the lode, shafts have been sunk, and tunnels driven in several directions, but the first indication of anything like lode stuff was found by the writer not many months ago in the shape of an outcrop of wad or the black oxide of manganese. As the outcrop of wad determines the existence of a fissure, it is quite possible it may lead to the more valuable ore. It is intended to follow the outcrop along its course and sink on its dip, but such work means money, and ways and means have to be considered. In view of the importance of the ore, and its favourable situation, (only three miles from the Waitahuna copper mine, and 12 miles from the railway station), the discovery should not be neglected. Should the outcrop of wad lead to the permanent home of the cinnabar, as in all probability it will, from the large quantities of cinnabar found in the adjacent gravel, it would be a matter of considerable importance, as there is a great consumption of quicksilver in connection with goldmining. No doubt large quantities of mercury could be got by simply putting the richest of the gravel into a retort, and driving the mercury off in the usual way.

Professor Black reports on the ore as follows:—

"This sample of cinnabar, forwarded by Mr Robert Gillies from Waitahuna, contains 76 per cent, of metallic mercury. Three more samples forwarded at different times, and by different parties, averaged 72.33." Professor Black goes on to say :—"This ore is very valuable if it exists in quantity."

The metal is easily freed from the ore by means of simple retorting with lime.

The principal mines of cinnabar are at Almaden, in Spain. There the ore contains 10 per cent. of mercury, and the mines are worked to a depth of 1000 feet, and produce 800 tons per year. Germany produces 350 tons of mercury a year.

Davies on Mining says at page 280 :—"In Peru, mercurial ores have been found in between 40 and 50 places, the product from which is 900 tons a year. In an alluvial deposit near one of the mines, 600 pounds of mercury were taken out of a shaft only 6 feet deep. The alluvial in the neighbourhood seems penetrated with mercury."

## Manganese.

Manganese has been found in several places in the province, but as it is not a very valuable mineral, it would require to be within easy distance of a port. Regarding the manganese occurring at the mouth of the Taieri river, where it could easily be put on board ship, Professor Black says, in 1873:—"This manganese ore gives 90 per cent, oxide of manganese, it is therefore of excellent quality. It will be very useful when we shall have established in this colony the manufacture of chloride of lime and other substances that require for their production free chlorine. This will not be done however, until we can make our own sulphuric acid." Eight years have gone by since the worthy professor made these remarks, and within the last 3 months he had the pleasure of opening the first sulphuric acid works in the colony, viz.—the N.Z. Drug Company Works, Kaikorai. Manganese is also used in the manufacture of glass, but more extensively for bleaching powder. England requires 35,000 tons a year; of this 5,000 tons are mined in the home country, and for the rest foreign supplies are depended on.

## Chrome.

Chrome ore occurs in several parts of the province. It was discovered by Dr Hector in Martin's Bay and Milford Sound. From a deposit opened by Mr T. R. Hackett, in Aniseed Valley, Nelson, 5000 tons have been exported. Lately it has been found in the Shotover, but unfortunately in a place difficult of access, where the cost of transport would preclude its being profitably worked at present market price.

## Lead.

Galena, the ore of lead, occurs in this province in a vein 1 foot 6 inches in thickness. The ore was tested by Mr Cosmo Newbery, of the Melbourne Laboratory, and found to contain 72 per cent, of lead, and 12¼ oz. silver to the ton. The lode occurs in a bushy country 8 miles from a navigable river, but as the metal lead is only worth £15 per ton, the opening of this lode will require considerable capital, as to make it pay it will have to be worked on a large scale, and as those who know of the lode have not the means to develop it and erect furnaces, &c., it must remain as nature left it until money is available. The metal lead is so well known, being found in nearly every country in the world, there is no necessity for discussing it here, or its uses.

## Graphite.

There is an extensive deposit of graphite at Bannockburn, the only deposit of the kind known of in Otago, but as nothing has been done towards testing it beyond taking samples from the surface where it is mixed with sand and other *debris*, its value has not been ascertained. Graphite varies in value from £14 to £28 per ton, according to quality.

As it would be profitable to work at less than the lesser figure, its development is only a matter of time. The fact that so extensive an occurrence of a valuable article of commerce should be neglected is accounted for only by the want of capital. The Bannockburn plumbago cuts easy with a knife, and leaves traces on paper the same as an ordinary lead pencil. I am not aware what the consumption is, but it must be considerable, as graphite, plumbago, black lead pencils, or whatever name it may be known by, is used in every house. The world's consumption of pencil lead alone cannot be insignificant. Crucibles also, into the constitution of which plumbago enters largely, must take a large quantity. Great Britain gets most of its supplies from the island of Ceylon. The question of the value of Bannockburn plumbago is a matter that requires investigation.

## Miscellaneous.

It is no exaggeration to say that iron exists in boundless profusion, also coal and lime. In a volume published in 1879, by Mr W. N. Blair, C.E., on the Building Materials of Otago, the various occurrences of iron ore are referred to and compared with similar ores of other countries. By a series of comparisons Mr. Blair

shows that the European ores vary from 23 to 70 per cent., and the New Zealand from 35 to 70 per cent. He (Mr. Blair) has seen iron made in Victoria from New Zealand ore, and considered it superior to Lowmoor. In New Zealand there is a deposit of bog ore, estimated to contain 53,000,000 tons of ore. There is only one deposit of true black band yet discovered, and the extent of the field is 12 square miles, with a field of coal at hand, estimated by Dr. Hector to contain 50,000,000 tons. Captain Hutton in his *Geology of Otago*, page 118, says, "Very good clay iron ore exists near Tokomairiro, and as limestone and coals are both found in the immediate neighbourhood, and a railway runs through the district, the conditions are very favourable for an iron foundry, providing the ore can be obtained in sufficient quantities." The question of quantity has not yet been determined. While capital cannot be got to work such valuable ores as copper, antimony, &c., there is not much hope of iron smelting being tried for some time to come, especially in the face of the disastrous attempt to operate on the Taranaki iron sand, although had the same amount of capital and perseverance been directed towards the smelting of any of the ordinary ores, we might not have been at present importing a single ton of iron. In the Colony of Victoria, where the circumstances are not nearly so favourable, they produce their own iron for ordinary castings.

The marble deposits of the Province are also described by Mr. Blair. At page 26 he says, "Mr. Pyke has forwarded from the Dunstan District samples of beautiful white marble, the slabs of which are quite translucent like alabaster."

Although I have only dealt with Otago, it is not the only Province where minerals exist, as Westland, Nelson, Auckland, and the island of Kawait have mineral bearing rocks, and with the constantly increasing demand for metals, they cannot remain long unnoticed. Hitherto the Government has not given sufficient encouragement for their development.

The Geological Department, under the able management of Dr. Hector, has done good work with the small means at its disposal, but we cannot look for much improvement until the representatives of mining districts agree to work harmoniously together for the common cause, and insist on the portfolio of Minister of Mines being held by one of themselves, and not, as at present, by a farmer, who is no doubt very anxious to act justly, and has done more than many of his predecessors; still his training and natural sympathies are not favourable to the miners.

It is true that we have a School of Mines, with its Professor of Mineralogy, established at great cost, but through some hard and fast arrangements made by the Government or the University Council, the services of the professor are certainly not utilized to the full advantage. When the Mining Conference, held in Clyde in 1874, agreed on the motion of the writer to ask the Government to establish a School of Mines, and employ a professional mineralogist, the intention was that the services of the professor should be employed in visiting and reporting on the various mining districts—giving advice on mining matters generally, and by this means diffusing much needed knowledge and assisting to avert the mistakes, accidents, and losses that, through ignorance, are constantly occurring in connection with the mining industry. It was never contemplated that the money granted should provide only for class-teaching, but there is no vital reason why students wishing to study mining and mineralogy should not get the benefit of the Professor's teaching and still the wishes and the necessities of the miners be attended to. As the University is open only six months in the year, good work could be done in the field during the other six months. Professor Ulrich, P.G.S., is quite competent to do all that is required. He came to this Colony with the very best credentials, having done good work in the Colony of Victoria, where he resided for years. He was honoured and respected as a most useful all-round mining geologist. The arrangement and classification of the thousands of mineral specimens in the great hall of the Technological Museum, Melbourne, are monuments of his industry and genius, and it is to the regret and serious loss of this community that his valuable time, talents, and acquired knowledge should be monopolised by a few students, who in the nature of things cannot be of much service to the present generation of miners.

## **The Advantages of Literary Societies: An Address by The Rev. J. Hill, to the Lyttelton Mutual Improvement Association.**

Published by Request of the Members.

As President of the LYTTTELTON MUTUAL IMPROVEMENT ASSOCIATION, I commence the proceedings of the coming Session by giving an address specially suited to young men. I feel strongly the solemnity of the position I occupy, and the importance of the duty I have to discharge. If there is a class in the community over which any one should be deeply anxious to secure an influence, it is young men. The power for good or for evil, which

they possess, is immense. The interests of society, in all its aspects, will soon be in their hands. If we have them against us, what shall be done; if we have them with us, what shall not be done? To turn their minds into a proper channel, to awaken in their breasts a right sense of their position, dangers, duties, and responsibilities; to bring them under the sway of pure and honourable motives, is an object worthy of the highest energies of statesmen, patriots, and philanthropists. Carefully now would I weigh my words; forcibly now would I put my arguments; from reason, observation, and experience, would I draw my illustrations, that the opportunity of doing some good, which I have to-night, may not pass away altogether unimproved.

It is highly necessary that you should have a clear idea of what you ought to seek in life. For want of a well-defined purpose the precious time of multitudes is wasted, their best energies are undeveloped, and their lives productive of no great and lasting results. The objects, which may and ought to be sought, are many. It is yours to keep steadily before your minds the maintenance of health. This is demanded by the duties you owe to God, to yourselves, and to the world. A sound constitution is the foundation on which the structure you have to rear in life must rest. Without this there can be no great happiness, and no great usefulness. Equally steadily before your minds must you keep the attainment of a good position in the business or occupation you have chosen, whatever that may be. Anything like indolence, or indifference in this matter will be most unworthy of you. By energy, industry, and perseverance it becomes you to seek an acquaintance with your calling, in all its branches; and to reach a position of influence among those who follow it. On such purposes as these, however, I do not dwell. There are two objects on which I wish to speak, because of the greatness of their importance, and the possibility of their attainment in Literary Societies.

The first is *mental culture*. On the greatness of the powers of mind with which man has been endowed, it is not necessary to dwell. Of all the works of God in creation, that of framing a mind capable of thought was, without doubt, the greatest and most marvellous. In comparison with this, what was bringing matter out of nothing, or kindling the light of suns, or fixing the planets in their spheres? Immense and brilliant though these worlds are, they are but dead, unconscious matter. One spirit gifted with thought was a higher kind of creation—a nobler, sublimer effort of Omnipotence. Think of the power over matter that mind has gained! Has it not brought matter in every form under control, and made it subservient to its schemes? Into use it has turned objects on the face of the earth, treasures in the bowels of the earth, the resources of the deep; yea, even the lightning's flash, subtle and swift though it is! Think of the discoveries that mind has made! Into what mystery in nature has it not looked; what cause and effect has it not traced; what combination has it not severed and formed anew; what hidden law has it not brought to light? The very stars of heaven it has dared to measure and weigh! Almost no difficulty has been too great for it, no work too laborious, no flight too lofty! And think, too, of the processes of reasoning it has followed out, of the systems in philosophy it has framed, and the sublimities in poetry it has created!

Now I would have you specially to mark this fact—the powers of the mind must be cultivated. In this, as in other respects, these powers differ widely from the instinct possessed by the lower animals. Instinct is given by nature in a perfect form. Exercise has no improving influence on it. It does not increase or expand. One of these animals is the same at the end of a life of five, or of twenty years as it was at the commencement; and, moreover, the same as a similar animal that lived a thousand years ago. On the other hand, man is a progressive being. The race advances, so does the individual—the one is secured by the other. Hence the cultivation of the mind is an object which must be deliberately sought by everyone. And we have no hesitation in affirming that the diversities amongst men mentally are chiefly owing to the amount of energy and perseverance given to the attainment of this culture. There are, it is true, some men who, by a profusion of gifts from nature, stand far apart from their fellow-men; some who are giants in intellect; some in whose breasts the fire of genius burns. But the number of such is small. One or two serve to enlighten and adorn an age. These exceptions granted, it stands a fact that men originally are very similar in mental calibre. It is in the struggle, or the race that follows that the great differences generally are created. Is it to be wondered at that one man should far excel another in the strength of his mental powers, when with eagerness and determination he cultivates them for years, while the other makes no effort whatever towards that end?

*"The fault is not in our stars,*

*"But in ourselves, that we are underlings."*

Never let it be imagined that men will drift into mental excellence without an effort. The exercise of the mind in the mere routine of daily business, or intercourse with society in which men cannot help engaging, will do but little good in this respect. Deliberately must the work be chosen and entered on, and persistently must it be followed. There are many minds which would have a width of grasp and brilliancy of conception that would make them an honour to themselves, and a blessing to the community, were they duly cultivated. They are lost because of a want of desire to go forward; or of spirit to adopt the requisite means, and battle with the difficulties that are to be met.

What, then, are the means for the attainment of mental culture? First in the list we place *reading*. By the art

of printing the results of the mental toil of the men of the present, and of bygone times, are brought within our reach. These form a treasury of knowledge as valuable as it is wonderful. Generation after generation has given its contribution; stone after stone has been added, till now a structure, towering in its proportions, and beautiful in its symmetry stands before us. With any part of this accumulated truth it is impossible for the mind to become acquainted without being greatly benefited thereby. The acquirement of knowledge is in itself an exercise of the most healthful kind; whilst the facts that become known, ranging as they do over such wide fields, give an expansion to the powers of the mind which nothing else can secure. Equally to be pitied and condemned is the man who can spend his life without diligently searching into some of the secrets of truth. How blind is his vision; how contracted are his ideas; in what a little world he lives? How different is it with the man who is a reader? Whatever be his station in society he keeps company with the gifted and the good, and learns wisdom from their lips. With the astronomer he searches the heavens for knowledge; goes from star to star; compares, reasons, and wonders. With the geologist he searches down in the earth for knowledge; traces in the formation of rocks, and their deposits, evidences of the fact that, long before the days of Adam, the world existed, rivers ran, plants grew, and animals lived. The chemist analyzes, and the anatomist dissects before him. To him the poet sings; the historian describes the rise and the fall of nations, and the principles which were at work in both; and the traveller repeats his stories of strange adventures and hairbreadth escapes in distant lands and seas. Could any one be in such society without reaping real profit, and enjoying great pleasure? Companions like these at once create the thirst for knowledge, and open up the streams at which it may be quenched.

This, then, is the first step in mental culture. To some the step is easy; to others, difficult. In some a taste for reading is natural; in others it is to be acquired. But whatever be the case, an intimate acquaintance with truth in its various branches must thus be sought.

That, however, is only part of the means to be employed for the cultivation of the mind. The next is *thinking*. There are many who read much but think little. Beyond the exercise of the mind required in reading, they seldom or never go. They do not deliberately make the facts and principles of which they read a subject of study. Such persons have not the clear perception, nor firm hold of the themes which books present to their minds that they ought to have. It is, after all, only by reflection that knowledge can be made the mind's own. One book read and thought over imparts more real, well-defined knowledge, than a hundred books read and not thought over. Besides, such persons have not the strength of mind which the extent of their reading might lead us to suppose they have. They neglect the strengthening process—the process of reflection. Like the muscles of the body the faculties of the mind are developed by exercise. This they must have. One hour spent in calm reflection is better than a whole week spent in reading; and one truth evolved by the reasoning of one's own mind, is better than a score of truths learned from the productions of others. That truth may be in importance far inferior to these, yet it is better to you; for in originating the thought your mind has got more substantial benefit, because more exercise, than in simply gleaned thoughts from others. Thinking, then, is a higher step than reading; and, as it is higher, so is it more difficult. No inconsiderable effort it sometimes takes to lay the volume aside, and begin to reflect. But the difficulty must be surmounted. The mind must take independent action. It must use knowledge, not as an end, but as a means. Into its own chamber it must retire and think. Nothing can possibly make up for the want of this.

There is yet however another part in the means to be employed—viz., *giving shape and expression to the results of thinking*. This I put higher than mere thinking itself. It is still thinking, but it is a stage advanced. There may be thinking without this; thinking which does not go this length. This exercise is not only thinking, but the gathering up of the results of thinking. It is the arresting of the thoughts, the arranging of them in their proper order, and clothing them in appropriate language. This we take to be the highest intellectual exercise. It gives the mind complete mastery over a subject; in fact, it alone does so. It is only when we try to present a theme in its consecutive form, with its various parts dovetailed into each other, so that not only we but others may see it clearly, that we really discover the difficulties with which it is surrounded. In the attempt to set in order, we learn the strength or the weakness of arguments, and the relative importance of facts and principles. And not only does this exercise give a complete mastery over a subject, but also a strength to the mind which nothing else can impart. To arrange the thoughts the mind must hold them before it; examine them; dismiss, or retain them; mental acts which require such concentration and abstraction that they cannot but impart intellectual power. It is the highest exercise; but while it is so, it is the most difficult. This is soon found out when a trial is made. Often the mind is sluggish and confused, and to seek in it at such a time suitable and consecutive thoughts is like seeking water in a well that is dry, or flowers in an arid desert. To escape an intellectual effort a man would be often willing to lay down the pen, and engage in bodily labour of the severest kind. This, however, like the other difficulties, must not be yielded to, but overcome. The benefit to be gained, and the pleasure to be enjoyed when the task is done, far more than compensates for all the toil.

These, then, are the means to be employed for mental culture—reading, thinking, and giving expression to

the results of thinking. Now I know no field on which young men may make use of these means better than in a Literary Association. Such a society affords the finest opportunity for their employment. To prepare for the exercises engaged in, there must be reading, thinking, and writing. It may, perhaps, be said that all that can be done without such an institution being joined—done by a young man in his own room. I admit it could; but I ask would it? In nine cases out of ten it would not. We need a sufficient motive or inducement; yea, more; an absolute necessity must be laid upon us, to bring us to engage in earnest intellectual work. That is a fact; and a fact which makes the importance of such associations very great. In the exercises a young man has to take his share. The occasion is fixed; the appearance must be made; the essay read; and fellow-members will not only form their opinions of the production, but give expression to them. It is only a portentous prospect such as this that will bring nineteen young men out of twenty to gird themselves for the work—"To seize the pen and shed some ink."

Then there is one most important way of giving shape and expression to thoughts which only such societies can afford the opportunity of cultivating. I refer to extempore speaking. Not only should a man be able to sit down in the quietness of his own chamber, and with pen in hand slowly commit his ideas to paper; but also in an emergency to throw them hastily together, and give utterance to them in suitable and correct language. Debate calls this power into exercise, and develops it. Than this intellectual gladiatorship, I know nothing better for sharpening the faculties of the mind, and no better training for the high and arduous duties of life. To detect, to seize, and expose the weak points in an opponent's arguments, and exhibit the strong points in one's own, and that with only a few minutes to prepare; to do this well requires an amount of coolness, a clearness of perception, a power of reasoning, and a facility of speech which cannot but excite the admiration and the envy of all who witness it.

Thus it is that a Literary Association affords the very best opportunity of attaining mental culture. The three means towards it—reading, thinking, and giving expression to the results of thinking—are admirably secured by essays and debates.

I ask your thoughts now to the second part of the object which young men should seek to attain; namely, *moral principle*. It is quite possible to have mental culture without moral principle. In the history of literature, alas, there have been not a few with strong intellect, bright genius, and fine accomplishments, who were yet characterised by vice in some of its lowest and most debasing forms. Far away on the wings of imagination they soared, yet they degraded themselves by evil habits; their minds in the solution of difficult questions they could control, but not their hearts in the regulation of their desires and passions. Giants they were, yet children; freemen, yet slaves. Temptation conquered them; vice bound them. And among our own acquaintances we may be able to recall to memory some who, though highly educated, were destitute of moral principle, and who suffered the bitter consequences. Without doubt, mental culture ought to lead to, and secure moral principle; for the man of cultivated mind can trace the results of actions, appreciate the strength of motives, and feel the cuttings of self-reproach when wrong has been done, better than a man of uncultivated mind. But what ought to be is not always what is. Now this fact suggests the important thought that the maintenance, the cultivation of a high-toned morality must be an object deliberately sought. Moral, like intellectual, excellence cannot be reached without an effort. The natural tendencies of the heart must be resisted, the downward forces of our nature checked; and this is a work which only self-denial, self-sacrifice, and watching can accomplish. And I would have you here specially to mark that this effort to maintain moral principle must be made at once; not after some ground has been lost; not after a step or two in the wrong direction has been taken; not after the moral sense has in some degree been blunted. No. It must be made while the perception of the good and the true is undimmed. The very appearance of evil must be avoided; and every step, whose propriety may be questioned, shunned. For Oh, evil comes to us at first not in its deformity and loathsomeness. Would that it did. Then would the inexperienced recoil from it, and flee. It comes with promises and flatteries; it comes with sweet voices falling on the ear; with flowers scattered on the path. There is the danger; and there must the struggle to maintain a high moral principle be made. Those voices must not be listened to; those flowers must not be suffered to entice and attract. If I speak on this subject with some degree of feeling I may well be excused; the thought of past years gives good cause. While in the commercial world, which I was for several years before going to college, I saw not a few young men led on, step by step, in the wrong career; some whom I regarded with the esteem and love of a brother, were thus torn from me. They had good heads and warm hearts, but they were without that moral principle whose value I am now trying to show. And we all know that there are in the colony many young men with good and cultivated minds—young men in whose welfare fathers, mothers, brothers and sisters in the old country, or in this one, are greatly interested; and for whom the morning and the evening prayer ascends to heaven—who are forming habits which, in the end, shall certainly ruin both body and mind. Oh, that moral whirlpool! How should a young man shrink from its brink! You have stood by the side of a harbour and have seen a gallant ship spread her sails to the breeze, and plough her way out into the main. She rides proudly on the wave, and seems able to bid defiance to every storm. Her timber is strong, her

cargo valuable, and the breasts of her crew beat high with hope. Yet that noble ship may be engulfed in the ocean; her masts stripped; her bows may yield to the power of the tempest, and her crew perish. You are grieved at the thought. Yet than that there is a sadder shipwreck—a shipwreck which may well move with anguish our inmost soul. A youth sets out in life, and bids fair for a prosperous voyage; his heart beats with warm affection, and the hopes of loving friends cling fondly around him. But see him in ten or twenty years, with vile habits clinging to him, with prospects blasted—a wreck of humanity—a moral wreck. Your heart sickens at the thought. Be- ware, O youth, that thou art not the one! It is the fate of thousands. Go not thou in the way of the destroyer!

