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Political speeches in Scotland  
November and December 1879  
By The Right Hon, W. E. Gladstone, M.P.  
The Speeches revised by the Author  
Andrew Elliot Edinburgh 1879  
[Reprinted, from the "Scotsman" Reports by the East and North of Scotland Liberal Association.]

## **Itinerary.**

### **Monday, November 24.**

Mr. Gladstone left Liverpool for Scotland. Addresses presented at Carlisle from the Langholm Working Men (Dumfriesshire), the Carlisle Liberal Association, the Newcastle-upon-Tyne Liberal Association, and the Gateshead Liberal Association; at Galashiels from the Galashiels Liberal Association and the Selkirk Liberal Association; and lastly, at Edinburgh, from the Executive Liberal Committee of Midlothian, and the Corporation of Edinburgh.

### **Tuesday, November 25.**

Speech to the Midlothian Electors (Edinburgh District) in the Music Hall. Address presented by the Corporation of Edinburgh.

### **Wednesday, November 26.**

Speech to the Midlothian Electors (Dalkeith District) in the Corn Exchange, Dalkeith. Speech to the Committee in the Forester's Hall, Dalkeith, and Presentation.

### **Thursday, November 27.**

Speech to the Midlothian Electors (West Calder District) at West Calder. Address by the West Calder Non-Electors' Association.

### **Friday, November 28.**

Reception at Dalmeny Park for the Members of the Midlothian Executive Committee. Address presented by the Corporation of Leith.

### **Saturday, November 29.**

Speech to the Members of the East and North of Scotland Liberal Association, and Representatives of upwards of one hundred other local Associations, in the Corn Exchange, Edinburgh. Presentation of many Addresses in the Waverley Market, Edinburgh, in presence of a Mass Meeting of nearly 20,000 persons, and Speech in reply by Mr. Gladstone.

### **Monday, December 1.**

Mr. Gladstone left Dalmeny Park for Taymouth Castle. Addresses presented at Inverkeithing, at Dunfermline, at Perth, by the County and City Associations, and at Aberfeldy from the local Liberal Association, and Speeches in reply.

### **Friday, December 5.**

Speech to a Public Meeting in the St. Andrew's Hall, Glasgow. Address presented by the Corporation of Glasgow.

## Saturday, December 6.

Mr. Gladstone left Glasgow for Dalzell House, Motherwell. Presentation of Addresses at Motherwell Station, and Speech in reply.

## Preface.

ONE, and not the least useful, among the duties of a Central Liberal Association is that of affording to the general public and to its own members an opportunity of perusing in a convenient form the principal political speeches of eminent Liberal statesmen. No fitter occasion could have been found for the exercise of this duty than Mr. Gladstone's recent visit to Midlothian, and indeed to Scotland, while no series of speeches could in their character more forcibly have called for publication and general distribution. Whether regard be had to the personal gifts and qualities of the right honourable gentleman himself, or to the spontaneous enthusiasm with which he was everywhere received, or to the wide range and engrossing interest of his addresses, we think all will agree in the benefit to be derived from their issue in a pamphlet shape.

J. J. R.

19 CASTLE STREET,  
EDINBURGH,

*December 1879.*

## Advertisement.

I HAVE this day been favoured with a letter from the Chancellor of the Exchequer, containing explanations as to the reconstruction of the Civil Service Commission, and the appointment of Lord Hampton, which have not heretofore been made known to the world. They do not in any way affect my opinion of the proceedings in point of policy or of economy. But they satisfy me that the transaction need not, and therefore should not, be interpreted so as to carry the moral taint implied in the word "job." I therefore at once, and with pleasure, withdraw that word.

I observe with less satisfaction that a correspondent of the *Globe* newspaper, writing from Bath on the 9th, has been so unkind to Lord John Manners as to charge me with having wilfully misquoted him at Glasgow. I quoted him as having stated, in contradiction to Lord Cairns, that we made war upon the Ameer of Affghanistan because he refused to receive our mission. The statement was, says the correspondent, that he refused it "with insult and violence." But that statement is grossly and absolutely untrue as is now known from the Parliamentary papers. It was reserved for the champion of the Ministry, in his uninstructed eagerness, to exhibit him to the world as the author of such a statement, which, of course, greatly aggravates the case.

W. E. Gladstone.

HAWARDEN,

*Dec. 12, 1879.*

## I. Introductory.

THE Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, M.P., left Liverpool on the morning of Monday, November 24th, on his way to Scotland, and at the various points of the route through Lancashire, such as St. Helens, Wigan, and Preston, he was greeted with hearty cheers by the large crowds who had assembled to do him honour. On the arrival of the train at Carlisle, Mr. Gladstone was received on the platform by a number of leading Liberals, including Mr. George Howard, M.P. for East Cumberland; Sir Wilfrid Lawson, M.P.; Mr. W. H. James, M.P.

Gateshead; Major Thomson, Melton Hall; Mr. Allison, Scaleby Hall; Mr Jardine of Castlemilk, Liberal candidate for Dumfriesshire; and Mr. John M'Laren, advocate, Edinburgh, Vice-President of and representing the East and North of Scotland Liberal Association. The right hon. gentleman proceeded to the County Hotel, in the hall of which a representative gathering of Liberals, numbering some 500 or 600, had assembled, all of whom on his appearance, with one accord, rose and cheered with unmistakable enthusiasm.

The addresses were then presented in the following order: Langholm, Dumfriesshire, with a gift of cloth, introduced by Mr. Jardine of Castlemilk; Carlisle Liberal Association, introduced by Sir Wilfrid Lawson, M.P.; Newcastle-on-Tyne Liberal Association, with Newcastle Liberal Club and Gateshead Liberal Association, all introduced by Mr. James, M.P. Mr. Gladstone replied:—

I am afraid the circumstances under which we meet here to-day will scarcely enable me to give even the briefest acknowledgment of the extraordinary kindness with which I have been received. But I will say, in the first place, this, that the sentiment which is evidently bursting forth from every heart among those of our own political opinions in Carlisle is in my opinion a good omen of that which we shall find elsewhere, not, I trust, in Scotland only, or in Cumberland only—for if the whole country be like Scotland and like Cumberland, the whole matter is safe enough—but also in every portion of the country. I accept with the greatest pleasure this gift of the working men who have been so good as to send a deputation for the purpose of presenting it. I shall wear it with a sense that a great honour has been conferred upon me. I believe that if I were to cause it to be immediately made up, and were beginning to wear it every day, Sundays included, the probability is that before this dress was worn out the Government under which we at present live would be worn out. When it has been said from Newcastle that the address presented to me expresses the sentiments of the Liberals of Newcastle generally, I trust and believe that the meaning of that is, that it expresses the sentiments of the large majority of the inhabitants of the town.

This is an occasion, gentlemen, of an extraordinary character. I have had an opportunity of reading the address from Newcastle, and likewise the address from Carlisle, though I have not had yet the opportunity of reading the other addresses; and I observe that in both of those addresses a capital point, a salient point, if I may so speak, on which those who have signed them fix is this, that the crisis is one of an extraordinary character. It is, gentlemen, a crisis of an extraordinary character which brings you together

This is a crisis of an extraordinary character.

necessarily at much inconvenience, many of you coming from considerable distances, to greet me for a moment on my way northwards; it is a crisis of an extraordinary character, and no other that would induce me at my time of life, when every sentiment would dictate a desire for rest, to undertake what may be called an arduous contest. It is, I believe, because every circumstance marks this occasion that is now approaching—whether it be a little nearer or a little further we do not know—but every circumstance marks it as one of unequalled interest and importance. I say, gentlemen, of unequalled interest and importance, because already in eleven former dissolutions and elections it has been my fortune to take an active part, but in no one of those eleven, although they have extended over very nearly half a century, have I known the interests of the country to be so deeply and so vitally at stake as they are upon the dissolution that is now approaching. You are good enough to say in these addresses much that I cannot honestly appropriate to myself. Nevertheless I accept them with gratitude, because I know that many of the expressions that you have applied to me, and which perhaps, if rigidly examined, would not bear criticism as applied to me, are expressions which are symbols of your feeling upon the character of this crisis generally, and upon the interests that are engaged. And, gentlemen, let me say this before I close—because I feel sure that the few minutes which are kindly allowed to us must by this time have reached their expiration—depend upon it, though the leaders of the Liberal party may do all they can, and I am satisfied they will do all they can; though I in my distinct position may do everything that depends upon me, and on me you may depend for that, it is not upon what they can do, much less upon what I can do, that the final issue must ultimately hang; it is upon the individual exertions of you, as true Britons and true patriots, each in his own separate place, every man in his own office and function, to contribute that which he can contribute to the settlement of the great and tremendous question, and to place anew the fortunes of this country in hands more competent to guide them with honour and with safety than those to which they are now intrusted.

At Hawick a short stoppage took place, and Mr. Gladstone being pressed by the Provost and other leading Liberals, addressed a few words to a large crowd assembled around the station. After thanking those present for their cordial welcome, Mr. Gladstone proceeded to say:—

We are comrades in a common undertaking; we are fellow-soldiers in a common warfare; we have a very serious labour to perform. The people of this country, and you among them in your place, have to consider what is the system upon which such an Empire ought to be governed. It is a subject on which I for one have a strong opinion, known to you. We should endeavour to bring about a great and fundamental change in regard to those dangerous novelties which have of late been introduced into the policy of this country, which have disturbed

the world at large, and which have certainly aggravated the distress of the nation at home. I believe that in our efforts to do away with that system, and to return to the sound, Liberal, and just principles that have commonly distinguished in our time British administration, we have in our charge a cause which is the cause of peace, which is the cause of justice, which is the cause of liberty, which is the cause of honour, and which, in the hands of the people of this country, by the blessing of God, will not fail.

Proceeding by St. Boswells and Melrose, where crowds had gathered to cheer him as he passed, Mr. Gladstone arrived at Galashiels, and was there received by the Provost. An enormous crowd had assembled round the platform prepared for the occasion, and the cheering was loud and hearty. Addresses were presented by Mr. Brown, Chairman of the Galashiels Liberal Committee, and by Mr. Anderson on behalf of the Selkirk Liberal Association. Mr. Frater also presented on behalf of the workpeople gifts of tartan and tweed, the staple manufacture of the town of Galashiels. Mr. Gladstone said in reply:—

Ladies and gentlemen, I am afraid I can hardly hope to convey to every member of this vast assemblage the few words that may proceed from my lips upon the present occasion, but your kindness and evident interest, and the stillness with which you have gathered in this crowded mass, will give me a better opportunity than I should otherwise have had to assure you of the gratitude, and not only the gratitude, but the very lively pleasure, with which I accept the kind present you have made me. We are all of us, as human beings, apt to be influenced by signs; and you may have observed that I was covetous of getting hold in my hand, ay, and in both hands, of those two parcels. It was not only that I might test the quality, about that I felt perfectly sure, but I wished to speak to you holding them in my grasp. I would do so now, were it not that I am afraid that my powers, my physical powers, of speech would be so affected by the weight that I should be less able to make you hear. However, ladies and gentlemen, I must not dwell upon these particulars. I must beg you to take for granted, and you, sir, likewise, who have been good enough to present to me the Selkirk address, I beg you to take for granted the personal feelings that I entertain upon an occasion like this.

It is not possible for any one to witness such a pouring out of the population of a district; it is not possible for any one to see you here, gathered as you are, and willing to listen to the words that may reach you, without asking himself whether there is or is not a serious cause for this extraordinary liveliness of feeling, and for so remarkable a manifestation from the population of this district. It ought to be understood, gentlemen, better than it is by some of the politicians of this country, that the people do not love to meddle in

The people do not love political demonstrations save for a strong reason.

political demonstrations, except when there is a strong cause. It is all very well for the idle or the leisured part of the community, but you are working men; the great bulk of you are working men who have serious matters to attend to, and I well know that it is not your desire to leave them for any frivolous reason, but only when you think that the interests of your country are at stake. It is that same consideration, gentlemen, that has brought me down among you, and that is carrying me to the county of Midlothian.

Gentlemen, I certainly shall not stay among you. There is nothing to do here in amending the representation of the burghs. That is as satisfactory to me as it is to you, and I beg therefore that my friend Mr. Trevelyan may entertain no fears or apprehensions at all that I am going to run away with your hearts, if, indeed, it were in my power to do so. No, gentlemen, but I am come down here certainly for a most serious purpose—that is to say, for the purpose of doing all in my power to raise effectually before the people of this country the great question in what manner it is that they wish to be governed. Does the present method of Government please them or does it not? If it

Does the present method of Government please or not?

pleases them, then they have nothing to do but send us about our business and to continue it; but that is not what we believe, not what we expect, any more than it is what we desire. But what I beg to insist upon before you and before all is this—it is not now a question of this or that particular measure. We are all of us, or most of us here, I take it, of Liberal politics, and have a great interest in many particular measures. There are a great many things that we wish to be done, which we are not likely to see done by the present Government. Some of us are very anxious for one thing, and some for another, and some for all. But it is a great deal more than that. It is a system and a method of Government with which we have to deal. Look at the state of the world. Look at the disturbed and troubled condition of Europe, of Asia, in India, in Afghanistan, in Africa, in the remote South. Look at the engagements into which we are forced here, there, and everywhere. Look at the condition of the finances at home, which, depend upon it, is only the first-fruits, not the consummation of all those strange and most unwise proceedings. It is, gentlemen, a new method of Government to which we are now subjected, and if you, instead of being Liberals, were an assembly of those who call themselves Conservatives, I would appeal to you and say that of all Administrations which have been in power within the last half century, there never has been one which has ventured upon so many measures not only mischievous, but new-fangled, with the effect of vexing and alarming the people of the country, and compromising the interests of the Empire.

I have been reminded here in one address that there is also an important local question deeply interesting to

you in Scotland. I am come here not only

The freedom of election.

for the purpose of maintaining what we think a sound general policy, but for another purpose too, which is really not less important—the purpose of vindicating the freedom of election. It is idle to talk of freedom of election if the votes of gentlemen who have nothing whatever to do with particular counties and places are to be brought in by legal chicanery for the purpose of setting aside the verdict given by the independent electors. You know what a faggot vote is? In your part of the country you have had

Faggot votes.

experience of it. In Midlothian a bold, daring attempt has been made to carry the apparent sense of the county by means of the faggot votes of gentlemen who have no moral right or title to appear more than I have, and I have none, upon the electoral list of the county. I am come to assert in opposition to these—what shall I call them?—these phantom voters; but unfortunately the votes when recorded are no phantoms—I am come in contradiction of and in protestation against a system of this kind. According to the law and the constitution of this country the power of returning members is to be given to those who have a genuine, legitimate interest as inhabitants and as possessors of property in each circumscription of the country; and as for those who introduce these sham voters—I do not want to use harder words, but even harder words might be used—introduce these sham voters for the purpose of overbearing and overpowering the real voters—it is idle for them to call themselves friends of the Constitution. They are no friends of the Constitution, they

An attempt to nullify the franchise.

are defying the Constitution, they are trampling the Constitution under foot, for they are endeavouring to nullify those franchises which are the most fundamental and most sacred part of the Constitution.

That is the cause, gentlemen, for which I came here, and I assure you I shall go forward to take the steps that that cause shall require in the county of Midlothian cheered by the encouragement and supported by this extraordinary manifestation with which to-day you have gratified me to the bottom of my heart.

At Edinburgh an immense crowd had assembled at the Railway Station, completely filling the building and its approaches, and extending in dense masses along the whole of Princes Street and Queensferry Street. The right honourable gentleman was received at the Station by the Earl of Rosebery, President of the East and North of Scotland and of the Midlothian Liberal Associations; the Right Hon. W. P. Adam, M.P.; Sir D. Wedderburn, Bart., M.P.; Mr. Cowan, M.P.; Mr. Pender, M.P.; Sir William Miller, Bart.; by nearly all the members of the Midlothian Executive Committee, by a deputation from the Trades Council, and by a considerable number of the members of the Corporation. Mr. Gladstone, meeting with an enthusiastic greeting by the way, proceeded with Lord Rosebery in an open carriage to Dalmeny Park, an address from the Corporation of the ancient burgh of South Queensferry being presented at the Chapel Gate entrance.

## **II. Tuesday, November 25th, 1879.**

### **First Midlothian Speech.**

Delivered in the Music Hall, George Street, Edinburgh, to the Electors of the Parishes of Liberton, Duddingston, South Leith, Canongate, St. Cuthbert's, Cramond, Corstorphine, Currie, and Colinton.

*Every Elector, irrespective of politics, was entitled to receive a ticket of admission to this or one of the other Midlothian Meetings, and at the Music Hall upwards of one thousand availed themselves of the privilege. The character of the majority of the parishes embraced in the Edinburgh district of the county may rather be described as suburban than as rural.*

### **Edinburgh Music Hall Meeting.**

ON Tuesday, November 25, Mr. Gladstone addressed a meeting of Midlothian electors and non-electors in the Music Hall, Edinburgh. The gallery was occupied by 300 ladies. On the platform there were, amongst other gentlemen, Viscount Dalrymple, Hon. Henry J. Moncreiff, Hon. J. W. Moncreiff, Sir Walter Simpson, Bart.; Sir George Campbell, M.P.; Sir George Balfour, M.P.; Sir W. H. Gibson Carmichael, Bart.; Sir David Wedderburn, Bart., M.P.; Messrs. James Cowan, M.P.; Andrew Grant, M.P.; W. Holms, M.P.; J. W. Barclay, M.P.; Charles Tennant, M.P.; Fortescue Harrison, M.P.; P. M'Lagan, M.P.; J. Ramsay, M.P.; Sir C. Farquhar Shand; Donald Currie, Liberal candidate for Perthshire; Edmund F. Davis, Liberal candidate for East Kent, etc. etc.

On the motion of Mr. Charles Cowan, seconded by Sir W. Miller, Bart., the chair was taken by Sir David Wedderburn, Bart., M.P., an elector and a member of the Executive Committee of the Midlothian Liberal Association. After apologizing for the absence from illness of Mr. John Cowan of Beeslack, Chairman of the Executive, Sir David introduced Mr. Gladstone, who was received with enthusiastic and prolonged cheering, the whole audience rising to their feet. After the applause had terminated, Mr. Gladstone spoke as follows:—

My Lord and Gentlemen,—All will feel who are present, and all who, being absent, give any heed to the proceedings of to-day will

The occasion no ordinary one.

feel that this is not an ordinary occasion. It is not an ordinary occasion which brings you and me together—me as a candidate for your Parliamentary suffrages, and you, I will not say as solicited by me, for by me you have not been solicited—but you as the spontaneous and gracious offerers to me of a trust which I deem it a high duty under these circumstances to seek, and which I shall deem it the highest honour to receive. It is not an ordinary occasion, gentlemen, because, as we all know, the ordinary rule is that in county representation, it is customary, though not invariably the rule, it is customary to choose some one who, by residence, by property, by constant intercourse, is identified with the county that he is asked to represent. In these respects I come among you as a stranger. It is not the first time that such a combination has been known. On the contrary, it has been, I may say, not unfrequent for important counties, and especially for metropolitan counties, to select those who, in that sense, are strangers to their immediate locality to be their candidates or to be their representatives in Parliament, but always with a special purpose in view, and that purpose has been the rendering of some emphatic testimony to some important public principle. It is not, gentlemen, for the purpose of gratuitously disturbing your county that I am come among you, for before I could think it my duty to entertain the wishes so kindly pressed upon me, I used the very best exertions in my own power, and called in the very best and most experienced advice at my command, in order that I might be assured that I was not guilty of creating that wanton disturbance—in truth, that I was to come among you not as an intruder, not as a voluntary provoker of unnecessary strife, but as the person who, according to every reasonable principle of evidence, was designated by the desires of the decided majority of electors as their future representative.

Then, my Lord and gentlemen, neither am I here, as I can truly and

A tribute to the personal worth of his opponents.

cheerfully say, for the purpose of any personal conflict. I will begin this campaign, if so it is to be called—and a campaign, and an earnest campaign I trust it will be—I will begin by avowing my personal respect for my noble opponent, and for the distinguished family to which he belongs. Gentlemen, I have had the honour—for an honour I consider it—to sit as a colleague with the Duke of Buccleuch in the Cabinet of Sir Robert Peel. That is now nearly forty years ago. Since that time I frankly avow that I have changed various opinions; I should say that I have learned various lessons. But I must say, and express it as my distinct and decided conviction, that that noble Duke, who was then my colleague under Sir Robert Peel, has changed like myself, but in an opposite direction, and I believe that on this great occasion he is farther from his old position than I am. Let me, gentlemen, in the face of you who are Liberals, and determined Liberals, let me render this tribute to the memory of Sir Robert Peel. I never knew a more conscientious public man; I never knew—in far the greater portion of questions that concerned the public interest—a more enlightened statesman. And this opinion I give with confidence, in the face of the world, founded upon many years of intimate communication with him upon every subject of public interest; that, could his valuable life have been prolonged to this moment, could he have been called upon to take part as we are now called upon to take part in the great struggle which is commencing in this country, Sir Robert Peel would have been found contending along with you against the principles which now specially place you in determined opposition to the Government of the day. I render to the Duke of Buccleuch as freely as to Lord Dalkeith this tribute, that he—given and presupposed the misfortune of his false political opinions—is in all respects what a British nobleman ought to be, and sets to us all an example in the active and conscientious discharge of duty, such as he believes duty to be, which we shall do well, from our very different point of view, to follow.

And now I hope I have spoken intelligibly upon that subject, and I will

The manufacturo of faggot votes.

pass on to another which is far less agreeable. I thought when the invitation of the electors of Midlothian was sent to me, that the matter in controversy was one of sufficient breadth and complication, and I then was not aware that it would become still more enhanced and still more entangled by a question which, in its first aspect, was local, but which, in its ulterior aspect, is of the deepest importance, embraces in its scope the whole country, and descends to the very roots of our institutions. I thought that in one thing at least my noble opponent and myself were agreed—that is to say, that we were agreed in making a common appeal to the true and legitimate electors of Midlothian. I am grieved to find that that is not to be the case; that mistrusting the body to whom the constitution and the law had given the power of choice between candidates for Midlothian,

an attempt has been made to import into the county a body of strangers, having no natural interest in the county, gifted with colourable qualifications invented by the chicanery of law, and that it is on this body that reliance is placed, in order, perchance, to realize some faint hope of overbearing the true majority of the constituency. I will not dilate, gentlemen, upon that subject—I will not now expatiate upon it—but this I must say, that if anything was wanting to make me feel it more than ever a duty to endeavour to fight the battle with energy and determination, this most unfortunate act was the very thing destined for that purpose. Why, gentlemen, quite apart from every question of principle,

Its imprudence.

nothing, I venture to say, can be so grossly imprudent as that which is familiarly known in homely but most accurate phrase as the manufacture of faggot votes. Those who manufacture faggot votes provoke investigation into the whole state of the law, and of those provisions of the law which at the present moment are framed with such liberality towards the possessors of property. Why, sir, is it not enough that the man who happens to have property in six or ten counties can give a vote in respect of that property, in conformity with the rules of the constitution, in every one of those

Multiplication of qualifications.

counties? Is it not enough that he who, after all, has only the interests of a citizen in the wellbeing of the country, shall be permitted, by the free assent of all parties, without dishonour, without evasion, to multiply his own individual existence, and to contribute to the issue of six or ten electioneering contests, instead of one? Is not this enough? Is not this sufficiently liberal to the rich man as compared with the poor man, who hardly ever, though he may be a voter, can by possibility have more than a single vote? Ought not the Duke of Buccleuch and his friends to be satisfied with that state of law? Is it not the fact that in this country, although the law refuses to give a double vote in respect of a larger qualification, yet is it not the fact that it is the rarest thing in the world to meet a poor voter who has more than one vote, whereas it is the rarest thing in the world to meet a gentleman voter, as he is called, who has not got more than one vote? Why are they not content with that state of things? Why do they determine upon adding to that lawful multiplication of power, which, I must say, is based upon a remarkable liberality towards the possessors of property; why, in addition to that, are they determined to aim at an unlawful multiplication of power, and to bring in upon you, the genuine voters of Midlothian, those guests, those foreigners—for foreigners they are—foreigners they are in respect of the concerns of this county—its political concerns—for the purpose of overbearing the genuine and true sense of the constituency. Gentlemen, my anticipation is that this extraordinary manœuvre will utterly, certainly, and miserably fail of its purpose. I have not been surprised to be assured by those among you who have interested themselves specially in the affairs of the coming election, that we stand quite as well as we did, or better than we did, before the introduction of these faggot votes. We are divided into parties in this country, and the division is a healthy one. But there is always, at the same time, a certain margin of gentlemen who will have regard to other than party considerations, where they think that some great public principle is at stake; and my belief is that there will be, and must be, many in Midlothian who will not consent to compromise a principle more sacred and more important than any of the ordinary differences of party, namely this, that the representative of each county shall be chosen by the county itself, and shall not be chosen by importations of gentlemen from abroad, brought in to overbear its true and native sense.

Well, gentlemen, I pass on from that subject, which you are very capable of

Is a dissolution imminent?

handling, and which, I daresay, you will find a good deal to say upon before we have brought this business to a conclusion—I pass on to other matters, and I wish to say a word upon the subject—having thus far spoken of my own personal appearance and its grounds—upon the subject of the time at which I appear before you. Why do I come here to trouble you at this time? Are we going to have a dissolution? There is a question of great interest. I will not pretend, gentlemen, to answer it. My belief is that there has been a good deal of consultation in high quarters upon that

The invariable practice is not to transact the business of more than six sessions.

subject; and observe the reason why there should be, and why there must have been, consultation. The reason is plain. It is this: we have arrived at the time wherein, according to the fixed and invariable practice, I think, of the entire century, nay, even of more than the entire century, there ought to be a dissolution. The rule, and the wise rule, of our governors in other times has been, that although the law allows a duration of seven years to Parliament, it should not sit to transact more than the regular business of six sessions. And you will see,

The good sense of this practice.

gentlemen, the good sense, I think, of such a rule. It appears to be founded upon this, that the operations of the seventh session would be likely to descend as to their moral level below the standard of the earlier portions of a Parliament; that the interests of the country would be more liable to be compromised by personal inducements, and personal inducements not in relation to the country at large, but in relation to particular

groups and cliques of persons—in relation to what are sometimes called harassed interests. And matters of that kind would be likely to bring about a bartering and trafficking in public interests for personal ends if it were made absolutely

A departure from it justified only by national reasons.

certain that in so many weeks, or in two or three months, the Parliament must be dissolved. Now, out of this has grown a rule; I am far from saying that rule is a rule mathematical or inflexible; for some great public or national reason it is perfectly justifiable to depart from it—but what is the public or national reason for departing from it now? None at all. I defy the most ingenious man to suggest to me any reason whatever for departing from this rule, which has been in use through the whole of our lifetime—I believe even through the lifetime of your fathers and grandfathers. I do not believe the wit of man can give a reason for departing from it except this, that it is thought to be upon the whole for the interests of her Majesty's Government. That, I say at once, is not a legitimate reason for departing from the constitutional rule. They have no right to take into view the interests of the Government in respect to a question whether a Parliament shall be prolonged beyond the period fixed by long and unbroken usage. They are bound to decide that question upon national and imperial considerations, and if no national or imperial consideration dictates a departure from the rule, they are bound to adhere to the rule. Well, now we are told they mean to break the rule. I cannot say I shall be surprised at their breaking the rule of usage, for this Government, which delights in the title of Conservative, or rather which was not satisfied with the title of Conservative, but has always fallen back upon the title of Tory—this Tory Government, from which we have the right to expect—I would almost say to exact—an extraordinary reverence for everything that was fixed—reverence which has been paid in many instances whether it is good or bad—yet this Tory Government has undoubtedly created a greater number of innovations, broken away from a greater number of precedents, set a greater number of new-fangled examples to mislead and bewilder future generations than any Government which has existed in my time. Therefore I am not at all surprised that they should have broken away from a rule of this kind so far as regards the respect due to an established and, on the whole, a reasonable and a useful custom; but at the same time they would not break away without some reason—an illegitimate reason, because one connected with their interests; a strange reason, because one would have thought that a Government whose proceedings, as will be admitted on all hands, have been of so marked a character, ought to have been anxious at the earliest period permitted by usage to obtain the judgment of the country. And why, gentlemen, are they not anxious to obtain the judgment

Reasons why the Government are not anxious to dissolve.

of the country? It is surely plain that they are not anxious. If they were anxious they would follow the rule and dissolve the Parliament. It is plain, therefore, that they are not anxious. Why are they not anxious? Have they not told us all along that they possess the confidence of the people? Have they not boasted right and left that vast majorities of the nation are in the same sense with themselves? Oh, gentlemen, these are idle pretexts! It is an instinct lying far deeper than those professions that teaches them that the country is against them. And it is because they know that the country is against them that they are unwilling to appeal to the country. Why, gentlemen, a dissolution, an appeal to the public judgment, when there is a knowledge beforehand on the part of those who make the appeal that the answer will be favourable, gives additional strength to those who make the appeal. If it be true, as they will say, that the country is in their favour, I say that after the favourable reply that they would receive to their appeal they would come back to Parliament far stronger for the purpose of giving effect to the principles that they hold to be true than they are at this moment. They know that as well as you do. They know perfectly well that a favourable appeal would strengthen their hands; they know perfectly well that an unfavourable answer will be the end of their Ministerial existence; and it therefore requires no great wit on our part to judge why, when they have reached the usual and what I may almost call constitutional period, they do not choose to

A promise to discuss finance.

make an appeal at all. There are some reasons, gentlemen, why they ought to make that appeal which bear on their own party interests. They will not have a very pleasant operation to perform when they produce their next Budget. I am not going to enter into that subject now. You must excuse me if I do not attempt on this occasion to cover the whole of the enormously wide field that is open before me; but I promise, especially as the Chancellor of the Exchequer says it is most agreeable to him that the question of finance should be discussed, and, in fact, he has chosen the most extraordinary opportunity, for the first time that I can recollect, for discussing it—namely, at the Lord Mayor's dinner—but as he is so desirous it should be discussed, I, having every disposition to comply with his wishes as far as I can, will certainly endeavour to enter into that matter, and set out the main facts of the case as well as I am able. I do not think there is a great anxiety to produce that Budget: and this of itself would recommend a dissolution.