Now this moral as well as mental culture may, to a large extent, be attained through means of a Literary Association. I have often thought how much depends on a young man getting into a right channel. Indeed, my observation warrants me in saying, that the course he follows, the results he achieves in life, almost entirely depend on that. It is said that a man may be known by the company he keeps. It may be added, with equal truth, that a man is made by the company he keeps. With the good he cannot go without being led to virtue and truth; nor with the bad, without being led to the sinful and the false. Were I sending a youth, in whose prosperity I was deeply interested, to a large city, one of the first things I would seek to secure for him would be a right channel in which his spare energies might be engaged—his spare hours employed. And this for young men, such Literary Societies afford. Most probable it is, that those who are connected with these associations will be influenced by moral principle, and will benefit those who mix in their company; while the exercises to be prepared for will fully and profitably occupy the hours that can be spared from ordinary avocations. For this lofty purpose also, therefore, I say to you, connect yourselves with such a society; and while in it, have a high standard of moral as well as mental excellence before you. Shrink from everything that would lessen your estimate of the beautiful and the good. Only thus shall you be able to fill an honourable and useful position in society. It is hard work, but it is noble work.

Thus, then, the advantages of Literary Societies are of the most precious kind to all who become connected with them, and who earnestly and perseveringly take full part in the work. Very different will be the attainments of any young man, after attendance at such a class for a few years, from what they would have been had he wasted his time and energies, or spent them in other channels. I say to each of you—Be somebody in the world. However great the sacrifice, or hard the work, be somebody in the world. This is not pride, vanity, conceit. No. It is a realisation of the fact that you have existence for great purposes, and are furnished with adequate powers for their accomplishment. There are many who never feel this; many whose object is to get through the world as easily as they can. Let a nobler spirit characterise you.

There is, is there not, a fascination in intellectual culture which only those who have experienced it can ever know. What a treasury to be unlocked before the mind—the facts of history, the wonders of science, the discoveries of travel, the beauties of poetry; what a work to perform—to examine, to compare, to separate, to group together; and what a power to gain—to reflect, to reason, to infer, to call up thoughts worthy of such themes, and employ words suitable to such thoughts! Who that has entered on such a path can ever seek to retrace his steps, or feel that the road is tedious and uninteresting? True, it is up-hill; but are not the men that have gone before an honourable company—are not the streams which run by the way refreshing—are not the flowers that bloom on the path beautiful and fragrant, and is not the table land that is to be reached commanding and surpassingly grand in prospect? What a view from the summit to which knowledge can raise—a view over both the world of matter and of mind! How different the thoughts and feelings up on these heights from those which reign in the breasts of men down in the valley of ignorance and sloth; and the substantial joy experienced there, from the false and fleeting enjoyments with which myriads are satisfied! That is the eminence that is before you; it is worth a climb. Some of you have begun to climb; climb on; and let others come to climb with you. Men speak of money power, and the power of rank and station—and these are great; but the power that moves and controls the world is, after all, as it should be, the power of mind. Mind has asserted and proved its right, and its might, over all material things. You possess that power. Not yours may it be to receive the homage of your fellow-men, because of wealth or station; but yours it is, if you choose, to be respected, because of the force of mind. Shame upon the youth who can remain in intellectual darkness, when there is such a flood of light ready to burst in on his soul; who can engage his powers with trifles when the vast temple of truth, with its open door, is standing before him! Realize the might of the power of mind, and the responsibility it brings with it. Make it what it may be, what it ought to be; give it the force of exercise, of development, of enlightenment; and, above all, ever use it for the good of man, and the glory of God.

"In the world's broad field of battle,  
In the bivouac of life.

Be not like dumb, driven cattle;  
Be a hero in the strife.

Lives of great men all remind us  
We can make our lives sublime;  
And, departing, leave behind us  
Footprints in the sands of time.

Footprints that, perhaps, another,  
Sailing on life's solemn main,  
A forlorn and shipwrecked brother,  
Seeing, shall take heart again.

Let us then be up and doing,  
With a heart for any fate;  
Still achieving, still pursuing,  
Learn to labour and to wait."

Vignette

*Christchurch: Printed by J T. Smith Co., Lithographers, &c., Hereford-street.*

First Annual Report.

Of the—Directors—of the—Dunedin Coffee Palace—and—Private Hotel Company (Limited)  
Read at the First Annual General Meeting of the Company Dunedin Coffee Palace 31st January,  
1882

# Dunedin Coffee Palace and Private Hotel Company (Limited.)

## First Annual Report of the Directors.

The Board of Directors beg to submit the following Report of the transactions of the Coffee Palace for the year ending 31st December last, with the accompanying Balance Sheet:—

The Company was incorporated in January, 1881, but it was not until the 20th May following that the Palace was opened for general business. This long delay was in a great measure caused by the fire which took place in February last, and which destroyed the Lessor's Bakery at the rear of the front building, and although very little actual damage was done to the Company's property, it necessitated several alterations and consequent postponement of the commencement of business, as the original kitchen was rendered useless, and many of the back rooms were more or less damaged. An arrangement was then made with the Lessor by which he agreed to provide the Company with a larger kitchen on the ground floor, and over that a spacious dining saloon, together with a billiard room on same floor. For this additional accommodation a further rent of £150 per annum was agreed to, which, with the original charge of £600, brought the total rent up to £750. These alterations and improvements occupied several months, and the delay thereby entailed has added considerably to the Preliminary Expenditure, which account has been charged with all outgoings up to the time of opening, as when the five took place, a manager and two servants were already engaged, and the daily expectation of the building being completed rendered it advisable to continue their services.

Soon after commencement it was thought that the Restaurant had not sufficient accommodation, and the

Lessor having offered part of the adjoining premises for £2 per week, the offer was accepted. This raised the total rent to £854 per annum, at which it now stands. Since that arrangement was made, it was decided not to open these new premises as an additional Restaurant for the present, as it would entail further expense in service and furniture without commensurate returns. It is now advertised to be let, but as the business is gradually improving, it is a matter for consideration whether it might not be advantageously opened in conjunction with the present Restaurant.

On the formation of the Company the following gentlemen were elected Directors, viz., Mr J. W. Jago (chairman), Rev. Dr. Roseby, Rev. L. Mackie, Messrs Asher, Bathgate, Blair, Driver, Hooper, Irvine, Proctor, Rennie, and Scott Mr Lewis was appointed Secretary, and Mr and Mrs Hawkins were engaged as managers. On the 10th February Mr Irvine resigned his seat at the Board, and Mr Hudson was elected in his place. On 7th March Mr Quick was elected *vice* Mr Scott resigned. On 5th April Rev. L. Mackie resigned and Mr Allen was elected. On 25th May Mr Hudson resigned and Mr Scott was elected. On 13th July Mr Hooper was appointed Secretary *viae* Mr Lewis resigned—this appointment necessitating his retiring from the Board. On 8th August Mr Asher resigned, and on 13th September Mr Blair resigned, and Messrs Chisholm, Jones, and Cameron were elected. On 20th September Mr Bathgate resigned, and on the 10th November Mr Quick resigned and Mr Horsburgh was elected. Many of these gentlemen have devoted a considerable time to the business of the Company, and none of the Directors have received any remuneration for their services.

The present Directors are Mr Jago, Rev. Dr. Roseby, Mr Rennie, Mr Proctor, Mr Allen, Mr Scott, Mr Chisholm, Mr Jones, Mr Cameron, and Mr Horsburgh. Of these, Messrs Jones and Horsburgh have been ballotted out, in terms of Articles of Association, No. 74, but are eligible for re-election, together with two others; but for these two latter seats no nominations have yet been received.

FIRST ANNUAL BALANCE SHEET LIABILITIES. ... £ s. d. Capital ... .. £3000 0 0 Less Unpaid Calls ... .. 68 0 0 2932 0 0 Bills Payable... .. 924 5 1 Colonial Bank ... .. 300 0 7 Sundry Creditors ... .. 783 11 5 £4,939 17 1 Dr. PROFIT ANI £ s. d. To Provisions... .. 2528 13 5 Working Expenses ... .. 2391 4 5 Interest ... .. 16 3 4 Depreciation ... .. 206 18 9 Proportion Preliminary Expenses (one-third) ... 136 5 0 £5,279 4 11 Compared with the books of the C JOHN R. HOOPER, DUNEDIN, 28th J Secretary.

Private hotel Company, Ltd. NCE SHEET TO DECEMBER 31, 1881. ASSETS. £ s. d. Furniture ... .. ... 2426 11 2 Building Improvements ... .. 324 16 9 Fittings and Fixtures ... .. 358 8 0 Preliminary Expenses (two-thirds) ... .. 272 9 8 Stock on Hand ... .. 142 4 9 Cash in Hand ... .. 53 16 2 Sundry Debtors ... .. 77 7 0 Guarantee from Lessor, 10 per cent, per annum on £2000 137 0 0 Balance Dr. ... .. 1152 3 7 £4,939 17 1 T AND LOSS. Cr. £ s. d. By Receipts ... .. 3988 7 4 Certificate and Transfer Fees ... .. 1 14 0 Guarantee ... .. 137 0 0 Balance as above ... .. 1152 3 7 £5,279 4 11 with the books of the Company and found to agree. WILLIAM INGLIS, Auditor. DUNEDIN, 28th January, 1881.

Mr and Mrs Hawkins were engaged in January to manage the Palace, and continued to do so until the 23rd September, at a salary of £15 per month; the continued losses shown on the out-turn of the Company's business, however, from month to month, notwithstanding the large receipts, rendered it necessary to make a change from the then expensive management, as although Mr and Mrs Hawkins were entrusted with "the entire control of the Establishment in the purchase of provisions and alterations to the Tariff," they failed to make the receipts cover the expenditure, and the Directors therefore engaged the present Managers, Mr and Mrs Willis, at the same salary, who commenced their duties on 29th September. Under the new *regime* the business has greatly improved, and during the past two months the profits have been very satisfactory.

The difference between the proceeds of the business under the old and new management becomes very marked on comparing the successive losses prior to the appointment of Mr Willis, and the rapid recovery and steady profit since. In June the loss exceeded £60 per week, in July about £35 per week, in August more than £7 per week, in September above £10 per week, and in October about £19 per week. Mr Willis was appointed in the month of October. In November there was a slight profit. In December the profit amounted to nearly £150. This profit has continued to increase till now. During the last eight weeks it has amounted to £205. The amount of business has throughout been not only good, but far in excess of our expectations—some of the best weeks under the new management being quite matched by some under the old. In July the weekly returns were : £149, £163, £145, £113, £124. In December (under the new management), the weekly returns were: £122, £134, £140, £154. It is specially noteworthy that during the month of July, when the weekly returns were so high, the business was making a loss of £35, whilst in December, with scarcely so large a weekly return, the business made a profit of nearly an equal amount

The Directors have met weekly since the opening of the Palace, and have held many Committee and other meetings besides. The minute-book will show the anxiety which the continued reported losses occasioned the Directors, and the means taken to check them. For this purpose the Directors made a careful and repeated investigation of the Company's expenses—examining them item by item. They established a system of weekly

audit, had frequent conferences with the Manager, and made repeated and earnest representations to him on the subject. Finally, they held out unusually strong inducements to him to render the business remunerative, and gave the management for the month of August entirely into his hands; this was done no less out of deference to the feeling of a large number of the Shareholders, than with a desire to do justice to the Manager himself. The Directors felt, however, that the time had now come for decisive action. They accordingly terminated the late Manager's engagement on the 23rd September.

The Balance Sheet shows an amount of £68 for calls unpaid, but this has been since reduced to £9 7s 6d, the amount now owing, and which there is every reason to believe will be shortly paid. In the furniture account, £161 17s has been passed off for depreciation, at the rate of 10 per cent, per annum for seven and a-half months, and the same has been done with the fittings and fixtures account in £23 11s 5d, and the building improvements account in £21 12s 1d, this latter account is charged with the cost of fixtures, which will have to be paid for at the expiration of the lease with Mr Hudson, as provided therein. From the total of Preliminary Expenses one-third has been passed off, leaving the balance to be distributed over the next two years.

The receipts from the Hotel to the 31st December were £1,510 15s 8d, and the number of persons frequenting it from day to day was 6,895, or an average of 30½ per day—this part of the business has been steadily improving under the present management. The receipts from the Restaurant and Saloons were £2,380 19s 2d, with a total number of tickets issued of 51,978, or 264 average per day. The Billiard-room shows £96 12s 6d receipts. This room, which contains two valuable tables, the property of the Company, has been let at £2 per week (without gas or coals) for six months from 4th November last.

The Directors have pleasure in stating that Mr and Mrs Willis are using their best endeavors to make the business a success, as they have on several occasions sacrificed their own comfort and convenience for the interests of the Company. On beginning their management, however, there was much to undo, and it was found necessary to make several changes amongst the employes. By constant supervision and attention to details, in order to prevent waste and extra vagance, great improvements have been made, and the whole Establishment is now working smoothly and systematically. This is apparent in the increased returns and a change from continued losses to an actual profit, which there is every reason to anticipate will continue.

The very decided turn in the tide of the Company's affairs will, we are sure, inspire confidence. A business is now established whose dimensions are steadily growing. At the end of nearly eight months, when the mere novelty of the thing has quite worn off, we find an average attendance in the Saloons and Restaurant of 264 persons per day—an average remarkably constant from month to month from the beginning. The Hotel has an average almost equally constant of thirty per day. The average income is £124 per week. The business was not so large in December as it was during the exceptionally favorable month of July; but in July there was a loss of L35 per week, whilst in December there was a profit of about an equal amount. All this shows that if the capital of the Company under the present system of management is sufficiently increased to relieve the difficulty occasioned by the very limited capital of the Company, there is now every prospect of a good paying concern. This difficulty may be seen in the fact that the Company has expended in furniture, building improvements, fittings, fixtures, and preliminary expenses a sum exceeding the paid up capital by £445 5s 7d. At the present rate of profit it would be a matter of no difficulty to pay a dividend at the rate of 12 per cent, besides establishing a substantial reserve.

In view of the difficulty above stated, arising from the deficient capital of the Company, the Directors recommend that the dividend payable to Shareholders under the terms of the Lessor's guarantee be placed to the credit of the Company.

Signed on behalf of the Directors,

J. w. Jago,  
Chairman.

Vaccination: Is it Worthy of National Support? Verbatim Report of a Public Discussion *In South Place Chapel, Finsbury, London, on the Evening of 28th May, 1878.*

George Wyld, M.D., EDIN., *Asserting the Affirmative,*  
AND Alexander Wheeler *Maintaining the Negative.*

Under the Presidency of Sir Thomas Chambers, M.P., Recorder of the City of London.

"He who knows only his own side of the case knows little of that."—*Essay on Liberty*, p. 21. J. STUART MILL.

E. W. Allen, II Ave Maria Lane, E.C. London Price Twopence 1878

Printed by Hay Nisbet Glasgow 219 George Street

# Discussion on Vaccination.

ON Tuesday evening, 28th May, 1878, a Discussion on the question, "Is Vaccination worthy of National Support?" took place in South Place Chapel, Finsbury, London. The Right Hon. Sir Thomas Chambers, M.P., Recorder of the City of London, pre-sided; and Dr. George Wyld, of Great Cumberland Place, Hyde Park, supported the affirmative; whilst Mr. Alexander Wheeler, a member of the Society of Friends, of Darlington, maintained the negative. Amongst the audience, and on the platform, were observed many prominent Anti-Vaccinators from various parts of the kingdom, including Mr. William Tebb, of London, the originator of the discussion; Dr. Collins; Dr. Pearce; Dr. Haughton; Dr. T. L. Nichols; Dr. Pratt, of Durham; Dr. Pearce, of Sunderland; Mr. Thos. Baker, barrister; Col. Clinton, of Royston; Mr. Charles Gillett, of Banbury; Alderman Rees, J. P., of Dover; Mr. Lucas, of Brighton; Mr. Lewis, of Ipswich; Mr. Thurlow, of Sudbury; Mr. Martin, of Lewes; Mr. Henry Pitman; Mr. William Young, Mr. William White, and Miss Chandos Leigh Hunt.

The CHAIRMAN, in his opening remarks, expressed the pleasure which it gave him to preside, although he did so at some inconvenience. The subject for discussion was a very important one, and it had been frequently discussed in Parliament. It touched the public health, for there had been serious epidemics of smallpox. He would not go into the question; it had two sides. The occurrence of small-pox after vaccination required to be accounted for. There were strong temptations to say that those who died were either unvaccinated or imperfectly vaccinated. To say that a person who died of small-pox after vaccination was "imperfectly vaccinated," was to give up the argument, or to suppose that the listener was ignorant of the subject. These discrepancies in the evidence required to be explained. Hence the value of such discussions in enlightening the public mind. Mr. Wheeler he met for the first time; Dr. Wyld he had known for many years. He had no doubt that both sides would be represented with ability and fairness, and that the auditors would listen with calmness even to statements from which they might dissent.

## MR. WHEELER'S OPENING SPEECH.

Mr. WHEELER, on being called upon by the Chairman to open the discussion, was greeted with hearty cheers. He said :—I have to take a single objection, to the negative being put first; the affirmative usually goes first, but Dr. Wyld wishes the last word, and I was perfectly willing to concede him any such advantage.

In opening this debate, we begin in the middle of our subject. We ought to have commenced seventy years before we do; we ought to have commenced in 1721; we ought to have commenced with Lady Mary Montagu; we ought to have commenced with inoculation; we ought to have commenced with the pitted faces which we hear of so frequently as being common in our forefathers' time. Those pitted faces and the prevalence of small-pox were entirely due to this—that the doctors in the previous century considered a person was a fool and a fanatic who would not consent to have the small-pox either in the natural way or by inoculation. The result was that a great portion of the population, especially in the southern counties of England, did have the small-pox, and that population largely afflicted with the small-pox lived in the only portion of England in which there was any attempt at registration; and consequently while the bills of mortality for the city of London contain a large number of deaths from small-pox, in times long previous to registration,

English registration began in the year 1838.

they do not contain any account of those districts in the country, where there was no small-pox, districts which Jenner, and Lettsom, and Blane mention, when they say whole counties were sometimes for years exempt from it.

M'Culloch's "Statistical Account of the British Empire" gives an account of 4095 persons who were insured in the Equitable Society, and who died between 1801 and 1832; and of this large number of insurers there was only one who died from small-pox. Now, that reveals to you a condition of things which perhaps may occasion some surprise. You have been told that all the counties of England were devastated with "natural" small-pox to an enormous extent, but the statement is unsupported by facts. It was artificially-produced small-pox in the main. This point must be understood before you can arrive at the condition of things which existed at the time of Edward Jenner.

After these preliminary remarks I should like to open this debate with a motto from John Stuart Mill :—"He who knows only his own side of the case knows but little of that."

Dr. Farr has stated our case in words which we need not to improve upon, that we declare vaccination unworthy of public support "because it is fatal, is ineffectual, and is the means of propagating odious diseases." With that sentiment I entirely agree, and I propose briefly, and as clearly as I can, to lay before you what are the

facts in proof of it.

To-night we have to deal with a gentleman who agrees that vaccination spreads disease. We will take that point first. Vaccination spreads disease; it spreads erysipelas; it spreads syphilis—the vilest of diseases; it spreads skin disease. If you want the proof, I refer you to the return printed by order of the House of Commons, which proves that syphilis is spread to a large extent, and that there is a great extension of syphilis since vaccination was made compulsory, especially in children under one year of age. The whole, or nearly the whole, of the increase of deaths from syphilis since 1853 is in children under one year of age. And nearly the whole increase in erysipelas since 1853 has taken place in children under one year of age. These are facts that will have to be explained; and I know of nothing that can satisfactorily account for them but vaccination. Dr. Martin, a great authority for Dr. Wyld, freely admits those two points. He says, "Erysipelas is the bane of human vaccination," and that "no care in the selection of virus, no study of seasons, or of the condition of patients, affords any means of escape whatever—it is the inseparable concomitant of arm to arm vaccination." He confesses, in terms which are not so strong as those of Dr. Warlomont of Brussels, that syphilis is equally communicated; and we have the Government Blue Books containing statements which have been too much over-looked, showing that this horrid contamination has been communicated to the misfortune of a great number of people.

See the Blue Book of 1857.

This, then, as to spreading disease; but where disease is disseminated many will die, and the return I have quoted gives us the deaths. The excess of deaths now constantly augmenting, as vaccination is more and more stringently enforced, of all the diseases I have named children are dying in increasing numbers; and, in the Registrar-General's return, you will find now a regular division for erysipelas. Twenty-nine such deaths after vaccination are reported in 1874; thirty-seven in 1875.

Vaccination is also inefficient, and cannot do away with small-pox. It is inefficient, because, since Jenner pronounced his dictum, we have had numerous epidemics, namely, in 1818, 1825, 1838, 1865, 1871, and the present epidemic in London, which has been going on for three years. This proves that small-pox is not done away with, and that vaccination is inefficient. Then, another important fact is, that the infant death-rate is increasing. The Registrar-General's report for 1875 acknowledges this in the broadest manner. He says that the general death-rate of infants under one year from 1861 to 1870 was 154 per thousand births; and that in 1875 it was 158. This, you see, is an increase now going on at the present date. And I understand Dr. Wyld to concede a large amount of this. It is conceded on all hands. There is not a medical report published in which much of this is not conceded. That being so, what does Dr. Wyld say? I have in my hand a letter of Dr. Wyld's, published in the *Newcastle Chronicle* of 1st March, 1878, in which he says :—"In the days of Jenner the lymph used, being only a few removes from the heifer, was so good that its use almost stamped out small-pox in these islands." Now as to the facts. Did it stamp out small-pox in the time of Jenner? If small-pox was not stamped out at all in the days of Jenner, Dr. Wyld's ground is gone. Jenner, we bear, commenced his enquiries when he was a lad. He was inoculated when a boy; he "was starved till he was thin, and was bled till he was weak," prior to the illness from small-pox, after inoculation; and he felt it was a misery which it would be well to get rid of; and that was the general experience; so that it was a good thing for the people of England that inoculation was got rid of. Jenner did away with inoculation by substituting his practice, and we will give him that credit. When he, in 1798, published his Inquiry, he asserted that he had found a "a true cow-pox." There were several sorts, but he had found the true one, which was capable of being inoculated in the human frame. This was his point, and he asserted that it afforded a perfect protection from small-pox. He went on increasing the positiveness of his assertions, and published further observations in 1799. These statements of Jenner are most positive; and I shall quote from his works a statement than which nothing in language could be stronger or plainer. He says :—"To have admitted the truth of a doctrine at once so novel and so unlike anything that had ever appeared in the annals of medicine without the test of the most rigid scrutiny would have bordered upon temerity; but now when that scrutiny has taken place, and when it has been found in such abundant instances that the human frame, when once it has felt the influence of the genuine cow-pox, in the way that has been described, is never afterwards, at any period of its existence, assailable by small-pox, may I not, with perfect confidence, congratulate my country and society at large on their beholding, in the mild form of the cow-pox, an antidote that is capable of extirpating from the earth a disease which is every hour devouring its victims—a disease that has ever been considered as the severest scourge of the human race?" Those are the words of Dr. Jenner in 1799. I defy any man to find human language stronger, more positive and exact than that. He went on to publish the "Origin of Variola Vaccinæ" in 1800, and in this he asserts, only four years after his first vaccination of the poor lad Phipps, "that it became too evident to admit of controversy; that the annihilation of the small-pox must be the final result of the discovery." Nothing can be stronger or clearer than his assertions on this point at this time. If we find that these assertions are the mistakes of ignorance or credulity, then we must conclude that Dr. Wyld is mistaken, and that both Dr. Jenner and Dr. Wyld are equally deluded. In 1802, after the issue of his

Inquiry, &c., Dr. Jenner was induced by his friends in London to go to Parliament and ask them to award him something for this wonderful discovery. Jenner "was a man of a mild and retiring disposition;" but he asserted that the world had never before received such a discovery, and that it was worthy of national support. Parliament appointed a committee to inquire into the matter, and the committee called before them certain doctors, including Dr. Lettsom, a Quaker—I say it to his dishonour—who persuaded the committee that Jenner's statements were true. I shall be glad if, being myself a Quaker, I can do something to undo the mischief which the powerful tongue of Lettsom helped to fasten on the world. Lettsom used his great powers of persuasion before the committee, which reported to Parliament that something handsome ought to be awarded to Jenner, because "vaccination would absolutely extinguish small, pox in these realms." This was what Parliament reported only six years after the first inoculation with cow-pox. Jenner, aided by such powerful friends, and by unfounded assertions, obtained the reward of £10,000, and he came and took a house in London. And it was after this he wrote a letter to a friend, in which he said—"Vaccination is placed on a rock immovable." I think so too; it was placed on the rock of the £10,000 vote, which committed the Government to the practice. Now if the life of Jenner had never been published, he would have stood before the world as never having modified the positive statements we have quoted, and which were the ground of his reward; and yet he wrote to a friend—"The public thinks it is not a complete protection," and during the sitting of the committee to Mr. Hicks, "Don't listen to every blockhead who says it fails." Baron says that in 1804 failures began to multiply; persons had small-pox who had been vaccinated. In 1806 the failures multiplied still more; but notwithstanding that, Jenner managed to get £20,000 more, and that completed the £30,000 which "a grateful country" awarded to him for his words, and for his words alone.

In 1809 there was a small-pox epidemic, which might have been due to the inoculators; I cannot say; but Baron says that in consequence "Jenner and vaccination were again put upon their trial." "Put upon their trial" seven years after Jenner had got £10,000 for "exterminating the small-pox;" seven years after President Jefferson had written from Virginia, "You have banished from human ills its greatest;" nevertheless, vaccination was "again put upon its trial!" Jenner then propounded a new theory to the world—that vaccination protected from small-pox as much, and no more than small-pox itself protected from a recurring attack. That theory was invented and propounded to the world in 1809, and he clung to it tenaciously to the day of his death, asserting, in the face of the positive statements I have quoted from his book, that he never claimed for it any greater protection. He wrote to Miss Calcraft in 1811—"What if 100 or 500 persons have small-pox after cow-pox, as many can be produced who have had small-pox after small-pox." That, however, was nothing to the point; for his strong case was that none who were vaccinated could possibly take it. Inoculators had likewise claimed that persons who had small-pox by inoculation could not have it again a second time; and when Jenner was before the committee he told them that vaccination protected completely, while inoculation only partially did so. How do facts agree with Jenner's continued declarations that cow-pox protected a person from small-pox as much as an attack of small-pox itself? Mr. Marson reported that, between 1836 and 1851, 3094 persons were in the small-pox hospital after having been vaccinated, and in the same period only 49 persons were admitted for small-pox who had had the disease previously.

Blue Book, 1857.

Jenner was, therefore, as thoroughly wrong with his second doctrine as with his first.

Indeed, Baron saw some difficulty respecting this modified averment of Jenner's, and declared, "It is a great pity that the modified statements of Dr. Jenner were not propounded to the world."

Baron, Vol. II., p. 135.

I think so too. I think it is the greatest pity of this century. I think if he had propounded this modified statement that Parliament would never have granted him the money; I am perfectly certain of that; because it would have been said, "In-oculation protects as far as that; we want to do away with smallpox altogether." In 1810 Jenner wrote to one of his friends, "I can collect cases of small-pox after small-pox in thousands," as if the proved failure of inoculation did something to strengthen his case. In 1811 there came a clinching argument in what is known as the Grosvenor case. Lord Grosvenor took the small-pox. The doctors said, "It cannot be small-pox, because Dr. Jenner vaccinated you." That was said in sober earnest; and it was sometime before they would believe that this bad case of confluent small-pox occurred after vaccination. The result was a commotion in this city which Jenner could not withstand, and he retired before it and went to Berkeley, and he never appeared here again as a public man. He wrote :—"The town is a fool, an idiot. I shall collect all the cases I can of small-pox after small-pox; it will be the best protection from the past and that which is to come."

Baron, Vol. II., p. 161.

Did he foresee all this agitation against his theory? did he see the mistake he had made? Then why, if, as he had professed, "his only aim was the truth," did he not confess his mistake and give up the money?

But that is not all. We will go on to 1814, and I wish you to mark these years, for they show a distinct development in Jenner's mind; they show experience and fact disproving the superstition. In 1814, Lord

Ellenborough in the House of Lords spoke of vaccination as not being a perfect preventative. Yet Von Soemmering (Munich) in the same year wrote,—“You have delivered mankind for ever from the small-pox.” A year after small-pox was very fatal in London, and Jenner actually penned these words—“The medical ignorance of the practice will stop the protection.” I cannot explain how; I will leave Dr. Wyld to do that. In 1818, there was another epidemic, more malignant than the last; and it is at this period, sixteen years after Jenner had stated that he would exterminate small-pox, that we are treated by Dr. Hennen of Edinburgh to the doctrine that “vaccination modifies small-pox.” That is the date of the invention of the modification theory. Then we are told by Jenner that it was carelessly performed, and he writes in great distress that vaccination is being discredited publicly. He is extremely bitter with Drs. Moseley and Squirrel, and they deserve his condemnation for seeking to spread and continue inoculation. But that was not the point. Jenner wrote against them for condemning vaccination, and says,—“Don't mind these hissing serpents.” Those were his words against his fellow-doctors; I am not going to say anything so strong to-night. In this year poor Phipps died, after being inoculated twenty times.

In 1821 Jenner sent out a circular to most of the respectable medical men in the kingdom; in it he asked for the fruit of their observations respecting the course of the vaccine disease, and also as to whether cases of small-pox in vaccinated persons had been observed. “The answers which he received to his circulars were numerous, and in general satisfactory.”

Baron, Vol. II., p. 273.

So said Mr. Simon as regarded the answers given to his circulars in the 1857 Blue Book. And yet the answers to Mr. Simon's inquiries contain a large array of facts condemnatory of his conclusions. I wish we knew what was in those answers sent to Jenner. The only one printed is not from a medical man, but a clergyman who vaccinated, and whose faith was in no wise shaken though he had observed or heard of “modified small-pox” in vaccinated persons, which he mysteriously calls “cutaneous small-pox.” This is the only answer given, and I conclude that the others must have been more unfavourable still.

In 1823 Edward Jenner died. “And in 1825 small-pox was as prevalent in London as during any of the three great epidemics of the preceding century.”

Born, Vol. I., p. 272.

This was two years after Jenner's death. I wish he had lived to see that epidemic, because I think he must have given vaccination up. Jenner was a timid man; he could not stand a great deal of opposition. He was too nervous to give his evidence to the Parliamentary Committee *viva voce*, and I think he would have had honesty enough to acknowledge the failure had he lived till 1825. This, then, is the case as regards the days of Jenner. Small-pox was no more banished then than now. It was more prevalent than it had often been. And as to vaccination, the whole of the assertions as to its value were made before proof was possible. And the nation stood committed by a Parliamentary vote to the practice before time had proved the assertions of its partisans to be unfounded, to be the delusions they were afterwards demonstrated to be by the stern logic of experience.

We have, then, in these facts and this experience, a complete case against vaccination. Does not this history prove our case? Dr. Wyld says that, “in the days of Jenner, the lymph used was so good that its use almost stamped out small-pox in these islands.”

Was small-pox stamped out? It was not. It was extremely prevalent. Within two years of his death as prevalent as during any part of the eighteenth century.

I want to know where it was “stamped out.” Not in London; not in Carlisle; not in Reading. I want to know where it was stamped out; and I wait for a reply.

## DR. WYLD'S OPENING SPEECH.

Dr. WYLD—Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I feel at the present moment somewhat more comfortable than I did an hour ago. It may be satisfactory to my friends to know that, because when I appeared on this platform half-an-hour ago, I thought it was very possible that Mr. Wheeler, being regarded as the great oracle of anti-vaccination, and having come all the way from Darlington to meet a real living doctor in London, I thought, of course, that Mr. Wheeler must have facts militating against vaccination which had not hitherto met my observation; there fore, I thought that possibly Mr. Wheeler might spring a mine upon me, and blow me into the air. Well, I don't find that I am any further in the air than before. I find that I occupy *terra firma* with as certain a step as I did before I had the honour and pleasure of meeting Mr. Wheeler on this platform.

I have met with several anti-vaccinationists at public meetings, and this I will say, that it appears to me their rhetorical usually exceeds their logical powers. I find in it—(Cries of “Question,” and “Order”)—a great deal of florid talking. I will not detain you with these preliminary remarks any longer, but will begin to criticise the few observations which Mr. Wheeler has brought under your notice. Now, in the first place, I, for one, never believed that Jenner was infallible. I think that Jenner was a mortal man, liable to error the same as I am,

and the same, I suppose, as you are; therefore, when Mr. Wheeler brings before your notice some of the fallacies of Jenner, of course I admit them at once. We are all fallible, and Jenner, in starting this new thing, was particularly likely to fall into error; and he did fall into error; but that does not, to my mind, militate in any degree against the greatness of the man; and I do hold that Jenner was a truly good and great man.

Mr. Wheeler starts with the assertion that England was not decimated with the small-pox before the days of Jenner.

Mr. WHEELER—I did not say so.

Dr. WYLD—What did you say?

Mr. WHEELER—I said it was very prevalent, but that was because the doctors insisted that everybody should have it.

Dr. WYLD—I understood Mr. Wheeler to say that England was not decimated by small-pox before the discovery of vaccination. I find from the Parliamentary report of the committee that investigated the claims of Jenner to a pecuniary reward that 45,000 people died every year in the British Islands from smallpox. If that is not analogous to decimation, I don't know what is. If we turn to the population of the present time, we find it about double what it was in the days of Jenner. If 45,000 died then, we ought to have 90,000 dying now. Well, what have we? We have had ten epidemics of small-pox during the last 30 years, and there have died only 150,000. That is a very large number, but that is only 5000 a-year, and I have shown you that 90,000 a-year ought to have died. That vaccination is inefficient, every one now admits; but when I use the term "inefficient," of course I mean imperfect. I never held that vaccination, as now performed, was perfect; and very few doctors do. The vaccine lymph, having passed for eighty years through a succession of children, has thus, I hold, become deteriorated. Mr. Wheeler says there has been an increase of infantile mortality of four in the hundred thousand births. Well, that is not a very large increase, but Mr. Wheeler jumps to the conclusion that they were killed by vaccination. This is a pure assumption; there is no foundation for it; it is a mere guess. Can you not find another reason for the increase? In the days of Jenner England was an agricultural country. It is now a manufacturing country. In the days of Jenner children were born in country places, and lived in the open air: now they are born in Manchester, Leeds, Bradford, and Darlington, and live in crowds, under the most unhealthy conditions. I ask, is it not likely that this increase of infantile mortality results from bad habits rather than from vaccination? Last year the working people (mainly) of this country consumed £150,000,000 worth of alcoholic drinks—their increased wages went chiefly in that direction, and I assert that this increased alcoholism must necessarily beget a degraded people. Mr. Wheeler denies that vaccination has checked the growth of smallpox since the days of Jenner. I have shown that 45,000 died before vaccination, and Mr. Wheeler admits that in 1802—six years after vaccination—only 3500 died. Well, if that is not a demonstration of the effect of vaccination, I don't know what is. I don't say it is a demonstration that vaccination saved all these deaths, because there might have been other causes; but, at all events, 45,000 died before vaccination, and 3500 after.

Mr. WHEELER—The one is London, the other the country.

Dr. WYLD—That is, converted from London into the country; 3500 in London would be about eight times as many.

Mr. WHEELER—No.

Dr. WYLD—About that.

Mr. WHEELER—Ten times.

Dr. WYLD—Well, if ten times, it would be 35,000 instead of 45,000.

I now come to the money Jenner got. The anti-vaccinationists are very fond of ringing the changes upon that money, and they say Jenner was a greedy man to have applied for it, and still worse for keeping it after he had got it. But what are the facts? Jenner when he discovered the process of vaccination had a very large and lucrative practice in the country. After his discovery he spent his whole time in disseminating it amongst the people. He was always running away from his practice and going to London. The consequence was that his practice almost entirely left him, and Jenner became a poor man. Therefore I for one think that Jenner was entitled to his £30,000. Mr. Wheeler has mentioned the Grosvenor case. The son of Earl Grosvenor was vaccinated, and afterwards took small-pox, and the doctors were much shocked, and being a nobleman's son, the case created an enormous stir in society. If instead of being a son of Earl Grosvenor he had been Peter Piper the green grocer, you would have heard nothing about it. Being the son of Earl Grosvenor the whole of society rang with the dreadful fact—vaccination was not a perfect security against small-pox. Jenner never said it was; he only said it was a safeguard to a large extent; that it was as good a safeguard as an attack of small-pox itself.

Mr. WHEELER—I have quoted what he said.

Dr. WYLD—I will come to that soon. Mr. Wheeler reminds me that he has read Jenner's own statement—that vaccination was a perfect protection against small-pox. Again, I say, Jenner was a fallible man, and after a few years found out that he was wrong in asserting that vaccination was an absolute protection

against small-pox, and, like an honest man, he at once admitted the fact. If you look into the life of Jenner by Baron, you will see that he is continually stating that he did not believe vaccination to be a perfect protection. Well, then, Mr. Wheeler says that Dr. Jenner did not publish the letters he got from medical men about the powers of vaccination. Well, I deny the assertion. Baron in his *Life of Jenner* gives many letters from medical men containing the highest encomiums on his discovery. He did not publish them all. Then Mr. Wheeler says that Phipps died of consumption. Well, we know that vaccination won't prevent people dying of consumption; Jenner never said so; and poor Phipps happened to be one who died of consumption—*argal*, says Mr. Wheeler, he died of consumption through vaccination.

Mr. WHEELER—I did not say so.

Dr. WYLD—That is a specimen of anti-vaccination logic. Having now replied to the observations of Mr. Wheeler, I will now try to prove to you what vaccination is. In the first place, we have 20,000 medical men in this country, and I expect that with the exception of half a dozen, they believe in vaccination.

I think that medical men who are educated in the theory and practice of medicine ought to be better judges than Mr. Wheeler. I think that is a very strong argument in favour of vaccination. Medical men feel so certain about it that they say it is ridiculous to argue the matter; and I stand here to confess that I am not more certain that two and two make four than I am that vaccination is an immense boon to the world. You know how Jenner began vaccination. A milk-maid came to consult him regarding her health, and he, joking her about her rosy face, said, "You may one day have small-pox and lose your beauty." She said, "No, I have had cow-pox." After 20 years' thinking and inquiry into this strange assertion, he published his knowledge of the facts, and then vaccinated the boy Phipps. Mark this. He vaccinated him on the 14th May, 1796—a memorable epoch. On the 1st July following he inoculated this boy Phipps with small-pox, and found it impossible to communicate that disease. That was experiment No. 1. That laid the foundation of the Jennerian theory. He found that if a person took cow-pox, he could not take small-pox. Jenner repeated this experiment, and he never was able to communicate small-pox to children who had been vaccinated. If that is not a demonstration that vaccination protects from small-pox, I don't know what is. Dr. Martin of America writes to me that he has on a hundred occasions after vaccination with calf lymph attempted to inoculate his cases with small-pox, and in not a single instance has he succeeded in communicating small-pox. If that is not a demonstration beyond all refutation, I don't know what logical demonstration is. I come to another proof. In the small-pox hospitals in London, during a certain period, there were 20,000 cases, and an average of 5 per cent, only of the vaccinated died, while 35 per cent, died who did not bear vaccination marks; 1 per cent, died if the marks were good, 8 per cent if they were imperfect marks, and 35 per cent, if there were no marks. That is argument No. 2. We find that 96 per cent, of the people are vaccinated. If vaccination were no protection, there ought in these hospitals to be 96 per cent, of the cases found with marks; but there is only 35 per cent.; and in these hospitals, as only 4 per cent, of the population are unvaccinated, there should be only 4 per cent, of such cases in the hospitals, but there are about 35 per cent. Then I come to the last statistics of the late severe epidemic in Dublin, when a larger proportion of vaccinated persons died of small-pox than were known to die in any previous epidemic—namely, 10 per cent.; but the per centage of deaths amongst the unvaccinated was 65 per cent. You will find the figures in the *Medical Press* of 22nd May. Then I come to the City of London, and I find that the insurance companies take those who are vaccinated at a lower premium than the unvaccinated. Of course those companies must believe that vaccination is a protection, or they would not make this distinction. The anti-vaccinators reply that the insurance companies are under the authority and dictation of the doctors. Well, you will be surprised to hear that they are not; they are under the dictation of the actuaries, men whose whole life is devoted to statistics; and is it conceivable that these men would make this distinction in insurance rates except on the soundest facts? I will now refer to re-vaccination. The doctors say you ought to be re-vaccinated about the age of puberty; and I say so too. If I vaccinate 100 children carefully, I will not make a single failure; but if I attempt to re-vaccinate 100 adults I may not succeed with more than 50. There you have a demonstration that the vaccine protection has lasted, say 20 years. I speak from authority and experience. The gentlemen who hiss and make a noise have probably never vaccinated any cases, and I suppose Mr. Wheeler has never vaccinated a case in his life!

Mr. WHEELER—I have been vaccinated and had the small-pox.

Dr. WYLD—I have vaccinated a good many. You cannot with ordinary lymph succeed in re-vaccinating more than about 50 per cent. If that is not a demonstration that vaccination has, so far, protected those adults, I don't know what a demonstration is.

The Americans are a highly educated people, and Republicans, like many of yourselves. They have no compulsory statute law regarding vaccination; yet there is a moral law which is compulsory, inasmuch as no child is admitted into a public school who is not vaccinated. ("Shame.") In the small-pox hospitals the nurses are vaccinated, and some of them have had small-pox before; but small-pox does not, in my opinion, afford a greater protection than vaccination; and these nurses go about the hospital with perfect immunity. Would the anti-vaccinators have the same confidence in sending their unvaccinated wives and daughters into these

hospitals? During the last ten years, eight to ten million children in this country have been vaccinated, and out of that number, of course, you may collect a small number of cases which have gone adversely; but are those few cases to upset the whole case? I think not. Then, as to the inoculation of syphilis. That was long denied by medical men; but it is now admitted, and therefore, of course, you require to exercise very great care how you vaccinate. But I, personally, have a perfect answer to that objection against vaccination, because, as you know, I do not vaccinate from the human being, but from the calf, which is an animal that cannot possibly communicate that disease. Now, as to compulsion. That is a difficult part of the subject, and I find myself in much the same position as Mr. Bright and Mr. Gladstone on the question of compulsion—that is, my mind is not clearly made up on that part of the question. I admit that it is a very hard thing to interfere with the liberty of the subject; but we owe duties to the State as well as to ourselves, and if the going about of thousands of people unvaccinated spreads, as I take it, small-pox, then I think society has a right to protect itself. You must remember that these compulsory laws have been passed by yourselves. (Cries of "No, no.") These compulsory laws have been passed by yourselves. (Repeated cries of "No," "One bishop," "Late at night," "In a small house," &c.)

Dr. WYLD repeated the statement that these laws had been passed by that House of Commons which had been chosen by the people.

The interruption was so great that the chairman interposed and said that Dr. Wyld was quite in order, for everybody was supposed to be represented in the House of Commons when a bill was passed.

Dr. WYLD continued—If these laws are a hardship, the people have a perfect escape and protection from all risks if, instead of being vaccinated with effete lymph, worn out, they are vaccinated with the best possible lymph. Then they would be so perfectly protected that they could afford to disregard the few eccentric individuals who declined to be vaccinated. The *Lancet* has this week suggested a Parliamentary Commission to reconsider the entire question. I hope that idea may be carried out. In conclusion—one word as to myself. I wish to defend myself from the accusation that appeared in a London newspaper that I say these things in favour of calf lymph from self-interest. I utterly deny that it is so. Last year I went to Earl Percy, with whom I have the honour to be acquainted, and urged him to bring the subject before Parliament, in order that it might be made a Government question, and his Lordship did bring the subject before Parliament. The production and distribution of vaccine from the calf is so laborious and anxious and expensive an operation, that I, for one, would be only too glad to escape from it, provided Government would take it up. Finally, I will ask Mr. Wheeler three questions—First, how do you explain this fact. You vaccinate 100 babies, and for a certain time afterwards you find it impossible to inoculate these children with small-pox? Is not that equivalent for the time being to a proof that cow-pox is a protection for that time against small-pox? Then, again, I should like Mr. Wheeler to explain the mortality in the small-pox hospitals of 35 per cent, in the unvaccinated against 5 per cent in vaccinated. And, in the third place, I would ask Mr. Wheeler to tell us whether he does not admit that if you are vaccinated with calf lymph instead of human lymph you could not possibly thus take syphilis?