I tell you, gentlemen, what I think, and that is what has led me to dwell at length on the subject of dissolution. It is because it is not a theoretical but a practical consideration. It is this: we are told by

"whippers-in," and gentlemen who probably have an inspiration that sometimes flows from the higher quarters into those peculiar and favoured channels—we are told that

Reliance on the chapter of accidents.

they think there will not be a dissolution for twelve months. Twelve months, gentlemen! There is what is called a "chapter of accidents" and by postponing the dissolution for twelve months you get your twelve months of the exercise of power. Now, I am not going to impute to this Government, or any Government, sordid motives for the desire to retain power. In my opinion, imputations of that kind, which are incessantly made upon me, and incessantly made upon the Liberal party generally, and especially upon the leaders of the Liberal party—in my opinion, imputations of that kind are disgraceful only to those who make them. I pass on. The love of power is something much higher. It is the love, of course, of doing what they think good

"Some new theatrical stroke."

by means of power. Twelve months would be secured in that sense—something more would be secured. There would be the chance of striking some new theatrical stroke. There would be the chance of sending up some new rocket into the sky—the chance of taking some measure which again would carry misgiving and dismay to the hearts of the sober-minded portion of the nation—as I believe, at this time the great majority of the nation—but which, appealing to pride and passion, would always in this, as in every country, find some loud-voiced minority ready to echo back its ill-omened sounds, and again to disturb the world, to destroy confidence, to unsettle business and the employments of life, to hold out false promises of greatness, but really to alienate from this country the sympathies of the civilized world, and to prepare for us the day of misfortune and of dishonour. Now, gentlemen, I am not saying that which is peculiar to persons of my

Peace assurances of the Premier.

political creed. It was only upon the 10th of November that the Prime Minister gave to the world the assurance that he thought peace might be maintained. I thought that matter had been settled eighteen months ago, when he came back from Berlin and said he had got "peace with honour." Now he says, "I think peace may be maintained, and I think it is much more likely now than it was twelve months ago"—more likely than it was five months or four months after he had come back from Berlin and announced "peace with honour." That is what he says—he thinks it may be maintained. But on the very next morning I read what I consider by far the cleverest of all the journals that have been used to support the foreign policy of the Ministry in the metropolis—viz. the *Pall Mall Gazette*. In it I read a passage to this effect: "We have before us ample evidence, in

Uneasiness abroad as to our supposed projects.

the tone of the foreign press, of the alarm which is felt upon the Continent at the supposed projects of the English Government." Rely upon it, gentlemen, there are more of these projects in the air. For the last two years their whole existence has been a succession of these projects. As long as Lord Derby and Lord Carnarvon were among them there was an important obstacle placed in their way in the character of these men. But since that time we have had nothing but new projects, one more

Causes for alarm among foreign Powers.

alarming and more dangerous than another. They began with sending their fleet to the Dardanelles without the consent of the Sultan, and in violation of the Treaty of Paris, which gave them no right to send it. After that they went on by bringing their Indian troops into Europe against the law of the country. After that they proceeded to make their Anglo-Turkish Convention, without the knowledge of Europe, when for six months they had been contending, I may say, at the point of the sword, that it was Europe, and Europe alone, that had a right to manage the concerns of the Turkish Empire. It is difficult, gentlemen, human memory will hardly avail, to bring up all these cases. I have got now as far as the Anglo-Turkish Convention. What is the next? The next is Afghanistan. A war was made in Afghanistan, to the surprise and astonishment—I might almost say to the horror—of this country, upon which I shall have occasion, either to-day or on another day, to enlarge more than I can do at the present moment. I am now only illustrating to you the manner in which a series of surprises, a series of theatrical expedients, calculated to excite, calculated to alarm, calculated to stir pride and passion, and calculated to divide the world, have been the daily employment and subsistence, the established dietary of the present Government. Afghanistan, gentlemen, was not the last. Having had a diversion of that kind in Asia, the next turn was to be in Africa. But there a different course was adopted. The practice which in other circles is well known by the name of "hedging" was brought into play, and Sir Bartle Frere was exhorted and instructed as to affairs in Africa with infinite skill, and in terms most accurately constructed in such a way that if they turned out well, the honour and the glory would redound to this patriotic Government; but if they turned out ill, the responsibility and the burden would fall on the shoulders of Sir Bartle Frere. Well, these came one after another, gentlemen, and now we have not done. We end where we began, and again it is a question of sending the fleet to the Dardanelles. Whether it is on its way there we

Movement of the Mediterranean Fleet.

do not know at this moment. We know that the officers—at least that is the last account I have seen—that the officers are only allowed to be within call at two hours' notice. When the catalogue of expedients is exhausted, it is just like a manager with his stock of theatrical pieces—after he has presented them all he must begin again—and so we are again excited, and I must say alarmed, and I believe that Europe is greatly disquieted and disturbed, by not knowing what is to be the next quasi-military operation of the Government. These are not subjects, gentlemen, upon which I will dilate at the present moment, but this I will say that in my opinion, and in the opinion which I have derived from the great statesmen of the period of my youth, without any distinction of party, but if there was any distinction of party which I have learned more from Conservative statesmen than from Liberal statesmen, the great duty of a Government, especially in foreign affairs, is to soothe and tranquillize the minds of the people, not to set up false phantoms of glory which are to delude

"False phantoms of glory which delude into calamity."

them into calamity, not to flatter their infirmities by leading them to believe that they are better than the rest of the world, and so to encourage the baleful spirit of domination; but to proceed upon a principle that recognises the sisterhood and equality of nations the absolute equality of public right among them—above all, to endeavour to produce and to maintain a temper so calm and so deliberate in the public opinion of the country that none shall be able to disturb it. The maxim of a Government ought, gentlemen, to be that which was known in ancient history as the appeal from Philip drunk to Philip sober. But the conduct of the present Government and their resort one after another to these needless, alarming and too frequently most discreditable measures, has been exactly the reverse Their business has been to appeal to pride and to passion, to stir up those very feelings which every wise man ought to endeavour to allay, and, in fact, constantly to appeal from Philip sober to Philip drunk.

Gentlemen I have come into this county to repeat, with your permission, the indictment which I have to the best of my ability endeavoured to

The indictment against the Government.

make many times elsewhere against her Majesty's Government It is a very serious indictment. It is well in these things that men should be held to the words that they utter, should be made to feel that they are responsible for them, and therefore you will perhaps allow me to read a sentence which I embodied in the letter written in reply to your most flattering and most obliging invitation. My sentence was this: "The management of finance, the scale of expenditure, the constantly growing arrears of legislation, serious as they are, only lead up to still greater questions. I hold before you, as I have held in the House of Commons, that the faith and honour of the country have been gravely compromised in the foreign policy of the Ministry, that by the disturbance of confidence, and lately even of peace, which they have brought about, they have prolonged and aggravated the public distress; that they have augmented the power and influence of the Russian Empire, even while estranging the feelings of its population; that they have embarked the Crown and people in an unjust war (the Afghan war), full of mischief if not of positive danger to India; and that by their use of the treaty-making and war-making powers of the Crown they have abridged the just rights of Parliament and have presented prerogative to the nation under an unconstitutional aspect which tends to make it insecure. Not from one phrase, not from one syllable of that indictment do I recede. If, gentlemen, in addressing this constituency there be any part of it upon which at the close I shall not seem to have made good the original statement most glad shall I be to attend to the legitimate appeal of those who may think fit to challenge me upon the point, and to bring forward the matter—alas! only too abundant—by which every one of them can be substantiated before the world

Alleged factious opposition by the Liberal party.

Those, certainly, gentlemen, are charges of the utmost gravity. But we are met with preliminary objections, and we are told, we are incessantly told, that there is no fault in the Government, that this is all a spirit of faction on the part of the Liberal party. I need not quote what you know very well; that that is the stock and standing material of invective against us—it is all our faction. The Government is perfectly innocent, but we are determined to blacken them because of the selfish and unjust motives by which we are prompted. Now that charge, standing as it usually does stand, in the stead of argument, upon the acts of the Government themselves, and being found far more convenient by our opponents than the justification of those acts upon the merits, I wish to try that charge. I will not try it by retorting imputations of evil motive. I have already said what I think of them. And to no man will I, for one, impute a want of patriotism in his public policy. It is a charge continually made against us. So far as I and concerned, it never shall be made against our opponents. But I am going to examine very shortly this charge of a spirit of faction on the part of the Liberal party. I do not condescend to deal with it by a mere counter-assertion, by a mere statement that we are innocent of it, nor will I endeavour to excite you—as probably a Tory speaker would excite you—as a thousand Tory speakers have excited their hearers, by drawing forth their uninformed cheers through assertions of that kind. But I will come to facts, and I will ask whether the facts of the case bear out, or whether they do not absolutely confute that

assertion. Now, the great question of dispute between the two parties, and the question out of which almost every other question has grown collaterally, has been what is known as the Eastern Question. And what I want to point out

The commencement of the Government action in the Eastern Question in 1875.

to you is this—the date at which the Eastern Question, and the action of the Government upon the Eastern Question, began, and the date at which the action of the Liberal party, as a party, upon the Eastern Question began. The Eastern Question began, that is, its recent phase and development began, in the summer of 1875 and it immediately assumed great importance. In the winter of 1875 the Powers of Europe endeavoured to arrange for concerted action on the

The Andrassy Note, 1875.

Eastern Question by what was called the Andrassy Note. They had first endeavoured to arrange for concerted action by their consuls. The British Government stated that they objected on principle to any interference between the Sultan and his subjects. Nevertheless, they were willing to allow their consuls to act, provided it were done in such a way that no interference should be contemplated. Of course this failed. These came the Andrassy Note. The Government objected on principle to the Andrassy Note, but they finally agreed to it, because the Turk wished then to agree to it—that is to say, that the Turk, who has very considerable astuteness, saw that he had better have in the councils of Europe some Power on which he could rely to prevent these councils from coming to practical effect rather than to leave the Continental Powers of Europe to act alone. In

The Berlin Memorandum, 1876.

the spring of 1876 the Andrassy Note having been frustrated of its effect, not owing to the Government, who finally concurred in it, blowing to circumstances in Turkey, the Powers of Europe again endeavoured more seriously to arrange for concerted action, and produced what they called the Berlin Memorandum. The British Government absolutely and flatly refuses to support the Berlin Memorandum. We have now arrived, gentlemen, at the end of the session of 1876. Now, mind, the charge is that the Liberal party has been cavilling at the foreign policy of the Government in the East from a spirit of faction. What I point out to you is this—that down to the end of the session 1876, although the Government had been adopting measures of the utmost importance in direct contradiction to the spirit and action of the rest of the Powers of Europe, there was not one word of hostile comment from the Liberal party. On the 31st July 1876, at the very end of the

Mr. Gladstone first censured the Government 31st July 1876.

session, there was a debate in the House of Commons. In that debate I took part. I did censure the conduct of the Government in refusing the Berlin Memorandum without suggesting some alternative to maintain the concert of Europe, and Lord Beaconsfield—I am now going to show you the evidence upon which I speak—Lord

Lord Beaconsfield said he was the only assailant of the Ministry.

Beaconsfield, in reply to me on the debate, said that the right honourable gentleman, meaning myself, was the only person who has assailed the policy of the Government. Now I ask you, was it faction in the Liberal party to remain silent during all these important acts and to extend their confidence to the Government in the affairs of the Turkish Empire, even when that Government was acting in contradiction to the whole spirit, I may say, of civilized mankind—certainly in contradiction to the united proposals of the five Great Powers of the continent of Europe? Far more difficult is it to justify the Liberal party upon the other side.

The Liberal party were not factious, rather they were too long silent.

Why did we allow the East to be thrown into confusion? Why did we allow the concert of Europe to be broken up? Why did we allow the Berlin Memorandum to be thrown behind the fire, and no other measure substituted in its place? Why did we allow that fatal progression of events to advance, unchecked by us, so far, even after the fields of Bulgaria had flowed with blood, and the cry of every horror known and unknown had ascended to heaven from that country? Why did we remain silent for such a length of time? Gentlemen, that is not all.

It is quite true that there was soon after a refusal of the great human heart of this country, not in Parliament, but outside of Parliament, to acquiesce in what was going on, and to maintain the ignominious silence which we had maintained on the subject of the Bulgarian massacres. In August 1876 and September 1876

The outburst in August 1876 denouncing the massacres.

there was an outburst, an involuntary outburst, for the strain could no longer be borne, from the people of this country, in every quarter of the country, denouncing those massacres. But that, gentlemen, was not by the action of the Liberal party. It was admitted by the Government themselves to be the expression of the country—misled, as they said, but still the expression of the country. It is true that it was said with reference to me that any man who made use of the susceptibilities of the country for the purpose of bringing himself back to office was worse than those who had perpetrated the Bulgarian massacres. But that was only a remark which hit one insignificant individual, nor was he very deeply

This was the action of national feeling

wounded by it. But the Liberal party was not, as a party, in the field. Nay, more. That national feeling produced its effects. It produced the Conference at Constantinople. That was eighteen months after the Eastern Question had been opened. Down to the date of that Conference the Liberal party had taken no step for any purpose prejudicial to the action of the Government; and when Lord Salisbury went to the Conference at Constantinople, he went, I say it without fear of contradiction, carrying with him the goodwill, carrying with him the favourable auspices, carrying with him, I will even say, the confidence of the Liberal party as to the result and the tendency of his exertions. And it was not till after nearly two years—viz. late in the spring or during the spring of 1877—it

The Liberal party began to act in 1877.

was not until nearly two years after the Government had been busy with the Eastern Question that the Liberal party first began somewhat feebly to raise its voice in the House of Commons, and to protest against the course that had been adopted, which was evidently, as we thought a course tending to bring about war, bloodshed, and disturbance that might very easily have been avoided. Now, gentlemen, I think I have shown you that it requires some audacity to charge with faction in this

Where is the factious spirit?

matter a party which maintained such a silence for nearly two years; which was even willing to acquiesce in the rejection of the Berlin Memorandum, and which heartily accompanied with its goodwill and confidence Lord Salisbury when he went to the Conference at Constantinople. I do not hesitate to say this, gentlemen, that when Lord Salisbury went to Constantinople—I believe with I perfectly upright and honourable intention—he carried with him a great deal more confidence from the Liberal party than he carried with him from some among his own colleagues. But now, gentlemen I can only say that if the Liberal party are governed by a factious spirit they I can only say that if the Liberal party are governed by a factious spirit, they

The alleged desire of the Liberals to get into office.

are great fools for their plans. What means a factious spirit but the action of an ungovernable desire to get into office? And it is alleged that the Liberal party are under the influence of such a desire Well, gentlemen, if they are, all I can say is that there is on disputing about tastes; but men must be men of a very extraordinary taste who desire to take such a succession as will be left by the present Government. I hope the verdict of the country will give to Lord Granville and Lord Hartington the responsible charge of its affairs. But I must say I think them much to be pitied on the day when that charge is committed to their hands.

The inheritance to be left by the Tories.

Never, gentleman, never in the recollection of living man has such an entangled web been given over to any set of men to unravel. Did they receive a similar inheritance from us when we went out of power? Did we give over to them that which will be given over by them to their successors? Gentlemen, I make no boast. We simply gave over to them what every Government has usually given over to its successors. Let us do them justice. Do not let us allow party feelings to lead us to suppose that there never has been prudence and discretion and right principle on the part of a Conservative Government, at least so far as to make sure that any evils for which they were responsible would be tolerable evils and would not greatly disturb the general stability of the country. We did, merely to the best of our ability, what others had done before us.

But still, when we shall have so large to consider the state of things to which the action of the present Government has brought the affairs of this country, it is absolutely necessary that I should briefly recall to your minds

The financial starting-point of this Government was a surplus.

the nature of the starting-point from which they set out. What was their starting-place, gentlemen, in finance? The starting-point in finance was this, that we handed over to them a surplus which, in our hands, I will venture to say, would have been a surplus closely approaching six millions of money. Now, I have spoken of the manner in which they carry on this warfare, and you will believe that their scribes with a pertinacious activity, feeling the difficulties of their case, have been very very hard driven to know how to deal with this question of the surplus It has been necessary for them to get rid of it in some way or other and some of them have actually had the cool audacity to say—I have read it in various newspapers; I have read it in a Sheffield newspaper which, however, I will not name; it would not be delicate in reference to the feelings of the high-minded gentleman who wrote it—but they have asserted that we left to them £3,000,000 of Alabama payment, which we ought, to have made but which we handed over to them to pay. The only objection to this is that if you consult the accounts you will find that that £3,000,000 was paid by us in the year before we left office.

Then it is said this surplus was not a "realized surplus." What is meant by a realized surplus? According to them there never has been such a thing in this country as a realized surplus. The law of this country provides, and most wisely provides, that when for the current year there is a certain

What is a "realized surplus"?

surplus of revenue over expenditure, the money shall, in fixed proportions, be then and there applied to the reduction of debt. That, of course, was done in the last year of our Government. But what we left was the prospect of the incoming revenue for the following year. That was the prospect, which distinctly showed that there would be a surplus of £5,000,000 to £6,000,000, and that was the prospect we handed over to them; and if they choose to say it was not a realized surplus—undoubtedly it was no more realized than the Duke of Buccleuch's rents for next year are realized, but if, as is not likely, the Duke of Buccleuch has occasion to borrow on the security of his rents for next year, I suspect he will find many people quite ready to lend to him. Well, gentlemen, that is the only explanation I need give you. But I do assure you that such has been the amount of Tory assertion on this subject of the surplus, that I have been pestered for the last two or three years of my life with letters from puzzled Liberals, who wrote to say they had believed there was a surplus of £5,000,000 or £6,000,000, but the Tories would not admit it, and they begged me, for their own individual enlightenment, to explain to them how it was. Our surplus was like every other real and *bona-fide* surplus, which the law of this country contemplates or permits, and the effect of it was that the Tories, who have since done nothing but add to the burdens of the people, were able to commence their career with a large remission of taxation.

The state of the army when the Liberals left office.

That was the case with finance. How did we leave the army? because one of the favourite assertions of their scribes is that we ruined the army. Well, gentlemen, undoubtedly we put the country to very heavy expense on account of the army; but we put them to heavy expense for objects which we thought important. We found that the army, through the system of purchase, was the property of the rich. We abolished purchase, and we tried to make it, and in some degree,

Abolition of purchase.

I hope, have made it, the property of the nation. But we have been told that we weakened and reduced the army. Weakened and reduced the army! Why, we for the first time founded a real military

A real reserve founded.

reserve—that reserve under which, in 1878, there happened an event previously quite unknown to our history—namely that, upon the stroke of a pen sent forth by the Minister to the country, almost in a day five-and-thirty thousand trained men were added to the ranks of the army. That was the result of the system of reserve, and the system of reserve, along with many other great and valuable reforms, the country owes to Lord Cardwell, the Secretary of War under the late Government.

Well, gentlemen, you know—I need not enter into details—what was the general state of our foreign relations. The topic of our foreign relations can be disposed of in one minute. It is constantly said, indeed, by the scribes of the Government, and it was intimated by Lord Salisbury—to whom I will return in greater detail at a future time—that the foreign policy of the late Government was discreditable. Well, but here I have got a witness on the other side.

State of our foreign relations in 1874.

I have got the witness of Lord Beaconsfield's Foreign Secretary at the time when he took office. At the time when he took office in the House of Lords, Lord Derby, then enjoying the full undivided confidence of the Conservative party, used these words on the 19th March 1874: "At the present moment the condition of the country in regard to our foreign relations is most satisfactory. There is no State whatever with which our relations are not most cordial." Now, our unfortunate friends and fellow-citizens, the Tories, are constantly called upon to believe that at the time they took, office the state of the country, in regard to foreign relations, was most unsatisfactory, and that with no State were our relations most cordial, because by every State we were undervalued and despised. Gentlemen, there was not a cloud upon the horizon at the time when the charge of foreign affairs was handed over to her Majesty's present Government. Does that imply that there was nothing serious to be done? Oh no, gentlemen, depend upon it, and you will find it to your cost before you are five years older, you will know it better than you do to-day; depend upon it that this Empire is an Empire, the daily calls of whose immense responsibilities, the daily inevitable calls of whose responsibilities task and overtask the energies of the best and ablest of her sons. Why, gentlemen, there is not a country in the history of the world that has undertaken what we have undertaken; and when I say "what we have undertaken," I do not mean what the present Government have undertaken

Our true strength is within the United Kingdom.

—that I will come to by-and-by—but what England in its traditional established policy and position has undertaken. There is no precedent in human history for a formation like the British Empire. A small island at one extremity of the globe peoples the whole earth with its colonies. Not satisfied with that, it goes among the ancient races of Asia and subjects two hundred and forty millions of men to its rule. Along with all this it disseminates over the world a commerce such

The anomalous constitution of the British Empire.

as no imagination ever conceived in former times, and such as no poet ever painted. And all this it has to do with the strength that lies within the narrow limits of these shores. Not a strength that I disparage; on the contrary, I wish to dissipate, if I can, the idle dreams of those who are always telling you that the strength of England depends, sometimes they say upon its prestige, sometimes they say upon its extending its Empire, or upon what it possesses beyond these shores. Rely upon it the strength of Great Britain and Ireland is within the United Kingdom. Whatever is to be done in defending and governing these vast colonies with their teeming millions; in protecting that unmeasured commerce; in relation to the enormous responsibilities of India—whatever is to be done, must be done by the force derived from you and from your children derived from you and from your fellow-electors, throughout the land, and from you and from the citizens and people of this country. And who are they? They are, perhaps, some three-and-thirty millions of persons, a population less than the population of France; less than the population of Austria; less than the population of Germany; and much less than the population of Russia. But the populations of Austria, of Russia, of Germany, and of France find it: quite hard enough to settle their own matters within their own limits. We have undertaken to settle the affairs of about a fourth of the entire human race scattered over all the world. Is not that enough for the ambition of Lord Beaconsfield? It satisfied the Duke of Wellington and Mr. Canning, Lord Grey and Sir Robert Peel; it satisfied Lord Palmerston and Lord Russell, and the late Lord Derby. And why cannot it satisfy—I do not want to draw any envidious distinction between Lord Beaconsfield and his colleagues; it seems to me that they are all now very much of one mind, that they all move with harmony amongst themselves; but I say, why is it not to satisfy the ambition of the members of the present Government? I affirm that, on the contrary, strive and labour as you will in office—I speak after the experience of a lifetime, of which a fair portion has been spent in office—I say that, strive and labour as you will in Parliament and in office, human strength and human thought are not equal to the ordinary discharge of the calls and duties appertaining to Government in this great, wonderful, and world-wide Empire. And therefore, gentlemen, I say it is indeed deplorable that in addition to these calls, of which we have evidence in a thousand forms, and of our insufficiency to meet which we have evidence in a thousand forms—when, in addition to these calls, all manner of gratuitous, dangerous, ambiguous, impracticable, and impossible engagements are contracted for us in all parts of the world.

And that is what has lately been happening. I am not now going to discuss this question upon the highest grounds. I assail the policy

Prudential considerations against the Government's policy abroad.

of the Government on the highest grounds of principle. But I am now for a few moments only about to test it on the grounds of prudence. I appeal to you as practical men, I appeal to you as agriculturists, I appeal to you as tradesmen—I appeal to you in whatever class or profession you may be, and ask whether it is not wise to have some regard to the relation between means and ends, some regard to the relation between the work to be done and the strength you possess in order to perform it. I point to the state of our legislation, our accumulated and accumulating arrears constantly growing upon us; I point to the multitude of unsolved problems of our Government, to the multitude of unsolved problems connected with the administration of our Indian Empire, enough, God knows, to call forth the deepest and most anxious reflection of the most sober-minded; and even the most sanguine man, I

Our annexations of territory since 1874.

say, might be satisfied with those tasks. But what has been the course of things for the last three years? I will run them over almost in as many words. We have got an annexation of territory—I put it down merely that I might not be incomplete—an annexation

Fiji Islands.

of territory in the Fiji Islands, of which I will not speak, because I do not consider the Government is censurable for that act, whether it were a wise act or not. Nobody could say that that was their spontaneous act. But now let us look at what have been their spontaneous acts. They

The Transvaal.

have annexed in Africa the Transvaal territory, inhabited by a free European, Christian, republican community, which they have thought proper to bring within the limits of a monarchy, although out of 8000 persons in that republic qualified to vote upon the subject, we are told, and I have never seen the statement officially contradicted, that 6500 protested against it. These are the circumstances under which we undertake to transform republicans into subjects of a monarchy. We have made war upon the Zulus.

Zululand.

We have thereby become responsible for their territory, and not only this, but we are now, as it appears from the latest advices, about to make war upon a chief lying to the northward of the Zulus; and Sir Bartle Frere, who was the great authority for the proceedings of the Government in Afghanistan, has announced in South Africa that it will be necessary for us to extend our dominions until we reach the Portuguese frontier to the north. So much for Africa. I come to Europe. In Europe we have annexed the

Cyprus.

island of Cyprus, of which I will say more at another time. We have assumed jointly with France the virtual government of Egypt;

The protectorate of Egypt.

and possibly, as we are to extend, says Sir Bartle Frere, our southern dominions in Africa till we meet the southern frontier of the Portuguese—possibly one of these days we may extend our northern dominions in Africa till we meet the northern frontier of the Portuguese. We then, gentlemen, have undertaken to make ourselves responsible for the good government

The protectorate of Asia Minor.

of Turkey in Asia—not of Asia Minor, as you are sometimes told, exclusively, but of the whole of that great space upon the map including the principal part of Arabia, which is known geographically as Turkey in Asia. Besides governing it well, we have undertaken to defend the Armenian frontier of Turkey against Russia, a country which we cannot possibly get at except either by travelling over several hundreds of miles by land, including mountain-chains never adapted to be traversed by armies, or else some thousands of miles of sea, ending at the extremity of the Black Sea, and then having to effect a landing. That is another of our engagements. Well, and as if all that were not enough, we have, by the most wanton

Afghanistan.

invasion of Afghanistan, broken that country into pieces, made it a miserable ruin, destroyed whatever there was in it of peace and order, caused it to be added to the anarchies of the Eastern world, and we have become responsible for the management of the millions of warlike, but very partially civilized people whom it contains, under circumstances where the application of military power, and we have nothing but military power to go by, is attended at every foot with enormous difficulties.

Now, gentlemen, these are proceedings which I present to you at the present moment in the view of political prudence only. I really have but one great

This is not a question of party, but of a system of government.

anxiety. This is a self-governing country. Let us bring home to the minds of the people the state of the facts they have to deal with, and in Heaven's name let them determine whether or not this is the way in which they like to be governed. Do not let us suppose this is like the old question between Whig and Tory. It is nothing of the kind. It is not now as if we were disputing about some secondary matter; it is not even as if we were disputing about the Irish Church, which no doubt was a very important affair. What we are disputing about is a whole system of government, and to make good that proposition that it is a whole system of government will be my great object in any addresses that I may deliver in this county. If it is acceptable, if it is liked by the people—they are the masters—it is for them to have it. It is not particularly pleasant for any man, I suppose, to spend the closing years of his life in vain and unavailing protest; but as long as he thinks his protest may avail, as long as he feels that the people have not yet had their fair chance and opportunity, it is his duty to protest, and it is to perform that duty, gentlemen, that I come here.