Dr. COLLINS interposed with a question. He confessed himself to be one of those fanatics called anti-vaccinators. He had twenty years' experience of vaccination in one of the largest parishes in the metropolis. He asked the name of the American doctor who had tried in vain to give persons the small-pox after vaccination; also, whether Dr. Wyld had put his calf lymph to the test by inoculating his patients with human small-pox, and what was the result?

Dr. WYLD—I have not as yet; but I should have no hesitation in doing so.

## MR. WHEELER'S SECOND SPEECH.

Mr. WHEELER—Dr. Wyld cannot do it; it is forbidden. There is a penalty of £50 for every one inoculated, or three months' imprisonment. Dr. Wyld has gone through a variety of statements, and at last has produced the calf lymph. I expected it would have come first. Dealing with Dr. Wyld's objections, I think I have proved that Dr. Jenner was not accurate, and we need not pursue that. Dr. Wyld has told us that 45,000 died in England immediately preceding the days of Jenner. I deny that entirely. My denial is worth nothing, but if you will look at Dr. Lettsom's *Life and Letters* on page 121 of the second volume, you will find how he uses a supposed fact to prove this. 3500 lives were lost by small-pox in London in a particular year. Dr. Lettsom says you must multiply this into the supposed population of England. But nobody knew it; our Registrar-General was appointed in 1838, and no one in England can tell further than by surmise and "estimate" what the population was prior to that date. I beg you to mark this carefully. Dr. Lettsom and Dr. Blane calculated that mortality simply in this way. I quote word for word from Dr. Lettsom's *Letters* :—"We may pretty accurately calculate that in 500,000 inhabitants, 200 annually die of the small-pox, or 400 in every million. Now Europe contains nearly 200 millions, and consequently the deaths in Europe would be 400,000. The globe contains probably 1200 millions, and the deaths of small-pox would be in the same ratio." I say that is the most arrant quackery

that was ever written, yet those statements have been reproduced in Parliamentary Blue Books over and over again, and by Mr. Simon and Dr. Seaton as a statistical fact. I say there is nothing in it of the nature of a statistic to compare with our Registrar-General's returns. It is the wildest estimate, and made for a purpose. It is just on a par with the random statements of Dr. Jurin and Dr. Kirkpatrick, the advocates of inoculation. They stated that people who were inoculated were saved from small-pox, or died in only very small numbers, while before inoculation, the countries were decimated. Now, has Dr. Wyld produced any statistic to show decimation? None whatever. I have shown you the utter fallacy of this; it is pure conjecture, like so many other similar statements, and we don't want conjecture and supposition. Another strong point is, that the enormous mortality shown as taking place in England 200 years ago is only estimate, and is not correct as a record of fact. It is only a calculation. I wish we had Dr. Greenhow's tables here to show you; they would exhibit the utter fallacy of this argument. Dr. Greenhow puts the mortality of London for some years at 80 per 1000. The birth-rate could not be half that, so that in a few years there would not be a soul left.

But has the death-rate decreased in consequence of vaccination? In the Life of Jenner you will find these words,—“On accurate calculation it was found that one in forty-seven died in England in 1801.” That is nearly 22 per 1000. What is it to-day? 22 per 1000. It has been very near that ever since Major Graham began his work, excepting in cholera years, and when scarlet fever was epidemic. You will find that although 23,000 people died of small-pox in England in 1871, the deaths from all causes were 300 per million less than in the previous year. That is to say, the death-rate was slightly reduced notwithstanding this enormous mortality from small-pox.

When there is a great prevalence of small-pox the general death-rate is not increased. That is true through all the epidemic years. So far as we can gauge, there is no increase of mortality from small-pox. Let us look again at Dr. Greenhow's tables. You will find in the Blue-book this note : “Several of these years were years in which small-pox was very prevalent;” and these years are in the years selected to give the mortality as compared with our day. Further than that, 1665 is included into Dr. Greenhow's estimate of the mortality. That was the year of the plague! Can any one be surprised at the mortality? And why has the plague gone? Because our population has been more rationally treated, and because of improved conditions of living and sanitation. One hundred millions have been spent upon sanitary works. Dr. Farr states that in many towns the death-rate has been reduced by sanitary improvement as much as 5 per thousand. Sir James Simpson said that vaccination saved 80,000 lives a-year in this country. That would reduce the death-rate from 22 per thousand to 18. In 1838, the first year of registration, there were very few people vaccinated. There was no compulsion, and people did not like it, for they saw that small-pox had been reduced without it, and were quite willing to let it alone. In 1838, with very few persons vaccinated, the mortality was 22 per thousand. I want to know how the 80,000 lives saved are to be accounted for. If saved, they must have been shown in the death-rate, and they never yet have been. I think that is enough to prove that vaccination is inefficient, as has been admitted by Dr. Wyld. If once vaccinated is inefficient, will twice be efficient for protection? If Dr. Wyld had taken the trouble I have in going through these Returns,

Mr. Wheeler held in his hand the Parliamentary Return, “Vaccination, Mortality,” 14th August, 1878.

I think he would not have talked as he did about re-vaccination. 43,000 out of 83,000 small-pox deaths, from 1850 to 1872, were under 5 years of age. Re-vaccination would do nothing for those who die far from puberty; and if vaccination cannot protect under five years, it never can protect at all. I told you that Jenner went through a long development, but we have not heard a word about that from Dr. Wyld, or any explanation of it. I told you he began with a tremendous statement, which gradually came down to nothing. We have been told that the vaccine gets weakened through 80 years. But where will you begin to look for the weakening? Suppose we begin in 1812, when Jenner lived. You will find from one of his letters that this weakening was alleged in his time, not long before his death. He says—“They attribute the lessened activity of the matter which may fall into their hands, and the disposition to produce imperfect vesicles, to the great length of time which has elapsed since it was taken from the cow, and the great number of human subjects through which it has passed.” These are nearly the words of Dr. Wyld. What does Jenner say to that? “This is a conjecture which I can destroy by facts.” So far Edward Jenner. There is no weakening, he says. In truth there is not. The doctrine of Edward Jenner has been weakness itself from the first. Is that an answer to Dr. Wyld? Jenner adds—“If there were a real necessity for renovation, I should not know what to do, for the precautions of the farmers with respect to their horses have driven the cow-pox from their herds.” Is there any need to go further than that? We are told that Jenner was not infallible. But no doctor knows anything about this subject if Jenner did not. None of the innovators in this practice have anything new. Neither Dr. Worlomot, nor Dr. Martin, nor Dr. Wyld have anything new. They are but imitators; and if Jenner was mistaken, then so most grievously are they.

I understood Dr. Wyld to say that Jenner published many of the answers to his circular? Is that so?

Dr. WYLD—I said, “letters.”

Mr. WHEELER—Ah, yes, letters from medical men; but I was not speaking of letters. I have quoted from

the letters of medical men who helped him, and without whom he would not have done anything; but I was speaking of the circular Jenner sent out two years before he died, and I repeat that not a single medical reply to that circular was published. The circular was issued after 18 years' experience of vaccination; 18 years of development and paring down of the original claim until nothing was left. Mr. Simon also sent out a circular in 1856, and 542 answers were published, which contain a great amount of information, some of which was against vaccination; of this, and of the anti-vaccinators' arguments, he said that he did not feel called upon to answer "all this rubbish." That was in the 1857 Blue Book. There is nothing scientific about vaccination, and nothing certain about it, except its failure. The compass guides the mariner with accuracy over pathless seas; and astronomers predict eclipses with unerring accuracy. The compass and the eclipse are facts; and observed and applied natural laws are the basis of science. But Jenner's case is different; there all is uncertainty and error.

In 1815 he declared that medical men would stop the protection because they performed vaccination carelessly. And yet the same year Von Sœmmering writes him that mankind were for ever delivered from the small-pox. Dr. Sacco, Jenner declared, never failed, because he "knew what he was about," and used nothing but the lymph from the horse's heel—"virus," I call it, that is its proper name. Time after time the thing has been modified until now the original source of the virus is ignored, and what with careless vaccination, and the fear of imparting disease, the doctors are in an amazing dilemma. Hence the new departure or "revival" of Dr. Wyld and his calf lymph. As to Phipps, I never said anything about his being protected by his vaccination; I merely said he was 20 times inoculated. As to vaccinated people being incapable of receiving small-pox inoculation, Dr. Kirkpatrick states in his book, which was published soon after Jenner was born, that four per cent, could not be inoculated. Dr. Jenner also stated that there were numbers whom he could not inoculate. And ancient authors estimate a large portion of the population as incapable of receiving the infection.

Mr. Wheeler was here told that his second time was up.

## **DR. WYLD'S SECOND SPEECH.**

Dr. WYLD—Before my last speech I told you I felt very comfortable. I now add that I feel very happy. I put the pith of my speech into three questions, and these three questions Mr. Wheeler has declined to answer.

Mr. WHEELER—Want of time.

Dr. WYLD—Mr. Wheeler says that inoculation is contrary to law; but I told you I should have no objection to inoculate as a test of successful vaccination.

Mr. WHEELER—I wish you would let me know when doing it.

Dr. WYLD—The law is against inoculation as a substitute for vaccination; it is not against the operation as a scientific proof that subsequently to vaccination successful inoculation is impossible.

Mr. WHEELER—It is prohibited.

Dr. WYLD—Then Mr. Wheeler says that my statement about the 45,000 who died every year previous to Jenner is mere conjecture. Well, I stated that it was a Parliamentary return, and I say Mr. Wheeler's denial is conjecture. I substantiate my 45,000 by another statistic. In the days of Jenner, one in 14 of the deaths was said to result from small-pox. If we make the calculation on this data we arrive at about 50,000 instead of 45,000; therefore, this is a corroboration of the Parliamentary return, and Mr. Wheeler's denial is simply denial because it answers his purpose. I will say more. Not only have we this Parliamentary report, but if you had not this enormous mortality, how would you explain the horror of small-pox that existed in those days? There is no such horror now, because we know that we are protected by vaccination. (Laughter and interruption.) There was horror before Jenner; there is not now. If the same small-pox mortality subsisted now as before Jenner, instead of a mortality of 150,000 during the last thirty years, we should have had 2,700,000 deaths from small-pox. Then Mr. Wheeler, who, of course, knows a great deal better than I do, says that the Jennerian cow-pox has not declined in power in the human subject.

Mr. WHEELER—No; Jenner says so.

Dr. WYLD—You profess to believe Jenner in that statement, but disbelieve him in other statements. Jenner spoke after fifteen or twenty years' experience; I speak after we have had eighty years' experience, and I maintain that it has declined, and I can prove it thus. In the days of Jenner the after-scab of vaccination lasted a certain number of days; now it lasts a fewer number of days, thus demonstrating that it has not laid that firm hold of the constitution that it did in its primitive condition. But cow-pox is foreign to the human subject, and it is therefore natural that it should dwindle and decay in a foreign soil, which I assert it does. Mr. Wheeler tells you that Jenner did not publish all the medical replies to his circular; but he has not reminded you that throughout Jenner's life there was an enormous amount of jealousy of Jenner on the part of the doctors, and many of them did all they could to malign him in a shameful manner; and if they wrote letters at all they might have been mainly abusive—just such letters as are now common in anti-vaccination literature. Not only did the doctors abuse Jenner, but in many parts of the country he could not get doctors to vaccinate patients. There was

such ignorance and intolerance that they would not substitute cow-pox for inoculation. What happened? Vaccination fell to a considerable extent into the hands of clergymen and ladies. This may account for the small notice taken of these medical replies. The doctors were jealous not only of Jenner's reputation, but of the £30,000 he got from Government; and that small and contemptible jealousy has descended to the anti-vaccinators of the present day.

## MR. WHEELER'S THIRD SPEECH.

Mr. WHEELER—I will answer your three questions now.

1st.—How is it that it is impossible to inoculate a person with small-pox who is vaccinated?

I say it is not impossible. Jenner himself managed it, as you will find by Baron's Life.

Dr. WYLD—I have just read Baron's Life of Jenner, and I deny the statement. (Cries of "Where's the book?")

Mr. WHEELER—On page 445 of the first volume of Baron's Life, and page 29 of the second volume, you will find the proof. Jenner says—"The insertion of variolous virus will produce, upon a person who has previously had the cow-pox, a pustule capable of communicating the small-pox."

2nd.—Why are there seven times as many unvaccinated die as vaccinated in the hospitals?

This also is not the statement of a fact. The classification is made on the entrance of the patient into hospital, when the marks cannot be seen, and Dr. Russell in the Glasgow Hospital Report shows, that in consequence of their not being crowded, they kept the patients until recovery, and that the vaccine marks in some cases reappeared, and the hospital register was altered from un-vaccinated to vaccinated. This was the case, sir, with those who recovered, but how about those who died? Why they, of course, remain to improperly swell the unvaccinated death roll. And in London the hospitals have not been so favourably placed, and we hear nothing of such a change of registration. But if unvaccinated die at thirty-three per cent, now, they must also have done so before inoculation and vaccination were invented. And yet Jurin, in 1723, estimates the deaths from the natural, and unvaccinated small-pox when people were not inoculated at one in six. The report I hold in my hand states that out of 14,808 cases of smallpox in the small-pox hospitals of London during the year 1871, 11,174 were vaccinated. That is from the report of the medical officers. I have given you facts which you can verify. I repeat that seventy-five per cent of the cases in the Metropolitan Small-Pox Hospitals in 1871 were vaccinated. More than that, these persons in 1871 died at just the rate Jurin records in 1723. There cannot, therefore, be any reduction in the number of deaths in any way. And the explanation is, that the classification is incorrect, and the error is made by recording those only as vaccinated who show marks on entrance. The disease obliterates the marks, and, consequently, those severely affected who yield nearly all the deaths are recorded as unvaccinated.

Dr. Wyld's third point is that vaccination from the calf will not produce syphilis. Here I propose, in a few seconds, to run through the calf lymph case. Will you be good enough, Dr. Wyld, to tell me the source of your lymph? I presume it is Worlomont's or Martin's? (No answer.)

Well, calf lymph has been used since 1815. It has been used in Brussels, in Paris, Rotterdam, Berlin, St. Petersburg, and America, and Dr. Seaton in his report is dead against the practice. Dr. Ballard and Dr. Seaton have both been to the Continent to report upon it; and upon their report Dr. Seaton says—First, as to its origin—that it was from no distrust of their lymph that the calf lymph was produced (p. 174; Report, 1870); that it was not from Beaugency stock alone; and that it often failed in the commencement at Brussels, &c., and was renewed from Paris. Secondly, as to its success in producing vesicles. He says the failures at Paris were 21 per cent., and at Rotterdam 12 per cent., and that success at Brussels was too favourably recorded, the number of vesicles being not more than two-thirds of the insertions. I say that in no place has calf lymph been adopted first of all because of syphilis. And in France and Belgium, the countries where it has been most adopted, they have not a compulsory law—to their honour be it said. Dr. Worlomont says that in Belgium the use of calf lymph was resorted to because parents were reluctant to bring their children for vaccinifers. They had to bribe the parents, he says, to bring their children in order to get lymph. Dr. Martin, of America, has sent me, an anti-vaccinator, several letters and much information, for which I honour him. Dr. Martin records that for a long time he vaccinated with human lymph on one arm and with cow-pox from the heifer on the other, and that it was because he saw the constant appearance of erysipelas on the arm done with human lymph that he abandoned the practice. He says: "During the 16 years in which I supplied humanised virus the presence of this pest—erysipelas—in my own practice, and in that of my correspondents, was the one great and serious drawback—the one formidable source of anxiety and blame." That is the reason for the use of calf lymph; it had nothing to do with syphilis in the first instance. The fear of syphilis is used to bolster up the practice. What better should we be if we adopted calf lymph? Dr. Seaton informs us that "the natural cow-pox by artificial transmission through a succession of animals, undergoes just the same sort of modification that it does by

transmission through the human system of children" (p. 182; Report, 1870). This is in direct contradiction to Dr. Wyld. But if we have to trust to this calf-to-calf system, will it protect from small-pox? Dr. Seaton says, emphatically, "I think it must be obvious that, by the adoption of such a practice, we should be greatly weakening our defences against small-pox. The chance of protection to each individual would be largely diminished, and the danger to the community of spreading the small-pox greatly increased." And, further, he says, "Striking exemplifications of the danger to the community of confiding in animal vaccination during an outburst of smallpox has been given during the recent epidemic at Paris." "The failures have been quite remarkable" (p. 188).

And as to Dr. Wyld's third question: Can you deny that syphilis cannot be communicated by calf lymph? I think I can say it is. For Dr. Seaton is pretty emphatic in a foot-note on this point, He says: "Dr. Worlomont informed me that on more than one occasion practitioners who had vaccinated children with some of his animal lymph had told him of symptoms following, which, if they had not known the source of the lymph, they would have considered an imparted syphilis; and there have been lately lively discussions in France over some cases of syphilis appearing in children who had been vaccinated from a heifer, the local syphilitic symptoms manifesting themselves, it is said, at the vaccinated spots, at the termination of the vaccine process—cases which, no doubt, had humanised lymph been used, would have been alleged to be cases of infection introduced by it" (p. 188; Report, 1870). That, Sir, seems to me to completely answer the whole of Dr. Wyld's case. In every instance it fails. In every period of this superstitious usage it changes and alters to meet the notorious want of success. The failure is complete.

The practice of vaccination is based upon this monstrous dogma, that you must disease the infant life of the whole world; that, further, you must disease the human life of all the world at puberty. And I say that that is a proposition so monstrous, that the sanction of no Legislature, the sanction of no Senate, the sanction of no Throne, can long maintain it.

## **DR. WYLD'S THIRD SPEECH.**

Dr. WYLD—Dr. Seaton's report was issued in 1869, and nearly all that was said in that report was true then (12th Report of the Medical Officer of the Privy Council). The explanation is perfectly simple. In 1869 the calf lymph used on the Continent was used in a liquid form. It was found afterwards that, keeping it liquid in tubes, the solid particles descended and fastened themselves to the glass, and you only got the serum. Hence the vaccinations were inefficient. But since that time we have discovered that it is much better to use solid lymph; and now the vaccination from calf lymph is almost entirely from the solid lymph; and instead of being a partial failure, as indicated by Dr. Seaton, it is an absolute success. In the days when liquid lymph was used, the failures were 30 per cent., but now the failures do not exceed two per cent. I will now undertake to vaccinate 150 children in succession without one failure. The original source of my calf lymph was Beaugency, in France.

Mr. WHEELER—They were Beaugency and Saint Mandé mixed in 1866.

Dr. WYLD—I find that the anti-vaccinators are extremely angry with me for introducing calf lymph as a substitute for the human lymph, because they know that the use of this lymph is a summary answer to their syphilitic argument. A medical man of great repute in London, a friend of the anti-vaccinators, has written almost a whole tract against Dr. Wyld's calf lymph. This gentleman writes with great respect for myself, but I am sorry to say he treats my calf with no respect whatever. But, sir, this calf lymph is destined sooner or later entirely to put an end to the anti-vaccination movement. People who were formerly anti-vaccinators continually come to my study and say, "Dr. Wyld, we have always had a great dread of being vaccinated; but we have no fear of being vaccinated from the calf, because we know that it cannot possibly convey syphilis." A gentleman connected with one of the leading morning journals in London called upon me a week ago with his four children, aged from two to seven. They had never been vaccinated. He said he had a dread of vaccination and contamination from syphilis, and that he had declined to have his children vaccinated, though he felt uncomfortable in disobeying the law; but he said he had no objection to have them vaccinated from the calf. I vaccinated those four little children, and the week following they came to show what we doctors call their beautiful arms. Their mamma and papa are now extremely well pleased, and feel much happier and safer than they have been for a long time. Mr. Wheeler quoted Jenner as admitting that inoculation was possible after vaccination, and so, indeed, it is, after a certain time, the practice of re-vaccination being a universal admission of the fact. Dr. Wyld ridiculed the assertion of an anti-vaccinator that Jenner was an "obscure country apothecary." On the contrary, he was known to have been honoured by every crowned head then in Europe, and to have had honours and distinctions crowded upon him. He was a simple, good, kind-hearted man, and when Napoleon unwarrantably seized certain travellers passing through France, and refused to liberate them, even on the application of the British Government, Jenner wrote a simple letter to Napoleon, craving the release of two of his friends as a return for the boon of vaccination he had conferred on France. The conqueror of Europe

replied—" Jenner is a good and a great man; I can deny him nothing. Let the prisoners be liberated!"

## SIR THOMAS CHAMBERS.

The CHAIRMAN thanked the disputants for the ability and courtesy they had shown, and proceeded to "sum up," as he saw by the programme he was expected to do. He did not think that he could do better than repeat what he said in the House of Commons. And first he would say that compulsory vaccination is beyond all comparison the strongest form of "parental government" that was ever introduced into this country. It overrides and tramples down parental authority in relation to children. It takes them out of the care of the father and mother, who are ordained by Providence to exercise their parental care, and it insists upon a disease being infused into the blood of every child in order to prevent the contingency of its catching another disease. That might be justifiable; but it could only be justifiable, not upon medical *theories*, not upon the observance of innumerable pre- cautions and the presence of favourable circumstances, but upon a truth undeniable, universal in its operation, certain in its results, free from peril, and an absolute preventive. (Cheers.) So far he was satisfied that Dr. Wyld would agree with him, because every word that had been uttered in the discussion that night proved that vaccination was a medical theory which had varied in its form, varied in the exposition of it by those who understood it best, varied in the estimate formed of its value, varied in the mode in which it was supposed to act, and varied in the manner of its operation from the peril of introducing other diseases; thus the theory and practice of vaccination had changed from time to time since Dr. Seaton's report in 1869, as Dr. Wyld had just stated. (Cheers.) The men appointed by Government to report upon the subject laid their report before Parliament, and it was printed by authority of the Queen, and yet that report was now declared by Dr. Wyld to be utterly worthless. (Cheers.) Dr. Wyld asserted that Dr. Seaton was wrong, and it was possible that Dr. Seaton would say that Dr. Wyld was wrong when he undertook to vaccinate 150 children with his calf lymph without a failure. (Cheers and laughter.) He must ask Dr. Wyld to excuse him for not believing it, because every doctor in every period had always been just as confident. (Laughter.) He once said to an eminent medical friend, "How many people did you kill by bleeding?" He said "I cannot tell, but a very great many." On the Continent bleeding was still practised, and at one time in England, and that not very distant, bleeding was done at every barber's shop, and it was believed by medical men that bleeding in the spring and fall was the only way to save a man's life. He believed that Count Cavour and the late King of Italy were bled to death. Well, bleeding was abandoned by medical men in England; and medicine, like all other arts, was an improving one. What Dr. Wyld, or any other doctor would believe twelve months hence it was impossible to conjecture. Now, it could not be set down as an established and immovable truth in medicine that vaccination was an absolute protection against the disease for which it was enforced. He spoke as one who had had small-pox naturally, and he had a stamped receipt from nature (a laugh); and therefore he would be in favour of anything which could prevent that, provided it did not do a greater mischief. He had the highest admiration and regard for medical men, who he thought did more good gratuitously than any other body of men (hear), but he did not like their system. They denied for a long time, even the most eminent of them, that it was possible under any circumstance for vaccination to convey syphilis. Now they all admit it. (Hear.) These things might not justify us in saying "we won't vaccinate;" but they do justify us in saying that it is cruel and unjust to enforce it. (Cheers.) He stated in the House of Commons that it was generally admitted that vaccination diminishes the number of deaths from small-pox, but it does not diminish the general mortality. (Hear.) Some persons said that this distinction might be worthy of a lawyer, but they could not understand it—as if altering the form of dying was the same thing as diminishing the number of deaths—as if there was not the greatest distinction in the world between altering the death from which people die and diminishing the whole number of deaths in the year. (Cheers.) He did not think that vaccination had diminished mortality or that any epidemic of small-pox was ever arrested by it. (Hear.) Then he wanted to know why in this country, as small-pox went down, consumption and fever rose. (Hear.) It was for medical men to account for this. There was every reason why consumption should diminish, and yet it increased. Our food was more wholesome, the air of our dwellings was better, sanitary conditions had been improved, and there was every condition of better health in the community; and yet consumption went on increasing. This was a reproach upon our medical system, and he wanted the doctors to consent to look into the causes, and not to sneer at a suggestion because it did not come from a medical man. If the statistics quoted that night about the increase of consumption and erysipelas were true, and if the doctors would kindly look into the thing, they might alter their mind, as they did about the possibility of communicating syphilis. But it was not right that Acts of Parliament should continue upon the statute-book imposing cumulative penalties upon a theory which changed its form every year, and upon authorities who changed their language every year. (Cheers.) Discussion of this question would do good; it would elicit the truth; and they were obliged to gentlemen who came forward to enlighten the public upon the question. He did not agree with those who thought we had any reason to be much frightened about small-pox now. One argument used by the advocates of

vaccination struck him with amazement. When he argued in the House of Commons that the penalties for non-vaccination were unduly severe, the answer was, "What right have you to allow your unvaccinated child to be a peril to the community?" thus actually ignoring the protective theory. Why, 95 per cent, of the people were reported to be protected by vaccination. His reply was, "Don't you believe your own theory?" (Loud cheers.) What harm can a healthy, unvaccinated babe possibly do to children believed to be protected? (Hear.) He could not understand how any one who had the smallest faith in vaccination could have any fear about the five per cent, of unvaccinated children. (Cheers.) These were the facts. He felt a great difficulty in relying upon statistics. As regarded the cost, he thought that probably two millions a-year was paid to the medical profession on account of vaccination (shame); and, so far as their labour was concerned, they earned the money; but they earned it throughout the country under circumstances of enormous disadvantage. When a medical man called to vaccinate a child in Belgravia, he said to the anxious mother, "Wait." Why wait? "Wait till I get a good case." But the parish doctor vaccinated by the score with any lymph that might be available. (Hear, hear, and cries of "Shame.") Well, these considerations were overwhelmingly conclusive to his mind, and there was no answer to them. If vaccination were a safe and harmless and certain thing, no doctor would be more afraid of harm from vaccination than from baptising. (Hear and laughter.)

A vote was then taken as for and against vaccination, and the CHAIRMAN decided that a very large majority of those present were against vaccination.

On the motion of Dr. COLLINS, seconded by Dr. WYLD (who expressed his astonishment to find his friend, the Chairman, such a pronounced anti-vaccinator), a hearty vote of thanks was accorded to Sir Thomas Chambers for the courtesy, impartiality, and ability with which he had presided.

The CHAIRMAN, in acknowledging the vote of thanks, said that if Dr. Wyld received one-tenth of the painful letters from agonised parents that he received, he would be excused for having put the doubtful points strongly. He had not, however, committed himself further than that cumulative penalties ought not to be maintained upon a medical theory. (Cheers.)

JUST PUBLISHED, PRICE ONE PENNY.

Vaccination in the Light of History.

by

Alexander Wheeler,

Darlington.

London: F. Pitman, 20 Paternoster Row, E.C.

## Heretics and Heresies.

*"Liberty, a record without which all other words are rain."*

WHOEVER has an opinion of his own, and honestly expresses it, will be guilty of heresy. Heresy is what the minority believe; it is a name given by the powerful to the doctrine of the weak. This word was born of the hatred, arrogance, and cruelty of those who love their enemies, and who, when smitten on one cheek, turn the other. This word was born of intellectual slavery in the feudal ages of thought. It was an epithet used in the place of argument. From the commencement of the Christian era, every art has been exhausted, and every conceivable punishment inflicted, to force all people to hold the same religious opinions. This effort was born of the idea that a certain belief was necessary to the salvation of the soul. Christ taught, and the Church still teaches, that unbelief is the blackest of crimes. God is supposed to hate with an infinite and implicable hatred every heretic upon the earth, and the heretics who have died are supposed, at this moment, to be suffering the agonies of the damned. The Church persecutes the living, and her God burns the dead.

It is claimed that God wrote a book called the Bible, and it is generally admitted that this book is somewhat difficult to understand. As long as the Church had all the copies of this book, and the people were not allowed to read it, there was comparatively, little heresy in the world; but when it was printed and read, people began honestly to differ as to its meaning. A few were independent and brave enough to give the world their real thoughts, and for the extermination of these men the Church used all her power. Protestants and Catholics vied with each other in the work of enslaving the human mind. For ages they were rivals in the infamous effort to rid the earth of honest people. They infested every country, every city, town, hamlet, and family. They appealed to the worst passions of the human heart. They sowed the seeds of discord and hatred in every land. Brother denounced brother, wives informed against their husbands, mothers accused their children, dungeons were crowded with the innocent; the flesh of the good and the true rotted in the clasp of chains, the flames devoured the heroic, and in the name of the most merciful God his children were exterminated with famine, sword, and fire. Over the wild waves of battle rose and fell the banner of Jesus Christ. For sixteen hundred years, the robes of the Church were red with innocent blood. The ingenuity of Christians were exhausted in devising

punishment severe enough to be inflicted upon other Christians who honestly and sincerely differed with them upon any point whatever.

Give any orthodox Church the power, and to-day they would punish heresy with whip, and chain, and fire. As long as a Church deems a certain belief essential to salvation, just so long it will kill and burn if it has the power. Why should the Church pity a man whom her God hates? Why should she show mercy to a kind and noble heretic whom her God will burn in eternal fire? Why should a Christian be better than his God? It is impossible for the imagination to conceive of a greater atrocity than has been perpetrated by the Church.

Let it be remembered that all Churches have persecuted heretics to the extent of their power; Every nerve in the human body capable of pain has been Bought out and touched by the Church. Toleration has increased only when and where the power of the Church has diminished. From Augustine until now the spirit of the Christian has remained the same. There has been the some intolerance, the same undying hatred of all who think for themselves, the same determination to crush out of the human brain all knowledge inconsistent with the ignorant creed.

Every Church pretends that it has a revelation from God, and that this revelation must be given to the people through the Church.; that the Church acts through its priests, and that ordinary mortals must be content with a revelation—not from God—but from the Church. Had the people submitted to this preposterous claim, of course there, could have been but one Church, and that Church never could have advanced. It might have retrograded, because it is not necessary to think, or investigate, in order tot forget. Without heresy there could have been no progress.

The highest type of the orthodox Christian does not forget. Neither does he learn. He neither advances nor recedes. He is a living fossil, imbedded in that rock called faith. He makes no effort to better his condition, because all his Strength is exhausted in keeping other people from improving theirs. The supreme desire of his heart is to force all others to adopt his; creed; and in order to accomplish this object he denounces all kinds of Freethinking as a crime, and this crime he calls heresy. When he had the power, heresy was the most terrible and formidable of words. It meant confiscation, exile, imprisonment, torture, and death.

In those days the cross and rack were inseparable companions. Across the open Bible lay the sword and fagot. Not content with burning such heretics as were alive, they even tried the dead, in order that the Church might rob their wives and children. The property of; all heretics was confiscated, and on this account they charged the dead with being heretical—indicted, as it were, their dust—to the end that, the Church might clutch the bread of orphans. Learned divines discussed the propriety of tearing out, the tongues of heretics before they were burned, and the general opinion was that this ought to be done, so that the heretics should not be able, by uttering blasphemies, to shock the Christians who were burning them. With a mixture of ferocity and Christianity, the priests insisted that heretics ought to be burned at a slow fire, giving as a reason that more time was given them for repentance.

No wonder Jesus Christ said, "I came not to bring peace but a sword!"

Every priest regarded himself as the agent of God. He answered all questions by authority, and to treat him with disrespect was an insult offered to God. No one was asked to think, but all were commanded to obey.

In 1208 the Inquisition was established. Seven years afterward, the fourth council of the Lateran enjoined all kings and rulers to swear an oath that they would exterminate heretics from their dominions. The sword of the Church was unsheathed, and the world was at the mercy of ignorant and infuriated priests, whose eyes feasted upon the agonies they inflicted. Acting as they believed, or pretended to believe, under the command of God, stimulated by the hope of infinite reward in another; world—hating heretics with every drop of their bestial blood—savagely beyond description—merciless beyond conception—these infamous priests, in a kind of frenzied joy, leaped upon the helpless victims of their rage. They crashed their bones in iron boots, tore their quivering flesh with iron hooks and pincers, cut off their Hps and eyelids, pulled out their nails, and into the bleeding quick thrust needles, tore out their tongues, extinguished their eyes, stretched them upon racks, flayed them alive, crucified them with their head downwards, exposed them to wild beasts, burned them at the stake, mocked their cries and groans, ravished their wives, robbed their children, and then prayed God to finish the holy work in hell.

Millions upon millions were sacrificed upon the altars of bigotry. The Catholic burned the Lutheran, the Lutheran burned the Catholic; the Episcopalian tortured the Presbyterian, the Presbyterian tortured the Episcopalian. Every denomination killed all it could of every other; and each Christian felt in duty bound to exterminate every other Christian who denied the smallest fraction of his creed.

In the reign of Henry VIII., that pious and moral founder of the Apostolic Episcopal Church, there was passed by the Parliament of England an Act entitled, "An Act for Abolishing of Diversity of Opinion." And in this Act was set forth what a good Christian was obliged to believe.

First, that in the sacrament was the real body and blood of Jesus Christ.

Second, that the body and blood of Jesus Christ was in the bread, and the blood and body of Jesus Christ

was in the wine.

Third, that the priest should not marry.

Fourth, that vows of chastity were of perpetual obligation.

Fifth, that private masses ought to be continued.

And sixth, that auricular confession to a priest must be maintained.

This creed was made by law, in order that all men might know just what to believe by simply reading the statute. The Church hated to see the people wearing out their brains in thinking upon these subjects. It was thought far better that a creed should be made by Parliament, so that whatever might be lacking in evidence might be made up in force. The punishment for denying the first article was death by fire. For the denial of any other article, imprisonment, and for the second offence—death.

Your attention is called to these six articles, established during the reign of Henry VIII., and by the Church of England, simply because not one of these articles is believed by that Church to-day. If the law then made by the Church could be enforced now, every Episcopalian would be burned at the stake.

Similar laws were passed in most Christian countries, as all orthodox Churches firmly believed that mankind could be legislated into heaven. According to the creed of every Church, slavery leads to heaven, liberty leads to hell. It was claimed that God had founded the Church, and that to deny the authority of the Church, was to be a traitor to God, and consequently an ally of the devil. To torture and destroy one of the soldiers of Satan was a duty no good Christian cared to neglect. Nothing can be sweeter than to earn the gratitude of God by killing your own enemies. Such a mingling of profit and revenge, of heaven for yourself and damnation for those you dislike, is a temptation that your ordinary Christian never resists.

According to the theologians, God, the Father of us all, wrote a letter to his children. The children have always differed somewhat as to the meaning of this letter. In consequence of these honest differences, these brothers began to cut out each other's hearts. In every land where this letter from God has been read, the children to whom and for whom it was written have been filled with hatred and malice. They have imprisoned and murdered each other and the wives and children of each other. In the name of God, every possible crime has been committed, every conceivable outrage has been perpetrated. Brave men, tender and loving women, beautiful girls, and prattling babes have been exterminated in the name of Jesus Christ. For more than fifty generations, the Church has carried the black flag. Her vengeance has been measured only by her power. During all these years of infamy no heretic has ever been forgiven. With the heart of a fiend she has hated; with the clutch of avarice she has grasped; with the jaws of a dragon she has devoured, pitiless as famine, merciless as fire, with the conscience of a serpent. Such is the history of the Church of God,

I do not say, and I do not believe, that Christians are as hard as their creeds. In spite of Church and dogma, there have been millions and millions of men and women true to the loftiest and most generous promptings of the human heart. They have been true to their convictions, and with a self-denial and fortitude excelled by none, have laboured and suffered for the salvation of men. Imbued with the spirit of self-sacrifice, believing that by personal effort they could rescue at least a few souls from the infinite shadow of hell, they have cheerfully endured every hardship and scorned danger and death. And yet, notwithstanding all this, they believed that honest error was a crime. They knew that the Bible so declared, and they believed that all unbelievers would be eternally lost. They believed that religion was of God, and all heresy of the devil. They killed heretics in defence of their own souls and the souls of their children. They killed them, because, according to their idea, they were the enemies of God, and because the Bible teaches that the blood of the unbeliever is most acceptable sacrifice to heaven. Nature never prompted a loving mother to throw her child into the Ganges.

Nature never prompted men to exterminate each other for a difference of opinion concerning the baptism of infants. These crimes have been produced by religions filled with all that is illogical, cruel, and hideous. These religions were produced for the most part by ignorance, tyranny, and hypocrisy. Under the impression that the infinite Ruler and Creator of the Universe had commanded the destruction of heretics and infidels, the Church perpetrated all these crimes.

Men and women have been burned for thinking there was but one God; that there was none; that the Holy Ghost is younger than God; that God was somewhat older than his son; for insisting that good works will save a man, without faith; that faith will do without good works; for declaring that a sweet babe will not be burned eternally, because its parents failed to have its head wet by a priest; for speaking of God as though he had a nose; for denying that Christ was his own father; for contending that three persons, rightly added together, make more than one; for believing in purgatory; for denying the reality of hell; for pretending that priests can forgive sins; for preaching that God is an essence; for denying that witches rode through the air on sticks; for doubting the total depravity of the human heart! (for laughing at irresistible grace, predestination, and particular redemption; for denying that good bread could be made of the body of a dead man; for pretending, that the Pope was not managing this world for God, and in place of God; for disputing the efficacy of a vicarious atonement; for thinking that the Virgin Mary: was born like other people; for thinking that a man's rib

was hardly sufficient to make a good-sized woman; for denying that God used his finger for a pen; for asserting that prayers are not answered, that diseases are not sent to punish unbelief; for denying the authority of the Bible; for having a Bible in their possession; for attending mass, and for refusing to, attend; for wearing a surplice; for carrying a cross, and; for refusing; for being a Catholic, and for being a Protestant, for being an Episcopalian, a Presbyterian, a Baptist, and for being a Quaker. In short, every virtue has been a crime, and every crime a virtue. The Church has burned honesty and rewarded hypocrisy, and all this she did because it Was commanded by a book—a book that men had been taught implicitly to believe, long before they knew one word that was in it. They had been taught that to doubt the truth of this book, to examine it, even, was a crime of such enormity that it could not be forgiven, either in this world or in the next.

The Bible was the real persecutor. The Bible, burned heretics, built dungeons, founded the Inquisition, and trampled upon all the liberties of men.

How long, O how long will mankind, worship a book? How long will they grovel in the dust before the ignorant legends of the barbaric past? How long, O how long will they pursue phantoms in a darkness deeper than death?

Unfortunately for the world, about the beginning of the sixteenth Century, a man by the name of Gerard Chauvin was married to Jeanne Lefranc, and still more unfortunately for the world, the fruit of this marriage was a son, called John Chauvin, who afterward became as famous as John Calvin, the founder of the Presbyterian Church.

This man forged five fetters for the brain. These fetters he called points. That is to say, predestination, particular redemption, total depravity, irresistible grace, and the perseverance of the saints. About the neck of each follower he put a collar, bristling with these five iron points. The presence of all these points on the collar is still the test of orthodoxy in the Church he founded. This man when in the flush of youth was elected to the office of preacher in Geneva. He at once, in union with Farel, drew up a condensed statement of the Presbyterian doctrine, and all the citizens of Geneva, on pain of banishment, were compelled to take an oath that they believed this statement. Of this proceeding Calvin very innocently remarked that it produced great satisfaction. A man by the name of Caroli hid the audacity to dispute with Calvin. For this outrage

To show you what great subjects occupied the attention of Calvin, it is only necessary to, state that he furiously discussed the question as to whether the sacramental bread should be leavened or unleavened. He drew up laws regulating the cut of the citizens' clothes, and prescribing their diet, and all whose garments were not in the Calvin fashion Were refused the sacraments. At last, the people becoming tired of his petty theological tyranny, banished Calvin. In a few years, however, he was recalled and received with great enthusiasm. After this he was supreme, and the will of Calvin became the law of Geneva.

Under the benign administration of Calvin, James Gruet was beheaded because he had written some profane verses. The slightest word against Calvin or his absurd doctrine was punished as a crime.

In 1558, a man was tried at Vienne by the Catholic Church for heresy. He was convicted and sentenced to death by burning. It was his good fortune to escape. Pursued by the sleuth hounds of intolerance; he fled to Geneva for protection. A dove flying from hawks, sought safety in the nest of a vulture. This fugitive from the cruelty of Rome asked shelter from John Calvin, who had written a book in favour of religious toleration. Servetus had forgotten that this book was written by Calvin, when in the minority; that it was written in weakness, to be forgotten in power; that it was produced by fear instead of principle. He did not know that Calvin had caused his arrest at Vienne, in France, and had sent a copy of his work, which was claimed to be blasphemous, to this archbishop. He did not then Know that the Protestant Calvin was acting as One of the detective of the Catholic Church, and had been instrumental in procuring his conviction for heresy. Ignorant of all this unspeakable infamy, he put himself in the power of this very Calvin. The maker of the Presbyterian creed cause the fugitive Servetus to be arrested for blasphemy. He was tried; Calvin was his accuser. He was convicted and condemned to death by fire. On the morning of the fatal day Calvin saw him, and Servetus, the victim, asked forgiveness of Calvin, the murderer, for anything he might have said that had wounded his feelings. Servetus was bound to the stake, the fagots were lighted. The wind carried the flames somewhat away from his body, so that he slowly roasted for hours. Vainly he implored a speedy death. At last the flame climbed around his form; through smoke and fire his murderers saw a white, heroic face. And there they watched until a man became a charred and shrivelled mass.

Liberty was banished from Geneva; and nothing but Presbyterianism was left. Honour, justice, mercy, reason, and charity were all exiled; but the five points of predestination, particular redemption, irresistible grace, total depravity, and the certain perseverance of the saints, remained instead.

Calvin founded a little theocracy in Geneva, modelled after the Old Testament, and succeeded in erecting the most detestable government that ever, existed, except the one from which it was copied.

Against all this intolerance, one man, a minister, raised his voices The name of this man should never be forgotten. It was CASTELLIO. This brave man had the goodness and the courage to declare the *innocence of*

*honest error*. He was the first of the so-called reformers to take this noble ground. I wish I had the genius to pay a fitting tribute to his memory. Perhaps it would be impossible to pay him a greater compliment than to say, Castellio was in all things the opposite of Calvin. To plead for the right of individual judgment was considered a crime, and Castellio was driven from Geneva by John Calvin. By him he was denounced as a child of the devil, as a dog of Satan, as a beast from hell, and as one who, by this horrid blasphemy of the innocence of honest error, crucified Christ afresh, and by him he was pursued, until rescued by the hand of death.

Upon the name of Castellio, Calvin heaped every epithet until his malice was satisfied and his imagination exhausted. It is impossible to conceive how human nature can become so frightfully perverted as to pursue a fellow-man with the malignity of a fiend, simply because he is good, just and generous.

Calvin was of a pallid, bloodless complexion : thin, sickly, irritable, gloomy, impatient, egotistic, tyrannical, heartless, and infamous; He was a strange compound of revengeful morality, malicious forgiveness, ferocious charity, egotistic humility, and a kind of hellish justice. In other words, he was as near like the God of the Old Testament as his health permitted.

The best thing, however, about the Presbyterians, of Geneva was that they denied the power of the Pope, and the best thing about the Pope was that he was not a Presbyterian.

The doctrines of Calvin spread rapidly and were eagerly accepted by multitudes on the Continent. But Scotland, in a few years, became the real fortress of Presbyterianism. The Scotch rivalled the adherents of Calvin, and succeeded in establishing the same kind of theocracy that flourished in Geneva. The clergy took possession and control of everybody and everything. It is impossible to exaggerate the slavery, the mental degradation, the abject superstition of the people of Scotland during the reign of Presbyterianism. Heretics were hunted and devoured as though they had been wild beasts. The gloomy insanity of Presbyterianism took possession of a great majority of the people. They regarded their ministers as the Jews did Moses and Aaron. They believed that they were the especial agents of God, and that whatsoever they bound in Scotland would be bound in heaven. There was not one particle of intellectual freedom. No one was allowed to differ from the Church, or to even contradict a priest. Had Presbyterianism maintained its ascendancy, Scotland would have been peopled by savages to-day. The revengeful spirit of Calvin took possession of the Puritans, and caused them to redden the soil of the New World with the brave blood of honest men. Clinging to the five points of Calvin, they, too, established governments in accordance with the teachings of the Old Testament. They, too, attached the penalty of death to the expression of honest thought. They, too, believed their Church supreme, and exerted all their power to curse this Continent with a spiritual despotism as infamous as it was absurd. They believed with Luther that universal toleration is universal error, and universal error is universal hell. Toleration was denounced as a crime.