I have spoken, gentlemen, of the inheritance given over to the present Government

Why did the Liberals quarrel with the Government about Turkey?

by their predecessors, and of the inheritance that they will give over to those who succeed them. Now, our condition is not only, in my judgment, a condition of embarrassment, but it is one of embarrassment we have made for ourselves; and before I close, although I have already detained you too long, I must give a single illustration of the manner in which we have been making our own embarrassments. Why did we quarrel with the present Government about Turkey? I have shown that we were extremely slow in doing it. I believe we were too slow, and that, perhaps, if we had begun sooner our exertions might have availed more; but it was from a good motive. Why did we quarrel? What was the point upon which we quarrelled? The point upon which we quarrelled was this: Whether coercion was under any circumstances to be applied to Turkey to bring about the better government of that country. Now that will not be disputed, or if it is disputed, and in order that it may not be disputed, for it is very difficult to say

The foundation of their Turkish policy was no coercion.

what will not be disputed—in order that it may not be disputed I will read from two conclusive authorities. That is my point. The foundation of the policy of the present Government was that coercion was not to be applied to Turkey. Here is what Lord Cranbrook, who stated the case of the Government in the House of Commons, said, "We have proclaimed, and I proclaim again, in the strongest language, that we should be wrong in every sense of the word if we were to endeavour to apply material coercion against Turkey"—that was what Lord Cranbrook said on the 15th February 1877, nor had he repented in April, for in April he said, "Above all, we feel that we, who have engaged ourselves by treaty, at least in former times, who have had no personal wrong done to us, have no right and no commission, either as a country, or, as I may say, from Heaven, to take upon ourselves the vindication by violence of the rights of the Christian subjects of the Porte,

however much we may feel for them." Higher authority, of course, still than Lord Cranbrook, but in perfect conformity with him, was Lord Beaconsfield himself, who, on the 20th February 1877, after a speech of Lord Granville's, said this, "The noble Lord and his friends are of opinion that we should have coerced the Porte into the acceptance of the policy which we recommended. That is not a course which we can conscientiously profess or promote, and I think, therefore, when an issue so broad is brought before the House, it really is the duty of noble Lords to give us an opportunity to clear the mind of the country by letting it know what is the opinion of Parliament upon policies so distinct, and which in their consequences must be so different." Now you see plainly that coercion in the extreme case that had arisen was recommended by the Liberal party. Coercion was objected to on the highest grounds by the Tory party; and Lord Beaconsfield virtually said, "Such is the profound difference between these policies that I challenge you to make a motion in Parliament, and to take the opinion of Parliament in order that we may know which way we are to move." That was not all, for after the English Government had disclaimed coercion, and after that terribly calamitous Russo-Turkish war had been begun and ended, Lord Beaconsfield declared that if the Government had been entirely consistent they would not have rested satisfied with protesting against the action of Russia, so sacred was this principle of non-coercion in their eyes, but that they ought to have warned Russia that if she acted she must be prepared to encounter the opposition of England. I will read a very short passage from a letter of Sir Henry Layard which refers to that declaration. Sir Henry Layard, on the 18th April 1879, wrote or spoke as follows, I am not quite sure which; I quote it from an unexceptionable authority, the *Daily Telegraph* of April 19: "I agree with the remark of Lord Beaconsfield when he returned from the Berlin Congress, that if England had shown firmness in the first instance the late war might have been avoided. That is my conviction, and everything I have seen tends to confirm it." If England had shown firmness, that is to say, if she had threatened Russia. There is no other meaning applicable to the words. I have shown you, therefore, gentlemen, what it is upon which we went to issue—whether Turkey should be coerced, or whether she should not. But there is an important limitation. We had never given countenance to single-handed attempts to coerce Turkey. We felt that single-handed attempts to coerce Turkey would probably lead to immediate bloodshed and calamity, with great uncertainty

The Liberal party desired coercion by united Europe.

as to the issue. The coercion we recommended was coercion by the united authority of Europe, and we always contended that in the case where the united authority of Europe was brought into action there was no fear of having to proceed to actual coercion. The Turk knew very well how to measure strength on one side and the other, and he would have yielded to that authority. But no, there must be no coercion under any circumstances. Such was the issue, gentlemen. Well, where do we stand now? We know what has taken place in the interval. We know that a great work of liberation has been done; in which we have had no part whatever. With the traditions of liberty which we think we cherish, with the recollection that you Scotchmen entertain of the struggles in which you have engaged to establish your own liberties here, a great work of emancipation has been going on in the world, and you have been prevented by your Government from any share in it whatever. But bitter as is the mortification with which I for one reflect upon that exclusion, I thank God that the work has been done. It has been done in one sense, perhaps, by the most inappropriate of instruments; but I rejoice in the result, that six or seven millions of people who were in partial subjection have been brought into total independence, and many millions more who were in absolute subjection to the Ottoman rule have been brought into a state which, if not one of total independence, yet is one of practical liberation actually attained, or very shortly to be realized, practical liberation from the worst of the evils which they suffered. But what happens now? Why, it appears

The sudden change by the Government to a coercion policy.

the Turk is going to be coerced after all. But is not it a most astounding fact that the Government, who said they would on no consideration coerce the Turk, and who said that if Europe attempted to coerce the Turk nothing but misery could result, now expects to coerce the Turk by sending an order to Admiral Hornby at Malta, and desiring him to sail with his fleet into the east of the Mediterranean? Now, gentlemen, neither you nor I are acquainted with the whole of the circumstances attendant upon these measures. We do not know the reasons of State that have brought about this extraordinary result. But what I have pointed out to you is this, that her Majesty's Government have in matter of fact come round to the very principle upon which they compelled the Liberals to join issue with them two or three years ago—the very principle which they then declared to be totally inadmissible, and for urging which upon them their agents and organs through the country have been incessantly maintaining that nothing but the spirit of faction could have induced us to do anything so monstrous. That which nothing but the spirit of faction could have induced us to do is embraced in principle by

It is an attempt at single-handed coercion.

her Majesty's Government. But is it embraced in the same form? No. We said, Let coercion be applied by the united authority of Europe—that is to say, for it is not an exaggeration so to put it, by the united authority of the civilized world applicable to this case. Our American friends have too remote an interest in it to take part.

God forbid I should exclude them from the civilized world; but it was by the united authority; of Europe that we demanded it. It is now attempted by the single authority

Its dangers.

and by the single hand of England. Will it succeed? All I can say is this, if it be directed to good and honest ends, to practical improvement, with all my heart I hope it may; but it may not, and then where is the responsibility? Where is the responsibility of those who refused to allow all Europe to act in unison, and who then took upon themselves this single-handed action? If it fails, they incur an immense responsibility. If it succeeds, it only becomes the more plain that had they but acceded to the advice which was at first so humbly tendered by the Liberal party, and which only after a long time was vigorously pressed—had they then acceded to the view of the Liberal party, and allowed Turkey to be dealt with as she ought to have been dealt with at the close of the Constantinople Conference, Turkey would have given way at once. The Power which yields to one State would still more readily have yielded to the united voice of the six great States. The concessions to be made by her would then have been made, and the horrors and the bloodshed, the loss of life and treasure, the heartburnings, the difficulties, the confusion and the anarchy that have followed would all of them have been saved. Therefore, gentlemen, I say that our present embarrassments are of our own

The present Government is responsible for the interruption of concerted action. creation. It would be a very cruel thing to hold the present Government responsible for the existence of an Eastern Question that from time to time troubles Europe. I have not held them so responsible. I hold them responsible for having interrupted that concerted action, which—it is as evident as considerations of sense and policy can make it—which could not have failed to attain its effect; and for now being driven to make the same effort, with diminished resources, in greater difficulties, and after the terrible penalties of an almost immeasurable bloodshed had been paid.

Now, gentlemen, all this, and a great deal more than this, has to be said, which cannot be said now. Neither your patience nor my strength could enable me to say it. I have detained you at great length. I have only

The majority in the House of Commons

opened, as it were, these questions. I have not even touched the great number of important subjects in which you naturally, as men of Scotland and men of Midlothian, feel very special interest I will however, gentlemen, for this day bid you farewell. But I shall say one word in closing, and it is this. It is constantly said by the Government, and it is a fair claim on their part, that they have been supported by large majorities in the House of Commons. It is a very fair claim, indeed, for a certain purpose. I should, indeed, have something to say upon the other side—viz. this, that you will find in no instance that I am aware of in history, neither in the American War nor in the great Revolutionary War, nor at any period known to me, has objection been taken, persistently and increasingly taken, by such large fractions of the House of Commons—not less, at any rate, than two-fifths of the House, sometimes more—to the foreign policy of the Government, as during this great controversy. The fact is, gentlemen, that in matters of foreign policy it does require, and it ought to require, very great errors and very great misdeeds on the part of the Government to drive a large portion of Parliament into opposition. It is most important to maintain our national unity in the face of the world. I, for my part, have always admitted, and admit now, that our responsibility in opposing the Government has been immense, but their responsibility in refusing to do right has been still greater. Still they are right in alleging that they have been supported by large majorities. Pray, consider what that means. That is a most important proposition; it is a proposition that ought to come home to the mind of every one here. It means this, that though I have been obliged all through this discourse to attack the Government, I am really attacking the majority of the House of Commons. Please to consider that you might, if you like, strike out of my speech all reference to the Government, all reference to any name, all reference to the body.

It is no longer the Government with which you have to deal. You have to deal with the majority of has always steadily supported the Government.

the House of Commons. The majority of the House of Commons has completely acquitted the Government. Upon every occasion when the Government has appealed to it, the majority of the House of Commons has been ready to answer to the call. Hardly a man has ever hesitated to grant the confidence that was desired, however outrageous in our view the nature of the demand might be. Completely and bodily, the majority of the House of Commons has taken on itself the responsibility of the Government—and not only the collective majority of the House of Commons, gentlemen. If you had got to deal with them by a vote of censure on that majority in the lump, that would be a very ineffective method of dealing. They must be dealt with individually. That

"They must be dealt with individually."

majority is made up of units. It is the unit with which you have got to deal. And let me tell you that the occasion is a solemn one, for as I am the first to aver that now fully and bodily the majority of the House of Commons has, in the face of the country, by a multitude of repeated and deliberate acts, made itself wholly and absolutely responsible in the whole of these transactions that I have been commenting upon, and in many more;

and as the House of Commons has done that, so upon the coming general election will it have to be determined whether that responsibility so shifted from an Administration to a Parliament, shall again be shifted from a Parliament to a nation. As yet the nation has had no opportunity, nay, as I pointed out early in these remarks, the Government do not seem disposed to give them the opportunity. To the last moment, so far as we are informed by the best authorities, they intend to withhold it. The nation, therefore, is

The nation is not yet responsible.

not yet responsible. If faith has been broken, if blood has been needlessly shed, if the name of England has been discredited and lowered from that lofty standard which it ought to exhibit to the whole world, if the country has been needlessly distressed, if finance has been thrown into confusion, if the foundations of the Indian Empire have been impaired, all these things as yet are the work of an Administration and a Parliament; but the day is coming, and is near at hand, when that event will take place

The issue we have to try.

which will lead the historian to declare whether or not they are the work, not of an Administration and not of a Parliament, but the work of a great and a free people. If this great and free and powerful people is disposed to associate itself with such transactions, if it is disposed to assume upon itself what some of us would call the guilt, and many of us must declare to be the heavy burden of all those events that have been passing before our eyes, it rests with them to do it. But, gentlemen, let every one of us resolve in his inner conscience, before God and before man, let him resolve that he at least will have no share in such a proceeding; that he will do his best to exempt himself, ay, that he will exempt himself, from every participation in what he believes to be mischievous and ruinous misdeeds; that, so far as his exertion can avail, no trifling, no secondary consideration shall stand in the way of them, or abate them; that he will do what in him lies to dissuade his countrymen from arriving at a resolution so full of mischief, of peril, and of shame.

Gentlemen, this is the issue which the people of this country will have to try. Our minds are made up. You and they have got to speak. I for my part have done and will do the little that rests with me to make clear the nature of the great controversy that is to be decided; and I say from the bottom of my soul, "God speed the right."

On the motion of Mr. John M'Laren, advocate, seconded by Mr. John Usher of Woodhall, a vote of thanks was enthusiastically accorded to Mr. Gladstone. Mr. Nicolson of Parson's Green moved a vote of thanks to the Chairman.

After the meeting Mr. Gladstone was presented with an address from the Corporation of Edinburgh.

### **III. *Wednesday, November 26th, 1879.***

## **Second Midlothian Speech.**

Delivered in the Corn Exchange, Dalkeith, to the Electors of the Parishes of Stow, Heriot, Temple, Borthwick, Crichton, Fala, Carrington, Dalkeith, Cockpen, Newbattle, Cranstoun, Newton, Inveresk, Lasswade, Glencorse, and Penicuik.

*The population in these parishes is to a great extent agricultural, with a considerable manufacturing interest in such places as Penicuik, Lasswade, and Stow.*

## **Dalkeith Meeting.**

ON Wednesday, November 26, Mr. Gladstone proceeded by special train from Dalmeny to Dalkeith, where he addressed a second meeting of Midlothian electors in the Corn Exchange. Upwards of 3000 persons were present. On the platform there were, amongst other gentlemen, Viscount Dalrymple, Oxenford Castle; Sir William Johnston of Kirkhill; Sir David Wedderburn, Bart., M.P.; James Cowan, M.P.; Peter M'Lagan, M.P.; G. O. Trevelyan, M.P.; Charles Tennant, M.P.; J. J. Reid, Hon. Secretary, Midlothian Liberal Association; R. Richardson, W.S., Secretary and Agent; and Holmes Ivory, W.S., and J. M'Donald, W.S., district agents.

On the motion of Viscount Dalrymple, the chair was taken by Mr. Alexander Mitchell, the Chief Magistrate of Dalkeith, who briefly introduced the right honourable gentleman.

Mr. Gladstone, who was received with a perfect storm of applause, said:—

Mr. Provost of Dalkeith and Gentlemen,—I ask the attention of this crowded and immense audience in the capacity, not of a leader of the Liberal party, but of one of its most convinced and not least loyal members, happy to follow those who in two Houses of Parliament have ably discharged the duties of the leadership under

unfavourable circumstances, and most anxious to contribute my part, such as it may be, towards giving the right direction to the national wishes and convictions at what I think to be, and what I know to be, the most important crisis in our national history that has occurred during the last half-century.

Gentlemen, in conducting that portion of this contest which falls to my special care, I will endeavour to observe fair play. I will not willingly

The principles to be observed during the contest.

wound the feelings of any man. I shall be compelled to use strong language in speaking of measures which seem to me incapable of just description by any language which is weak. But to the authors of these measures I shall give, as I am bound to give—there is no merit in according it—I shall give all along the same implicit credit for honourable and patriotic motives which I claim on behalf of the great political party in whose ranks I have the honour to stand. Yesterday, gentlemen, it was my duty to commence a detailed exposition of what appears to me necessary to be laid before you. It is not an easy task, for it involves a survey of a long series of complicated transactions. These are not the transactions with which you are familiar from youth upwards in the scene and upon the stage of domestic affairs, but transactions largely concerned with the most distant quarters of the globe, and likewise involving that complicated subject of the foreign relations of the country with almost every one of the States of the civilized world. It is a very difficult task, gentlemen; it is only with your help, with the assistance of your kind attention, that I can hope to be useful in addressing myself to its performance. Yet with such assistance I have that hope, and I will venture to point out to you now the ground that we have already made in order that both to friends and opponents I may be perfectly clear—that there may be

The issue raised before Midlothian.

no mistake as to the issue which is raised before the county of Midlothian. We have arrived in my judgment, gentlemen, at the time when it is necessary frankly to avow that we so widely and fundamentally differ from the course pursued by her Majesty's Government in affairs of vital moment to the country that we cannot contemplate with satisfaction the longer continuance of that Government in office. Some public writer has said within a few days that there ought not to be a dissolution of Parliament, for that it is most desirable that the Government should have time to finish those foreign affairs which they have begun. I will not enter at this moment, gentlemen, into the logic of that argument, but I will make a frank and I think liberal admission. If I believed, if I could possibly hope, that those gentlemen now in office would, as it is called, finish those foreign affairs, I should be inclined to say, "In Heaven's name let them finish them!" They have begun them; they have created them; they have staked their reputation upon them; they have desired to be remembered, and they will be remembered, in connection with them; and I would not grudge them for a moment the satisfaction of finishing them, nay, I should share that satisfaction. There is nothing I should delight in, nothing I desire so much as to see them finished. But I am afraid, gentlemen, the case stands far otherwise. Yet that is a matter on which I at once admit that broad assertions are not to be taken for granted. I ask you not to look to my assertions, but to look to my proofs and my arguments. And having stated that, I hope to observe fair play. I will say this, that when I attack the foreign policy of the Government I will not confine myself to the comparatively easy duty of objecting to decisions taken in difficult circumstances, but I will endeavour to place before you in a clear and intelligible light those which I conceive to be the true principles of our foreign policy, that you may have an opportunity of comparing them with the false.

Now, gentlemen, I wish here in Dalkeith to say one word as to local questions. The peculiar feature of this crisis is, that it is a crisis at which local affairs

Local and domestic questions are swallowed up.

are most unhappily swallowed up in general questions, and domestic questions are to a great extent absorbed in foreign questions, and therefore I must, before I proceed to touch upon these local and domestic matters, I must remind you how far I conceive myself to have carried the discussion upon the great, the vital question, how the foreign affairs of this country, and its affairs beyond the sea, are to be administered, and how we are to deal with the consequences of that administration in our domestic sphere. I have endeavoured to point out, gentlemen, that as the affairs of this country stood before the present Government acceded to office, the calls of the business of so vast an Empire afforded much more than ample occupation for the very best and very ablest men that could be called to the administration of affairs. A certain progress had been made down to the year 1874 in dealing with some of those calls, but the business of the country still remained confronting us in great mass at the time when the majority of the

The country has been loaded by mischievous engagements abroad.

constituency, in the exercise of its undoubted right, dismissed us from our offices. Since that time I make the complaint that the shoulders, so to speak, of this nation have been loaded by a multitude of gratuitous, mischievous, and dangerous engagements. I point to Africa, I point to India, I point to Afghanistan, to Syria, to Asia Minor, to the whole of Turkey in Asia, I point to our assumption practically, and in an alliance with France, most critical in its nature our assumption of the virtual government of Egypt; I point to our practical

annexation of the island of Cyprus, to all the military dangers and responsibilities of undertaking the defence of the Turkish frontier in Armenia. In fact, I point to enormous increase of difficulty and labour all over the world and I challenge it, in the first instance, upon the most modest and lowest ground I challenge it on the ground of its prudence. Commonsense, after all gentlemen, is the rule as of private so of public life, and it is a rule of commonsense, which every one of you would observe in his private concerns, that you would

The hands of the Government were quite full enough at home.

not undertake new engagements when your hands were full. My contention is that our hands were full; that we had no business to go into South Africa, into Afghanistan, into Turkey in Asia, into Cyprus, into Egypt, into so many of those various countries, that one can hardly give a complete and accurate catalogue of them all. We had no business to go there with these gratuitous and unnecessary difficulties, disturbing confidence, perplexing business, unsettling the fabric of civilized society through the world. We had no business to take those engagements when our hands were full. But I contend, also, that the engagements were bad; and that, being bad, we ought not to have undertaken them, even if our hands, instead of being full, had been perfectly empty. But now, how can I illustrate my meaning

The true meaning of "increasing the Empire."

The country has been appealed to repeatedly upon the ground that this Government was determined that there should be no diminution of the Empire, but was not at all indisposed to increase the Empire. Well now, what does increasing the Empire mean for us? What does possessing Cyprus mean for us? Pray observe that when we occupied Cyprus we became bound in honour to its maintenance and defence, we became bound in honour to have troops there, we became bound in honour to raise fortifications if they be required, and to uphold the flag of England which has been there erected. Now, we had done much the same thing in the Transvaal, a country where we have chosen, most unwisely, I am tempted to say insanelly, to place ourselves in the strange predicament of the free subjects of a monarchy going to coerce the free subjects of a republic, and to compel them to accept a citizenship which they decline and refuse. But if that is to be done, it must be done by force. If we pass into Afghanistan and occupy Cabul and

The expenditure of money and men.

Candahar and, as some say we are going to do, occupy Herat—and I can see no limit to these operations—everything of that kind means a necessity for more money and means a necessity for more men. From whence are the money and the men to come? What do you mean by this sort of strengthening the Empire? It is simply loading the Empire. It is not strengthening the Empire. I can understand some extensions of territory. I have no doubt that when the Germans were unfortunately led to annex Alsace and Lorraine they reckoned that Alsace and Lorraine would contribute in men and money to the purposes of the Empire, just like the rest of Germany. But that is not the case with our annexations; that is not the case with our undertaking the government of Egypt, and the government of Asia Minor, and the government of Syria, and making ourselves responsible for those countries. The meaning of it is this, that with that limited store of men and of funds which these islands can supply, we are continually to go on enlarging our responsibilities and our dangers all over the surface of the earth. Why, gentlemen, many of you are agriculturists. What would you think of the man who, having a farm of 100 acres, takes another farm of a couple of hundred acres, and makes no increase of his farming stock? That is an illustration—a partial illustration—of the sort of proceeding that has been going on, but it is a very feeble illustration. What would you think of the landlord who, having a great avidity for land and being possessed of a splendid estate—for a splendid estate these islands with this Empire are—purchased another estate next to his own, or if at a distance from his own so much the worse—but purchased another estate, whether near or far from his own, on this condition, that he should pay the tithe—or teinds, as you call them—that he should pay the rates and taxes, and the charges of every kind, but somebody else should receive the rents. Morally, these illustrations are utterly barren and feeble—they do not touch the essence of the

The extension of the Empire does not add strength.

case—but economically they are sound and true. There is no strength to be added to your country by governing the Transvaal, by overrunning Zululand, by undertaking to be responsible for Egypt, or for the vast mass of mountains in Central Asia, and for keeping in order their wild and warlike tribes. It is sheer and pure burden imposed upon you; and I appeal to you, the Liberals of Midlothian—ay, I appeal to the Conservatives or Tories of Midlothian—whether their creed of prudence is such a creed as to admit of the perpetration of follies of this kind. But, gentlemen, I will endeavour to give you another illustration. I have no doubt they will say, "Oh, this country is very strong." Thank God, it is; notwithstanding the proceedings of the Beaconsfield Administration. This country is very strong, but that is no reason why it should load itself with a multitude of needless and mischievous engagements. Multitude of engagements may enchain even a great strength. If our strength was great before the Beaconsfield Government came in, so were our duties great. There was not a disturbance that could happen in Europe that did not touch us. There were many calls which the people of this country thought involved their honour. You may recollect that under the late Government—though I hope it was not deficient in

a pacific spirit—when an attempt, which I must call a wicked attempt, was by somebody or other suggested between two great Powers against the freedom and integrity of Belgium—you may recollect that the people of this country almost as one man cried out for measures to be taken in order to show their sympathy with that freedom, and their determination, within limits of reason, to do their best to preserve it. Gentlemen, it is idle to talk of our strength; whatever it was, we had no strength to spare for mischievous and idle purposes.

We had strength enough for every duty, and our duties were weighty and

The country is tied down by needless covenants.

numerous enough; we had none to misapply or to throw away. But now what have they done? I will tell you what they have done, gentlemen. They have placed upon us those engagements which remind me of a little incident in a book which is both a great ornament of our literature as a work of fancy, and at the same time full of the most profound good sense—I mean the "Travels of Gulliver." Yes. Under the veil of allegory is there conveyed, with infinite fun and humour, a lesson of profound political wisdom. When Gulliver lands among the Lilliputians, he is a man of six feet, landing among men of six inches. He goes to sleep, and the Lilliputians, you would say, would have no chance of dealing with such a man; but they tie him down with their greatest cables, which are about the thickness of pack-thread, and by using an enormous number of those cables, which are pack-threads in our sense, and fastening them into the ground by the most powerful rivets they could get—which were nearly as large as the smallest of our pins upon a lady's toilette—they contrived through the multitude of those ties to fasten him down to the ground by the arms and legs and the locks of the hair, so that it was only with the utmost effort that he could liberate one of his arms, and as to the other limb and the hair, he thought it best not to try to liberate them at all. Well, now, that is the way in which we are being tied down, gentlemen, by all sorts of covenants of this kind, to do this and to do that—north, south, east, and west, when we had enough to do before with all the strength we possess. We are gradually being drawn into a position at once ridiculous and dangerous in consequence of these needless engagements, contemplating no public good, lying wholly beyond the line of our duty and our responsibility—hardly one of them, perhaps, in itself of an enormous magnitude but in their combination most fatal to our freedom of action, most injurious to our power of disposing of our resources freely, as occasion shall arise, for objects which may seem to be worthy objects. Gentlemen, I challenge on that ground the prudence of the foreign policy which has thus involved us at almost every point of the compass in those new and strange engagements. Now, gentlemen, for the present I would turn from the subject of foreign

Local questions.

policy in order to touch upon some of those subjects which it is quite necessary that I should notice—namely, the local and special questions in which you feel a special interest. But I cannot do this without uttering you, in the first place, what I may call a warning. Gentlemen, do not be deceived as to our position. Do not suppose that when you get quit of the present Administration you will get quit of the consequences of its deeds. The present Administration, whether it dies intestate or not, will undoubtedly leave an inheritance, an inheritance of financial confusion at home; financial confusion in India; treaties of the strangest and most entangling kind, to be dealt

The difficulty of dealing with them while so much may require to be done elsewhere.

with subject to the honourable engagements under which they will have brought the country; a state of things where the troops of her Majesty—her gallant forces—are at various points, in Asia and in Africa, engaged in wars from which they must heartily wish to be relieved, and from which it must be the first desire, I think, of every right-minded man to relieve them. All these things, gentlemen, will be handed on to the future, and it is an utter mistake to suppose that you will find things as they were in 1874; that you have got nothing to do but to forget the six years of Tory administration, and to proceed peacefully and quietly with the work of improving the laws and maintaining the interests of the country. On the contrary, any men who are so unfortunate as to succeed to this inheritance will find all their best energies tasked in dealing with the direct consequences of Tory administration, in replacing the finances in something like order in removing the confusion into which the affairs of India have been brought, in bringing within some tolerable limits the territorial responsibilities and the treaty obligations which we have undertaken. All these things are matters of the greatest difficulty and anxiety; for you know, gentlemen, it is not difficult for a madman to burn York Minster, but it is not an easy task even for a man of sense to build it. That is all I will say on the general position of your domestic affairs; but do not conceal from yourselves the fact that we have not merely lost the six years during which the present Government has been in office; we have lost to a great degree those other years during which it must be the main and the most sacred duty of a succeeding Government to endeavour to deal with the perplexing and almost portentous consequences of the unfortunate errors of the existing Administration.

Now, gentlemen, I have considered in my own mind what are the subjects most likely to have a special interest for you. I will take first a

The inadequate representation of Scotland.  
subject that I feel must have a hold upon your feelings. At any rate, I myself have an opinion on it that I am desirous of laying before you. I do not think you will disapprove of it, although it is a subject which has not of late been much discussed in Scotland. It is my opinion that Scotland is not represented in the Imperial Parliament up to the full measure which justice demands. [A voice—Whose fault is it? Mr. Gladstone—I will tell you in a moment.] If Scotland were represented according to population

According to population.  
it would, instead of sixty members, possess seventy members. If Scotland were represented according to the share of revenue which it contributes, it would, instead of sixty members, possess seventy-eight

According to revenue.  
members. I am sorry that my friend asked me whose fault it was, for I had no intention of making any charge against the members of the present Government in connection with this subject. But as he asks me whose fault it is, I must tell him that it is the fault of those who framed and carried the Reform Bills of 1867 and 1868, in such a manner as not to accord to Scotland a fairer share of the representation.

Now, gentlemen, besides the consideration of population, which I think to be the main one, and besides the consideration of revenue, which also

The distance from the seat of Government is an element in the question.  
has some importance, there is another element that enters into the equitable examination of the question, and that is the element of distance. A small number of representatives are more effective when they are close to the seat of government than when they are far from the seat of government. On that account it is that London and the metropolitan district, with their vast population of four millions, or one-sixth of the whole population of England and Wales, do not influence the return of more than between 30 and 40 members, which would only be about one-twelfth or one-thirteenth of the population of England and Wales. It is thus recognised that nearness is a reason for having a more limited number of members, and consequently that distance constitutes a claim for a larger number of members than the population would warrant. I hope, gentlemen, that you will bear this subject in mind, because we are given to understand that Her Majesty's Government have a great anxiety to dispose, by Act of Parliament, before the dissolution, of five or six seats. I think six is the number that are now vacant. I have no doubt that in the disposal of these seats they may innocently have a certain regard to the probable use of the franchise by those whom they may seek, not to endow with the franchise, for that they already have, but those to whom they may seek to give an increased share, or a new form of representation. My fear is, gentlemen, that they will not be very anxious, from that point of view, to entertain the claims of Scotland. I very much doubt whether Edinburgh or Glasgow, or whether any of your great counties, are likely to fare favourably at the hands of the Government in regard to that subject, and I recommend it to your careful and watchful observance to see that whenever there are seats to be disposed of Scotland should receive a fair measure of justice.

I pass on from that matter, gentlemen, to another matter which is of great interest in two points of view, and that is the old subject, well known to you by

Hypothec.  
the name of Hypothec. I am not, gentlemen, going to discuss the merits of the question in itself. Happily it is unnecessary, because opinion has reached a stage and a condition in Scotland in which all parties, may be said, are agreed that the Law of Hypothec ought to be done away with. That being so, I accept the conclusion, and I do not waste your time in the discussion. But I do occupy and I hope not altogether waste your time, in calling your attention to the way in which that question has been worked. A political Catechism has been sent to me in print, which, I suppose, is to be administered to me on some convenient opportunity; but at any rate it is complained in the Catechism that when the Liberal Government was in office it did not abolish the Law of Hypothec. Now, gentlemen, I am bound to say that there was a great deal of legislative work which it was quite impossible for us to achieve and the question which, as reasonable men, you will put to us and to yourselves is not whether we did everything that it was desirable to do, but it is whether we manfully and seriously employed our time and spent our energies in doing as much as we could. But I must say it is rather hard that this reproach should come from the opposite side, when I consider that at the last election, when we were dismissed from office by the verdict of the constituencies, in the address of Lord Beaconsfield, then Mr. Disraeli, which was the manifesto of the party it was distinctly complained of us that we had neglected foreign affairs, and had

The conduct of the Tories in regard to this question.  
been too active in home legislation. Well, now, gentlemen, I want to know whether you are satisfied with the manner in which this question of hypothec is worked in Scotland. How is it worked? Why, all your Tory members, with one or two exceptions, vote for abolition. Is not that very delightful? Does not that give you entire satisfaction? What complaint can you make when you find them so rational as this? Let me call your attention to a closer examination of the subject, which I we endeavour to make by the help of the political

microscope. When I look into it, I find that Mr. Vans Agnew, a stout Conservative, moved a bill for the abolition of hypothec. Nay, more, he has moved it for several years, and, as far as I see, if the present Government and present Parliament could happily for the Tories continue without limit, he would regularly go on moving it from year to year for your satisfaction until old age should break down his energies, on death should remove him from this mortal scene. He moved the bill on some day in April—early in the session—or in March; and he carried the second reading of the bill by 204 ayes to 77 noes, and sent, no doubt, a throb of pleasure through the minds and hearts of all the farmers of Scotland, who are pretty much united on this subject. But his bill, though read a second time on some day in March or April, was never more heard of. The Government had the control of the business of the House—the session was very little advanced but no attempt was made to carry forward the measure. That is not all. [unclear: La] us examine the division. Most interesting documents these division lists some times are. The Lord Advocate warmly supported the bill. He supported it with such warmth that he convinced five of his colleagues, and five of his colleague voted with him in the division for the bill abolishing the Law of Hypothec; [unclear: be] he also unfortunately convinced eleven of them the other way. We were to that the Government had become favourable to the abolition of the Law Hypothec, but if we had depended on the votes of the members of the Government, there would have been ayes, 6; noes, 11; the bill condemned and turns out of the House of Commons by a majority of five. So much for the Government. But how, gentlemen, for your Tory members, who vote so steadily [unclear: f] the abolition of the Law of Hypothec? I make a further examination of the division lists and I find this, that every Tory member from Scotland excel we voted for the abolition of hypothec, and I really have rather a respect these two gentlemen—Lord Elcho was one of them—because I feel that their vote must have been a very sincere and conscientious vote under the circumstances. But the Tory members from Scotland voted for the abolition of the law; and it is supposed you can ask nothing more. Thirteen of them voted for the bill; and when I examine the position of the Tory party I find it to be as follows: For the abolition of the law in March last, after all your Scottish Tories had been converted—for the abolition of the law in March last there voted fifty-six Tories, and for maintaining the law there voted seventy-seven Tories, constituting the whole minority on the occasion. Consequently, if that law had been dealt with by the Tory party, what does it signify to you that your Conservative members voted for the abolition of the law, when they can trust to the votes of the majority of their colleagues from England, Wales, and Ireland to nullify their votes altogether, and to maintain the law you want to get rid of? Gentlemen, this is a most curious system, thoroughly understood in the Tory party. You have no idea how tolerant that party is, under certain circumstances. When the profession of a particular opinion on a given measure in a particular constituency is necessary for gaining a seat there are no bounds to the toleration of the Tories. For that reason, members favourable to the abolition of Hypothec are allowed to stand as Tories, and are accepted as good and sound Tories if they come from Scotland. Members favourable to Home Rule are allowed as good and sound Tories if they come from Ireland—exactly on the same principle. And I remember in days before the Ballot became law, when a Tory was accepted as a good and sound Tory, though he voted for the ballot, in order that he might get a seat for the town of Stockport. Now, gentlemen, you are good enough arithmeticians, and good enough observers, to see how all this works. A certain number of Tories are returned as adverse to hypothec from Scotland, knowing that their brother Tories in the other two countries will destroy the effect of their votes. A certain number of Tories are, and may be, returned as Home Rulers from Ireland, because it is known that the votes of England and Scotland, including all your Tory opponents of hypothec from Scotland, will neutralize the vote of the Home Rulers from Ireland on the question of Home Rule, exactly as in all likelihood you will find on making the reference the Home Rulers from Ireland contribute to neutralize on the question of hypothec the vote of your Tories from Scotland. And with the ballot it is just the same. The Tory majority in the House of Commons is that which carries on the affairs of the country, and you, if you are as wise, will look to the general conduct of that majority and will not be satisfied with the individual concession of the individual member in regard to the particular question, knowing that his individual vote will be neutralized, and is meant to be neutralized, by the votes of that majority, of his friends elsewhere, who, where no local interest is felt, will join in maintaining the law you disapprove of. But now, gentlemen, I must say this. My noble friend Lord Rosebery, speaking to me of the Law of Hypothec, said, and I

Hypothec is a "Tulchan."

thought with great force, of Mr. Vans Agnew's Bill, "It is a Tulchan Bill." You know, gentlemen, better than I do what a Tulchan bishop was. Lord Rosebery, departing from the figure of the Tulchan bishop, speaks of a Tulchan bill. I think we can understand that. A Tulchan, as I understand it, was the figure of a calf stuffed with straw, and the practice, an old Scotch practice—I do not know whether it still prevails—the practice was to place this calf stuffed with straw under the cow, in order to induce the cow to give milk. Lord Rosebery's idea is that the bill of Mr. Vans Agnew is the Tulchan calf, that the cow is the Liberal party or the Scotch farmer, and that the Tulchan bill is put to the Scotch farmer in order to induce him to give milk, meaning his vote, to the Tory party. Now, I do believe that that illustration is a perfectly just and plain illustration. In the same way

Home Rule is used as a Tulchan in Ireland, because that is meant to induce the Irish to give their milk—that is to say, their votes—to men who will vote for Home Rule, being, in other respects, Tories, and working with the Tory party on everything but that particular question. Well, gentlemen, there is so much to say that I will not dwell longer on that subject, except that I really do think that a very curious illustration is shown of the working of party organization by this toleration of Liberal votes on isolated questions shown in the case of your Scotch Conservative members with a view to securing seats which, on all other questions, are to be used for the promotion of an anti-Liberal policy and an anti-Liberal Administration.

But I have promised, gentlemen, to say a word during this course of addresses

The Liquor Laws.

on a subject of very great importance—namely, the subject of the Liquor Laws of this country. I confess that the state of this country with regard to intemperance, we must all painfully feel it, is a national vice and scandal. I read with the greatest pain in a very able work lately published by Mr. Saunders, a gentleman connected with the newspaper press in London—a very able work on the United States of America. It contains a statement of the comparative consumption of alcoholic liquors by the population there and the

The relative consumption of alcohol in America and here.

population of this country. The population of America, as a rule, have larger means, higher wages, than are current among the mass of the people here, and they have access to spirituous drinks at a lower price, for the tax is not so high; but, notwithstanding that, if I remember right, the statement of Mr. Saunders is to this effect, that the consumption in America is about one-half of the consumption of this country. Every one admits the seriousness of the case, but we come to great differences of opinion as to the mode of dealing with it. Now, gentlemen, I am not here to give what is called a pledge either upon this or upon any other subject. For I feel that if, after a man has served his country in Parliament for nearly half a century—and after he has been called upon to take an active part, or at the very least to give a vote upon almost every imaginable subject that has been under discussion in that long period of years—if you cannot with such a man find evidence of his future course in that which he has already said and done, all I can say is this, you ought not to ask him for pledges—you ought politely to

Three principles to be recognised in dealing with this question.

decline to have anything to do with him. But my opinion is this, that the three principles which ought to guide the consideration of this difficult question are as follows: Serious efforts ought to be made to abate this terrible mischief. These efforts should be made just as the remarkable effort that was successfully made in past sessions to close the public-houses of Ireland on Sunday. They should be made with a

Regard to public opinion.

due and a careful regard for the state of public opinion. You cannot, gentlemen, judge in the abstract what law ought or ought not to be passed at a given time in a country like this. Shakespeare, who is as full of social and political wisdom as he is of flashing genius at every point, tells us, "There is a tide in the affairs of men, which, taken at the flood, leads on to fortune." And so it is with questions of this kind; you must have regard to the ripeness or unripeness of public opinion, and to the favourable or unfavourable conjuncture of circumstances. But I must also add that I think that if it be necessary—if Parliament shall think it wise to introduce radical change into the working of the liquor law in such a way as to break down the fair expectations

of persons who have grown up—whether rightly or wrongly is not the question; it is not their fault, it is our fault—under the shadow of these laws, their fair claim to compensation ought, if they can make good their case, to be considered, as all such claims have been considered, by the wisdom and the liberality of the British Parliament. It is said, gentlemen, that

Local Option.

we are to be asked to vote for a principle which is called Local Option. Now, the forms of that principle, the mode of its application, the conditions of its application, as I understand, are reserved for the future. In that principle I do not see myself anything that is justly to be condemned. I do not think it is unfair to say that, within the limits of justice and fairness, the local opinion of a particular district may be considered in the particular conditions of those police laws which are to regulate the sale of alcoholic liquors. I may say so, because I have acted upon that principle. I supported many years ago a bill which unhappily failed in Parliament through a combination of parties, under the Government of Lord Palmerston, but which that Government seriously endeavoured to pass, where the local opinion of Liverpool advising the adoption of a particular system was embodied in a private measure, and where, as I said, I myself was among the active supporters of that measure. During the late Government we introduced a bill which again embodied the principles of local option. It was not in our power to carry that bill. I do not dwell upon its provisions particularly. I do not ask now whether they were the wisest and the best, or the most unwise and the worst. I speak only of its principle, and I say that, so far as I am able to judge, there is no reason why upon the threshold

a proposition for allowing the operation of local option in regard to the liquor laws should be rejected and condemned.

Now, there is another question of great importance on which I must say a few words, but I hope I shall be able to dispose of it without very great difficulty. It is the question of the Disestablishment of the Church. I, gentlemen,

Disestablishment.

have very little to say upon it at this moment, because you are substantially in possession of my opinions. I have no second thoughts kept in reserve in regard to this matter. The opinion I have indicated is perfectly transparent. I do not think it is a question for me to determine, so much as it is for the people of Scotland. It is not part of my duty to keep it backward. It is not part of my duty to endeavour to thrust it forward. It is our friends of the other way of thinking that are endeavouring to stir this question. They are endeavouring, gentlemen, to use it as a weapon against us, to sow dissension and division in our ranks. There are, happily, a considerable number of members of the Established Church of Scotland who are good and sound Liberals. And if it is their less happy fortune to be associated in that Church with a great number of other excellent persons who are not good and sound Liberals, why, that, instead of being a reason why we should value the good and sound Liberals of the Established Church the less, is a reason why we should feel for them and value them all the more. Now, gentlemen, in my opinion the Liberal party can stand with a clear conscience in the face of the Established Church of Scotland and say, "We, at least, have done it no harm." When we were in office we raised no question that tended to disturb its position. Looking to the great religious divisions in the country, we conscientiously believed that quietude was the best policy for the Established Church to follow. Those who came after us, gentlemen, did not like a policy of quietude. They liked a policy such as they have been applying to their foreign

The Government policy of disquietude.

affairs. They liked a policy of disquietude, and they succeeded in one way or other in contriving to force the subject of Disestablishment into a certain amount of prominence, and making it one of the real factors of political discussion. We did not do it; but they did it. I make no imputation upon them. All I say is, it is not for them, it does not lie in their mouths to call us agitators and disturbers upon this question. But I am going to make another criticism upon them—I shall have a great many to make before I have done—and it is this. We had a debate on the affairs of the Scotch Established Church last year in the House of Commons. I do not know if you read the speeches that were then made by the gentlemen who call themselves the friends of the Church. But if you do, you will be astonished to see how poor and meagre is the colour of those speeches. Instead of saying, "This is a great and sacred connection; the Government is prepared to stand or fall; or, the member is prepared to devote the years of his life to maintaining it"—all that high romantic and chivalrous style of policy seems to be by the Tories of the present day thought quite inapplicable to the

The weak defence of the Church by the Tories themselves.

Established Church of Scotland. Mr. Dalrymple made one of the strongest speeches for it; and what said he? I had the curiosity to consult Hansard. He said he would leave the defence of the Establishment to some future time. Mr. Cross, on the part of the Government, said when it was attacked they would be quite ready to defend it. But it had been attacked. The Free Kirk had petitioned. The United Presbyterians were up in arms. Important bodies were discussing the matter. And if I may give a recommendation to the friends and members of the Establishment, it would be, not to look so much at this moment at the attitude of the Liberal party, who are disturbing nothing in regard to the matter, but to look to the attitude of their own friends, and see if they cannot inspire a little more pith into their opinions and intentions in regard to this matter. Gentlemen, on this subject I have got a practical remark to make, as I understand there is a real anxiety, and I think a just and fair anxiety, prevailing among the

The desire by Churchmen that the question be fairly and fully tried.

members of the Established Church of Scotland; and it is this, that their cause should be fairly tried; that if the Established Church, so much respected, and so justly, for long services, for the character of its ministers and for the good they do, and for the suitableness of its institutions in many respects to the habits of the people, if it is to be put upon its trial, it shall have a fair, full, and open trial—that it shall not be condemned without having been thus fairly tried. They hope, if I understand them rightly, that no Parliament will dispose finally of the case of the Church of Scotland unless that Parliament has been elected under circumstances when the people of Scotland had the whole case put before them. I think that hope, gentlemen, is a reasonable hope. I refer to it now, because it is the object of the opposite party to insinuate the belief that my purpose is, or that the purposes of other men more wicked than myself—if such there can be—is to smuggle the Established Church of Scotland out of existence. Lord Salisbury has been about the country, and he raises the question thus. I take the question as he has raised it. He wishes to inspire great distrust of me in this matter, and he does it by pointing back to what happened in the case of the Irish Church. Gentlemen, I have never said that the case of the Irish

Church was like the case of the Established Church of Scotland. And I do not think that any of those—Free Churchmen, or United Presbyterians, or others who may be friendly to Disestablishment—would ever put the two cases on the same footing. But the question directly raised is this: May the members and ministers of the Established Church of Scotland trust, make themselves assured, that so far as there can be certainty of what is future in human affairs, there will be a full consideration of this matter by the people before the Parliament which may have to deal with it proceeds to deal with it? Lord

The case of the Irish Church in 1868.

Salisbury says, No—see what happened in the case of the Irish Church. I will go with him to the case of the Irish Church, and I say it proves directly the fact he wants. What happened in the case of the Irish Church? That down to the year 1865 and the dissolution of that year, the whole question of the Irish Church was dead; nobody cared for it; nobody paid attention to it in England. Circumstances occurred which drew the attention of the people to the Irish Church. I said myself in 1865, and I believed, that it was out of the range of practical politics; that is to say, the politics of the coming election. When it came to this—that a great jail in the heart of the metropolis was broken open under circumstances which drew the attention of the English people to the state of Ireland, and when in Manchester policemen were murdered in the execution of their duty, at once the whole country became alive to Irish questions; and the question of the Irish Church revived. It came within the range of practical politics. I myself took it up, and proposed Resolutions to the House of Commons, declaring the view of the House that the Irish Church ought no longer to exist as an Establishment. But those Resolutions, though passed, did not bring about the destruction of the Irish Church, nor did any one expect that they would. They raised the question in the face of the country; the Parliament was dissolved upon the question; the country, from one end of it to the other, considered it fully, made up its mind, and returned a Parliament with a vast majority empowered to speak and act for them on the matter. So that the very chain of facts which is chosen by the Government in order to inspire suspicion in the minds of Liberals who are Established Churchmen—that very chain of facts shows that even in the case of the Irish Church, which was far weaker than that of the Scottish Church—even in that case there was, after the subject had been raised in Parliament, a dissolution expressly upon the case. The verdict of the country was given only after a full trial

The conclusion to be drawn from the action of the Tories.

and consideration; and this is what the Established Church of Scotland fairly and justly asks. Gentlemen, I must say that those Liberal Churchmen run a risk of being placed in exactly the same condition with regard to the question of the Established Church as the Scotch farmer is in regard to hypothec. The Established Church is attempted to be made into a tulchan question to draw the milk of the Liberal Churchmen—of all Churchmen who are Liberals—to persuade them that there is a danger, which I do not believe those very people conceive to exist—a danger of the destruction of that Church, venerated upon so many grounds, without a fair trial and a full consideration of the case by the people of Scotland.

Now, gentlemen, there is one question yet upon which I think it is quite necessary that I should still detain you, though time passes rapidly, and there is no reason why I should occupy much more time. It is the great and important question of the condition of the land in this country; and I propose

The Land Laws.

now to consider it for a few moments in concluding the address I have had the honour to make to you. I shall look at it for a few moments in connection with the various points of law or practice which touch the interests of the cultivators of the soil—the responsible cultivators of the land—I mean the tenant-farmers of the country. I will not dwell further, gentlemen, upon hypothec, because on that we seem, I think, to be all agreed, as far as the merits of the measure are concerned. I will not dwell upon the subject of game, which deeply interests the Scotch farmer in many portions of the country, because upon that subject, through the able exertions of Mr. M'Lagan, a bill has been passed—which I believe has at all events done very considerable good, and which perhaps renders it unnecessary, at any rate for the present moment, to enter further, under the present pressure of so many subjects, into the consideration of the matter. Neither will I dwell, gentlemen, upon what is commonly called security of tenure, because happily in Scotland the education of the country is so far advanced, both among landlords and tenants, that to a certain extent that security is attained by the system of leases, and no desire exists to disturb that system, either on the part of the landlord or on the part of the tenant. There are other matters, however, upon which it may be well to say a few words. One of them is the practice of inserting in leases a number of covenants, which direct particular modes of cultivation, and by

Restrictions upon the mode of cultivation.

directing particular modes do much to restrain its freedom. A good tenant, a good farmer, feels that after all he is the best judge of the mode of conducting what is his own business. Every one will agree with that. On the other hand, there is something, I think, of equity in the statement of the landlord that during the closing years of a lease, if a tenant means to remove, it is difficult for him, without covenants of that kind, to prevent the wasteful use of the farm. Now it is not for me, gentlemen, to offer instruction, perhaps not even to offer a

suggestion to you; but there is a method in with some landlords in England who have leases that I confess appears to me to be not without wisdom. I will just take a supposititious length of a lease, because that is not material. It will only serve to enable me clearly to explain the nature of the expedient by which it is endeavoured to do full justice to the interests of both the landlord and the tenant—that is to say, to leave the tenant entirely free in the prosecution of his business, but at the same time to secure the landlord against the particular, though, perhaps, rare instances—certainly I should think very rare in Scotland—the rare instances in which a tenant intending to leave, might leave the farm behind him in a state greatly worse than that in which he had received it. The method is this: We will say the landlord gives his tenant a lease of twenty-one years. In that lease are included a number of provisions directing, and therefore restraining, cultivation; but there is also a clause directing that those provisions shall not operate during the first seventeen years of the lease. At the end of seventeen years the tenant is to declare whether he wishes to renew his lease or not. If he exercises his option to renew his lease he receives at once, both parties being willing, another lease, which immediately comes into operation, with similar provisions. If he says, I mean to leave, then the provisions directing and restraining the method of cultivation come into operation for the last four years of the lease only, so that the landlord is secured against the deterioration of the farm. Now I know that that method of proceeding is approved by many men of good judgment. It is not for me to pronounce upon it; I confess there appears to be much equity in it. I hold as strongly as any of you can hold that it is most important to rid the tenantry of the country of all unnecessary fetters upon the freedom of their action. They are engaged in a great struggle. Time forbids me at this moment to enter upon the particular character of this struggle. I shall endeavour to do it elsewhere if I am unable to do it to-day; but I wish you to believe that I am heartily and cordially associated with you not less in my own capacity as a landlord, than in my own capacity as a candidate before you in the desire, not only for the sake of gaining your suffrages, but upon higher and upon national grounds, to give all possible freedom to the cultivation of the soil in order that the agriculture of England may have full and fair play in competition with the agriculture of the world.

That is a point, gentlemen, from which I will pass on to another subject of  
Entail and Settlement.

great importance—the law of Entail and Settlement. I believe that you view that law with disapproval as being itself one of the most serious restraints upon the effective prosecution of the agriculture of the country. Gentlemen, I need not dwell upon the matter. I heartily agree with you upon the point at issue. I am for the alteration of that law. I disapprove of it on economic grounds. I disapprove of it on social and moral grounds. I disapprove of the relation which it creates between the father and the eldest son. I disapprove of the manner in which it makes provision for the interests of children to be born. Was there ever in the history of legislation a stranger expedient? Let us consider what takes place in England habitually, and I believe habitually in Scotland also, but I am less conversant with the actual daily practice of this country. A possessor of an estate in England, having sons, or having an eldest son, is in this condition: If he dies intestate, his estate goes bodily to his son. That law, gentlemen, is not just, and it ought to be altered, the law of intestacy. But setting aside the question of intestacy, let us take the ordinary case. The ordinary case is this. The son is going to marry. When he marries—because under the law, supposing he does not marry, and his father dies, he becomes absolute owner—when he marries his father gives him an income for life, and he, in consideration of that income, resettles the estate upon his issue to be thereafter born. Now, what is the meaning of that process? It is this—that the actual owner of the estate induces the son to make provision for his own children by giving him an income for his life. The provision for the children is not made by the freewill of the father, but by the freewill of the grandfather, and it is made by the freewill of the grandfather in order to secure the future and further tying up of the estate. Why, gentlemen, it appears to me that if there is one law written more distinctly than another upon the constitution of human society by the finger of the Almighty it is this, that the parent is responsible for making sufficient provision on behalf of the child; but the law of England is wiser than the Almighty. It improves upon Divine Providence. It will not trust the father to make provision for his son. It calls in the aid of the grandfather, commits to him the function of the parent, introduces a false and, in my opinion, a rather unnatural relation even into the constitution of that primary element of society, the sacred constitution of the family. Not only then to liberate agriculture, gentlemen, but upon other grounds—and I will say upon what I think still higher grounds—I am for doing away with the present law of settlement and entail.

Now, gentlemen, I have gone through, I think, all the questions, except one that greatly affect the interests of occupiers of the soil—I mean all

Local government.

the questions capable of being dealt with by legislation. I am not speaking now of that great question of competition with foreign countries, to which I must revert elsewhere. But there is one that yet remains, and that is the subject of our local and county government. It is a strange anomaly that in this most important matter of local government we who have representative institutions everywhere else have been content down to this time

to remain without them. This is one of the greatest subjects that awaits the consideration of a future Parliament, and that I hope will receive that consideration so soon as those immediate and pressing impediments to which I have already referred can be taken, by care and skill, out of the way. Gentlemen, there was no question upon which the last Government was more severely criticised than its treatment of the subject of local government. Now, what did we do with regard to it? We avowed from the beginning that the state of our county government was wholly unsatisfactory, and must be radically reformed. We thought the law of liability in England which threw the whole responsibility for the rates upon the tenant was an unjust law, and we proposed to divide it, as it is divided in Scotland. We knew that there was a great desire in the country to relieve the ratepayer from the Consolidated Fund. We saw in that desire, and in the power to relieve the ratepayer from the Consolidated Fund, a strong leverage placed in the hand of the Executive Government to induce all the local interests to go freely into the changes that must be made in order to establish a sound system of county government, and to give you, gentlemen, a free and thorough control over the disposal of your own local taxes as you have over the disposal of Imperial taxes. We therefore said, We will not give this money away until we are able to make it the means of bringing all parties to cope with the difficulties of establishing a new system of government, and so to lead to the enjoyment of whatever aid it may be right to give from the Imperial Treasury on behalf of the ratepayer. That, gentlemen, was our position. We were severely censured for it; but we were not willing to depart from it. Before it was in our power to deal thoroughly and effectively with the subject on this basis, we were removed from office. Our successors took an entirely opposite view. In their view the only thing material was to relieve the ratepayers, so they handed over year by year large sums from the Consolidated Fund, made no other change whatever, except indeed certain centralizing changes, left the present irresponsible authorities in possession, continued some five years in office before they produced even the phantom of a Local Government Bill; and when they produced one, contrived to frame it in such a way that no party and no section of a party in the House of Commons showed the smallest desire to have it. The consequence is that your local government remains in the unsatisfactory position in which it formerly stood. Whereas the Imperial Government, which is the only propelling power that can cause legislation of that kind to move onwards, has gratuitously and prematurely parted with the great inducement they held in their hands to bring all parties into a reasonable settlement, to induce magistrates to give in, to induce all constituted authorities to give in, and to abate of their respective pretensions; they have given up the lever by which they ought to have propelled the question on behalf of the public interest, and the question remains in that neglected and abandoned state in which they have left almost every other subject of that kind. Or rather it is in a condition of greater difficulty and of less hope than ever it was before. But, gentlemen, I have detained you long enough. I have endeavoured to be practical and intelligible in my remarks. I have endeavoured to show you that subjects of local and domestic interest do not escape my attention. I have warned you of the immense Imperial difficulties we have to contend with. I have not held out to you too sanguine expectations. I have told you that when you succeed in returning a more—what shall I say?—a more enlightened Parliament—and in obtaining an Administration better qualified to give effect to your convictions, there will be much yet to do, much cause for patience and forbearance, before we can see the peaceful course of legislation which has been the practice of former Administrations—in many cases that I could name, and certainly in at least one Conservative Administration—I mean the Administration of Sir Robert Peel, before that course of peaceful and useful legislation can be resumed. Let me say that in my opinion these two

#### Home Rule.

great subjects of local government and the land laws ought now to occupy a foremost place in the thoughts of every man who aspires to be a legislator. In the matter of local government, there may lie a solution of some national and even Imperial difficulties. It will not be in my power to enter largely while I am in the county upon the important question of the condition of Ireland; but you know well how unhappily the action of Parliament has been impeded and disorganized, from considerations no doubt conscientiously entertained by a part of the Irish representatives, and from their desire to establish what they term Home Rule. If you ask me what I think of Home Rule, I must tell you that I will only answer you when you tell me how Home Rule is related to local government. I am friendly to local government. I am friendly to large local privileges and powers. I desire, I may almost say I intensely desire, to see Parliament relieved of some portion of its duties. I see the efficiency of Parliament interfered with not only by obstruction from Irish members, but even more gravely by the enormous weight that is placed upon the time and the minds of those whom you send to represent you. We have got an overweighted Parliament: and if Ireland, or any other portion of the country, is desirous and able so to arrange its affairs that by taking the local part or some local part of its transactions off the hands of Parliament, it can liberate and strengthen Parliament for Imperial concerns, I say I will not only accord a reluctant assent,

#### The only limit to local government.

but I will give a zealous support to any such scheme. One limit, gentlemen, one limit only, I know to the extension of local government. It is this: Nothing can be done, in my opinion, by any wise statesman or

right-minded Briton to weaken or compromise the authority of the Imperial Parliament, because the Imperial Parliament must be supreme in these three Kingdoms. And nothing that creates a doubt upon that supremacy can be tolerated by any intelligent and patriotic man. But subject to that limitation, if we can make arrangements under which Ireland, Scotland, Wales, portions of England, can deal with questions of local and special interest to themselves more efficiently than Parliament now can, that, I say, will be the attainment of a great national good. The Scotch members, who always show in Parliament—I must say speaking of them as an average, and perhaps it is all the more true because the majority of them are always Liberal—who always show in the transaction of Scotch business remarkable shrewdness and efficiency, yet all find cause to complain, and complain seriously and gravely, that they cannot get the Scotch business properly transacted.