Fortunately for us, civilization has had a softening effect upon the Presbyterian Church. To the ennobling influence of the arts and sciences the savage spirit of Calvinism has, in some slight degree, succumbed. True, the old creed remains substantially as it was written, but by a kind of tact understanding it has come to be regarded as a relic of the past. The cry of "heresy" has been growing fainter and fainter, and, as a consequence, the ministers of that denomination have ventured now and then to express doubts as to the damnation of infants, and the doctrine of total depravity. The fact is, the old ideas became a little monotonous to the people. The fall of man, the scheme of redemption and irresistible grace, began to have a familiar sound. The preachers told the old stories while the congregation slept. Some of the ministers became tired of these stories themselves. The five points grew dull, and they felt that nothing short of irresistible grace could bear this endless repetition. The outside world was full of progress, and in every direction men advanced, while the Church, anchored to creed, idly rotted on the shore. Other denominations, imbued some little with the spirit of investigation, were springing up on every side, while the old Presbyterian ark rested on the Ararat of the past, filled with the theological monsters of another age.

Lured by the splendours of the outer world, tempted by the achievements of science, longing to feel the throb and beat of the mighty march of the human race, a few of the ministers of this conservative denomination were compelled, by irresistible Sense, to say a few words in harmony with the splendid ideas of to-day.

These utterances have upon several occasions so nearly awakened some of the members, that, rubbing their eyes, they have feebly inquired whether these grand ideas were not somewhat heretical? Those ministers found that just in proportion as their, orthodoxy decreased, their congregations increased. Those who dealt in the pure unadulterated article found themselves demonstrating the five points to a less number of hearers than they had points. Stung to madness by this bitter truth, this galling contrast, this harassing fact, the really orthodox have raised the cry of heresy, and expect with this cry to seal the lips of honest men. One of these ministers, and one who has been enjoying the luxury of a little honest thought, and the real rapture of expressing it, has already been indicted, and is about to be tried, by the Presbytery of Illinois.

He has been charged :

First. With speaking in an ambiguous language in relation to the dear old doctrine of the fall of man. With

having neglected to preach that most comforting and consoling truth, the eternal damnation of the soul.

Surely that man must be a monster who could wish to blot this blessed doctrine out and rod earth's wretched children of this blessed hope!

Who can estimate the misery that has been caused by this most infamous doctrine of eternal punishment? Think of the lives it has blighted—of the tears it has caused—of the agony it has produced. Think of the millions who have been driven to insanity by this most terrible of dogmas. The doctrine renders God the basest and most cruel being in the universe. Compared with him, the most frightful deities of the most barbarous and degraded tribes are miracles of goodness and mercy. There is nothing more degrading than to worship such a God. Lower than this the soul can never sink. If the doctrine of eternal damnation is true, let me have my portion in hell, rather than in heaven with a God infamous enough to inflict eternal misery upon any of the sons of men.

Second. With having spoken a few kind words of Robert Collyer and John Stuart Mill.

I have the honour of a slight acquaintance with Robert Collyer. I have read with pleasure some of his exquisite productions. He has a brain full of the dawn, the head of a philosopher, the imagination of a poet, and the sincere heart of a child.

Is a minister to be silenced because he speaks fairly of a noble and candid adversary? Is it a crime to compliment a lover of justice an advocate of liberty; one who devoted his life to the elevation of a man, the discovery of truth, and the promulgation of what he believed to be right?

Can that tongue be palsied by a Presbytery that praises a self-denying and heroic life? Is it a sin to speak a charitable word over the grave of John Stuart Mill? Is it heretical to pay a just and graceful tribute to departed worth? Must the true Presbyterian, violate the sanctity of the tomb, dig open the grave, and ask his God to curse the silent dust? Is Presbyterianism so narrow that it conceives of no excellence, of no purity of intention, of no spiritual and moral grandeur outside of its barbaric creed? Does it still retain within its stony heart all the malice of its founder? Is it still warming its fleshless hands at the flames that consumed Servetus? Does it still glory in the damnation of infants, and does it still persist in emptying the cradle in order that perdition may be filled? Is it still starving the soul and famishing the heart? Is it still trembling and shivering, crouching and crawling, before its ignorant confession of faith?

Had such men as Robert Collyer and John Stuart Mill been present at the burning of Servetus, they would have extinguished the flames with their tears. Had the Presbytery of Chicago been there, they would have quietly turned their backs, solemnly divided their coat-tails, and warmed themselves.

Third. With having spoken disparagingly of the doctrine of predestination.

If there is any dogma that ought to be protected by law, predestination is that doctrine. Surely it is a cheerful, joyous thing, to one who is labouring, struggling, and suffering in this weary world, to think that before he existed, before the earth was, before a star had glittered in the heavens, before a ray of light had left the quiver of the sun, his destiny had been irrevocably fixed, and that for an eternity before his birth he had been doomed to bear eternal pain!

Fourth. With having failed to preach the efficacy of "vicarious sacrifice."

Suppose a man had been convicted of murder, and was about to be hanged—the governor acting as the executioner. And suppose that just as the doomed man was to suffer death, someone in the crowd should step forward and say, "I am willing to die in the place of that murderer. He has a family, and I have none." And suppose further that the governor should reply, "Come forward, young man, your offer is accepted. A murder has been committed, and somebody must be hung, and your death will satisfy the law just as well as the death of the murderer." What would you then think of the doctrine of "vicarious sacrifice?"

This doctrine is the consummation of two outrages—forgiving one crime and committing another.

Fifth. With having indicated a phase of the doctrine commonly known as "Evolution" or "Development."

The Church believes and teaches the exact opposite of this doctrine. According to the philosophy of theology, man has continued to degenerate for six thousand years. To teach that there is that in nature which impels to higher forms and grander ends, is heresy, of course. The Deity will damn Spencer and his "Evolution," Darwin and his "Origin of Species," Bastian and his "Spontaneous Generation," Huxley and his "Protoplasm," Tyndall and his "Prayer Gauge," and will save those, and those only, who declare that the universe has been cursed from the smallest atom to the grandest star; that everything tends to evil, and to that only; and that the only perfect tiling in nature is the Presbyterian confession of faith.

Sixth. With having intimated that the reception of Socrates and Penelope at heaven's gate was, to say the least, a trifle more cordial than that of Catherine II.

Penelope waiting patiently and trustfully for her lord's return, delaying her suitors, while sadly weaving and unweaving the shroud of Laertes, is the most perfect type of wife and woman produced by the civilisation of Greece.

Socrates, whose life was beyond reproach, and whose death was beyond all praise, stands to-day, in the

estimation of every thoughtful man, at least the peer of Christ.

Catherine II. assassinated her husband. Stepping upon his corpse, she mounted the throne. She was the murderess of Prince Iwan, the grand nephew of Peter the Great, who was imprisoned for eighteen years, and who; during all that time, saw the sky but once. Taken all in all, Catherine was probably one of the most intellectual beasts that ever wore a crown.

Catherine, however, was the head of the Greek Church. Socrates was a heretic, and Penelope lived and died without having once heard of "particular redemption," or "irresistible grace."

Seventh. With repudiating the idea of a "call" to the "ministry," and pretending that men were "called" to preach as they were to the other avocations of life.

If this doctrine is true, God, to say the least of it, is an exceedingly poor judge of human nature. It is more than a century since a man of true genius has been found in an orthodox pulpit. Every minister is heretical just to the extent that his intellect is above the average. The Lord seems to be satisfied with the mediocrity; but the people are not.

An old deacon, wishing to get rid of an unpopular preacher, advised him to give up the ministry, and turn his attention to something else. The preacher replied that he could not conscientiously desert the pulpit, as he had a "call" to the ministry. To which the deacon replied, "That may be so, but it's mighty unfortunate for you that when God called you to preach, he forgot to call anybody to hear you."

There is nothing more stupidly egotistic than the claim of the clergy that they are, in some divine sense, set apart to the service of the Lord; that they have been chosen and sanctified; that there is an infinite difference between them and persons employed in secular affairs. They teach us that all other professions must take care of themselves; that God allows anybody to be a doctor, a lawyer, statesman, soldier, or artist; that the Motts and Coopers—the Mansfields and Marshalls—the Wilberforces and Sumners—the Angelos and Raphaels—were never honoured by a "call." These chose their professions and won their laurels without the assistance of the Lord. All these men were left free to follow their own inclinations, while God was busily engaged selecting and "calling" priests, rectors, elders, ministers, and extorters.

Eighth. With having doubted that God was the author of the 109th Psalm.

The portion of that Psalm which carries with it the clearest and most satisfactory evidences of inspiration, and which has afforded almost unspeakable consolation to the Presbyterian Church, is as follows :—

*"Set thou a wicked man over him; and let Satan stand at his right hand.*

*When he shall be judged, let him be condemned; and let his prayer become sin.*

*Let his days be few; and let another take his office.*

*Let his children be fatherless, and his wife a widow.*

*Let his children be continually vagabonds, and beg; let them seek their bread also out of their desolate places.*

*Let the extortioner catch all that he hath; and let the strangers spoil his labour.*

*Let there be none to extend mercy unto him; neither let there be none to favour his fatherless children.*

*Let his posterity be cut off; and in the generation following let their name be blotted out.*

*But do thou for me, O God the Lord, for Thy name's sake; because Thy mercy is good, deliver thou me.*

*I will greatly praise the Lord with my mouth."*

Think of a God wicked and malicious enough to inspire this prayer. Think of one infamous enough to answer it.

Had this inspired Psalm been found in some temple erected for the worship of snakes, or in the possession of some cannibal king, written with blood upon the dried skins of babes, there would have been a perfect harmony between its surroundings and its sentiments.

No wonder that the author of this inspired Psalm coldly received Socrates and Penelope, and reserved his sweetest smiles for Catherine the Second!

Ninth. With having said that the battles in which the Israelites engaged with the approval and command of Jehovah surpassed in cruelty those of Julius Cæsar.

Was it Julius Cæsar who said, "And the Lord our God delivered him before us; and we smote him, and his sons, and all his people. And we took all his cities, and utterly destroyed the men, and the women, and the little ones, of every city, we left none to remain?"

Did Julius Cæsar send the following report to the Roman Senate? "And we took all his cities at that time, there was not a city which we took not from them, three score cities, all the region of Argob, the kingdom of Og, in Bashan. All these cities were fenced with high walls, gates, and bars; besides unwalled towns a great many. And we utterly destroyed them, as we did unto Sihon, King of Heshbon, utterly destroying the men, women, and children of every city."

Did Cæsar take the city of Jericho "and utterly destroy all that was in the city, both man and woman, young and old?" Did he smite "all the country of the hills, and of the south, and of the vale, and of the springs, and all

their kings, and leave none remaining that breathed, as the Lord God had commanded?"

Search the records of the whole world, find out the history of every barbarous tribe, and you can find no crime that touched a lower depth of infamy than those of the Bible's God commanded and approved. For such a God I have no words to express my loathing and contempt, and all the words in all the languages of man would scarcely be sufficient. Away with such a God! Give me Jupiter rather, with Io and Europa, or even Siva, with his skulls and snakes, or give me none.

Tenth. With having repudiated the doctrines of "total depravity."

What a precious doctrine is that of the total depravity of the human heart! How sweet it is to believe that the lives of all the good and great were continual sins and perpetual crimes; that the love a mother bears her child is, in the sight of God, a sin; that the gratitude of the natural heart is simple meanness; that the tears of pity are impure; that for the unconverted to live and labour for others is an offence to heaven; that the noblest aspirations of the soul are low and grovelling in the sight of God; that man should fall upon his knees and ask forgiveness, simply for loving his wife and child, and that even the act of asking forgiveness is, in fact, a crime!

Surely it is a kind of bliss to feel that every woman and child in the wide world, with the exception of those who believe the five points, or some other equally cruel creed, and such children as have been baptised, ought at this very moment to be dashed down to the lowest glowing gulf of hell!

Take from the Christian the history of his own Church.; leave that entirely out of the question, and he has no argument left with which to substantiate the total depravity of man.

A minister once asked an old lady, a member of his Church, what she thought of the doctrine of total depravity' and the dear old soul replied that she thought it a mighty good doctrine if the Lord would only give the people grace enough to live up to it!

Eleventh. With having doubted the "perseverance of the saints."

I suppose the real meaning of this doctrine is, that Presbyterians are just as sure of going to heaven as all other folks are of going to hell. The real idea being, that it all depends upon the will of God, and not upon the character of the person to be damned or saved; that God has the weakness to send Presbyterians to Paradise, and the justice to doom the rest of mankind to eternal fire.

It is admitted that no Unconverted brain can see the least of sense in this doctrine; that it is abhorrent to all who have not been the recipients of a "new heart;" that only the perfectly good can justify the perfectly infamous.

It is contended that the saints do not persevere of their own free will—that they are entitled to no credit for persevering; but that God forces them to persevere, while, on the other hand, every crime is committed in accordance with the secret will of God, who does all things for his own glory.

Compared with this doctrine, there is no other idea, that has ever been believed by man, that can properly be called absurd.

As to the doctrine of the perseverance of the saints, I wish with all my heart that it may prove to be a fact. I really hope that every saint, no matter how badly he may break on the first quarter, nor how many shoes he may cast at the half-mile pole, will foot it bravely down the long home stretch, and win eternal heaven by at least a neck.

Twelfth. With having spoken and written somewhat lightly of the idea of converting the heathen with doctrinal sermons.

Of all the failures of which we have any history or knowledge, the missionary effort is the most conspicuous. The whole question has been decided here, in our own country, and conclusively settled. We have nearly exterminated the Indians; but we have converted none. From the days of John Eliot to the execution of the last Modoc, not one Indian has been the subject of irresistible grace or particular redemption. The few red men who roam the western wilderness have no thought or care concerning the five points of Calvin. They are utterly oblivious to the great and vital truths contained in the Thirty-nine articles, the Saybrook platform, and the resolution of the Evangelical Alliance. No Indian has ever scalped another on account of his religious belief. This of itself shows conclusively that the missionaries have had no effect.

Why should we convert the heathen of China and kill our own? Why should, we send missionaries across the seas, and soldiers over the plains? Why should we send Bibles to the East and muskets, to the West? If it is impossible to convert Indians who have no religion of their own; no prejudice for or against the "eternal procession of the Holy Ghost," how can we expect to convert a heathen who has a religion; who has plenty of gods and Bibles, and prophets and Christs, and who has a religious literature far grander than our own? Can we hope, with the story of Daniel in the lion's den, to rival the stupendous miracles of India? Is there anything in our Bible as lofty and loving as the prayer of the Buddhist? Compare your "Confession of Faith" with the following:

"Never will I seek nor receive private individual salvation,—never enter into final peace alone; but forever and everywhere will I live and strive for the universal redemption of every creature throughout all worlds. Until

all are delivered, never will I leave the world, of sin, sorrow, and struggle, but will remain where I am."

Think of sending an average Presbyterian to convert a man who daily offers this tender, this infinitely generous and incomparable prayer! Think of reading the 109th Psalm to a heathen who has a Bible of his own, in which is found this passage : "Blessed is that man, and beloved of all the gods, who is afraid of no man, and of whom no man is afraid!"

Why should you read even the New Testament to a Hindoo, when his own Christna has said : "If a man strike thee, and in striking drop his staff, pick it up and hand it to him again?" Why send a Presbyterian to a Sufi, who says : "Better one moment of silent contemplation and inward love, than seventy thousand years of outward worship?" "Whoso would carelessly tread on one worm that crawls on earth, that heartless one is darkly alienate from God! but he that, living, embraceth all things in his love, to live with him God bursts all bounds above, below."

Why should we endeavour to thrust our cruel and heartless theology upon one who prays this prayer : "O God, show pity towards the wicked; for on the good thou hast already bestowed thy mercy by having created; them virtuous?"

Compare this prayer with the curses and cruelties of the Old Testament—with the infamies commanded and approved by the being whom we are taught to worship as a God, and with the following tender product of Presbyterianism: "It may seem absurd to human wisdom that God should harden, blind, and deliver up some men to a reprobate sense; that he should first deliver them over to evil, and then condemn them for that evil; but the believing, spiritual man sees no absurdity in all this, knowing that God would never be a whit less good, even though he should destroy all men."

Of all the religions that have been produced by the egotism, the malice, the ignorance, and ambition of man, Presbyterianism is the most hideous.

But what shall I say more? for the time would fail me to tell of Sabellianism, of a "model trinity," and the "eternal procession of the Holy Ghost?"

Upon these charges a minister is to be tried, here in Chicago; in this city of pluck and progress—this marvel of energy, and this miracle of nerve. The cry of "heresy," here, sounds like a wail from the Dark Ages—a shriek from the Inquisition, or a groan from the grave of Calvin.

Another effort is being made to enslave a man.

It is claimed that every member of the Church has solemnly agreed never to outgrow the creed; that he has pledged himself to remain an intellectual dwarf. Upon this condition the Church agrees to save his soul, and he hands over his brains to bind the bargain. Should a fact be found inconsistent with the creed, he binds himself to deny the fact and curse the finder. With scraps of dogmas and crumbs of doctrine, he agrees that his soul shall be satisfied for ever. What an intellectual feast the confession of faith must be! It reminds one of the dinner described by Sydney Smith, where everything was cold except the water, and everything sour except the vinegar.

Every member of a Church promises to remain orthodox, that is to say—stationary. Growth is heresy. Orthodox ideas are the feathers that have been moulted by the eagle of progress. They are the dead leaves under the majestic palm, while heresy is the bud and blossom at the top.

Imagine a vine that grows at one end and decays at the other. The end that grows is heresy; the end that rots is orthodox. The dead are orthodox, and your cemetery is the most perfect type of a well-regulated Church. No thought, no progress, no heresy there. Slowly and silently, side by side, the satisfied members peacefully decay. There is only this difference—the dead do not persecute.

And what does a trial for heresy mean? It means that the Church says to a heretic, "Believe as I do, or I will withdraw my support; I will not employ you; I will pursue you until your garments are rags; Until your children cry for bread; until your cheeks are furrowed with tears. I will hunt you to the very portals of the tomb, and then my God will do the rest. I will not imprison you. I will not burn you. The law prevents my doing that. I helped make the law, not however to protect you, nor deprive me of the right to exterminate you but in order to keep other churches from exterminating me."

A trial for heresy means that the spirit of persecution still lingers in the Church; that it still denies the right of private judgment; that it still thinks more of creed than of truth; that it is still determined to prevent the intellectual growth of man. It means that churches are shamble in the which are bought and sold the souls of men. It means that the Church is still guilty of the barbarity of opposing thought with force. It means that if it had the power, the mental horizon would be bounded by a creed, that it would bring again the whips and chains, I and dungeon keys, the rack and fagot of the past.

But let me tell the Church it lacks the power. There have been, and still are, too many men who own themselves—too much thought, too much knowledge for the Church to grasp again the sword of power. The Church must abdicate, for the Eglon of superstition, science, has a message from truth.

The heretics have not thought and suffered and died in vain. Every heretic has been and is, a ray of light.

Not in vain did Voltaire, that great man, point from the foot of the Alps the finger of scorn at every hypocrite in Europe. Not in vain were the splendid utterances of the infidels, while beyond all price are the discoveries of science.

The Church has impeded, but it has not and it cannot stop the onward march of the human race. Heresy cannot be burned, hot imprisoned, nor starved. It laughs at presbyteries and synods, at (Ecumenical councils and the impotent thunders of Sinai. Heresy is the eternal dawn, the morning star, the glittering herald of the day. Heresy is the last and best thought, it is the perpetual, new world; the unknown sea, towards which the brave all sail. It is the eternal horizon of progress. Heresy extends the hospitalities of the brain to new thoughts. Heresy is a cradle; orthodoxy a coffin.

Why should a man be afraid to think, and why should he fear to express his thoughts?

Is it possible that an infinite Deity is unwilling that man should investigate the phenomena by which he is surrounded? Is it possible that a god delights in threatening and terrifying men? What glory, what honour and renown a god must win in such a field! The ocean raving at a drop; a star envious of a candle; the sun jealous of a fire-fly!

Go on, presbyteries and synods, go on! Thrust the heretics out of the Church. That is to say, throw away your brains—put out your eyes. The infidels will thank you. They are willing to adopt your exiles. Every deserter from your camp is a recruit for the army of progress. Cling to the ignorant dogmas of the past; read the 109th Psalm; gloat over the slaughter of mothers and babes; thank God for total depravity; shower your honours upon hypocrites, and silence every minister who is touched with that heresy called genius.

Be true to your history. Turn out the astronomers, geologists, the naturalists, the chemists, and all the honest scientists. With a whip of scorpions, drive them all out. We want them all. Keep the ignorant, the superstitious, the bigoted, and the writers of charges and specifications. Keep them, and keep them all. Repeat your pious platitudes in the drowsy ears of the faithful, and read your Bible to heretics, as kings read some forgotten Riot Act to stop and stay the waves of revolution. You are too weak to excite anger. We forgive your efforts as the sun forgives a cloud—as the air forgives the breath you waste.

How long, O how long will man listen to the threats of God, and shut his ears to the splendid promises of Nature? How long, O how long will man remain the cringing slave of a false and cruel creed?

By this time the whole world should know that the real Bible has not yet been written; but is being written, and that it will never be finished until the race begins its downward march or ceases to exist. The real Bible is not the work of inspired men, nor prophets, nor apostles, nor evangelists, nor of Christ. Every man who finds a fact, adds, as it were, a word to this great book. It is not attested by prophecy, by miracles, or by signs. It makes no appeal to faith, to ignorance, to credulity, or fear. It has no punishment for unbelief, and no reward for hypocrisy. It appeals to man in the name of demonstration. It has nothing to conceal. It has no fear of being read, of being investigated and understood. It does not pretend to be holy or sacred; it simply claims to be true. It challenges the scrutiny of all, and implores every reader to verify every line for himself. It is incapable of being blasphemed. This book appeals to all the surroundings of man. Each thing that exists testifies of its perfection. The earth with its heart of fire and crowns of snow; with its forests and plains, its rocks and seas; with its every wave and cloud; with its every leaf, and bud, and flower, confirms its every word, and the solemn: stars, shining in the infinite abysses, are the eternal witnesses of its truth.

Vignette

The Harmony of the Gospel Narratives of the Resurrection of Jesus the Christ.

*A Reply to Lectures of Mr. Robert Stout,*

AS PRESIDENT OF THE DUNEDIN FREETHOUGHT ASSOCIATION.

Read by the Rev. William Gillies,

MINISTER OF TRINITY PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, TIMARU,

To the Young Men's Christian Association, on Thursday Evening, July 21, 1881.

PUBLISHED BY REQUEST.

Price—Sixpence.