The Parliament is overweighted—the Parliament is almost overwhelmed. If we can take off its shoulders that superfluous weight by the constitution

The relief to be afforded to Parliament.

of secondary and subordinate authorities, I am not going to be frightened out of a wise measure of that kind by being told that in that I am condescending to the prejudices of Home Rulers. I will condescend to no such prejudices. I will consent to give to Ireland no principle, nothing that is not to be upon equal terms offered to Scotland and to the different portions of the United Kingdom. But I say that the man who shall devise a machinery by which some portion of the excessive and impossible task now laid upon the House of Commons shall be shifted to the more free and therefore more efficient hands of secondary and local authorities, will confer a blessing upon his country that will entitle him to be reckoned among the prominent benefactors of the land.

After the outburst of applause had subsided, a vote of thanks to Mr. Gladstone was proposed by Mr. Riddell, farmer, Corshope, and carried amid loud cheers.

The right hon. gentleman proceeded from the Corn Exchange, after a short interval, to the Foresters' Hall, where a presentation was made to Mrs. Gladstone. Mr. Gladstone, in acknowledging the gift, said:—

Provost Mitchell, Mr. Tod, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I rise to perform the duty of returning thanks on behalf of my wife and myself, at the same time that I feel that I can really add very little by expatiating upon the subject to the simple words that she has used, and which express a sentiment that comes with perfect sincerity from the very root of her feelings and of my own. You referred, sir, to the relations, the family relations in which I have had the happiness to stand; to the inestimable blessing—not through my deserving—that has been permitted me through a long life, for these family relations have been the source of unequalled and unflinching consolations, without a break, without a shadow, without a doubt, without a change. I would, Mr. Tod, as far as I may presume to do so, venture so far to reecho the words of that eloquent and beautiful eulogy, which I must in justice say to you, you have so admirably pronounced, even if its terms be wanner than a strict justice would warrant towards us who have been the subjects of the eulogy. Well, sir, you have spoken to me on a subject which always commands and stirs my feelings—the subject of Scotland. It is but two days since I re-entered it, and how many tokens, how unquestionable proofs, have I had presented to me at every turn of every road, at every hour of each of these days, and at every moment of each hour, that I am come back not only to the land of beautiful natural characteristics, not only to the

*Land of brown heath and shaggy wood,  
Land of the mountain and the flood"—*

but I come back to that which is better still, to the land which has a prerogative, to describe which I will borrow the terms used in a higher sense by one of the latest, and certainly not the least, of your writers of beautiful songs—I mean Lady Nairne—I hope Scotland may always itself deserve to be called, down to the latest posterity, "the land of the leal." And, sir, with regard to the special occasion which has brought us here to-night, I understand it to be your wish that I should use some words addressed to the particular share that ladies, and that women, may be thought to have in the crisis of to-day. I use the expression women with greater satisfaction than the former one which I uttered, the name of ladies; because it is to them, not only in virtue of a particular station, not only by reason of their possessing a greater portion of the goods of life than may have been granted to the humbler classes of society, that I appeal. I appeal to them in virtue of the common nature which runs through us all. And I am very glad, sir, that you have introduced to us with a special notice the factory girls of the place, who on this occasion have been desirous to testify their kindly feelings. I hope you will convey to them the assurance that their particular act is not forgotten and that the gift they offer is accepted with as lively thankfulness and as profound gratification as the most splendid offering that could be tendered by the noblest in the land.

I speak to you, ladies, as women; and I do think and feel that the present political crisis has to do not only

with human interests at large, but especially with those interests which are most appropriate, and ought to be most dear to you. The harder, and sterner, and drier lessons of politics are little to your taste, You do not concern yourselves with abstract propositions. It is that side of politics which is associated with the heart of man, that I must call your side of politics!

Peace, Retrenchment, Reform.

When I look at the inscription which faces me on yonder gallery, see the words "Peace, Retrenchment, and Reform." All of these words, ladies, are connected with the promotion of human happiness; and what some would call the desert of this world, and of the political world in particular, would be an arid desert indeed if we could not hope that our labours are addressed to the increase of human happiness; that we try to diminish the sin and the sorrow in the world, to do something to reduce its grievous and overwhelming mass, to alleviate a little the burden of life for some to take out of the way of struggling excellence those impediments at least which the folly or the graver offence of man has offered as obstacles in his progress. These are the hopes that cheer, that ought to cheer, the human heart amidst the labours and struggles of public life. Of all these words—peace, retrenchment and reform—the one word upon which I will say a few more special words on this occasion is the word peace. Is this, ladies, a time of peace? Cast your eyes abroad over the world. Think what has taken place in the last three or four years. Think of the events which have deluged many a hill and many valley with blood; and think, with regret and pain, of the share, not which you individually, but which your country collectively has had in that grievous operation.

South Africa.

If we cast our eyes to South Africa, what do we behold? That a nation whom we term savages have in defence of their own land offered their naked bodies to the terribly improved artillery and arms of modern European science, and have been mowed down by hundreds and by thousands, having committed no offence, but having, with rude and ignorant courage, done what were for them, and done faithfully and bravely what were for them, the duties of patriotism. You may talk of glory, you may offer rewards—and you are right to give rewards to the gallantry of your soldiers, who, I think are entitled not only to our admiration for courage, but to our compassion for the nature of the duties they have been called upon to perform. But the [unclear: grie] and the pain none the less remain. Go from South Africa to the mountains Central Asia. Go into the lofty hills of Afghanistan, as they were last winter

Afghanistan.

and what do we there see? I fear a yet sadder sight than was to be seen in the land of the Zulus. It is true that with respect to the operations of the war in Afghanistan you have seen none but official accounts, of hardly any but official accounts; and many of the facts belonging to that war have not been brought under the general notice of the British public. I think that a great misfortune. I know that it may be necessary and wise under certain circumstances to restrain what might be the injudicious and exaggerated, and therefore the dangerous communications that might proceed from irresponsible

Our want of information.

persons. At the same time, I deeply regret that we were not more fully informed of the proceedings of the war in Afghanistan, especially as we must bear in mind that our army is composed in great part of a soldier not British, and not under Christian obligations and restraints. What we know is this, that our gallant troops have been called upon to ascend to an elevation of many thousand feet, and to operate in the winter months—I am going back to a period of nine or twelve months—amidst the snows of winter. We know that that was done for the most part not strictly in the territory of Afghanistan proper, but in its border lands, inhabited by hill tribes who enjoy more or less of political independence, and do not own a regular allegiance to the Afghan ruler. You have seen during last winter from time to time that from such

The horrors of war.

and such a village attacks had been made upon the British forces, and that in consequence the village had been burned. Have you ever reflected on the meaning of these words? Do not suppose that I am pronouncing a censure, for I am not, either upon the military commanders or upon those who acted subject to their orders. But I am trying to point out the responsibility of the terrible consequences that follow upon such operations. Those hill tribes had committed no real offence against us. We, in the pursuit of our political objects, chose to establish military positions in their country. If they resisted, would not you have done the same? and when, going forth from their villages, they had resisted, what you find is this, that those who went forth were slain, and that the village was burned. Again I say, have you considered the meaning of these words? The meaning of the burning of the village is, that the women and the children were driven forth to perish in the snows of winter. Is not that a terrible supposition? Is not that a fact—for such, I fear, it must be reckoned to be—which does appeal to your hearts as women, which does lay a special hold and make a special claim upon your interest, which does rouse in you a sentiment of horror and grief, to think that the name of England, under no political necessity, but for a war as frivolous as ever was waged in the history of man, should be associated with

consequents such as these? I have carried you from South Africa to Central Asia. I carry you from Central Asia to Eastern Europe, and in the history of Eastern Europe in the last few years do you

Eastern Europe.

not again feel that this is no matter of dry political argument, that there was a wider theatre upon which for many generations a cruel and a grinding oppression, not resting upon superior civilization, not upon superior knowledge, but a domination of mere force, had crushed down to

The oppressive government of the Turk.

the earth races who, four or five hundred years ago, greatly excelled our own forefathers in civilization—had crushed these races to the earth, had abated in them the manhood and the nobler qualities that belong to freedom—had ground these qualities, it appeared, in some cases almost out of their composition—had succeeded in impressing upon them some of the features of slaves; and in addition to this, when from time to time the impulses of humanity would not be repressed, and an effort was made by any of these people to secure to themselves their long-lost liberties. These efforts had been put down with a cruelty incredible and unequalled, almost, and perhaps entirely, unequalled in the annals of mankind, and not only with that cruelty, but with a development of other horrors in the treatment of men, women, and children, which even decency does not permit me to describe. I will not dwell further on these matters than to say that I think in all these scenes, if peace be our motto, we must feel that a strong appeal is made to you as women—to you specially, and to whatever there is in men that associates itself with what is best and most peculiar in you.

Ladies, I am not here before you as one of those who have ever professed to believe that the state which society has reached permits us to

A long experience deepens the conviction of the evil of war.

make a vow of universal peace, and of renouncing, in all cases, the alternative of war. But I am here to say that a long experience of life leads me, not towards any abstract doctrine upon the subject, but to a deeper and deeper conviction of the enormous mischiefs of war even, under the best and most favourable circumstances, and of the mischiefs indescribable and the guilt unredeemed of causeless and unnecessary wars. Look back over the pages of history; consider the feelings with which we now regard wars that our forefathers in their time supported with the same pernicious fanaticism, of which we have had some developments in this country within the last three years. Consider, for example, that the American war, now condemned by 999 out of every 1000 persons in this country, was a war which for years was enthusiastically supported by the mass of the population. And then see how powerful and deadly are the fascinations of passion and of pride; and, if it be true that the errors of former times are recorded for our instruction in order that we may avoid their repetition, then I beg and entreat you, be on your guard against these deadly fascinations; do not suffer appeals to national pride to blind you to the dictates of justice.

Remember the rights of the savage, as we call him. Remember that the happiness of his humble home, remember that the sanctity of life in the hill villages of Afghanistan among the winter snows, is as inviolable in the eye of Almighty God as can be your own. Remember that He who has united you together as human beings in the same flesh and blood, has bound you by the

Mutual love is not limited by Christian civilization.

law of mutual love; that that mutual love is not limited by the shores of this island, is not limited by the boundaries of Christian civilization, that it passes over the whole surface of the earth, and embraces the meanest along with the greatest, in its unmeasured scope. And, therefore, I think that in appealing to you ungrudgingly to open your own feelings and bear your own part in a political crisis like this, we are making no inappropriate demand, but are beseeching you to fulfil a duty which belongs to you, which, so far from involving any departure from your character as women, is associated with the fulfilment of that character, and the performance of its duties; the neglect of which would in future times be to you a source of pain and just mortification, and the fulfilment of which will serve to gild your own future years with sweet remembrances, and to warrant you in hoping that, each in your own place and sphere, you have raised your voice for justice, and have striven to mitigate the sorrows and misfortunes of mankind.

A vote of thanks was on the motion of Mr. Tod by acclamation accorded to Mr. Gladstone, who then left the town, passing down rows of torch-bearers drawn up to illuminate the streets in his honour.

## ***IV. Thursday, November 27th, 1879.***

### **Third Midlothian Speech..**

Delivered at West Calder to the Electors of the Parishes of Kirknewton, Ratho, Kirkliston, Midcalder, and West Calder.

*These parishes embrace a district partly agricultural and partly mining.*

## West Calder Meeting.

ON Thursday, November 27th, Mr. Gladstone drove from Dalmeny Park to address the electors at West Calder. The route lay through the villages of Ratho, East Calder, Midcalder, and Bell's Quarry, in all of which triumphal arches had been erected, and the popular excitement and enthusiasm were intense. A building had been specially prepared for the meeting at West Calder, and it was crowded by a very large assemblage of electors and non-electors. The streets of West Calder were decorated with arches, and the town was brilliantly illuminated at night.

Amongst those present were the following gentlemen: Viscount Dalrymple, Hon. A. Lyttleton, Messrs. P. M'Lagan of Pumpherston, M.P.; John Ramsay, M.P.; E. Jenkins, M.P.; Colonel Gillon of Wallhouse; James Young of Kelly and Limefield, LL.D.; James Houldsworth of Coltness, Thomas Barr of Harburn, Alex. Smith of Muirhouse, James Thornton of Hermand, J. R. Forman of Craigpark, James Steel of Murieston, John Wilson of Alderstone, Ralph Richardson of Newpark, W.S.; Rev. Professor Blaikie, Rev. Professor Calderwood, Professor Ramsay, Glasgow; Rev. Dr. Nicolson, Linlithgow; D. Nicolson of Parson's Green, Surgeon-General Harper, Deputy Surgeon-General Fleming, Provost Dawson, Linlithgow; Provost Johnston, Bathgate; Provost Forrest, Hamilton; Provost Lawson, Provost of Bo'ness; Bailies Burt and Smith, Glasgow; Bailie Brown, Lanark; Robert Bell, Amondell; T. D. Brodie, W.S.; Thomas Carmichael, S.S.C.; J. R. Findlay, Hatton House; James Melvin, Bonnington; William Dick, Kirknewton; Rev. Messrs. Wardrop, Taylor, and Goldie, West Calder; Rev. Messrs. A. and W. Duncan, Midcalder; Rev. D. Marshall, East Calder; Rev. J. K. Bain, Livingston; Dr. Watson, Midcalder; A. R. Gillespie, Leith; Holmes Ivory, W.S.; R. G. Smith, Midcalder; Adam Robertson, Midcalder; Alex. Smith, Loganlea; W. C. Smith, Advocate; P. W. Campbell, W.S.; James Blaikie, Inspector of Schools; R. A. Brown, S.S.C.; Dr. Fowler, James Law, A. Corstorphine, Currie; W. H. Houldsworth, Coltness; and the following members of the West Calder Liberal Committee, viz.: John Calderwood, P. Cosgrove, Thos. Darling, Jos. Dodds, A. Gray, W. Graham, A. Kidd, Wm. Millar, John Mungle, A. Martin, T. Rae, T. Seggie, J. Stark, and W. R. Scott.

Mr. M'Lagan of Pumpherston, M.P., having been called to the chair, briefly introduced Mr. Gladstone, who said:—

Mr. M'Lagan and Gentlemen,—in addressing you to-day, as in addressing like audiences assembled for a like purpose in other places of the county, I am warmed by the enthusiastic welcome which you have been pleased in every quarter and in every form to accord to me. I am, on the other hand, daunted when I recollect first of all what large demands I have to make on your patience; and, secondly, how inadequate are my powers, and how inadequate almost any amount of time you can grant me, to set forth worthily the whole of the case which ought to be laid before you in connection with the coming election.

To-day, gentlemen, as I know that many among you are interested in the land, and, as I feel that what is termed "agricultural distress" is at

Agricultural distress.

the present moment a topic too serious to be omitted from our consideration, I shall say some words upon the subject of that agricultural distress, and particularly, because in connection with it there have arisen in some quarters of the country proposals, which have received a countenance far beyond their deserts, to reverse or to compromise the work which it took us one whole generation to achieve, and to revert to the mischievous, obstructive, and impoverishing system of Protection. Gentlemen, I speak of agricultural distress as a matter now undoubtedly serious. Let none of us withhold our sympathy from the farmer, the cultivator of the soil, in the struggle he has to

The farmer has to compete with the United States.

undergo. His struggle is a struggle of competition with the United States. But I do not fully explain the case when I say the United States. It is not with the entire United States; it is with the western portion of these States, the portion remote from the seaboard; and I wish, in the first place, gentlemen, to state to you all a fact of very great interest and importance, as it seems to me, relating to and defining the point at which the competition of the Western States of America is most severely felt. I have in my hand a letter received recently from one well known, and honourably known, in Scotland, Mr. Lyon Playfair, who has recently been a traveller in the United States, and who, as you well know, is as well qualified as any man upon earth for accurate and careful investigation. The point, gentlemen, at which the competition of the Western States of America is most severely felt is in the Eastern States of America. Whatever be agricultural distress in Scotland, whatever it be, where undoubtedly it is more felt, in England it is greater by much in the Eastern States of America. In the

States of New England the soil has been to some extent exhausted by careless methods of agriculture, and these, gentlemen, are the greatest of all the enemies with which the farmer has to contend. But the foundation of the statement I make, that the Eastern States of America are those that most feel the competition of the West, is to be found in facts—in this fact, above all, that not only they are not in America, as we are here, talking about the shortness of the annual returns, and in some places having much said on the subject of rents and of temporary remission or of permanent reduction; that is not the state of things; they have actually got to this point, that the capital values of land, as tested by sales in the market, have undergone an enormous diminution. Now, I will tell you something that actually happened, on the

The prices of land in the Eastern States.

authority of my friend Mr. Playfair—I will tell you something that has happened in one of the New England States—not, recollect, in a desert or a remote country—in an old cultivated country, and near one of the towns of these States, a town that has the honourable name of Wellesley. Mr. Playfair tells me this: Three weeks ago—that is to say, about the first of this month, so you will see that my information is tolerably recent—three weeks ago a friend of Mr. Playfair bought a farm near Wellesley for thirty-three dollars an acre, for £6, 12s. an acre—agricultural land, remember, in an old settled country. That is the present condition of agricultural property in the old States of New England. I think by the simple recital of that fact I have tolerably well established my case, for you have not come in England, and you have not come in Scotland, to the point at which agricultural land is to be had, not wild land, but improved and old cultivated land, is to be had for the price of £6, 12s. an acre. He mentions that this is by no means a strange case, an isolated case, that it fairly represented the average transactions that have been going on, and he says that in that region the ordinary price of agricultural land at the present time is from twenty to fifty dollars an acre, or from £4. to £10. In New York the soil is better, and the population is greater; but even in the State of New York land ranges for agricultural purposes from fifty to a hundred dollars; that is to say, from £10 to £20 an acre.

I think those of you, gentlemen, who are farmers will perhaps derive some comfort from perceiving that if the pressure here is heavy, the pressure elsewhere

The pressure is felt most severely in America itself.

and the pressure nearer to the seat of this very abundant production is greater and far greater still. It is most interesting to consider, however, what this pressure is. There has been developed, in the astonishing progressive power of the United States—there has been developed a faculty of producing corn for the subsistence of man with a rapidity, and to an extent, unknown in the experience of mankind. There is nothing like it in history. Do not let us conceal, gentlemen, from our selves the fact—I shall not stand the worse with any of you who are farmers. It is at once avowed, that this greater, and comparatively immense abundance of the prime article of subsistence for mankind is a great blessing vouchsafed by Providence to mankind. In part I believe that the cheapness has been increased by special causes. The lands from which the great abundance of American wheat comes are very thinly peopled as yet. They will become more thickly peopled and as they become more thickly peopled a larger proportion of their product will be wanted for home consumption, and less of it will come to you, and at higher price. Again, if we are rightly informed, the price of American wheat has been unnaturally reduced by the extraordinary depression in recent times of trade in America, and especially of the mineral trades, upon which many railroads are dependent in America, and with which these railroads are connected in America in a degree and manner that in this country we know but little of. With a revival of trade in America, it is to be expected that the freights of corn will increase, and all other freights, because the employment of the railroads will be a great deal more abundant, and they will not be content to carry corn at nominal rates. In some respects, therefore, you may expect a mitigation of the pressure, but in other respects it is likely to continue. Nay, the Prime Minister is reported as having not long ago said—and he ought to have the best information on this subject, nor am I going to impeach in the main what he stated—he gave it to be understood that there was about to be a development of corn production in Canada, which would entirely throw into the shade this corn production in the United States. Well, that certainly was very cold comfort, as far as the British agriculturist is concerned, because he did not say—he could not say—that the corn production of the United States was to fall off, but there was to be added an enormous corn production from Manitoba, the great province which forms now a part of the Canada Dominion. There is no doubt, I believe, that it is a correct expectation that vast or very large quantities of corn will proceed from that province, and therefore we have to look forward to a state of things in which, for a considerable time to come, large quantities of wheat will be forthcoming from America—probably larger quantities, and perhaps and frequently at lower prices, than those at which the corn-producing and corn exporting districts of Europe have commonly been able to supply us. Now, that believe to be, gentlemen, upon the whole not an unfair representation of the state of

The farmer has two fair claims: (1) To purchase in the cheapest market.

things. How are you to meet that state of things? What are your fair claims? I will tell you. In my opinion your fair claims are in the main two. One is, to be allowed to purchase every article that you require in the

cheapest market, and have no needless burden laid upon anything that comes to you and can assist you in the cultivation of your land. But that claim has been conceded and fulfilled. I do not know whether there is an object, an instrument, a tool of any kind—an auxiliary of any kind—that you want for the business of the farmer, which you do not buy at this moment in the cheapest market. But beyond that, you want to be relieved from every unjust and unnecessary

(2) Relief from unnecessary legislative restraint.

legislative restraint. I say every unnecessary legislative restraint, because taxation, gentlemen, is unfortunately a restraint upon us all but we cannot say that it is always unnecessary, and we cannot say that it is always unjust. Yesterday I ventured to state—and I will therefore not now return to the subject—a number of matters connected with the state of legislation in which it appears to me to be of vital importance, both to the agricultural interest and to the entire community, that the occupiers and cultivators of the land of this country should be relieved from restraints under the operation of which they now suffer considerably. Beyond those two great heads, gentlemen what you have to look to, I believe, is your own energy, your own energy of thought and action, and your care not to undertake to pay rents greater than, in reasonable calculation, you think you can afford. I am by no means sure, though I speak subject to the correction of higher authority—I am by no means sure that in Scotland within the last fifteen or twenty years something of a speculative character has not entered into rents, and particularly, perhaps, into the rents of hill farms. I remember hearing of the augmentations which were taking place, I believe, all over Scotland—I verified the fact in a number of counties—about twelve or fourteen years ago in the rents of hill farms, which confess impressed me with the idea that the high prices that were then ruling, and ruling increasingly from year to year, for meat and wool were perhaps for once leading the wary and shrewd Scottish agriculturist a little beyond the mark in the rents he undertook to pay. But it is not this only which may press. It is, more broadly, in a serious and manful struggle that you are engaged, in which you will have to exert yourselves to the uttermost; in which you have a right to claim everything that the Legislature can do for you, and I hope it may perhaps possibly be my privilege and honour to assist in procuring for you some of those provisions of necessary liberation from restraint; but beyond that, it is your own energies, of thought and action, to which you will have to trust.

Now, gentlemen, having said thus much, my next duty is to warn you against

A warning against quack remedies.

quack remedies, against delusive remedies, against the quack remedies that there are plenty of people found to propose, not so much in Scotland as in England; for, gentlemen, from Midlothian present we are speaking to England as well as to Scotland. Let us give a friendly warning from this northern quarter to the agriculturist of England not to be deluded by those, who call themselves his friends in a degree of special and superior excellence, and who have been too much given to delude him in other times; not to be deluded into hoping relief from sources, from which it can never come. Now, gentlemen, there are three of these remedies. The first of them, gentlemen, I will not call a quack remedy at all, but I will speak of notwithstanding in the tone of rational and dispassionate discussion. I am not now so much upon the controversial portion of the land question, a field which Heaven knows is wide enough, as I am upon matters of deep and universal interest to us in our economic and social condition. There are some gentlemen and there are persons for whom I for one have very great respect, who think that the difficulties of our agriculture may be got over by a fundamental change in the land-holding system of this country. I do not mean, now pray observe, change as to the law of entail and settlement, and all those restraints which, hope, were tolerably well disposed of yesterday at Dalkeith; but I mean those who think that if you can cut up the land, or a large part of it, into a multitudes of small properties, that of itself will solve the difficulty, and start everybody or

Small proprietors.

a career of prosperity. Now, gentlemen, to a proposal of that [*unclear: kin*] I, for one, am not going to object upon the ground that it would be inconsistent with the privileges of landed proprietors. In my opinion, if it is known to be for the welfare of the community at large, the Legislature perfectly entitled to buy out the landed proprietors. It is not intended probable to confiscate the property of a landed proprietor more than the property of and other man; but the State is perfectly entitled, if it please, to buy out the lands proprietors as it may think fit for the purpose of dividing the property into small lots. I do not wish to recommend it, because I will show you the doubt that to my mind hang about that proposal; but I admit that in principle objection can be taken. Those persons who possess large portions of the space of the earth are not altogether in the same position as the possessors of men personalty; that personalty does not impose the same limitations upon the action and industry of man, and upon the wellbeing of the community, as does the possession of land; and therefore I freely own that compulsory expropriate is a thing which for an adequate public object is in itself admissible and so

[*unclear: f*]

A comparison with France.

sound in principle. Now, gentlemen, this idea about small proprietors, however, is one which very large

bodies and parties in the country treat with the utmost contempt; and they are accustomed to point France and say, Look at France. In France you have got 5,000,000—I am [unclear: n] quite sure whether it is 5,000,000 or even more; I do not wish to be beyond [unclear: t] mark in anything—you have 5,000,000 of small proprietors, and you do not prepuce in France as many bushels of wheat per acre as you do in England. We now, I am going to point out to you a very remarkable fact with regard to the condition of France. I will not say that France produces—for I believe it do not produce—as many bushels of wheat per acre as England does, but I should like to know whether the wheat of France is produced mainly upon the sms [unclear: sms] properties of France. I believe that the wheat of France is produced mainly upon the large properties of France, and I have not any doubt that the large properties of England are, upon the whole, better cultivated, and more capita is put into the land, than in the large properties of France. But it is fair that justice should be done to what is called a peasant proprietary. Peasant proprietary is an excellent thing, if it can be had, in many points of view. It interests an enormous number of the people in the soil of the country, and in the stability of its institutions and its laws. But now look at the effect that it has upon the progressive value of the land—and I am going to give you a very few figures, which I will endeavour to relieve from all complication, lest I should unnecessarily weary you. But what will you think when I tell you that the agricultural values of France—the taxable income derived from the land, and therefore the income of the proprietors of that land—has advanced during our lifetime far more rapidly than that of England? When I say England, I believe the same thing is applicable to Scotland, certainly to Ireland; but I shall take England for my test, because the difference between England and Scotland, though great, does not touch the principle; and because it so happens that we have some means of illustration from former times for England, which are not equally applicable for all the three kingdoms. Here is the state of the case. I will not go back any further than 1851. I might go back much

Progressive value of land in England and France.

further, it would only strengthen my case. But for 1851 I have a statement, made by French official authority, of the agricultural income of France, as well as the income of other real property, such as houses. In 1851 the agricultural income of France was £76,000,000. It was greater in 1851, than the whole income from land and houses together had been in 1821. That is a tolerable evidence of progress, but I will not enter into the detail of it, because I have no means of dividing the two—the house income and the land income—for the earlier year, namely, 1821. In 1851 it was £76,000,000—the agricultural income; and in 1864 it had risen from £76,000,000 to £106,000,000. That is to say, in the space of thirteen years the increase of agricultural values in France—annual values—was no less than 40 per cent., or 3 per cent, per annum. Now I go to England. Wishing to be quite accurate, I shall limit myself to that with respect to which we have positive figures. In England the agricultural income in 1813-1814 was £37,000,000 in 1842 it was £42,000,000, and that year is the one I will take as my starting-point. I have given you the years 1851 to 1864 in France. I could only give you those thirteen years with a certainty that I was not misleading you, and I believe I have kept within the mark. I believe I might have put my case more strongly for France.