Printed at the "Timaru Herald" Office Timaru Great South Road

## **The Harmony of the Gospel Narratives of the Resurrection of Jesus the Christ.**

THE friends and the foes of Christianity have alike recognised the central position and cardinal importance of the fact of the resurrection of Jesus the Christ in relation to the existence of the Christian faith. By no one has that vital relation been more decisively expressed than by the Apostle Paul, in the fifteenth chapter of his 1st

Epistle to the Corinthians, where we find him saying, "If Christ be not risen, then is our preaching vain, and your faith is also vain; yea, and we are found false witnesses of God, because we have testified of God that he raised up Christ." In seeking to overthrow the credibility of this fact, the gospel narratives relating thereto are keenly criticised, and the differences in these narratives are declared to be essential discrepancies, contradictory, and altogether irreconcilable with one another; and so the historical testimony is said to be deprived of all value, and the evidence of these witnesses rendered worthless. Now, it is with this one branch of the discussion regarding the Resurrection that I have to deal in my paper to-night, and in doing so I will have special regard to recent lectures on the Resurrection, delivered in Dunedin by Mr. Robert Stout, as President of the so-called Freethought Association, and published under their auspices. In these lectures Mr. Stout displays his well-known abilities as a barrister, in the art of putting things to catch a popular verdict. But I humbly submit, that where truth is the end aimed at, the special pleading, one-sided statements, and plausible marshalling of arguments—appropriate enough in a barrister conducting his case, to be there and then replied to by opposing counsel, and the whole case as stated on both sides summed up by an impartial judge, and laid thus completely before the jury,—is not the appropriate style of treatment of a great question like this of the Resurrection; and more especially by one speaking from the position of President, of a Freethought Association—unless, indeed, we are to take Freethought, in this connection, as synonymous with "The Bible-to-be-put-down-at-all-hazards"—for which understanding of the meaning of the term there is abundant evidence. In dealing with the gospel narratives of the Resurrection, what is wanted to serve the ends of truth is not the barrister's acuteness in picking holes, bamboozling witnesses, and skilfully making them appear to contradict one another; but the judge's patient calmness—unravelling intricacies, and weighing evidence, taking note of the different standpoints occupied by witnesses, causing diversities in testimony, but which, instead of weakening the value or the truth of such testimony, greatly strengthen it and confirm its credibility. And when the gospel narratives are examined in that spirit, I have not, fear that they will be found to be untrustworthy or contradictory witnesses. Even a, were it found that there were irreconcilable discrepancies and contradictions, it would be a most illogical conclusion to come to, that we would therefore be justified in rejecting all of the narratives as false, and disbelieving the whole story, or the main fact of the Resurrection. That might do for a barrister's if putting of the issues to the jury, but it would not do for a judge's. Granted that there were such irreconcilable discrepancies in some of the details, that would only sustain the conclusion that some one of the narratives, in the special items where there is such disagreement, is inaccurate; and it would then be the duty of truth-seekers to endeavour to find out which is the inaccurate and which is the true statement. To reject the whole thing, is the foolish act of prejudiced unreasonableness. The course in general pursued in relation to these apparent discrepancies by opponents of the belief in the general fact (and followed by Mr Stout in particular), is to put them forward with all pointedness as inconsistencies and contradictions, invalidating the whole testimony, while resolute silence is observed as to all in which these representations agree. The apparent discords in minor details are placed in the harshest possible light so as to blind to the existing harmony in the main facts, and so to deceive as to the value of the whole. But, as in music there are discords which are not blemishes in the composition, but effective passages to bring out musical effects connected with the laws of harmony, so there are discords in historical testimony, which more effectively establish the general result of the harmony of the whole, than complete identity of testimony in every particular would have done. Let Mr. Stout get four witnesses for the plaintiff in any case in which he is counsel for the defence, to step into the witness box one after another, and to repeat their story unhesitatingly in the exact same order, and very much in the same words, without varying in the minutest details, would he, desire anything better to urge most conclusively that the whole evidence was a concocted thing, and so they came there and gave it off cut and dry? We may be deeply thankful that the evidence of the four evangelists, in connection with the Resurrection is not of that character, but is evidently the evidence of four independent witnesses telling the story each from his own point of view, and in harmony with the general object and tenor of his whole gospel story, and thus producing dis-similarity in the details recorded, but without destroying the general harmony of their testimony, and presenting us with a more complete account of what took place in connection with the one main fact, than if we had only the one narrative. And it will be my endeavour to bring out the perfect harmony subsisting between their different records.

Mr. Stout prefaces his statement of the alleged fatal discrepancies with these general remarks—"We must remember that from the orthodox standpoint, the Gospels are believed to have been dictated by the Deity. We would therefore expect to find in them a greater harmony than would be found in the writings of men who had not such guidance. If, however, we find that, not only the accounts disagree, but that they are irreconcilable, What are we to conclude?" Well, surely that wherein they are irreconcilable, someone has blundered, but surely not that the whole story is a myth or a fiction; and, if in the main part of the story there is substantial agreement, while in details there are differences, it shows that there is no collusion between the narrators, or mere retailing of a concocted story. I may just remark in passing that, while it may not be intentional on Mr. Stout's part in the

above-quoted sentences, to misrepresent the orthodox standpoint, yet it is a misleading statement with regard thereto, and tted to create a prejudice against it to say, If the Gospels are believed to have been [UNCLEAR: D]ICTATED by the Deity." If he does not Know the orthodox point of view more correctly than is implied in such a statement, it would be well for him to take the trouble to make himself acquainted with it; and if he does know it, he should be careful to state it more exactly. But this is just a turn of expression where the art of the barrister crops but in the statement of the case, rather than the fairness of the judge. "Dictated by the Deity" and "inspired by the Holy Spirit" do not express the same thing, nor suggest the same ideas. He is quite right in stating, however, that the orthodox standpoint in [unclear: r]eference to the Gospels 'leads us to expect a [unclear: g]reater harmony than would be found in the [unclear: wr]itings of men who had not such guidance.'" and such greater harmony does exist—a harmony which I trust to be able to show you, evidencing at once the individual operation of each writer's mind in the telling of his story, and the underlying operation of One inspiring and controlling mind guiding them all. So that each tells his own story, and all four tell a consistent and complementary story, filling up together a more complete record of what took place on that ever memorable morning, which has so far revolutionized the ordinary computation of time, as well as given existence I and vitality to the most potent influence which has ever been at work in this world, and which has its continual commemoration in the weekly Christian Sabbath.

On the so-called orthodox side of this question I do not think that the harmony of the narratives has always been very wisely stated, or, indeed, been very clearly perceived; and so attempts at reconciliation have manifested not a little clumsiness, and explanations not a little unsatisfactoriness. Some, indeed, whilst holding fast by the main facts narrated, admit that there are discrepancies, for the explanation or reconciliation of which we cannot find a solution, on account of our not having full knowledge of the facts of the case, and take shelter from any hostile inferences under the plea that there is some reconciling fact which has not been put on record, but which, if we could lay hold of, would banish the apparent discrepancy. So far, this might, be true, and opens a door of escape, but it cannot be said to be very satisfactory. As an illustration, however of what is meant, and to show that it has a degree of feasibility about it, I may take an example from the narrative in the Acts of the conversion of the Apostle Paul. In the first historical account of that incident we are told, "that the men which journeyed with him stood speechless, *hearing a voice*, but seeing no man." In his own speech to the multitude at Jerusalem, who had been incited against him, so that they would have killed him, had he not been delivered by the opportune arrival on the scene of the riot of the chief captain of the Roman guard, he distinctly declares, "they that were with me saw indeed the light, and were afraid, but *they heard not the voice* of him that spake to me." There, there is a discrepancy between the two accounts, the one saying that "they that were with me heard the voice," the other, as positively, that "they that were with me heard not the voice." We would say there is a discrepancy which it would certainly be very puzzling to reconcile—indeed, a contradiction which it would be impossible to reconcile. But, fortunately, we have a third account, this time also from the lips of the Apostle himself, when he was permitted to speak for himself before Agrippa, and in this account we get the needful information to enable us to reconcile the two statements very simply and very satisfactorily. Paul says, "I heard a voice speaking unto me, and *saying in the Hebrew tongue*." These words, "In the Hebrew tongue," explain and justify both the previous statements. Those who were with him, being Roman soldiers, they heard the sound of the voice, but they understood not the words spoken, as they understood not the Hebrew tongue. And so, whilst it was true, according to the narrative, they heard the voice, yet also was it quite true according to Paul's hurried narration in addressing the excited multitude, they heard not the voice—they could not tell what was said. Without the third account, and its fuller and more complete statement, we would, however, have been in very great straits to explain the apparent contradiction. And so it may be in other cases;—and so it might be in relation to some statements connected with the Resurrection. But I do not think we need resort to such a plea, to save the credibility of the narratives connected with the Resurrection.

Samuel Butler, best known as the author of "Erewhon" (and who was by the way formerly a Canterbury settler), in a subsequent work entitled, "Fairhaven : or, a Work in Defence of the Miraculous Element of our Lord's Ministry upon earth, both as against Rationalistic Impugners, and certain Orthodox Defenders," boasts—"That in an age when rationalism has become recognised as the only basis upon which faith can rest securely, he has established the Christian faith upon a rationalistic basis." And recognising the central position and vital importance of the fact of the Resurrection in relation to the Christian faith, his argument is necessarily mainly concerned with that fact. Holding it to be a fact, he has to deal with the differing narratives of the Gospel records; but he solves the difficulty by throwing out altogether Matthew's account. He says, "One of the most serious difficulties to the unbeliever is the inextricable confusion in which the accounts of the Resurrection have reached us. No one can reconcile these accounts with one another—not only in minute particulars, but on matters on which it is of the highest importance to come to a clear understanding. . . . Now this is not one of those cases in which the supposition can be tolerated, that all would be clear if the whole facts of the case were known to us. The only question to be raised is, which is the more correct account of the

Resurrection—Matthew's, or those given by the other three evangelists? How far is Matthew's account true, and how far is it exaggerated? for there must be exaggeration or invention somewhere." And his conclusion is "That the account of the Resurrection given in St. Matthew's Gospel must be looked upon as the invention of some copyist, or possibly of the translators of the original work, at time when men who had been eye-witnesses to the actual facts of the Resurrection were becoming scarce, and when it was felt that some more unmistakably miraculous account than that given in the other three Gospels would be a comfort and encouragement to succeeding generations." So he proposes, let us now say to the unbeliever, "We do not deny the truth of much which you assert—we give up Matthew's account of the Resurrection; we may perhaps, accept parts of those of Mark and Luke and John, but it is impossible to say which parts, unless those in which all three agree with one another: and, this being so, it becomes wise to regard all the accounts as early and precious memorials of the certainty felt by the Apostles that Christ died and rose again, but as having little historic value with regard to the time and manner of the resurrection." This is his "Rationalistic basis," on which the Christian Faith is henceforth to rest securely, of which he says vauntingly "I have made no concession to Rationalism[unclear: s] which did not place the vital parts of Christianity in a far stronger position than they were in before, yet I have conceded everything which a sincere rationalist is likely to desire—I have cleared the ground for reconciliation." No wonder it has been disputed whether the I man is speaking honestly and sincerely or ironically,—whether he be a misguided friend or a cunning covert foe to Christianity. To I me it appears as a proposal to make friends with the enemy by giving up to them the citadel. Christianity, on such a basis, would not stand very long Faith in the resurrection of Christ would soon die out if the credibility of the Gospel records be given up.

I have entered thus largely on the preliminary discussion to show you the importance of arriving at a fair and proper harmony of the narratives, and that you may weigh the more cautiously and critically my explanation of the differences in the records, and my harmony of the whole

In examining the alleged discrepancies, will follow Mr. Stout's marshalling of them First—As to the *time* when the visit to the sepulchre was paid, and the discovery that Jesus' body was not there, he says—"We find a *great* difference," and after stating the differences adds, "Here, then, about the time of the visit, there are three accounts; which one is to be believed?" He admits an agreement between Mark and Luke, the one of whom says, "And very early, on the first day of the week, they came unto the sepulchre at the rising of the sun "; the other, "Now upon the first day of the week, very early in the morning, they came unto the sepulchre." So far, then, we have two witnesses agreeing. It was very early in the morning of the first day of the week—Mark, in his more vivid, descriptive manner, adding, "at the rising of the sun" (or more strongly, "when the sun had risen"). Matthew says, "They came in the end of the Sabbath, as it began to dawn." Where is there a great difference there from Mark's and Luke's account? Surely, it would begin to dawn when the sun had risen, but had not yet appeared above the mountains of Moab. And so again John's account, who says, "The first day of the week cometh Mary Magdalene, when it was yet dark" (or, "there being yet darkness"—Script (possibly Greek). . What pleasure of darkness is not fixed, and the expression is quite consistent with its being the beginning of dawn—the dim, grey twilight ere the sun has risen far enough to shine direct. Any of us going out at that time might say with perfect consistency, and propriety, either—"We went out very early in the morning, it sunrise"; or "Very early in the morning, when it began to dawn; or "In the morning, when it was yet dark." There is surely no discrepancy of statement there; and what difference there is rather serves to confirm the independence of the witnesses as they narrate each from his own standpoint. To find a "great" difference of statement on that point, raising a difficulty as to which narrative we are to believe, is surely the result of some mental mist or moral squint, and savours more of the carping critic and pettifogging [unclear: h]oleader than the earnest seeker after truth, If this be a specimen of the sharpening of intellect arising from Freethought, it reminds me of that sharpness of his razors alleged by the itinerant vendor, as putting them beyond comparison the sharpest blades to be found in the kingdom, that they cut three inches before the point. But I omitted to mention that Mr. Stout evidently places great stress upon Matthew's saying, "In the end of the sabbath," throwing in this comment—"Now the end of the Jewish sabbath was Saturday afternoon, in any rate, some time between twelve noon and six in the evening." And this is what, I suppose, he thinks justifies his saying that there is a great difference in the statements of time. But Matthew explains what he means by the end of the sabbath, adding, "as it began to dawn towards (or, more exactly, into) the first day of the week," and We must take his full statement into account. We are not, if we wish to deal fairly with the narrative, to take the statement "in the end of the sabbath" apart from and unqualified by the further explanation "as it began to dawn into the first day of the week." He mentions first their waiting till the sabbath was past, as it would not have been lawful for them to do what they proposed on the sabbath; but they could not go immediately at the close of the sabbath, as it would then be growing dark, and so they had to wait until it began to dawn into the first day of the week. To raise a difficulty and allege a discrepancy here is not to find but to make and magnify differences in mode of statement into differences in the matter of the statement. And I should just like to hear Mr. Stout

criticising a brother barrister on the other side, who had the temerity to attempt any such unfair and unreasonable handling of the testimony of his witnesses. I think he would say his learned brother must be hard up for something to find fault with, when he would attempt to construe such differences of statement into discrepancies casting doubt on the whole testimony.

The second alleged discrepancies are in reference to *who* went to the sepulchre. Mr. Stout says—"Matthew mentions two women, Mary Magdalene and the other Mary; Mark mentions these two, and adds, 'Salome' (making three); Luke mentions the two Marys and Joanna and the other women; John mentions only Mary Magdalene." Now, none of those who mention the smaller numbers say that those *only* whom they mention went, precluding the possibility of others having gone as well as these. It is surely absurd to say, as Mr Stout does, "There is therefore no agreement as to who went to the sepulchre." They all agree that Mary Magdalene went; and though, in John's narrative, she alone is mentioned in the first instance, that is evidently because she it was who hastened back to tell John and Peter what she had seen on her arrival at the place where Christ had been buried—the sepulchre opened; and what she feared that betokened, viz—that the enemies of Christ had cruelly rifled his tomb, and taken away her Lord during the night. But John's own narrative implies that there had been others with her, for he reports her saying, "They have taken away the Lord out of the sepulchre, and we know not where they have laid him." "We know not," that is, she and those who had gone with her. That Mark and Luke mention others besides the two Marys mentioned by Matthew is no discrepancy; the same sort of thing occurs with us daily. We may narrate the going anywhere of two persons, when really there were more than two in the company. That latter fact we did not mean to deny, but did not think it necessary to mention the others at the time. At some other time we are narrating the same story, and we may mention one or more of the others besides the two we first mentioned; and so, on a third occasion, we may mention that there were some others present besides those specially named. It would, of course, be a different matter if Mr. Stout had his four witnesses in the box, and, cross-examining them, had asked them to mention *all* the parties present; or, on their mentioning only one or two, he had asked, "Do you mean to tell us that these were the *only* persons present?" and they answered, "Yes." Then he might establish a decided discrepancy of statement. But that is not the case. We have here, not four witnesses in the box asked in succession to name *all* the parties present on the occasion to which we refer—but four different narratives, written by four different authors, for different readers; and the differences in their naming of individuals present establishes the fact of their thorough independence, and consequent greater credibility. The manufacturing of discrepancies out of such differences as to who went to the sepulchre, shows either a hostile animus or a defective mental grasp.

The third alleged discrepancies are *as to what* the women saw. First, Mr. Stout alleges that Matthew says, "I here was a great earthquake, and the women coming to the sepulchre saw an angel from heaven come and roll back the stone from the door of the sepulchre and sit on it; and that his countenance was like lightning, his raiment white as snow; and he struck such terror into the keepers that they were rendered insensible, they became as dead men." He continues—"Mark, Luke, and John all agree that the stone had been rolled away when the women came to the sepulchre, and none of them mention an earthquake or the terror of the keepers." There is, then, on Mr. Stout's own confession, an agreement between three of them (Mark, Luke, and John), that the stone had been rolled away when the women came;—this is so far satisfactory. Is it true that Matthew says the opposite, and—as Mr. Stout makes him say—that the women coming to the sepulchre "*saw*" an angel from heaven come and roll back the stone and sit upon it? Matthew does not say that the women saw the angel come and roll away the stone, nor does his narrative necessarily imply it, though it does imply that they saw the angel still sitting on the stone when they came. In the first verse of chapter xxviii. He says—"In the end of the sabbath, as it began to dawn toward the first day of the week, cometh Mary Magdalene and the other Mary to see the sepulchre; (ver. 2) and behold [that is, simply lo[*unclear*: d] and not at all equivalent to 'they saw' simply lo,] there was a great earthquake, fe[*unclear*: w] the angel of the Lord descended from heave, and came and rolled back the stone from the door of the sepulchre, and sat upon it. Though, in order of narration, the record [*unclear*: of] the earthquake and descent of the angel come after the mention of the coming of the women, to the sepulchre, it does not necessarily follow, that it took place after. It is not said that was after their coming, or that they saw if As it stands in our English version, it simple reads, "there was," which we are quite entitled to regard as equivalent to "there has been." The tense of the verb in the Greek [*unclear*: word] the aorist, and denotes what is absolutely, past, and answers to the English perfect; and when used in narration, an aorist that start[*unclear*: it] from a time already past, may be translated by the pluperfect, or "had." Now, in the Greek, the words "there was," "descended," "rolled back," and "sat," are all aorists, and may be translated as pluperfects. To show you that neither as regards the force of the, tense nor the order of narration, am I doing, any violence to the narrative, I refer you to parallel instance in this same Gospel. In the fourteenth chapter (ver. 1 and 2), the evangelist tells us of Herod's strange fears regarding Jesus, "He said, this is John the Baptist he is risen from the dead, and therefor mighty works do show forth themselves [*unclear*: for] him." But then he goes on to say—"Fo[*unclear*: r] Herod had laid hold on John and bound him and put him in prison." This laying hold

&c, had taken place eighteen months or [unclear: the] prior to what is mentioned immediately before and, though translated "had laid hold," &c. the verbs are in precisely the same tense as in the xxviii. Chapter in regard to the earth quake, &c. They are aorists, which must be translated as pluperfects. There is an inartificial freedom of composition in the Gospe narratives appropriate to the men who wrote them. As has been well said of the Evangelist in general—"Their narratives are all artless in the greatest degree"; "They write with that simplicity which men big with their subject, but unversed in letters, might be expected to write"; "Inartificial writers in particular who have no theory about the unities of composition, and no literary aim, or literary ideal in view, are particularly liable to abrupt breaks, turnings, over-lappings, and other inequalities or inconcinnities of style. It is doing them infinite injustice to apply to them artless deliverances the rules of a nicely adjusted and fully-developed scheme of composition." In both these instances referred to, Matthew, having started to tell his story [unclear: Fo]und it necessary to turn back to tell something that had taken place before, in order to [unclear: t]he right understanding of his story. It is a [unclear: p]ort of thing constantly occurring in ordinary [unclear: c]arration, and to press it in this instance into, contradiction of the other evangelists be-[unclear: r]okens more zeal for a conviction than simple regard for the ends of truth. Read as it may be, without the slightest violence or straining, Lo, there had been an earthquake, for the angel of the Lord, having descended from heaven, had come and had rolled back the [unclear: s]tone from the door, and sat upon it"—read [unclear: it] that way, there is no contradiction, but perfect consistency. The earthquake, the [unclear: r]escent of the angel, the rolling back of the [unclear: s]tone, had all taken place before they came; [unclear: b]ut it is all mentioned in connection with heir coming to account for their finding the stone rolled away. Then, that none of the others mention the earthquake and the terror of the keepers, is no contradiction of Matthew's report of these things. They do not [unclear: s]ay that these things did not take place. None of the others mentioned the setting of this guard on the night before, and so they do not mention anything about them now. But Matthew had mentioned that fact, and so now he tells of the terror of the guard, and of the earthquake and descent of the angel, as accounting for that terror. The setting of the guard was a most important fact for Matthew [unclear: to] mention, in pursuance of the object of his Gospel, and in relation to those for whom he wrote. It was not of the same importance in relation to those for whom the others wrote, and they do not mention it. As none of them profess in this, or in any part of their narration, to give a full and particular account of all that took place, but only a selection. Matthew's selection from first to last has evidently the Jews in view, to convince them that this Jesus was indeed the Messiah promised to their fathers. So he points out what careful precautions the enemies of Jesus had made to prevent any imposture in connection with his dead body: how they had gone to Pilate and got from him a Roman guard to watch the tomb till that ominous third day was past, of which Jesus had mysteriously spoken. Imposture they prevented, but the Resurrection they could not prevent. By the supernatural events which took place they had been struck down helpless in terror, and then, recovering themselves, they had, in haste and fright, made off to tell their baffled employers what had taken place. They were not there when the women arrived at the sepulchre, but they may have been met on the way, hurrying into the city; and this meeting of them, hurrying in hot haste and with strange excited manner, may have foreboded something wrong to Mary, and prepared her for her quick gloomy suspicion immediately on getting sight of the stone rolled away, which made her hurry back with the sad tidings to Peter and John, "They have taken away the Lord out of the sepulchre, and we know not where they have laid him" Thus, another alleged contradiction vanishes when fairly looked into.