In 1842, then, the agricultural income of England was £42,000,000; in 1876 it was £52,000,000—that is to say, while the agricultural income of France increased 40 per cent, in thirteen years, the agricultural income of England increased 20 per cent, in thirty-four years. The increase in France was 3 per cent, per annum; the increase in England was about one-half or three-fifths per cent, per annum. Now, gentlemen, I wish this justice to be done to a system where peasant proprietary prevails. It is of great importance. And will you allow me, you who are Scotch agriculturists, to assure you that I speak to you not only with the respect which is due from a candidate to a constituency, but with the deference which is due from a man knowing very little of agricultural matters to those who know a great deal. And there is one point at which the considerations that I have been opening up, and this rapid increase of the value of the soil in France bears upon our discussions. Let me try to explain it. I believe myself that the operation of economic laws is what in the main dictates the distribution of landed property in this country. I doubt if those economic laws will allow it to remain cut up into a multitude of small properties like the small properties of France. As to small holdings, I am one of those who attach the utmost value to them. I say that in the Lothians; I say that in the portion of the country where almost beyond any other large holdings prevail; 111 Some parts of which large holdings exclusively are to be found; I attach the utmost value to them. But it is not on that point I am going to dwell, for we have time for what is unnecessary. What I do wish very respectfully to submit you, gentlemen, is this. When you see this vast increase of the agricultural value of France, you know at once it is perfectly certain that has not been upon the large properties of France, which, if anything, are inferior in cultivation to the large properties of England. It has been upon those very peasant-property which some people are so ready to decry. What do the peasant-property mean? They mean what in France is called the small cultivation; that is say, cultivation of superior articles, pursued upon a small scale—cultivation flowers, cultivation of trees and shrubs, cultivation of fruits of every kind, and all that, in fact, which rises above the ordinary character of farming produce, and rather approaches the produce of the gardener. Gentlemen, I cannot be having this belief, that, among other means of

meeting the difficulties in which

The cultivation of new products.

we may be placed, our destiny is that a great deal more attention will have to be given than heretofore by the agriculturists of England and perhaps even by the agriculturists of Scotland, to the production of fruit of vegetables, of flowers; of all that variety of objects which are sure to find market in a rich and wealthy country like this, but which have hitherto been consigned almost exclusively to garden production. You know that in Scotland n Aberdeenshire—and I am told also in Perthshire—a great example of the kind has been set in the cultivation of strawberries—the cultivation of [unclear: stra] berries is carried on over hundreds of acres at once. I am ashamed, gentlemen to go further into this matter, as if I was attempting to instruct you. I am sure you will take my hint as a respectful hint, I am sure you will take it as a friend hint. I do not believe that the large properties of this country, generally I universally, can or will be broken up into small ones. I do not believe that land of this country will be owned, as a general rule, by those who cultivate I believe we shall continue to have, as we have had, a class of landlords as a class of cultivators, but I most earnestly desire to see, not only to see the relations of those classes to one another harmonious and sound, their interest never brought into conflict, but I desire to see both flourishing and prospering

A change in distribution of landed property is not a remedy for agricultural distress.

and the soil of my country producing, as far as may be, under the influence of capital and skill, every variety of product which me give an abundant livelihood to those who live upon it. I say, these fore, gentlemen, and I say it with all respect, I hope for a good [unclear: do] from the small culture, the culture in use among the small proprietors of France; but I do not look to a fundamental change in the distribution of landed property in this country as a remedy for agricultural distress.

But I go on to another remedy which is proposed, and I do it with a great deal less of respect; nay, I now come to the region of what I have presume to call quack remedies. There is a quack remedy which is called Reciprocal

Reciprocity is a quack remedy.

and this quack remedy is under the special protection of [unclear: qual] doctors, and among the quack doctors I am sorry to say the appear to be some in very high station indeed; and if I am rightly informes no less a person than her Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs has been moving about the country and indicating a very considerable expectation that possibly by Reciprocity agricultural distress will be relieved. Let me to gentlemen, the efficacy of this quack remedy for your in some places agriculture pressure, and generally distress, the pressure that has been upon you, [unclear: t] struggle in which you are engaged. Pray watch its operation; pray [unclear: no] what is said by the advocates of Reciprocity. They always say, We are the soundest and best Free-traders. We recommend Reciprocity because it is the ruly effectual method of bringing about Free-trade. At present America [unclear: impos] enormous duties upon our cotton goods and upon our iron goods. Put Reciprocity into play, and America will become a Free-trading country. Very well, gentlemen, how would that operate upon you agriculturists in particular? Why, it will operate thus. If your condition is to be regretted, in certain particulars and capable of amendment, I beg you to cast an eye of sympathy upon the condition of the American agriculturist. It has been very well said, and very truly said, though it is a smart antithesis—the American agriculturist has got to buy everything that he wants at prices which are fixed in Washington by the legislation of America, but he has got to sell everything that he produces at prices which are fixed in Liverpool; fixed by the free competition of the world. How would you like that, gentlemen—to have protective prices to pay for everything that you use—for your manures, for your animals, for your implements, for all your farming stock, and at the same time to have to sell what you produce in the free and open market of the world? But bring Reciprocity into play, and then, if the Reciprocity doctors are right, the Americans will remove all their protective duties, and the American farmer, instead of producing, as he does now, under the disadvantage, and the heavy disadvantage, of having to pay protective prices for everything that constitutes his farming stock, will have all his tools and implements, and manures, and everything else purchased in the free, open market of the world, at Free-trade prices. So he will be able to produce his corn to compete with you even cheaper than he docs now. So much for Reciprocity considered as a cure for distress. I am not going to consider it now in any other point of view. But, gentlemen, there are another set of men who are bolder still, and who are not for Reciprocity; who are not content with that milder form of quackery, but who recommend a reversion, pure and simple, to what I may fairly call, I think, the exploded doctrine of Protection. And upon this, gentlemen, I

Protection is an exploded doctrine.

think it necessary, if you will allow me, to say to you a few words, because it is a very serious matter, and it is all the more serious because her Majesty's Government—I do not scruple to say—are coquetting with this subject in a way which is not right. They are tampering with it; they are playing with it. A protective speech was made in the House of Commons in a debate last year by Mr. Chaplin, on the part of what is called the

agricultural interest." Mr. Chaplin did not use the word protection, but what he did say was this—he said he demanded that the malt tax should be abolished, and the revenue supplied by a tax upon foreign barley or some other foreign commodity. Well, if he has a measure of that kind in his pocket, I do not ask him to affix the word protection to it. I can do that for myself. Not a word of rebuke, gentlemen, was uttered to the doctrines of Mr. Chaplin. He was complimented upon the ability of his speech and the well-chosen terms of his motion. Some of the members of her Majesty's Government—the minor members of her Majesty's Government—the humbler luminaries of that great Constellation—have been going about the country and telling their farming constituents that they think the time has come when a return to Protection might very wisely be tried. But, gentlemen, what delusions have been practised upon the unfortunate British farmer! When we go back for twenty years, what is now called the Tory party was never heard of as the Tory party. It was always heard of as the party of Protection. As long as the chiefs of the protective party were not in office, as long as they were irresponsible, they recommended themselves to the goodwill of the farmer as Protectionists, and said they would set him up, and put his interests on a firm foundation through Protection. We brought them into office in the year 1852. I gave with pleasure a vote that assisted to bring them into office. I thought bringing them into office was the only way of putting their professions to the test. They came into office, and before they had been six months in office they had thrown Protection to the winds. And that is the way in which the British farmer's expectations are treated by those who claim for themselves in the special sense the designation of his friends.

It is exactly the same with the malt tax. Gentlemen, what is done with the

The malt tax.

malt tax? The malt tax is held by them to be a great grievance upon the British farmer. Whenever a Liberal Government is in office, from time to time they have a great muster from all parts of the country to vote for the abolition of the malt tax. But when a Tory Government comes into office, the abolition of the malt tax is totally forgotten; and we have now had six years of a Tory Government without a word said, as far as I can recoiled—and my friend in the chair could correct me if I were wrong—without a motion made, or a vote taken, on the subject of the malt tax. The malt tax, great and important as it is, is small in reference to Protection. Gentlemen, it is a very serious matter indeed if we ought to go back to Protection, because how did we come out of Protection to Free-trade? We came out of it by a struggle which in its crisis threatened to convulse the country, which occupied Parliaments upon which elections turned, which took up twenty years of our legislative life, which broke up parties. In a word, it effected a change so serious that if, after the manner in which we effected that change, it be right that we should go back upon our steps, then all I can say is that we must lose that which has ever been one of the most honourable distinctions of British [unclear: legis] lation in the general estimation of the world—that British legislation, if it moves slowly, always moves in one direction—that we never go back upon our steps. But are we such children that after spending twenty years—as may say from 1840 to 1860—in breaking down the huge fabric of Protection, in 1879 we are seriously to set about building it up again? If that be right, gentlemen, let it be done, but it will involve on our part a most humiliating confession. In my opinion it is not right. Protection, however, [unclear: le] me point out, now is asked for in two forms, and I am next going to quote Lord Beaconsfield for the purpose of expressing my concurrence with him. Mostly, I am bound to say, as far as my knowledge goes, Protection has not been asked for by the agricultural interest, certainly not by the farmers of Scotland. It has been asked for by certain injudicious cliques and classes' persons connected with other industries—connected with some manufacturing industries. They want to have duties laid upon manufactures. But here Lord Beaconsfield said—and I cordially agree with him—that he would be no party to the institution of a system in which Protection was to be given to manufactures and to be refused to agriculture. That one-sided Protection I deem be totally intolerable, and I reject it even at the threshold as unworthy of a won of examination or discussion. But let us go on to two-sided Protection, and see whether that is any better—that is to say, Protection in the shape of duties on manufactures, and Protection in the shape of duties upon corn, duties upon meat, duties upon butter, and cheese, and eggs, and everything that can be produced from the land. Now, gentlemen, in order to see whether we can here find a remedy for our difficulties, I prefer to speculation and mere abstract

The argument against Protection is based upon experience.

argument the method of reverting to experience. Experience [unclear: wi] give us very distinct lessons upon this matter. We have the power gentlemen, of going back to the time when Protection was in [unclear: fu] and unchecked force, and of examining the effect which it produced upon the wealth of the country. How, will you say, do I mean to [unclear: te] that wealth? I mean to test that wealth by the exports of the country, and I we tell you why, because your prosperity depends upon the wealth of your customers—that is to say, upon their capacity to buy what you produce. And why are your customers? Your customers are the industrial population of the country, who produce what we export, and send all over the world. Consequently, when exports increase, your customers are doing a large business, as growing wealthy, are putting money in their pockets, and are able to take the money out of their pockets in order to fill their stomachs with what you produce. When, on the

contrary, exports do not increase, your customers are poor, your prices go down, as you have felt within the last few years, in the price of meat for example, and in other things, and your condition is proportionally depressed. Now, gentlemen, down to the year 1842 no profane hand had been laid upon the august fabric of Protection. For recollect that the farmers' friends always I told us it was a very august fabric, and that if you pulled it down it would involve the ruin of the country. That, you remember, was the commonplace of every Tory speech delivered from a county hustings to a farming constituency. But before 1842 another agency had come into force,

The effect of the introduction of railways, which gave new life in a very considerable degree to the industry of the country, and that was the agency of railways, of improved communication, which shortened distance and cheapened transit, and effected in that way an enormous economical gain and addition to the wealth of the country. Therefore, in order to see what we owe to our friend Protection, I will not allow that friend to take credit for what was done by railways in improving the wealth of the country. I will go to the time when I may say there were virtually no railways—that is, the time before 1830. Now, gentlemen, here are the official facts which I shall lay before you in the simplest form, and, remember, using round numbers. I do that because, although round numbers cannot be absolutely accurate, they are easy for the memory to take in, and they involve no material error, no falsification of the case. In the year 1800, gentlemen, the exports of British produce were 39½ millions sterling in value. The population at that time—no, I will not speak of the exact figure of the population, because I have not got it for the three kingdoms. In the years 1826 to 1830—that is, after a medium period of eight-and-twenty years—the average of our exports for those five years, which had been 39½ millions in 1800, was 37 millions. It is fair to admit that in 1800 the currency was somewhat less sound, and therefore I am quite willing to admit that the 37 millions probably meant as much in value as the 39½ millions; but substantially, gentlemen, the trade of the country was

Trade was stationary under Protection. stationary, practically stationary, under Protection. The condition of the people grew, if possible, rather worse than better. The wealth of the country was nearly stationary. But now I show you what Protection produced; that it made no addition, it gave no onward movement to the profits of those who are your customers. But on their profits you depend; because under all circumstances, gentlemen, this, I think, nobody will dispute—a considerable portion of what the Englishman or the Scotsman produces will, some way or other, find its way down his throat. What has been

What has happened since we cast off Protection. the case, gentlemen, since we cast off the superstition of Protection, since we discarded the imposture of Protection? I will tell you what happened between 1830, when there were no railways, and 1842, when no change, no important change, had been made as to Protection, but when the railway system was in operation, hardly in Scotland, but in England to a very great extent; to a very considerable extent upon the main lines of communication. The exports, which in 1830 had been somewhere about £37,000,000, between 1840 and 1842 showed an average amount of £50,000,000. That seems due, gentlemen, to the agency of railways; and I wish you to bear in mind the increasing benefit now derived from that agency, in order that I may not claim any undue credit for freedom of trade. From 1842, gentlemen, onwards, the successive stages of Free-trade began; in 1842, in 1845, 1846, in 1853, and again in 1860, the large measures were carried which have completely reformed your Customs tariff, and reduced it from a taxation of twelve hundred articles to a taxation of, I think, less than twelve. Now under the system of Protection, the export trade of the country, the wealth and the power of the manufacturing and producing classes to purchase your agricultural products, did not increase at all. In the time when railways began to be in operation but before Free-trade, the exports of the country increased, as I have shown you, by £13,000,000 in somewhere about thirteen years—that is to say, taking it roughly, at the rate of £1,000,000 a year. But since 1842, and down to the present time, we have had, along with railways always increasing their benefits we have had the successive adoption of Free-trade measures, and what has been the state of the export business of the country? It has risen in this degree that that which from 1840 to 1842 averaged £50,000,000, from 1873 to 1878 averaged £218,000,000. Instead of increasing, as it had done between 1830 and 1842, when railways only were at work, at the rate of £1,000,000 a year, in

The average increase of exports under Protection and Free-trade compared. stead of remaining stagnant as it did when the country was under Protection pure and simple, with no augmentation of the export trade to enlarge the means of those who buy your products, the total growth in a period of thirty-five years was no less than £168,000,000, or, taking it roughly, a growth in the export trade of the country to the extent of between £4,000,000 and £5,000,000 a year. But, gentlemen, you know the fact, you know very well, that while restriction was in force you did not get the prices that you have been getting for the last twenty years. The price of wheat has been much the same as it had been before. The price of oats is a better price than was to be had on the average of protective times. But the price, with the exception of wheat, of

almost every agricultural commodity, the price of wool, the price of meat, the price of cheese the price of everything that the soil produces, has been largely increased in market free and open to the world, because while the artificial advantage which you got through Protection, as it was supposed to be an advantage, was removed, you were brought into that free and open market, and the energy of Free-trade so enlarged the buying capacity of your customers, that they [*unclear: wen*] willing and able to give you, and did give you, a great deal more for you meat, your wool, and your products in general, than you would ever have [*unclear: go*] under the system of Protection. Gentlemen, if that be true—and it cannot, believe, be impeached or impugned—if that be true, I do not think I need further discuss the matter, especially when so many other matters have to be discussed.

I will therefore ask you again to cross the seas with me. I see that time is  
Foreign affairs.

flying onwards, and, gentlemen, it is very hard upon you to be so much vexed upon the subject of policy abroad. You think generally and I think, that your domestic affairs are quite enough to call for all your attention. There was a saying of an ancient Greek orator, who, unfortunately, very much undervalued what we generally call the better portion of the community—namely, women; he made a very disrespectful observation, which I am going to quote—not for the purpose of concurring with it, but for the purpose of a illustration. Pericles, the great Athenian statesman, said with regard to woman Their greatest merit was to be never heard of. Now, what Pericles untrul said of women, I am very much disposed to say of foreign affairs—their great merit would be to be never heard of. Unfortunately, instead of being never heard of, they are always heard of, and you hear almost of nothing else; and cannot promise you, gentlemen, that you will be relieved from this everlasting din, because the consequences of an unwise meddling with foreign affairs an consequences that will for some time necessarily continue to trouble you, an that will find their way to your pockets in the shape of increased taxation Gentlemen, with that apology I ask you again to go with me beyond the seas.

The right principles of foreign policy.

And as I wish to do full justice I will tell you what I think to be the right principles of foreign policy; and then, as far as your patiend and my strength will permit, I will, at any rate for a short time illustrate those right principles by some of the departures from them that have taken place of late years. I first give you, gentlemen, what I think the right principles of foreign policy. The first thing is to foster the strength of the Empire by just legislation and economy at home, thereby producing two of the great elements of national power—namely, wealth, which is a physical

(1) Just legislation and economy.

element, and union and contentment, which are moral elements—and to reserve the strength of the Empire, to reserve the expenditure of that strength for great and worthy occasions abroad. Here is my first principle of foreign policy: good government at home. My

(2) To maintain the concert of Europe

second principle of foreign policy is this—that its aim ought to be to preserve to the nations of the world—and especially were it but for shame, when we recollect the sacred name we bear as Christians, especially to the Christian nations of the world—the blessings of peace. That is my second principle. My third principle is this—Even, gentlemen, when you do a good thing, you may do it in so bad a way that you may entirely

(3) To maintain the concert of Europe.

spoil the beneficial effect; and if we were to make ourselves the apostles of peace in the sense of conveying to the minds of other nations that we thought ourselves more entitled to an opinion on that subject than they are, or to deny their rights—well, very likely we should destroy the whole value of our doctrines. In my opinion the third sound principle is this—to strive to cultivate and maintain, ay, to the very uttermost, what is called the concert of Europe; to keep the Powers of Europe in union together. And why? Because by keeping all, in union together you neutralize and fetter and bind up the selfish aims of each. I am not here to flatter either England or any of them. They have selfish aims, as, unfortunately, we in late years have too sadly shown that we too have had selfish aims; but their common action is fatal to selfish aims. Common action means common objects; and the only objects for which you can unite together the Powers of Europe are objects connected with the common good of them all. That, gentlemen, is my third principle of foreign policy. My fourth principle is that you should

(4) To avoid needless engagements.

avoid needless and entangling engagements. You may boast about them, you may brag about them. You may say you are procuring consideration for the country. You may say that an Englishman can now hold up his head among the nations. You may say that he is now not in the hands of a Liberal Ministry, who thought of nothing but pounds, shillings, and pence. But what does all this come to, gentlemen? It comes to this, that you are increasing your engagements without increasing your strength; and if you increase engagements without

increasing strength, you diminish strength, you abolish strength; you really reduce the Empire and do not increase it.

(5) To acknowledge the equal rights of all nations.

You render it less capable of performing its duties; you render it an inheritance less precious to hand on to future generations. My fifth principle is this, gentlemen, to acknowledge the equal rights of all nations. You may sympathize with one nation more than another. Nay, you must sympathize in certain circumstances with one nation more than another. You sympathize most with those nations, as a rule, with which you have the closest connection in language, in blood, and in religion, or whose circumstances at the time seem to give the strongest claim to sympathy. But in point of right all are equal, and you have no right to set up a system under which one of them is to be placed under moral suspicion or espionage, or to be made the constant subject of invective. If you do that, but especially if you claim for yourself a superiority, a pharisaical superiority over the whole of them, then I say you may talk about your patriotism if you please, but you are a misjudging friend of your country, and in undermining the basis of the esteem and respect of other people for your country you are in reality inflicting the severest injury upon it. I have now given you, gentlemen, five principles of foreign policy. Let me give you a sixth, and then I have done.

(6) A love of freedom.

And that sixth is, that in my opinion foreign policy, subject to all the limitations that I have described, the foreign policy of England should always be inspired by the love of freedom. There should be a sympathy with freedom, a desire to give it scope, founded not upon visionary ideas, but upon the long experience of many generations within the shores of this happy isle, that in freedom you lay the firmest foundations both of loyalty and order; the firmest foundations for the development of individual character, and the best provision for the happiness of the nation at large. In the foreign policy of this country the name of Canning ever will be honoured. The name of Russell ever will be honoured. The name of Palmerston ever will be honoured by those who recollect the erection of the Kingdom of Belgium, and the union of the disjoined provinces of Italy. It is that sympathy, not a sympathy with disorder, but, on the contrary, founded upon the deepest and most profound love of order—it is that sympathy which, in my opinion, ought to be the very atmosphere, in which a Foreign Secretary of England ought to live and to move.

Gentlemen, it is impossible for me to do more to-day than to attempt very slight illustrations of those principles. But in uttering those principles I have put myself in a position in which no one is entitled to tell me—you will bear me out in what I say—that I simply object to the acts of others, and lay down no rules of action myself. I am not only prepared to show what are the rules of action which in my judgment are the right rules, but I am prepared to apply them, nor will I shrink from their application. I will take, gentlemen, the name which, most of all others, is associated with suspicion, and with alarm, and with hatred in the minds of many Englishmen—I will take the name of Russia.

An opinion about Russia.

and at once I will tell you what I think about Russia, and how I am prepared as a member of Parliament to proceed in anything that respects Russia. You have heard me, gentlemen, denounced sometimes, I believe, as a Russian spy, sometimes as a Russian agent, sometimes as perhaps a Russian fool, which is not so bad, but still not very desirable. But, gentlemen, when you come to evidence, the worst thing that I have ever seen quoted out of any speech or writing of mine about Russia is that I did one day say, or, I believe, I wrote, these terrible words: I recommended Englishmen to imitate Russia in her good deeds. Was not that a terrible proposition? I cannot recede from it. I think we ought to imitate Russia in her good deeds, and if the good deeds be few. I am sorry for it, but I am not the less disposed on that account to imitate them when they come. I will now tell you what I think just about Russia. I make it one of my charges against the foreign policy of her Majesty's Government, that while they have completely estranged from this country—let us not conceal the fact—the feelings of a nation of eighty millions, for that is the number of the subjects of the Russian Empire—while they have contrived completely to estrange the feelings of that nation, they have aggrandized the power of Russia. They have aggrandized the power of Russia in two ways, which I will state with perfect distinctness. They have augmented

The Government have alienated and at the same time aggrandized Russia.

her territory. Before the European Powers met at Berlin Lord Salisbury met with Count Schouvaloff, and Lord Salisbury agreed that, unless he could convince Russia by his arguments in the open Congress of Berlin, he would support the restoration to the despotic power of Russia of that country north of the Danube which at the moment constituted a portion of the free State of Roumania. Why gentlemen, what had been done by the Liberal Government, which, forsooth attended to nothing but pounds, shillings, and pence? The Liberal Government had driven Russia back from the Danube. Russia, which was a Danubian Power before the Crimean war, lost this position on the Danube by the Crimean war, and the Tory Government, which has been incensing and inflaming you against Russia, yet nevertheless, by binding itself beforehand to support,

The retrocession of Bessarabia.

when the judgment was taken, the restoration of that country to Russia, has aggrandized the power of Russia. It further aggrandized the power of Russia in Armenia; but I would not dwell upon that matter if it were not for a very strange circumstance. You know that an Armenian province was given to Russia after the war, but about that I own to you I have very much less feeling of objection. I have objected from the first vehemently and in every form to the granting of territory on the Danube to Russia, and carrying back the population of a certain country from a free State to a despotic State; but with regard to the transfer of a certain portion of the Armenian people from the government of Turkey to the government of

The annexation of Armenia.

Russia, I must own that I contemplate that transfer with much greater equanimity. I have no fear myself of the territorial extensions of Russia in Asia, no fear of them whatever. I think the fears are no better than old women's fears. I do not wish to encourage her aggressive tendencies in Asia, or anywhere else. But I admit it may be, and probably is, the case that there is some benefit attending the transfer of a portion of Armenia from Turkey to Russia. But here is a very strange fact. You know that that

The provisions of the Berlin Treaty as to Batoum.

portion of Armenia includes the port of Batoum. Lord Salisbury has lately stated to the country that by the Treaty of Berlin the port of Batoum is to be only a commercial port. If the Treaty of Berlin stated that it was to be only a commercial port, which of course could not be made an arsenal, that fact would be very important. But happily, gentlemen, although treaties are concealed from us nowadays as long as and as often as is possible, the Treaty of Berlin is an open instrument. We can consult it for ourselves; and when we consult the Treaty of Berlin, we find it states that Batoum shall be essentially a commercial port, but not that it shall be only a commercial port. Why, gentlemen, Leith is essentially a commercial port, but there is nothing to prevent the people of this country, if in their wisdom or their folly they should think fit—from constituting Leith as a great naval arsenal or fortification, and there is nothing to prevent the Emperor of Russia, while leaving to Batoum a character that shall be essentially commercial, from joining with that another character, that is not in the slightest degree excluded by the treaty, and making it as much as he pleases a port of military defence. Therefore I challenge the assertion of Lord Salisbury; and as Lord Salisbury is fond of writing letters to the *Times*, to bring the Duke of Argyll to book, he perhaps will be kind enough to write another letter to the *Times* and tell in what clause of the Treaty of Berlin he finds it written that the port of Batoum shall be only a commercial port. For the present, I simply leave it on record that he has misrepresented the Treaty of Berlin. With respect to Russia, I take two views of the position of Russia. The

Russian policy in Central Asia.

position of Russia in Central Asia I believe to be one that has in the main been forced upon her against her will. She has been compelled—and this is the impartial opinion of the world—she has been compelled to extend her frontier southward in Central Asia by causes in some degree analogous to, but certainly more stringent and imperative than, the causes which have commonly led us to extend, in a far more important manner, our frontier in India, and I think it, gentlemen, much to the credit of the late Government, much to the honour of Lord Clarendon and Lord Granville, that when we were in office we made a covenant with Russia, in which Russia bound herself to exercise no influence or interference whatever in Afghanistan, we, on the other hand, making known our desire that Afghanistan should continue free and independent. Both the Powers acted with uniform strictness and fidelity upon this engagement until the day when we were removed from office. But Russia, gentlemen, has another position—her position in respect to Turkey; and here it is that I

Russian policy in respect to Turkey.

have complained of the Government for aggrandizing the power of Russia; it is on this point that I most complain. The policy of her Majesty's Government was a policy of repelling and repudiating the Slavonic populations of Turkey in Europe, and of declining to make England the advocate for their interests. Nay, more, she became in their view

British policy in the East.

the advocate of the interests opposed to theirs. Indeed she was rather the decided advocate of Turkey; and now Turkey is full of loud complaints—and complaints, I must say, not unjust—that we allured her on to her ruin; that we gave the Turks a right to believe that we should support them; that our Ambassadors, Sir Henry Elliot and Sir Austin Layard, both of them said we had most vital interests in maintaining Turkey as it was, and consequently the Turks thought if we had vital interests, we should certainly defend them; and they were thereby lured on into that ruinous, cruel, and destructive war with Russia. But by our conduct to the Slavonic populations we alienated those populations from us. We made our name odious

Its effect on the Slavonic populations.

among them. They had every disposition to sympathize with us, every disposition to confide in us. They are as a people desirous of freedom, desirous of self-government, with no aggressive views, but hating the idea of

being absorbed in a huge despotic empire like Russia. But when they found that we, and the other Powers of Europe under our unfortunate guidance, declined to become in any manner their champions in defence of the rights of life, of property, and of female honour—when they found that there was no call which could find its way to the heart of England through its Government, or to the hearts of the other Powers, and that Russia alone was disposed to fight for them, why, naturally they said, Russia is our friend. We have done everything, gentlemen, in our power to drive these populations into the arms of Russia. If Russia has aggressive dispositions in the direction of Turkey—and I think it probable that she may have them—it is we who have laid the ground upon which Russia may make her march to the south—we who have taught the Bulgarians, the Servians, the Roumanians, the Montenegrins that there is one Power in Europe, and only one, which is ready to support in act and by the sword her professions of sympathy with the oppressed populations of Turkey. That Power is Russia; and how can you blame these people if, in such circumstances, they are disposed to say, Russia is our friend? But why did we make them say it? Simply because of the policy of the Government, not because of the wishes of the people of this country. Gentlemen, this is the most dangerous form of aggrandizing Russia. If Russia is aggressive anywhere, if Russia is formidable anywhere, it is by movements towards the south, it is by schemes for acquiring command of the Straits or of Constantinople, and there is no way by which you can possibly so much assist her in giving reality to these designs as by inducing and disposing the populations of these provinces, who are now in virtual possession of them, to look upon Russia as their champion and their friend, to look upon England as their disguised, perhaps, but yet real and effective enemy. Why now, gentlemen, I have said that I think it not unreasonable either to believe, or at any rate to admit

The designs of Russia.

it to be possible, that Russia has aggressive designs in the east of Europe. I do not mean immediate aggressive designs. I do not believe that the Emperor of Russia is a man of aggressive schemes or policy. It is that, looking to that question in the long run, looking at what has happened and what may happen in ten or twenty years, in one generation, in two generations, it is highly probable that in some circumstances Russia may develop aggressive tendencies towards the south. Perhaps you will say I am here guilty of the same injustice to Russia that I have been deprecating, because I say that we ought not to adopt the method of condemning anybody without cause, and setting up exceptional principles in proscription of a particular nation. Gentlemen, I will explain to you in a moment the principle upon which I act, and the grounds upon which I form my judgment. They are simply these grounds: I look at the position of Russia, the geographical position of Russia relatively to Turkey. I look at the comparative strength of the two Empires; I look at the importance of the Dardanelles and the Bosphoros as an exit and a channel for the military and commercial marine of Russia to the Mediterranean, and, what I say to myself is this, If the United Kingdom were in the same position. relatively to Turkey which Russia holds upon the map of the globe, I feel quite sure that we should be very apt indeed both to entertain and to execute aggressive designs upon Turkey. Gentlemen, I will go further, and will frankly own to you that I believe if we, instead of happily inhabiting this island, had been in the possession of the Russian territory, and in the circumstances of the Russian people, we should most likely have eaten up Turkey long ago. And consequently, in saying that Russia ought to be vigilantly watched in that quarter, I am only applying to her the rule which in parallel circumstances I feel convinced ought to be applied, and would be justly applied, to judgments upon our own country.

Gentlemen, there is only one other point on which I must say a few words to you, although there are a great many points upon which I have a great many words yet to say somewhere or other. Of all the principles, gentlemen, of foreign policy which I have enumerated, that to which I attach the greatest value is the principle of the equality of nations; because, without recognising

The equality of nations is a strict principle of foreign policy.

that principle, there is no such thing as public right, and without public international right there is no instrument available for settling the transactions of mankind except material force. Consequently the principle of equality among nations lies, in my opinion, at the very basis and root of a Christian civilization, and when that principle is compromised or abandoned, with it must depart our hopes of tranquillity and of progress for mankind. I am sorry to say, gentlemen, that I feel it my absolute duty to make this charge against the foreign policy under which we have

The present foreign policy is regardless of public right.

lived for the last two years, since the resignation of Lord Derby. It has been a foreign policy, in my opinion, wholly, or to a perilous extent, unregardful of public right, and it has been founded upon the basis of a false, I think an arrogant, and a dangerous assumption—although I do not question its being made conscientiously and for what was believed the advantage of the country—an untrue, arrogant, and dangerous assumption that we were entitled to assume for ourselves some dignity, which we should also be entitled to withhold from others, and to claim on our own part authority to do things which we would not permit to be done by others. For example, when Russia was going to the Congress at Berlin, we said, "Your Treaty of San Stefano is of no

value. It is an act between you and Turkey; but the concerns of Turkey by the Treaty of Paris are the concerns of Europe at large. We insist upon it that the whole of your Treaty of San Stefano shall be submitted to the Congress at Berlin, that they may judge how far to open it in each and every one of its points, because the concerns of Turkey are the common concerns of the Powers of Europe acting in concert." Having asserted that principle to the world, what did we do? These two things, gentlemen: secretly, without the knowledge of Parliament, without even the forms of official procedure, Lord Salisbury met Count Schouvaloff in London, and agreed with him upon the terms on which the two Powers together should be bound

The secret agreement with Russia.

in honour to one another to act upon all the most important points when they came before the Congress at Berlin. Having alleged against Russia that she should not be allowed to settle Turkish affairs with Turkey, because they were but two Powers, and these affairs were the common affairs of Europe, and of European interest; we then got Count Schouvaloff into a private room, and on the part of England and Russia, they being but two Powers, we settled a large number of the most important of these affairs, in utter contempt and derogation of the very principle for which the Government had been contending for months before, for which they had asked Parliament to grant a sum of £6,000,000, for which they had spent that £6,000,000 in needless and mischievous armaments. That which we would not allow Russia to do with Turkey, because we pleaded the rights of Europe, we ourselves did with Russia, in contempt of the rights of Europe. Nor was that all, gentlemen. That act was done, I think, on one of the last days of May in the year 1878, and the document was published, made known to the world, made known to the Congress at Berlin, to its infinite astonishment, unless I am very greatly misinformed, to its infinite astonishment. But that was not all. Nearly at the same

The secret agreement with Turkey.

time we performed the same operation in another quarter. We objected to a treaty between Russia and Turkey as having no authority, though that treaty was made in the light of day—namely, to the Treaty of San Stefano; and what did we do? We went not in the light of day, but in the darkness of the night—not in the knowledge and cognizance of other Powers, all of whom would have had the faculty and means of watching all along, and of preparing and taking their own objections and shaping their own policy—not in the light of day, but in the darkness of the night, we sent the Ambassador of England in Constantinople to the Minister of Turkey, and there he framed, even while the Congress of Berlin was sitting to determine these matters of common interest, he framed that which is too famous shall I say, or rather too notorious as the Anglo-Turkish Convention. Gentlemen, it is said, and said truly, that truth beats fiction; that what happens in fact from time to time is of a character so daring, so strange, that if the novelist were to imagine it and to put it upon his pages the whole world would reject it from its improbability. And that is the case of the Anglo-Turkish Convention. For who would have believed it possible that we should assert before the world the principle that Europe only could deal with the affairs of the Turkish Empire, and should ask Parliament for six millions to support us in asserting that principle, should send Ministers to Berlin, who declared that unless that principle was acted upon they would go to war with the material that Parliament had placed in their hands, and should at the same time be concluding a separate agreement with Turkey, under which those matters of European jurisdiction were coolly transferred to English jurisdiction; and the whole matter was

Cyprus.

sealed with the worthless bribe of the possession and administration of the island of Cyprus? I said, gentlemen, the worthless bribe of the island of Cyprus, and that is the truth. It is worthless for our purposes, worse than worthless for our purposes—not worthless in itself; an island of resources, an island of natural capabilities, provided they are allowed to develop themselves in the course of circumstances, without violent and unprincipled methods of action. But Cyprus was not thought to be worthless by those who accepted it as a bribe. On the contrary, you were told that it was to secure the road to India; you were told that it was to be the site of an arsenal very cheaply made, and more valuable than Malta; you were told that it was to revive trade. And a multitude of companies were formed, and sent agents and capital to Cyprus, and some of them, I fear, grievously burned their fingers there. I am not going to dwell upon that now. What I have in view is not the particular merits of Cyprus; but the illustration that I have given you in the case of the agreement of Lord Salisbury with Count Schouvaloff, and in the case of the Anglo-Turkish Convention, of the manner in which we have asserted for ourselves a principle that we had denied to others—namely, the principle of overriding the European authority of the Treaty of Paris, and taking the matters which that treaty gave to Europe into our own separate jurisdiction.

Now, gentlemen, I am sorry to find that that which I call the pharisaical

The speech of Lord Beaconsfield at the Guildhall.

assertion of our own superiority has found its way alike into the practice and seemingly into the theories of the Government. I am not going to assert anything which is not known, but the Prime Minister has said that there is one day in the year—namely, the 9th of November, Lord Mayor's Day—on which the language of

sense and truth is to be heard amidst the surrounding din of idle rumours generated and fledged in the brains of irresponsible scribes. I do not agree, gentlemen, in that panegyric upon the 9th of November. I am much more apt to compare the 9th of November—certainly a well-known day in the year—but as to some of the speeches that have lately been made upon it, I am very much disposed to compare it with another day in the year, well known to British tradition; and that other day in the year is the 1st of April. But, gentlemen, on that day the Prime Minister, speaking out—I do not question for a moment his own sincere opinion—made what I think one of the most unhappy and ominous allusions ever made by a Minister of this country. He quoted certain words, easily rendered as "Empire and Liberty"—words (he said) of a

"Imperium et Libertas."

Roman statesman, words descriptive of the state of Rome—and he quoted them as words which were capable of legitimate application to the position and circumstances of England. I join issue with the Prime Minister upon that subject; and I affirm that nothing can be more fundamentally unsound, more practically ruinous, than the establishment of Roman analogies for the guidance of British policy. What, gentlemen, was Rome? Rome was, indeed, an Imperial State, you may tell me—I know not, I cannot read the counsels of Providence—a State having a mission to subdue the world; but a State whose very basis it was to deny the equal rights, to proscribe the independent existence of other nations. That, gentlemen, was the Roman idea. It has been partially and not ill described in three lines of a translation from Virgil by our great poet Dryden, which run as follows:—

*O Rome! 'tis thine alone with awful sway  
To rule mankind, and make the world obey,  
Disposing peace and war thine own majestic way."*

We are told to fall back upon this example. No doubt the word "Empire" was qualified with the word "Liberty." But what did the two words, "Liberty" and "Empire," mean in a Roman mouth? They meant simply this—"Liberty for ourselves, Empire over the rest of mankind."

I do not think, gentlemen, that this Ministry, or any other Ministry, is going to place us in the position of Rome. What I object to is the revival of

The policy of denying to others what we claim ourselves.

the idea—I care not how feebly, I care not even how, from a philosophic or historic point of view, how ridiculous the attempt at this revival may be. I say it indicates an intention—I say it indicates a frame of mind, and that frame of mind, unfortunately, I find, has been consistent with the policy of which I have given you some illustrations—the policy of denying to others the rights that we claim ourselves. No doubt, gentlemen, Rome may have had its work to do, and Rome did its work. But modern times have brought a different state of things. Modern times have established a sisterhood of nations, equal, independent; each of them built up under that legitimate defence which public law affords to every nation, living within its own borders, and seeking to perform its own affairs; but if one thing more than another has been detestable to Europe, it has been the appearance upon the stage from time to time of men who, even in the times of the Christian civilization, have been thought to aim at universal dominion. It was this aggressive disposition on the part of Louis XIV., King of France, that led your forefathers, gentlemen, freely to spend their blood and treasure in a

We have fought to resist such pretensions.

cause not immediately their own, and to struggle against the method of policy which, having Paris for its centre, seemed to aim at an universal monarchy. It was the very same thing, a century and a half later, which was the charge launched, and justly launched, against Napoleon, that under his dominion France was not content even with her extended limits, but Germany, and Italy, and Spain, apparently without any limit to this pestilent and pernicious process, were to be brought under the dominion or influence of France, and national equality was to be trampled under foot, and national rights denied. For that reason, England in the struggle almost exhausted herself, greatly impoverished her people, brought upon herself, and Scotland too, the consequences of a debt that nearly crushed their energies, and poured forth their best blood without limit, in order to resist and put down these intolerable pretensions. Gentlemen, it is but in a pale and weak and almost despicable miniature that such ideas are now set up, but you will observe that

Nations are united in common bonds of right and of absolute equality.

the poison lies—that the poison and the mischief lie—in the principle and not the scale. It is the opposite principle, which, I say, has been compromised by the action of the Ministry, and which I call upon you, and upon any who choose to hear my views, to vindicate when the day of our elections comes; I mean the sound and the sacred principle that Christendom is formed of a band of nations who are united to one another in the bonds of right; that they are without distinction, of great and small: there is an absolute equality between them, the same sacredness defends the narrow limits of Belgium, as attaches to the extended frontiers of Russia, or

Germany, or France. I hold that he who by act or word brings that principle into peril or disparagement, however honest his intentions may be, places himself in the position of one inflicting—I will not say intending to inflict—I ascribe nothing of the sort—but inflicting injury upon his own country, and endangering the peace and all the most fundamental interests of Christian society.

A vote of thanks to Mr. Gladstone was moved by Mr. Young of Kelly and Limefield, and carried amid loud cheers.

On Friday, November 28th, an address was presented to Mr. Gladstone at Dalmeny Park by the Corporation of Leith, and in the afternoon the members of the Executive Committee of the Midlothian Liberal Association were received by the Countess of Rosebery.

## **V. And VI. *Saturday, November 29th, 1879.***

### **Speeches in the corn Exchange and Waverley Market, Edinburgh,**

These great meetings were not directly connected in any way with the Midlothian Election, though naturally the Liberal feeling of county and city acted and reacted in a manner beneficial alike to the political ardour of both. At the Corn Exchange about 4700 persons assembled from all parts of the country under the auspices of the East and North of Scotland Liberal Association to hear Mr. Gladstone, and more than one hundred Scotch Liberal Associations were represented. At the Waverley Market a vast gathering of more than 20,000 people met for the same purpose under the direction of a Committee of working men representing the different Trades of Edinburgh.

### **Speech in the Corn Exchange, Edinburgh.**

THE following Peers, Members of Parliament, and Liberal Candidates accompanied the Karl of Rosebery, President of the East and North of Scotland Liberal Association, to the platform:—I. *Peers*: Marquis of Tweeddale, Earl of Elgin, Earl of Airlie, Earl of Breadalbane, Earl of Aberdeen, Lord Napier and Ettrick, Lord Reay, Lord Belhaven and Stenton.—2. *M.P.'s*: The Hon. Sir A. H. Gordon, Right Hon. Lyon Playfair, Mr. J. Farley Leith, Lord Colin Campbell, the Right Hon. W. P. Adam, Mr. Edward Jenkins, Mr. James Cowan, Sir George Macpherson Grant, Bart., Mr. John Ramsay, Mr. J. W. Barclay, Mr. Chas. Cameron, Mr. Chas. Tennant, Mr. Geo. Anderson, Mr. J. Stewart, Sir D. Wedderburn, Bart., Mr. J. F. Harrison, Sir Geo. Campbell, Sir T. Edward Colebrooke, Bart., Mr. And. Grant, Mr. P. M'Lagan, Mr. S. Laing, Mr. W. Holms, Mr. C. S. Parker, Colonel Mure, Mr. H. Campbell-Bannerman, Mr. J. Pender, Mr. J. Fletcher, Sir Wilfrid Lawson, Mr. C. L. Dodds, Mr. Alexander Macdonald, Mr. W. H. Gladstone, Lord Douglas Gordon, Sir George Balfour.—3. *Liberal Candidates*: Mr. R. F. F. Campbell of Craigie (Ayr Burghs), Mr. Edward Marjoribanks (Berwickshire), the Hon. Henry Strutt (Berwick-upon-Tweed), Mr. J. W. Burns of Kilmahew (Dumbartonshire), Mr. R. Jardine of Castlemilk (Dumfriesshire), Mr. Edmund F. Davies (East Kent), the Hon. R. Preston Bruce (Fifeshire), Mr. J. B. Balfour (North Ayrshire), Mr. D. Currie (Perthshire), the Hon. Arthur Elliot (Roxburghshire), Mr. J. G. C. Hamilton of Dalzell (South Lanarkshire), Mr. J. C. Bolton of Carnbrook (Stirlingshire), Lieut.-Colonel M'Corquodale (Wigan), Mr. J. M'Laren (Wigtown Burghs), Viscount Dalrymple (Wigtownshire).

The Committee of Arrangements was composed of the following noblemen and gentlemen: Marquis of Huntly; Earl of Rosebery; Right Hon. W. P. Adam, M.P.; Charles Tennant, M.P.; R. Cathcart of Pitcairnie; George Harrison, Treasurer of Edinburgh; John M'Laren, Advocate; J. J. Reid, advocate; James Patten, advocate.

His Lordship having been moved to the chair by Mr. Cowan, M.P., introduced Mr. Gladstone to the audience, by whom he was received with extraordinary enthusiasm, all present rising to their feet and cheering vehemently. Mr. Gladstone, on silence being restored, proceeded to say:—

My Lord Rosebery, my Lords, Ladies, and Gentlemen,—I have had the honour to receive the various addresses which constitute the formal occasion of the present meeting; but in the desire to avoid unnecessary ceremonial, I will pass over the particular contents of those addresses, and will be very brief indeed in my grateful acknowledgments for the honour which has been done me in presenting them. For, gentlemen, you have assembled together to-day with what you are good enough to consider a practical purpose, and my thanks will best be conveyed to your minds, the record of my gratitude most deeply engraven there, if I can make

myself able, through the patience and kindness of this vast assembly, to set forth some portion of that material which is the groundwork of the political cause, and the political campaign that we are now engaged in. When I say, gentlemen, the political campaign I have been warned by our noble chairman that this is not a Midlothian meeting. At the same time, it is a meeting the members of which I may safely assume have some knowledge of what is going forward in Midlothian, and it is a meeting closely allied in heart and purpose with the people of Midlothian, having one cause and one object with them.

And though I said, gentlemen, that I would not dwell upon the contents of those addresses in detail, yet I observe, without surprise, that the Liberal Associations for the west and south-west of Scotland speak of this as a time when the finance of the country is disordered. I have not yet had an opportunity of calling attention to that subject. I do not hold, gentlemen, that good finance is the beginning and the ending of good government, but I hold this, that it is an essential of good government—it is a condition of good government. Without it you cannot have good government—and with it you almost always get good government. The things are harmonious, though they are not identical. The finance of the country has, however, been made the subject of high consideration, and very unusual consideration, before a dignified assembly in the south within the month that has

Sir Stafford North cote at the Guildhall Banquet.

not yet closed; for on the 10th of November was held the great annual festival of the Lord Mayor of London at Guildhall, and on that occasion the Chancellor of the Exchequer, to whom is intrusted the supreme care of our finance, used these remarkable words, He said, "In challenging us upon our finance, our opponents are challenging us upon a point on which we are strong, and on which we can be secure of victory." Well, gentlemen, you will feel with me that I may be too bold in venturing upon an attempt to storm the fortress at this point, at which it is so strong. If I were about to storm, gentlemen, the Castle which for so many centuries has looked down upon Edinburgh, I would endeavour to select that portion of the rock which was easiest and most accessible. I am therefore to a certain degree perhaps daunted by this declaration of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. At the same time, political generosity is not yet altogether dead, and I have enough of it in my nature, notwithstanding this announcement of the impregnable character, the unassailable character, of the Ministerial finance—I have enough of it in my nature to be disposed to make a trial, to bring that finance under criticism, and under your clear review; and it will not be my fault, gentlemen, if I fail in the endeavour to lay it before you in such a manner that friends can sympathize with what I may conclude, and that opponents shall have the opportunity of clearly understanding what it is, and the opportunity of confuting me if they can.

There is one preliminary observation, gentlemen, with which I will trouble you,

Present circumstance in finance never set forth the whole case.

and it is this, that when you are dealing with the proceedings, either of an economical or of an extravagant Government, the present circumstances never set forth the whole case. In this country our economies are eminently prospective, because for a very long series of years, in fact ever since economies began—I may say about half a century ago—the wise practice has been to carry them

This is true with economy,

into effect, with the most liberal consideration for individual interests. The consequence is that the savings that they make accrue progressively and not at once, and therefore, whenever by a happy combination there is an economical Government in office, that economical Government invariably leaves to its successor a harvest of economies, and the succeeding Government derives from time to time a large portion of the benefit of what the economical Government has done, but of what that economical Government never profited by as far as public reputation is concerned.

and also with extravagance.

And, gentlemen, the very same thing is the case with regard to the extravagant Government. Extravagance, also, is prospective as well as economy. Incur what charges you will, those charges do not instantly accrue as moneys to be liquidated; and therefore I warn you that everything I say to-day upon economy or upon extravagance is less than the truth, because I shall endeavour to confine myself to statements of that which actually exists, which is admitted to exist; and assuming that it is a correct description of that which now exists, it will not convey to you the whole of the mischief which has been done. Gentlemen, I shall avoid minute details. I shall use round numbers, endeavouring to put everything in the most accessible and the most intelligible form rather than to be in precise correspondence with the accounts, by describing to you how many shillings and how many pence in each case come at the end of the long figures of millions, in which our financial transactions are expressed.

The last year, gentlemen, of the Liberal Government was a year in which we were called upon to pay £800,000 for an Ashantee war, which was a melancholy necessity not growing out of the will or the proceedings, perhaps, of any particular Government, certainly not growing out of the proceedings

The last year of Liberal finance.

of the Government of the time, but growing immediately out of a necessity which was not disputed or denied. We also on that occasion in that year paid £3,200,000 on account of what were called the Alabama claims; and though I have always thought that as a mere matter between parties Great Britain was harshly treated in being called upon to pay so large a sum, I now thrust such considerations altogether aside. The object in view was twofold. It was the assertion of a great principle most valuable to mankind—and to be productive, I hope, in the future of immeasurable good. It also had in view another aim, which has been completely accomplished—viz. the aim of removing a formidable obstacle to affection and goodwill between the four-and-thirty millions of Anglo-Saxons who inhabit these islands and the five-and-forty millions who inhabit the United States of America. Swelled in that way by £4,000,000, our expenditure for the year 1873-1874 was £70,000,000 of money—not a difficult figure to remember. The present Government has had for its last year the year 1878-1879. Its expenditure for that year is seventy-eight and a quarter millions of money. In order to make the comparison fair, they ought to have deductions as well as we. We were entitled to deductions bringing us down from £70,000,000 to £66,000,000. They are entitled to deductions on account of increases of charge—certainly for some of them they are responsible, but at the same time they are increases of charge that I will not assume to lie wholly at their account—to about the same amount. They have had a large increase upon the education votes, which is a legitimate expenditure, and a beneficial expenditure. They have had a large increase upon local charges, which, whether it be a beneficial measure or not, or whether or not it was in all respects wisely done, was not done by their mere motion, but was done in compliance with a desire that certainly went beyond the limits of the Conservative party. I deduct from their account on these grounds £4,000,000—I do not believe that is very far from the mark. Their war expenditure I will not deduct, because their war expenditure, so far from having been an inheritance from other Governments and from other times, has been the fruit, as we hold, of their needless and their wanton choice. In both cases alike, the charges of collection are deducted before making the comparison. Taking, then, the deductions on the one side, and the deductions on the other, they are nearly balanced. Consequently the relation of the two figures which I first gave to you expresses fairly the relative expenditure of the two Governments as indicated by their views and their tendencies—that is to say, the Liberal expenditure at £70,000,000, and the Tory expenditure at £78,000,000. That is a difference, gentlemen, of eight millions of

There are eight millions of difference between 1873-1874 and 1878-1879 in favour of the Liberals. money, which, in my opinion, is fairly to be set down to the account of the present Government. You may say, gentlemen, that a good article deserves a good price. But there are some prices that are too high, even for a good article, and our contention is that this is an article not good, but bad, and one for which any price would be a great deal too high. If all the millions bestowed upon giving effect to the warlike policy of the Government had, instead of being so applied, been thrown down to the bottom of the sea, you would have been better off with such a mode of disposing of the funds than you are now. Now, that is the amount of expenditure. But I wish you to understand that it is a vice which appears to be engrained in the Tory party of the day. As long, gentlemen, as the Tory party was in a minority when in Government, we got on very decently with them. The two first Governments of Lord Derby kept within bounds, and never made themselves remarkable by financial extravagance. But it pleased the constituencies in January 1874 to constitute that which had not been seen since 1841, and which, when it was seen in 1841, was constituted under very different auspices and worked for very different aims. However, that majority was constituted; and I may say this, the result has been a Government of which I am the first to admit that it has written its name in history. It is a Government, gentlemen, that will have plenty of memorials. And one of its first

#### The Income-tax.

greatest, and most undeniable is the perpetuation of the Income-tax. You were offered in 1845 the repeal of the Income-tax by Sir Robert Peel; but he advised, and you wisely chose, not to repeal the Income-tax, but to use it for the great purpose of reforming your commercial legislation. You were offered in 1874 the repeal of the Income-tax, and the constituencies then gave the same reply. I know the reason of their reply in 1845, but what the reason of their reply in 1874, why it was that they then preferred having the Income-tax to no Income-tax, I have not yet been able to discover. But this, at any rate, is clear—there was a clear stage upon which, on our responsibility, we were ready to repeal the Income-tax, and it would have been

#### Its increase.

with fairness to every class of the community. The Tories came in; the Income-tax since then has been raised from 2d. to 5d in the pound, and when you will get rid of it I do not know. I hope its but it will be, perhaps, in the days of your children or your grandchildren. This extravagance of expenditure is due to no one cause, It bubbles up everywhere. It is due in a great part to what has been called a vigorous foreign policy, and a spirited foreign policy. But when Lord Derby was in office, Lord Derby had no disposition at all to that sort of vigorous or spirited foreign policy, and the first two or three years of the present Government passed by without and sort of manifestation of it. If you recollect, 1874 and 1875 showed nothing, of the kind, nor did, indeed, 1876. It has

been 1878 and 1879 that have been the grand years for the development of this new system. But the extravagance of the Tory Government began to grow from the very first, as I will now show you. I will show it you by taking the expenditure

Tory extravagance throughout since 1874.

upon the forces, upon the military establishments of the country. In the first year of the present Government it was £25,903,000; in the second year, £26,842,000; in the third year was £27,286,000; so that you see, quite independently of the vigorous and spirited foreign policy, it was walking upwards, quietly walking

Military establishments.

upwards, at the rate of half a million, and at the rate of a million a year; and these first three years, two years, perhaps, I should say, produced an augmentation in that branch of a million and half. I grant you that since the vigorous policy began to be developed, they have not been satisfied with that moderate rate of march. In the fourth year of the Government it rose from 27¼ millions to 30½; in the fifth year of the Government to 32¼. What the sixth year will do, gentlemen, we shall have the satisfaction of knowing somewhere about the month of April next; or, at any rate, we shall have the satisfaction of knowing so much as the Government may then think proper to disclose to us—for one of my complaints is that they never do make disclosures at the time when they are wanted, and at the time when they are regular. They appear to have but one rule for the choice of their opportunity, and that is, convenience to themselves. Well now, gentlemen this is rather remarkable. I have given you the fifth year as compared with the first, and the upshot of it is an increase on the military expenditure £6,500,000. Therefore, gentlemen, do not allow yourselves to be put to silence by being told that the charges of the country are increased because education is so expensive. Do not be put to silence or abashed by being told that it is because they have been so very kind to the ratepayers. It is nothing of the kind. I take these hard figures, and I show you that the first year of military expenditure with the present Government, which was higher than our military expenditure, was £25,903,000, and that by the fifth year they had raised the military expenditure to £32,190,000—that is to say, they had raised the charge by nearly six and a half millions of money. But pray observe what I am now going to tell you—so they went on while the Parliament was young, so they went on while the Parliament was middle aged; but, like other Parliaments, it began to grow old, and when it began to grow old, like other offenders, it began to think a little of what might take place at its dissolution. The consequence is that this Government, which from year to year had thus gone on augmenting our charge, produced in 1879 military estimates showing a decrease most gratifying to our feelings—promised upon the papers, a decrease of five millions in the year. Nearly the whole of this augmentation was to be got rid of. We were to have a decrease of five millions, and we were to have a surplus income of £1,900,000. That was the statement made last session. Need I tell you, gentlemen, that that statement was pure moonshine. There has been no real decrease; and this, although the advantage enjoyed by the Government was enormous, because owing to the low prices of food and every description of material there was an absolute saving in the prices of commodities necessary for the forces, amounting, as I understand, to £1,600,000 or £1,700,000. All that, gentlemen, is eaten up.

There is no decrease, there is no surplus, there is an admitted deficiency—admitted by the Chancellor of the Exchequer himself—of six millions of money, which will be presented to you in April next, and for which you will be called upon in some manner to provide. But an extraordinary

A comparison between the present and the past Government.

method has been adopted by our opponents of dealing with this matter. They call upon you to avoid altogether the consideration of expenditure, and to look to the rates of taxation, and they then take the rates of taxation per head over the United Kingdom, and they say that the taxation has not increased in proportion to the expenditure. Gentlemen, that is perfectly true. But then that is one of the things that we complain of. What we say is, that if you choose to increase your expenditure, you ought to increase your taxation; and they reply upon us, "Ah, but you are so fond of taxation." No, gentlemen. We are not fond of taxation, and we have shown what we thought of taxation by our proceedings when we have been in Government. But we are fond of this—we are fond of financial honesty. We are fond of squaring the account, and no nation, in our judgment, is financially honest which does not use its best exertions to square the account. What can be more idle than to attempt to satisfy the people of this country by showing that the taxes have not been increased in proportion to the expenditure? Why, what would you think of a spendthrift in private life who incurred charges every year to the extent of £10,000, but paid his bills only to the extent of £5000, and said, "You see I am not very extravagant after all. I have only paid £5000"? Now, that is the principle of computation upon which our friends have been acting at their Tory meetings and gatherings through the country; and I do not much blame them; for, gentlemen, I do assure you, upon my honour, I believe they have no choice—they have nothing better to say and to do. But

Their expenditure per head.

as I have spoken of this question of expenditure per head, I will give you the results in the shortest and

simplest form. The gross expenditure of the country per head is this—in our first year it was £2, 8s. 6d. per head—or rather in the year before we came into office—in 1868 the expenditure we took over was £2, 8s. 6d. per head. In the year 1872-1873 we had reduced it to £2, 4s. 5d. per head. No doubt that was raised in 1873-1874, but I have shown that 1873-1874 was loaded with a very large amount of charge, the principal part of which—namely, the Alabama payment—had nothing whatever to do with that year. I take, then, the next year—the first Tory year, 1874-1875—which shows the expenditure at £2, 5s. 10d. per head. The last of the Tory years—but I do not say that this will be the final close of the process—the last of the Tory years, 1878-1879, shows the expenditure raised from £2, 5s. 10d. to £2, 10s. 6d. per head—that is to say, we, counting down to the Alabama year, and before that year, show a decrease of 4s. 1d. per head in the expenditure of the country; the Tories show a corresponding increase, or one rather greater, an increase of 4s. 8d. per head. So much, gentlemen, for the amount of the expenditure per head.