But in regard to what further the women saw, there is also said to be contradiction; and, from the second lecture delivered by Mr. Stout, this seems to be the point on which he chiefly relies in support of his strong and decided statements, that the narratives are hopelessly irreconcilable and contradictory. It behoves us, therefore, to give this point the most rigid scrutiny. He gives two summaries of what he professes to find in the four narratives on this point—a longer and a shorter one. Both of these I will require to quote. The longer one reads as follows :—"Matthew says the women saw the angel sitting on the stone at the door of the sepulchre, and this angel spoke to the two women. Mark says the women saw nobody outside the sepulchre, but inside the sepulchre they saw, not an angel, but a young man draped in a long white garment, sitting on the right side of the sepulchre. Luke says, the women saw nobody outside, and when they went inside they saw no one, and they were much perplexed. In the midst of their perplexity two men stood by them in shining garments. John says, Mary saw nothing on her first visit, but simply that the stone was taken away. Here, then, you have four accounts, all differing as to what the women saw when they went to the sepulchre." Such is Mr. Stout's statement of what the four evangelists say. Now, carefully note the word "says," used by Mr. Stout; for either a grosser misrepresentation of what is written can hardly be conceived, or else Mr. Stout uses language loosely and carelessly. I would ask him to point out where Mark and Luke "say," "the women saw nobody outside the sepulchre." They say nothing of the sort. Had he said, they do not say anything about the women seeing anyone outside the sepulchre, he would have been correct. But that is a very different thing from what he represents them as saying. If I say, that on coming into this room I saw twenty persons, no one has a right to say that I said

I saw no one outside it, or that my statement about seeing these persons inside implied that I did not see any outside. Or, if I again say, that outside I saw a man at the door, no one has a right to say I said I saw no one inside, or that my statement implies it; and that my saying at one time, I saw twenty persons inside, and at another, I saw one man outside, is a hopelessly irreconcilable contradiction. But it is after that fashion Mr. Stout makes the evangelists contradict one another; and if the disciples of Freethought cannot see through such a fallacy in argument, it certainly does not augur well for their intellectual culture or acumen, or the intellectual fruits of Freethought training. Mr. Stout will require to give us a new logic to justify his representations of what these two evangelists (Mark and Luke) say. To what he represents Matthew and John saying, I will raise no objection, though even there he might have been a little more careful and exact. Now, setting aside the statement, that Mark and Luke say that the women saw nobody outside the sepulchre, as an apocryphal reading of Mr. Stout's own manufacture, you will at once perceive that there is no direct contradiction between the narratives; and it remains to be seen whether the difficulties in these narratives admit of a fairly probable or reasonably harmonious reading. I think they do, and will ask your special attention and the exercise of your most critical judgment to test the fairness and reasonableness of my reading of what the evangelists say. Let us take first what John says. He is reporting only what Mary Magdalene did and saw and said. Mr. Stout summarises his report correctly enough, thus—"Mary saw nothing on her first visit, but simply that the stone was taken away." Evidently when she, in company with the other women, came in sight of the sepulchre and saw that the stone was rolled away, she at once jumped to the conclusion that Christ's enemies had spitefully rifled the tomb and stolen away the body of Jesus; and, without waiting to verify or test this conclusion in any way, turned about, and with all the speed she could, made her way back to the city and told Peter and John as fact what was merely her suspicion or conclusion, drawn from the fact that the stone was rolled away from the mouth of the sepulchre. She by and by returned to the sepulchre, following Peter and John as speedily as she could, but necessarily very considerably behind them, arriving only after they had set out on their return to the city. What happened when there I do not at present take note of. So much for John's account, in reference to Mary. Now we take Matthew's narrative, and him we find not concerned particularly with what Mary did. He is narrating what the women saw. Without referring to Mary's leaving them to go back to the city, he tells us that, on going up to the sepulchre, they not only found the stone rolled away, but saw an angel (whose appearance is described) sitting upon the stone, who said to them—"Fear not ye, for know that ye seek Jesus which was crucified he is not here, for he is risen as he said." Then, having thus endeavoured to calm their fears, he invited them to draw near and enter the sepulchre, saying—"Come, see the place where the Lord lay; and go quickly and tell his disciples that he is risen from the dead, and behold he goeth before you into Galilee, there shall ye see him; lo, I have told you." He then tells us nothing of their coming and seeing the place where the Lord lay, but jumps at once to their departing quickly from the sepulchre with fear and great joy. It is scarcely to be doubted, however, that they did come and see the place where the Lord lay; and in Mark we find the account of what they saw there and then. He is very precise in stating, "that *entering into the sepulchre* they saw a young man sitting on the right side, clothed in a long white garment, and they were affrighted. And he saith unto them, Be not affrighted: ye seek Jesus of Nazareth, which was crucified: he is risen, he is not here; behold the place where they laid him. But go your way, tell his disciples and Peter that he goeth before you into Galilee; there shall ye see him as he said unto you." Thus, Mark's narrative is not by any means a contradiction of Matthew's, but, on the opposite, fits into it, and fills up a blank in his—and that with the easy simplicity of truthful independent narrative, and without any indication of labour or intentional adding thereto. When we turn to Luke's narrative, we find that he evidently records still further what the other two leave unrecorded. He tells of the women having entered in, and "that they found not the body of the Lord Jesus." And it came to pass as they were much perplexed thereabout"—the state of mind they were still in, notwithstanding the assurance of first, the angel outside seated on the stone; and then again, of the angel sitting on the right side as they entered in,—and as they "were afraid and bowed down their faces to the earth" (dumb-founded, as we might say,—and no wonder—unable to take in what had been told them, or to grasp the fact of their Lord's resurrection, though the empty tomb was there in confirmation of the angelic testimony already given them), lo, other two witness-bearers, clad in shining garments, come and take their stand by their side, and gently chide them, saying, "Why seek ye the living among the dead? He is not here, but is risen; remember how he spake unto you when he was yet in Galilee, saying, The Son of Man must be delivered into the hands of sinful men and be crucified, and the third day rise again; and they remembered his words." Now they began to recover from their stupor. The glorious fact began to dawn upon them that the Resurrection was a reality, and that Jesus had Himself before told them of it. Luke's account is thus still further supplementary—not contradictory—of the others. And the whole we might summarise thus—"John tells of Mary's hastening back alone at the first sight of the opened sepulchre. Matthew tells us of the welcome given to her companions by the angel seated on the rolled-away stone as they advanced toward the sepulchre. Mark tells of the welcome they received from a second angel as they entered the sepulchre in response to the first angel's invitation; and Luke tells us of the

appearance to them of other two angels, confirming the testimony already borne by the first two, and bringing to their remembrance Christ's own pre-intimation of His resurrection. Thus, out of the mouths of four angelic witnesses had they the fact confirmed to them before they believed it: and, from the difficulty with which they were brought to realise or accept the fact, we see that they were not the easily-persuaded, credulously-inclined or prejudiced, magi native enthusiasts they are sometimes represented by the enemies of the gospel. The exact opposite is the truth. They were slow to believe or accept it, and did not think it possible to be true, until after repeated testimony from the lips of witness-bearing angels—testimony, which was afterwards confirmed by the appearance of Christ to themselves. And it was natural that John, as personally interested in Mary Magdalene's return by her-self with her sad message, should record that incident, though it was passed over by the others. And, as the substance of the testimony borne by the three successive angelic witness-bearers was the same, it was but natural that each of the evangelists (not processing to give a full and particular account of *all* that took place) should just record that part which to himself personally, or in relation to the purpose of his narrative, appeared to be the most suitable or desirable for him to narrate. And so it is evident that Matthew recorded the outside angelic interview and testimony, as more immediately connected with what he had recorded concerning the descent of the angel, the terrifying of the guard, and the rolling away of the stone. Mark, again, writing very much as the *alter ego*, or, as we might say, the echo of the Apostle Peter, records the interview and testimony of the angel within the tomb; as in his address he specially mentioned Peter as one to whom they were to carry the tidings of the resurrection. Then Luke tells of the further testimony of the two, because, to him, that was the most important, as that which finally roused the women to a realization of the grand fact of the resurrection, and that it was in accordance with Christ's own previous intimation to them. And thus, in these several narratives, instead of irreconcilable contradiction, we find, not merely a substantial harmony with each other—each being the undesigned complement of the other;—but we find also, each narrative harmonizing with the particular record in which it is found. And thus, our faith in them is much more confirmed than if we found in them all a cut-and-dry similarity. And I fearlessly ask, whether the handling of these narratives by Mr. Stout, to make out irreconcilable contradictions—or mine, in drawing out their substantial harmony, is the most natural, fair, and reasonable handling of them? I might now have let alone his second and shorter summary of the alleged discrepancies and contradictions as to what the women saw, but for its going beyond the other, and referring to the second visit of Mary. The whole statement is this—"Matthew's account, one angel on the stone : Mark's, a young man sitting inside: Luke's, two men standing in-side : John's, no one out or in on the first visit; on the second, two angels inside, but in different posture from the two men mentioned in Luke." As we have seen, though the three accounts by Matthew, Mark, and Luke differ, as stated, yet, their accounts are not contradictory, but supplementary, or perhaps better to say, complementary. John's account of what Mary saw on her return to the sepulchre, after she had told him and Peter of the rolling away of the stone and, as she supposed, the rifling of the tomb, is evidently an account of another transaction, at a different time, and to a different person from what is referred to in Matthew, Mark, and Luke, and should have no place in an examination of alleged or apparent discrepancies or contradictions. But the attorney's subtle art crops out there again, in mixing up the transactions.

The fourth branch of Mr. Stout's alleged contradictions is in regard to what the writers of the Gospels say *the women heard*. Under this head, he quotes the various testimonies of the different angels as if the writers were all recording the same testimony of the same angel or angels;—here, again, taking in also what was said to Mary by herself, on her second visit. But this branch of objections is answered by anticipation in the previous setting forth of what the women saw.

There remains now only one other set of contradictions to be dealt with, or—as they are a little more mildly and modestly called—"disagreements," and they need not detain us long. They relate to *what the women did*. Mr. Stout's statement under this head is—"Matthew says, They departed quickly with fear and great joy, and did run to bring the disciples word. Mark says, They went out quickly and fled from the sepulchre, for they trembled and were sore amazed; neither said they anything to any man, for they were afraid. Luke says, They returned from the sepulchre and told all these things to the eleven and to all the rest. John says, Mary Magdalene ran and came to Peter and John and told them that Jesus had been removed from the sepulchre." This statement is so far just a quotation from each of the evangelists, and no exception can be taken to it. But Mr. Stout goes on to say, "Here there is disagreement. Matthew and Luke agree in saying the women at once told the disciples; Mark says the women told no one, and John says that only Peter and John were told." Mr. Stout is here again playing the part, of the bamboozling brief-holder, under the garb of "that fearful moral elevation which it is given to none but brief-holders to attain"—as Professor De Morgan says of them in his preface to a work with which I daresay Mr. Stout is familiar, belonging, as it does, to the literature of Spiritualism, and entitled "From Matter to Spirit." Though, as the Professor says in another part of the same preface, "People are apt to think that learned counsel *are* the fools they are paid to be taken for," I do not think Mr. Stout is the fool he appears to be in carrying out his brief on this occasion; but rather that he took the

audience he was addressing to be fools, and in consenting to publish his criticism of the Gospel narratives, trusted to the general maxim that "the public is a gullible animal." Is it not the art of the brief-holder that comes into play when he places John's account of what Mary did when she came back alone from the sepulchre, over against what the other Evangelists record the other women did at a later time, when they returned, as a disagreement in regard to what is recorded the women did? I fancy his attempting any such thing in court, to bamboozle a jury. I am pretty sure he would be very promptly pulled up, by the judge re-minding him that the women were not the same women in the two cases; and so, the statement as to what the one woman did at one time, could not possibly be a disagreement with a statement of what the other women did at a later time. So much for the one alleged disagreement between John and the other three. Now for the other alleged disagreement between what Mark says and Matthew and Luke, as to what the same women did. Matthew and Luke, as Mr. Stout says, agree in saying the women at once told the disciples. So far, then, we have two witnesses agreeing. If the third disagrees, then surely common sense would say, we must take the testimony of the two against that of the one. "No! no," says the Freethought brief-holder, "we must reject all three!" One is equal to two, and two are no better than one; and so the three must be set aside. This, I suppose, is in accordance with the new logic of Freethought, and only orthodox blindness or prejudice, prevent me appreciating its beauty and subtlety. But is there disagreement, necessitating the setting aside of one as contradicting or contradicted by the other two? The alleged contradiction is, That, while Matthew and Luke say that the women hastened back from the tomb and told the disciples what they had seen and heard, Mark says, They said nothing to anyone. But, is Mark referring here to the time of their return to the city and their coming to the disciples, or is he referring to the time whilst they were on the way from the sepulchre to the city? Whilst they were on their way back they must have met many persons, and what Mark is re-cording is the fact that they did not stop by the way to speak to any upon the matter, but hastened without delay to the disciples with their tidings. In the verse immediately preceding, he records the instruction given by the angel to "go and tell his disciples, and Peter." Are we to suppose that he means, in the immediately succeeding verse, to record that they did not fulfil this mission, and went away and said not a word to any one—not even to the disciples? It is at once most improbable that the women would act in that way, and that Mark means anything of the kind. But it is most probable that in their eager haste and glad excitement they would not halt by the way to speak to anyone, but sought out first the disciples to tell them. Take careful note of what Mark says—"They trembled and were amazed," or (as it is in the new-revised version) "Trembling and astonishment had come upon them." The word "astonish-ment" is literally "ecstasy." That is just the Greek word, and is expressive of their being in a high state of mental and spiritual excitement. The natural accompaniment of that state of ecstasy was trembling—the trembling not of fright, but of agitation. And in this state of mind and feeling, what more natural than that they should not stay to speak to any by the way, but hasten with all speed to carry their tidings to those whom they loved and trusted, and to whom they were commissioned. "For they were afraid," adds the evangelist—that is, to stop by the way to speak of what had happened to any whom they met; but they were certainly not afraid, and had no cause for being afraid, to speak of it to the disciples. It is further to be observed, that at this point there is a sudden break in the evangelist's narrative, as if some interruption had occurred before he had completed his story, and it is left unfinished. The verses which follow, forming the completion of this Gospel, are not found in the two oldest manuscripts—Codex Sinaiticus and Codex Vaticanus—and they are also omitted by some other authorities. In the revised version they are separated from what goes before by a blank space, and a note is given explaining that they are not found in the two oldest manuscripts and some other authorities. On this account many critics reject them as not belonging to the Gospel as written by Mark; but even those who uphold their genuineness (and much may be said on this side of the question also) note that "the evangelist does not follow out the line of things that runs through the preceding verses. He takes up a new line and goes on with it." So that we must, in any case, take the evangelist's narrative of what the women did as incomplete, and so it does not imply that the women did not tell the disciples what had happened at the sepulchre. He does not get he length in his narrative of telling of the arrival of the women in the city, when the interruption occurs which breaks him off, and in resuming he does not continue from the point, at which he had broken off, but hastens [unclear: t]o bring his writing to a close. Thus, we see here is no such contradiction or disagreement [unclear: M]s Mr. Stout would fain make out between Mark on the one hand and Matthew and Luke in the other. Here I must point out what is [unclear: r]ather a careless or reckless statement by Mr. Stout, in his second lecture, in regard to this [unclear: c]oncluding portion of Mark's Gospel. On [unclear: P]age 8 I find the very strong statement—"I [unclear: a]ssert that there is no evidence that the Gospels, in their present condition, were written by the men whose names they bear." and in support of this assertion, which smacks strongly of the barrister's style of appeal to a [unclear: s]jury, whom he hoped to prejudice against the use on the other side, he says—"The part of Mark's Gospel that specially deals with the occurrences of the resurrection—that is, the sixteenth chapter, from verse 9 to the end, not in the oldest MS., and competent, orthodox critics admit that this part is not [unclear: g]enuine." Now, let anyone turn to the said Chapter, and

they will find that "the occurrences of the resurrection" are dealt with in the first eight verses, and it is the subsequent appearances that are dealt with in the after and disputed verses. But this is just one of many reckless, slipshod statements, which serve a purpose with those who care not to examine for themselves. I might just point out that Luke says nothing of the women departing quickly from the sepulchre—or of their fear, their great joy, their trembling—or their ecstasy, which are so particularly mentioned by Matthew and Mark; but simply says, in the most matter-of-fact manner possible, "They returned from the sepulchre and told all these things." And out of this Mr. Stout might as well have manufactured another contradiction or disagreement, as he does out of other silences of some one of the evangelists on points on which the others are very precise.

I have now examined the alleged contradictions in the Gospel narratives regarding the Resurrection of Jesus the Christ, and what took place in connection therewith. The further alleged contradictions regarding the appearances of the Risen One, I cannot take up in this paper, which has already largely exceeded the limits I first proposed. But I have thought it best to take up this one branch of the subject and deal with it fully, rather than touch lightly upon the whole ground of philosophical objection to miracles in general, as well as criticism of the narratives of the Resurrection and subsequent appearances of Christ, travelled over by Mr. Stout. I have taken up what I consider the most important branch of the subject, and now leave it with you to say whether I have dealt fairly and satisfactorily therewith, or not. I have spoken of Mr. Stout as manifesting in his lectures the attorney's art of putting things (that point having strongly impressed me in reading them), along with a certain flippancy and unfairness of statement which I would not have expected from one professing to be a seeker after truth. No doubt the compliment may be returned me, that I have manifested the bias and the spirit of the attorney for the other side. All I can say is, I desire only that the truth may prevail, on whosever side it is; and I ask you to exercise your own judgments upon the readings of the narratives given, as on the one side and upon the other; and whichever commends itself to you as the fairest, most natural, and straightforward reading—that accept and that hold fast by, ever remembering—

"Truth, drawn like truth, must blaze divinely bright;  
But drawn like error, truth may cheat the sight.  
Some awkward epithet, with skill applied,  
Some specious hints, which half their meanings hide,  
Can right and wrong most courteously confound,  
Banditti-like, to stun us ere they wound.'

## The Property Tax.

WORKING MEN OF AUCKLAND—An impudent attempt is being made to mislead you on the subject of the Property Tax. It is sought to make you believe that this iniquitous imposition does not affect you. It is sought to keep you in ignorance of its crushing effects upon your interests until little by little you become awake to its galling power by practical experience. Under these circumstances it is well that you should review the whole matter once more. In the first place, heavy taxation becomes necessary in consequence of past lavish and corrupt expenditure. Why was the press of New Zealand comparatively silent during this period of extravagance? The press of New Zealand was bribed by large employment given to it by corrupt Governments!!! Parliamentary papers prove this most clearly; and the Property Tax is in part necessary to meet the liabilities incurred by this class of expenditure. Again, there has been lavish expenditure in bringing labour to this market, and in the dull times that must ensue upon the stoppage of borrowing, there will be such competition in the labour market as will reduce wages. The Property Tax must provide for the expenditure caused in this way, and it will presently be seen that this tax will be a burden upon the shoulders of those whose wages must be lessened by the expenditure which has led to present difficulties. The present pressure has been in part caused by an expenditure, in relation to railways and other works, which was meant to serve the purposes of political bribery. It has also been caused by wanton waste, as in the case of the Auckland railway reclamation. It has been caused by an expenditure connected with the creation of offices, by the increase of official salaries, by the increase of the honorarium and a thousand other iniquities; and a venal press now says—"The borrowed money was spent on the improvement of property, and therefore property must bear the consequent burden." The property upon which this tax is made leviable includes not only houses and lands, but also stock-in-trade, book debts, clothes, furniture, and everything else a man can possess, and I fail to see how the loans were spent to improve these latter classes of property. Some portions of the borrowed money no doubt

were well spent but a very large portion was squandered on objects that tended to anything rather than the j increase in value of even real property.

And how does this tax affect the great masses of the people? I maintain that they must bear the burden of it, and the more wealthy will in a great measure escape. An official, a doctor, or lawyer making thousands a year, whose holdings are small, will have to pay little, while men with small incomes will have to pay much. The property tax is imposed upon all goods kept for sale. It is imposed upon the working man's clothes, his food, his furniture; upon the bill he may owe his baker, his butcher, his grocer, or anyone else. With this tax imposed on these commodities, can any honest man say the tax is only to be borne by the rich? If the coat a man wears has to pay this tax when it is in the hands of the draper or warehouseman, will not the draper or warehouseman make an extra charge for it to cover this expense, and will not the wearer eventually pay not only the money advanced for the tax, but also a profit upon it? An honest verdict in this case would affirm that the wearer and the wearer only will pay this tax. Again, Property Tax is levied upon shops and warehouses in Queen Street and elsewhere; it is levied upon the buildings, upon the banking business of these houses, upon the insurance premiums paid by these establishments, and upon every appliance they use for business. Who will bear this extra charge? No man whose faculties are sound can conclude that any men shall bear these burdens but those who consume what is sold in these places. Honest men will confess this. There are others, whose interests may make them want to stand well with the Government, who will assert something different. The Property Tax further acts in this way :—If a man lives in a house owned by a proprietor of house property, the house will have to pay Property Tax, and this must eventuate in an increase of rent. If a man borrow money on mortgage to build a house for himself, the lender has to pay Property Tax on the money he advances, and so will be driven to charge a higher rate of interest, and the poor man, in these cases, must bear the weight of this tax. This line of argument could be continued, but it is scarcely necessary to pursue it further. Enough has been adduced to show that the Property Tax is an iniquitous burden upon the shoulders of the people. This iniquity is being aggravated by the impudent questioning contained in the forms the Government require the people to fill up. Well might Mr. Hall, the Premier, declare against the principle of an elective Governor, which he regards as tending to sever the tie that binds the Colony to England. Did union with England not exist, these burdens would not be borne. The Colony would rise up against them; and nothing will tend more to weaken the attachment of New Zealand to the mother country than the conviction that, under the safety afforded them by her protection, unprincipled Colonial Statesmen will deal forth corruption and oppression such as would be tolerated in no free country. There however is one thing that might be done which would call forth the warmest gratitude of the Colony. The old country authorities might, by Royal Commission, enquire into the causes of New Zealand oppression, and mete out proper fines and confiscation to those who have so abused the safety secured to them by her power. Estates secured in this way could be restored to the Colony, and this would relieve financial pressure. Enquiry, could be made into the management of the Native Department and into the Civil Service generally and such reductions made as the political influence of civil servants makes it impossible that any Government can carry out. An opinion could be obtained as to whether railway management can be conducted as economically by Government as by private companies. These and a number of other matters might be enquired into, and such changes brought about as would materially alleviate present pressure, and show the world that, by peaceable means, such changes can be effected as are often sought for by revolutionary measures.

J. H. FIELD, Printer,

Albert St., Auckland.