Here is another most important and most essential item of the financial investigation—it is the item which exhibits the finance of the country under the

View of surpluses and deficits.

view of surpluses and deficits. You well know in private transactions the meaning of those words—I need not stop to explain it. Well, in the five years from 1869-1870 down to 1873-1874 we were able to present to the country five surpluses, and these five surpluses in all

Period of Tory Government divided into two.

amounted in round numbers to £17,000,000 of money. The Tory Government came into office; and I will divide the period, as I wish to throw all the historical illumination on this subject that I can. I will divide the period of their rule into two. I do it on this ground, gentlemen. It is a very slow process to build up a good system of finance; but it is difficult even to destroy a good system in a day. You must

(1) The destruction of the former system of finance.

allow a certain time, consequently you will find that the first portion of the period of this Government, although it is not satisfactory, yet it compares advantageously with the second. The surplus, which, under the former Government had averaged about three and a half millions per annum, sank in the first year of the present; administration to £593,000. The next year it was £509,000, and the third year it was £439,000; so that the effect of the three first years before the spirited foreign policy was to work down the surplus by £3,000,000 annually. Then

(2) The development of the new system of finance.

began the great development of that new method of Government policy and finance, under which we are told our country is at length to assume its true position in the world, a position, founded upon a new creed, with a variety of articles, the first of which is uniform financial deficiency. In 1877-1878 the deficiency is £2,640,000; in 1878-1879 the deficiency is £2,291,000; in 1879-1880, for which there was a pretended surplus of £1,900,000, we do not yet know the full extent of the blessings that are to be disclosed to us when the happy time of the financial harvest shall arrive, but we do know that it is not to be less—I mean the aggregate deficiency of these years, to be handed over, and to be provided for in some manner or other, either by the present dying Parliament or by some other Parliament—it

The fact of a surplus is made a charge against the Liberals.

will not be less than six millions of money. That, gentlemen, is to be compared with the £17,000,000 of the Liberal surpluses. And strange to say, for the first time in my life, I have found that our friends of the other way of thinking have actually made these surpluses an item of charge against the Liberal party. They say, "You have taken seventeen millions of money from the people more than was necessary for the carrying on of the government of the country, and we, on the other hand, by parity of reasoning, have been so tender to the feelings of the country, that we have actually taken from them £6,000,000 less than was absolutely necessary to carry on the government of the country." That, gentlemen is their view of the matter. They dispose of it by carrying the question out of the arid region of the intellect and they settle it by an appeal to the human affections. They call upon you to denounce the hard-heartedness of Liberal finance, which thus extracted from the people those millions—those £17,000,000—in order to apply them to the worthless and frivolous purpose of paying our debts; and they call upon you to admire the humane, comprehensive, and large-hearted proceedings, under which they have taken care that whatever you spend you never should raise enough to pay for it.

Gentlemen, that may be very well, as far as it goes; but then I think that

A comparison of taxes remitted.

this humane method and policy ought to exhibit itself also in some other form—that is to say, ought to be able to point out that upon the whole it has made large remissions of taxation, and larger remissions than have been made by the flinty-hearted people of the nature of my friend Mr. Lowe, who was formerly Chancellor of the Exchequer. Let us see, then, how this matter stands. It stands thus. The late Government, at the time of the

Franco-German war, was called upon to meet a sudden and large expenditure. We instantly imposed the corresponding taxation. We then imposed £3,000,000 of taxation for the year 1871, but in the other years of our Government we were happy enough to repeal these £3,000,000, and a great many other millions. We remitted £15,400,000, so that the balance of taxation remitted was £12,400,000. We might claim credit for the remissions of 1874, much with the revenue such as we left it. But I will strike these out of the account. Now, I take the Tory Government—and I will be equally concise. The Tory Government has made certain remissions since 1874—I need not trouble you with the details—I may fairly call them odds and ends, the total sum of them would stand very well under "sundries" in a private account, but the whole amount of them is £487,000. But they have imposed £6,250,000—that is to say, they have imposed a balance of five and three-quarter millions, or in round numbers, six millions of money. So that while adopting the false and ruinous principle of shrinking from their duty in failing to ask Parliament to lay on the taxes necessary to meet the expenditure which they have invited it to sanction, and which it has sanctioned—while doing that, while thus failing of their duty to raise a sufficiency of taxation, yet they have imposed upon you nearly £6,000,000 of taxes in order to produce their £6,000,000 of deficiency.

I have gone very succinctly, gentlemen, over those essential heads with the aid of your patience, but I am sorry to say that there is another chapter of finance which I must more succinctly still lay before you—namely, Indian finance. Do not remain any longer under the delusion—if you ever have been

Indian finance.

under the delusion—of believing that you have nothing to do with Indian finance. Sir Robert Peel, in 1842, with great sagacity, repudiated the idea that the British taxpayer and the British citizen had no interest in the state of the Indian account. He repudiated it when the debt of India was a trifle compared with what it now is, when the deficiencies of India were smaller than they now are, when the policy of India had been placed by him under a wise control, and when the prospects of India were bright and sunny as compared with the prospects of to-day. Even then he gave that monition—much more must you now lay the matter to heart. Now, what is the state of India as to its public debt? In 1874 it stood at £107,500,000; in 1878 it had risen to £134,500,000. What is the state of India with respect to surplus and deficiency of income? Well, I am glad to say that, down to the disappearance of the late Government, the surpluses of our administration in India, after deducting a year of deficit, which was due to the famine, amounted to £4,682,000. But we left behind us in India an admirable Governor-General, and the present Administration allowed him to continue in office for two years. For these two years, though he had great difficulties to encounter, he had two more surpluses and he left office with another sum of £1,988,000, or, in round numbers, £2,000,000, to the good, so that there was a sum of nearly £7,000,000 to the good shown upon that account. It was after the disappearance of Lord Northbrook that the new policy, of which you have had a nearer knowledge in Europe, began to develop itself in India; and with the commencement of that new policy, so fatally accurate is the machinery that is set at work, there began the reign of deficiency. In 1876-1877 there was a deficiency of £2,183,000. Out of the four years there are three deficiencies, and as Lord Northbrook and the Liberal Government retired, leaving behind a balance of surplus of nearly seven millions of money, so the present Government have accumulated an aggregate deficit in the last four years of £5,831,000, or, in round numbers, £6,000,000, of money, in beautiful correspondence with the £6,000,000 which are promised for a deficit at home. There, gentlemen, the same thing occurred; the same spirit of expenditure seemed to come in with the operations of the Tory Government. We left the

Indian military expenditure.

military expenditure of India at fifteen millions and a quarter, and in four years the present Government increased that military expenditure by £1,400,000, long before they had commenced

General expenditure of India.

the recent course of transactions: I mean to say, apart altogether and separate from the ruinous charges of the Afghan war. If I look, gentlemen, at another subject for a moment, namely, at the general expenditure of India, I must say its increase is most alarming. I am not going to lay the whole responsibility of that increase on the Government. I cannot accurately divide the responsibility. I know not how much is due to avoidable and how much to unavoidable causes; but this I know, that the expenditure of India during our time was £50,400,000 on the average; it was £49,600,000 in our last year of office, and I know that it has now risen to £58,970,000, or very nearly sixty millions of money. I do not say, gentlemen—pray observe I have not attempted to analyze the amount—what share of it may be, in my opinion, due to the folly of the Government, but what are we to say to this great fact, that with those tremendous figures staring them in the face, they have not taken even those figures as a warning against the setting on foot of their most mischievous and, in my opinion, most guilty plans for the invasion of Afghanistan. They are now heaping up deficiency upon deficiency, difficulty upon difficulty, and they have brought it to such a point that I warn you in this hall, that, if but a few years more of similar proceedings are permitted, you, the people of England, Scotland, and Ireland, will be called upon to come down and to take upon your own shoulders the 134 millions of East Indian debt, and the whole

responsibility for the ruinous finance of that country.

Now, gentlemen, I hope that what I have said thus far has been intelligible,

A Budget speech at the Guildhall.

and I will endeavour to be intelligible to the end. It is fair to hear what is to be said upon the other side.

With that view I turn myself, gentlemen, to the highest authority, and, again, I name the highest authority—the Chancellor of the Exchequer. The Chancellor of the Exchequer executed a most extraordinary manoeuvre on the 10th November; for the first time he made a budget speech, as I have told you, at Guildhall. In that budget speech, after having stated his deficiency at £6,000,000, he made a plea, he made two pleas, but this was the first plea—during our period of office, he said, there has been great depression of the seasons affecting our agricultural interests. Now, I want to remove misapprehensions upon that subject. We have had this year, in the dispensation of Providence, a harvest deplorably deficient; but permit me to say that the harvest of 1879 is not the cause of the falling revenue, or of the deficit of 1878 and 1877, and the bad finance of earlier years. Now, let us look at the harvests before 1879. I have shown you the astounding contrast between the state of things as it was and the state of things as it is, and allow me before I go further to say this; I make no boast of the state of things financially as it was under the Liberal Government. We did, at the outside no more than our duty. I do not think that our economy was an economy for which we are entitled to claim special credit. A Government cannot carry economy beyond the point up to which it is firmly and resolutely supported by the people. I make no claim; this is not self-laudation; I

The prices of wheat from 1869-1869 and from 1874-1878 compared.

merely quote it as an instance of tolerable performance of duty, and I place in contrast with it that which I call intolerable departure from duty. But it is all to be put upon the back of the seasons, is it? Well, I will take the seasons, and see how they stand. I take the price of wheat as the cardinal article from which you may form, upon the whole, a judgment; and I find that for the five years when we were in office the price of wheat on the average was 53s. 5d. a quarter; for the five complete years before the present year, during which the present Government has been in office, the price of wheat was 52s. a quarter—it was nearly the same, but cheaper by 1s. 5d. The food of the people was cheaper, and therefore, as far as the price of wheat is concerned, that did not contribute to the distress of the country, or to the deficiency of the revenue. But of course it is open to say, and quite fair to say—"Well, well, but the price of wheat when you were in Government was kept down by enormous foreign importations. You had good harvests, and we had bad." But was that so? I say that if there was a difference affecting the cultivation of the soil, it was no great or extraordinary difference. Now, compare the harvests of 1869 to 1873 with the harvests from 1874 to 1878, and again I resort to the very fairest criterion—namely, the yield of the acre of wheat in the number of bushels it produced. I will not trouble you with the numbers for each year in particular, I will only give you the results. The result of the yield of the wheat harvests in our five years was, that the acre of land produced upon the average 26 bushels of wheat and 4-5ths of the 27th bushel. I now take the five years of the present Government, and I find that the acre of land for those five years produced 26 bushels of wheat and 3-5ths of the 27th bushel, so that the difference between 3-5ths of a bushel and 4-5ths of a bushel constitutes this terrible depression of the seasons. And this is what the Chancellor of the Exchequer who ought to be by far the best informed man in the country on every detail of these questions, thinks it fit and becoming to produce before the citizens of London, whose presumed want of agricultural knowledge, I am afraid, tempted him to be less careful than usual.

Now, gentlemen, I hope you will follow me in a very short chapter of my case, as I draw near the close of it—I am happy to say for your sakes—in which, perhaps, it will not be so easy for those unacquainted with Parliament to appreciate fully the weight of what I have to say, though I am quite sure that my many and respected colleagues whom I see around me, who have seats even in the present House of Commons, and whose numbers in the next House of Commons it will be your duty, gentlemen, largely to reinforce; I know very well that they will follow and comprehend the weight of what I am going to say. Mismanagement of finance is thoroughly bad; but that mismanagement may be accidental. What is even worse than mismanagement of finance is destruction or disparagement of the sound and healthy rules which the wisdom of a long series of finance Ministers, of an excellent finance department, and of many Parliaments have gradually and laboriously built up, to prevent abuse to secure public control, to work by degrees upon the public debt of the country, and to take care that the people shall not be unduly burdened.

Rules of finance.

Now, gentlemen, I will tell you in a few words, and I do it fearlessly, because I speak as one who has had much experience, what are the rules of finance observed with almost unvarying uniformity until the accession of the present Government; and not by one party alone, for this, let me say, that Sir Robert Peel and Mr. Goulburn and the Conservative party of their day were, if possible, stricter, more rigid, better financiers, than the Liberals of their day; that is historical. But both parties, upon the whole, have uniformly adhered to those rules of finance, which I am going to give you in

(1) Economy in detail.

the briefest words. The first of them is, that the Chancellor of the Exchequer shall boldly uphold economy in detail; and it is the mark, gentlemen, of, I was going to say, a chicken-hearted Chancellor of the Exchequer, when he shrinks from upholding economy in detail, when, because it is a question of only £2000 or £3000, he says—that is no matter. He is ridiculed, no doubt, for what is called saving candle-ends and cheese-parings. No Chancellor of the Exchequer is worth his salt who is not ready to save what are meant by candle-ends and cheese-parings in the cause of his country. No Chancellor of the Exchequer is worth his salt who makes his own popularity either his first consideration, or any consideration at all, in administering the public purse. You would not like to have a housekeeper or steward who made her or his popularity with the tradesmen the measure of the payments that were to be delivered to them. In my opinion the Chancellor of the Exchequer is the trusted and confidential steward of the public. He is under a sacred obligation with regard to all that he consents to spend. Well, there has been, I must say, one member of the present Government—and let me do him justice, it is a pleasure to do him justice—Mr. Smith, the First Lord of the Admiralty, who, when he was Secretary of the Treasury, fought like a man for the public purse—but I am bound to say hardly ever in the six years that Sir Stafford Northcote has been in office have I heard him speak a resolute word on behalf of economy. As to speaking irresolute words, gentlemen, I assure you they are wholly worthless. You had better spare them. They are perfectly understood. They are like the resistance of coy ladies, who are said to wish that more pressure should be used. That is the case of a Chancellor of the Exchequer who does not speak resolutely against waste. But that resistance in detail to jobbery and minute waste and

This rule has been violated by the present Government.

extravagance is the first of all sound financial rules. It was violated on an early occasion by the present Government, when they executed as gross a job as, in my opinion, has ever been made known to Parliament, on the death of Sir E. Ryan, in creating an office of £2000 a year for the present Lord Hampton—to do what had been admirably well done without that office before, and has not been, and nobody pretends that it has been, one bit better done since. The

(2) A financial statement to be made once only in the year.

second rule, gentlemen, is this, and this is perhaps the most essential of them all; that once in the year, and only once, the Chancellor of the Exchequer shall make his financial statement—shall say such was my income and such was my charge for the year that has expired, so that Parliament can judge me upon it; such is my estimated income and such is my estimated charge for the year that is to come, so that Parliament can form its judgment with reference to the condition of the country, whether it is reasonable, and if there be need, what measures it shall take in order to supply the means. Now, there are great occasions, undoubtedly, when it is necessary for a Chancellor of the Exchequer to depart from such a rule. A war may break out which could not have been anticipated long after, months after, his budget—of course I do not speak of cases like this. But what I say is this—that, as a rule—I think in nine cases out of ten, or some such proportion, for the forty years before the day of the present Government—this plan of one annual statement was observed; and the consequence of it was that Parliament was always in a condition to form a comprehensive view of the financial condition of the country. But now the whole thing is forgotten and thrown to the winds. We never have a real annual account. If you go down to the House of Commons now on the day of the statement in April by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, you will see that it is

We never have now a real annual account.

regarded with very great indifference. There is no crowd of people wishing to know, as there used to be, wishing to know what is the condition of this great Empire. They know very well that nothing will be told them as to the future which can with any kind of decency be kept back; and they know perfectly well that, as the year goes on, finance will be brought before them by dribbets, so that they never will have the opportunity of truly adapting the provision that they

At present we have three annual budgets.

make to the real wants of the Empire. It has now, gentlemen, come to this. We have a budget in April; we have a second budget in July; we have a third budget in February or March, in February generally; and this year a further improvement has been effected, and a fourth budget has been interpolated on the 10th of November. Do not suppose that I am speaking lightly of this matter, though it may be well to relieve a dry subject as far as one can by a reference of that sort. I assure you, gentlemen, upon my whole knowledge and experience, that the efficiency of the popular and Parliamentary control upon the expenditure of

Parliamentary control depends upon one annual budget.

the country entirely depends upon the maintenance of the principle of the annual, as opposed to the triennial or tri-monthly, budget. It is idle to talk of controlling the expenditure of the Government, unless you compel them to adhere to that rule. That is bad enough, but even that is not all. The old rule of Chancellors of the Exchequer, the rule which I inherited from Sir Robert Peel, and on which I endeavoured to act, and which in my early days

nobody presumed to deny, was this, that if an expenditure was uncertain, you were not entitled to come down in April and say, "I cannot tell you precisely what it is, but I will

Where expenditure is to be incurred an estimate should always be made of it. tell you it when I can give an exact statement." The answer is, You are bound to estimate for it to the best of your ability, and if there is a doubt, you are bound to rule that doubt in favour of the larger side, so that your demands may be ample; and in no case, so far as human foresight can avoid it, should the public revenue be placed in a deficiency. Why, now, gentlemen, that rule has been trampled systematically under foot. A Zulu war in April. Not a figure, not a pound, not a shilling, not a penny was estimated in the Budget for the Zulu war. "I have not received the accounts from the auditors for the army and the navy, and I cannot tell you exactly what it will be." I want to know, gentlemen, what would be your condition if you were engaged in a great European war, when the accounts often take years to make up, and when any accurate estimate cannot by possibility be formed, if the Chancellor of the Exchequer is to be permitted to keep in his pocket all those heavy charges that are none the less accruing upon you, and to leave you in virtual ignorance of what they are going to be. What is the consequence of this? I will illustrate what I am saying. I am not using light or idle words.

Our estimates were always in excess of our wants.

I have not used a word in this speech, or in any other, so far as I know, that I am not prepared to justify. What has been the consequence? If you will look over the budgets of the last Government, you will see that in almost every case we spent less money than we had asked Parliament to give us. We acted upon this old, well-established—ay, and I will venture to say, conservative principle, not in a party sense, but in a sense higher than a party sense—this conservative principle of compelling the Ministry to state all the charge that he is likely to incur, in order to maintain the efficacy of popular control. But what has been the case in this Government? Why, in the five years of this Government eight millions and a quarter of money were spent—almost entirely, I think, in the last of those years—more

What is the case with the Tories?

than the Chancellor of the Exchequer had asked for in his April budget. Of course it is intended to be true, but virtually, I may say, there is no truth, inasmuch as there is no accuracy in the account, and a system is adopted under which accuracy is impossible and under which control is no more than a perfect phantom. Well, here is another rule, and it is this, that when you have not money enough you must supply the deficit by taxation. But that is a rule not only not observed, but it is ridiculed. Sir Stafford Northcote told us last year—he said really to tax the country at a period like this, when there is distress, though it was not very great distress, still it would be very disagreeable to people's feelings to be called upon to undergo additional taxation; and after all, he said, an occasional deficit is no such very great matter. Now, gentlemen, what I object to is this: we are all of us—I mean, considered as taxpayers—a great deal too much given to laxity in this matter; to spend too much and not to insist upon a rigid rule of making a sufficient provision for what is spent. But the Constitution appoints one particular man to teach us sound doctrine, and to nail us up to that particular doctrine, and that particular man is the Chancellor of the Exchequer. And that Chancellor of the Exchequer—acting, I am bound to say, in perfect harmony with his colleagues—that Chancellor of the Exchequer is the very man who comes down to corrupt whatever there is of financial virtue in us, and to instil into our minds those seductive and poisonous ideas that it does not, after all, matter very much if there is a deficit, and that it is extremely disagreeable when commerce is not in the most flourishing state to call upon the people to pay. Was that the practice of Sir Robert Peel?—because these gentlemen sometimes—as often as they find it convenient, which is perhaps not always—fall back upon Sir Robert Peel as a Conservative Minister. He came in upon a deficiency in 1842. He had a large deficiency. He had to deal with the people at a period of the most serious distress, grievous distress, such popular distress as has not been known within those last few years. And he came to Parliament and stood at his place in the House of Commons, pointed out the figures

Annual loans form a "miserable expedient."

as they stood, and said to them—I ask you, will you resort to the "miserable expedient" of tolerating deficit, and of making provision by loans from year to year? That which he denounced as the "miserable expedient" has become the standing law, has become almost the financial gospel of the Government that is now in power. I will not detain you, gentlemen, upon one other rule that I had noted down, because I have already had occasion to refer to it, but I may simply say it was this, to aim at annual surplus as a main instrument for the steady reduction of the public debt. I have told you already that that rule is now made by the Conservative Government and party the subject of ridicule, and that if you raise money, if you aim at having some respectable surplus for the reduction of debt, that is denounced as a method of taking from the people more taxation than is necessary in order to meet the public charges.

Now, gentlemen, there is yet one point more on which the Chancellor of the Exchequer seems to place a good deal of reliance, and after saying a few words upon it, I will release you from the duty which you have been discharging with such exemplary resignation, the duty of listening to me. The Chancellor of the

Exchequer said, in the speech at the Guildhall, in winding up his argument on the finance in which he feels himself so strong, and where he cheerily denies all

The value of Id. in the Income-tax is a convenient measure.

antagonists, and is ready to "stand against the world in arms"-he says, "The wealth of the country has not diminished. A penny of the Income-tax-and that is a very convenient unit and standard measure, which has been by a sort of general consent adopted for indicating the growth of wealth in the country, a penny of the Income-tax

A comparison of the growth of wealth in the country under the present and former Governments tested by that measure.

is worth £100,000 more than it was when we came into office". Now I want to apply a very simple test to this matter, which will exhibit to you, I think, as accurately, though very succinctly-will exhibit to you as accurately as anything I could say, the position in which we now stand, and the happy prospects that are spread out before you. "A penny on the Income-tax" (so said the Minister), "calculated on the same basis as formerly, would bring in £100,000 more than it did at the commencement of our Administration. I am bound to say that I do not believe that her Majesty's Government have entirely stopped that growth of wealth in this country, which the industry and enterprise of the country has brought about. But, in order that we may note what is the exact amount of our obligation to them in this respect, I wish not to stop with the year when the present Government came into office, not simply to test the value of the penny in the Income-tax in the year 1874 and in 1879, to go back a little farther, and to inquire at what rate the value of the penny in the Income-tax increased or diminished before we had the felicity that was opened upon us by the dissolution of 1874. Now, the state of the case is this The Income-tax was imposed in 1842; it was then at the rate of 7d. in the pound, and the value of the penny, after making a liberal allowance for the non-inclusion of Ireland, the value of the penny for the purposes of a fair comparison, I am confident, was less than £780,000. Well, in 1873, which we reckon the last year of our Ministerial existence, at that time the value of the penny in the Income-tax had increased to £1,850,000. The thirty-one years had produced an increment in the penny of the Income-tax amounting to £1,070,000. That is to say, the annual rate of increase over the whole of those years, with their Liberal Governments and their Conservative Governments, their good harvests and their bad, their flourishing trade and their depressed trade, the average annual increment of the penny in the Income-tax, one year taken with another, as you will perceive by dividing £1,070,000 by 31, was £34,000 a year. How stands the matter now? Since the finance of the present Government, which is their strong point, recollect, came into operation, the penny in the Income-tax has increased, as we are assured—and I do not for a moment question it—by £100,000 in six years. That is to say, that whereas formerly, under all Governments, it increased at the rate of £34,000 a year, since the present Government came in it has increased at the rate of £16,000 a year. It is idle for the Chancellor of the Exchequer to say he has not stopped the growth of wealth in the country. In six years he has disposed of half of it. Let them give him another six years at the dissolution, and depend upon it he will go far to dispose of the other half.

That is the state of the case, gentlemen, on the point where the Government are so strong. I will not trouble you, as a Liberal association, upon the other points where it is admitted that they are less strong; but one thing I must still call upon you to observe—although I had promised to release you. I remember a matter that I think of such importance that I feel myself bound to state it, in justice to you, and in justice to the Government. I have complained of the relaxation of financial rules, and the general upshot of the whole thing is that we never know where we stand; we never

A doubt expressed as to whether we know the real cost of the Afghan war.

know whether we have heard the worst. At this time there is a belief, and a widespread belief, that the cost charged against India, and made known to us on account of the Afghan war, is not the true cost; that a great deal more has been incurred, while very little has been paid; that of these large amounts have been kept back as unsettled accounts, and not made known to us in any way. Nay, further, if I am rightly informed—and I mention it in order that it may be contradicted if it is untrue, because it is a thing upon which I cannot from its nature get positive knowledge. I am told that the cost of that war has been kept down by drawing enormously upon the *matériel* of the Indian army—upon the stores of its ordnance—and not replacing in proportion to what was withdrawn. That compels me, gentlemen, to go back to the past; and now I make a challenge to the Government upon a matter of fact which is ten years old, but which is so far applicable to the present day that, if an explanation can be given, it ought to be given. It is the case, gentlemen, of the Abyssinian war. I have told you that after all these damning figures, which I have stated to you when I ask myself, Do I know the worst? I have no confidence whatever that I know the worst. And I am in great fear that for years there will be evolved new difficulties accruing out of transactions that have already taken place, and bringing upon you heavy charges. What happened

The cost of the Abyssinian war was kept back in 1868.

in the case of the Abyssinian war? I am not attacking the policy of the war. That was not peculiar to a party.

I am speaking of the manner in which the charge was dealt with. Parliament was asked, in the end of 1867, to make provision for the Abyssinian war, and was told, if I remember rightly, by the Chancellor of the Exchequer of the day, that the charge would be £3,500,000, or that possibly it might reach as high as £4,000,000. In 1868—and of this I do not seriously complain—in 1868, the then Chancellor of the Exchequer said that he was obliged to put the figure higher, and that he thought the charge might approach £5,000,000 for the Abyssinian war. With that information, gentlemen, Parliament was left to content itself. The Abyssinian war was made, and was concluded early in 1868; by early I mean before the summer of 1868 was much advanced. A dissolution was impending. Not a scintilla of further information was every conveyed to the country before the dissolution. We went to the country, believing that the Government had spent upon the Abyssinian war something less than £5,000,000. The Government must have known at that time what they had spent. The dissolution passed. The new Government came in, and we found that we had to pay there and then nearly £9,000,000. Now, this matter has been made the subject of reference in the House of Commons. I have wished to make it the subject of most distinct and intelligible reference, here. Let the explanation be given. Why was the country never told before the dissolution of 1868 that the Abyssinian war would cost, had cost, nearly, nine millions of money? Why were we left to take the case of the Government as having spent five millions of money upon that war? Because, unless it can be explained, gentlemen, in all these financial statements that we have had, and

The inference as to present affairs.

in all these financial statements that next session must bring forth, you will again have to recollect that a dissolution is impending, and when the figures are placed in your hands with which the country is to be entertained on the occasion of that dissolution, you will have to ask yourselves, "Are these figures like the figures to which you treated us on the occasion of the Abyssinian war?"

I have no more now to do than to say that I hope I have made good the pledge with which I began, of endeavouring to lay before you clearly and intelligibly, for friend and foe, the matter that I had to state; and I have to discharge, as far as I can discharge by acknowledging it, my debt to you for the unexampled kindness with which you have been pleased to hear me.

A vote of thanks, on the motion of the Earl of Airlie, seconded by the Right Hon. Lyon Playfair, M.P., was accorded amid loud cheers to Mr. Gladstone.

The proceedings terminated with a vote of thanks to the chairman, proposed by Sir George Macpherson Grant, Bart., M.P.

## Speech in the Waverley Market, Edinburgh.

This meeting immediately followed that in the Corn Exchange, and again Lord Rosebery was called to the chair. On rising Mr. Gladstone met with a reception which, alike from its enthusiasm and from the vastness of the audience, exceeding 20,000 in number, has never been approached, at least within the walls of any building in Scotland. He spoke as follows:—

My Lord Rosebery, my Lords, Ladies, and Gentlemen,—There is nothing that I can say, or that much better and wiser men could say, to this meeting that is one-half as remarkable as the meeting itself. It is no light cause that has brought together—that has called off from their usual occupations to stand in such compressed mass before me—this great ocean of human life. I fear, gentlemen, you have suffered; you must have suffered inconvenience, notwithstanding the admirable order that prevails; but although, gentlemen, I can tell you nothing that, as I have said, can in the least degree add to the intense interest of such an assemblage, yet neither can I part from you without a brief interchange of sentiments for a few moments on some of the questions in which our hearts are alike engaged. I say, gentlemen, an interchange of sentiment, for you have already expressed to me what your feelings are on behalf of the working classes at large. I am glad to see that you do not fear to call yourselves the working men of "Edinburgh, Leith, and the district." In this character you have given me your sentiments, and I wish to echo them back with corresponding sentiments of my own. An assemblage of this nature does not afford the place appropriate for minute criticism. My strength would not suffice; your patience must be exhausted. I will therefore avoid such criticisms; I will avoid what is in the nature of censure, or blame; I will fall back, gentlemen, upon a positive principle upon which I would hope there can be no difference of sentiment among us, even if there be within the limits of this hall some few whose opinions are not wholly those of the majority, but still whose opinions and feelings we should endeavour, upon so noble an occasion, scrupulously to respect.

Gentlemen, you have spoken, in one line of your Address, of the unhappy position in which England stands, in which Great Britain will

The Balkan Principalities.

stand—the United Kingdom will stand—if it should be found to be in opposition to the interests of the struggling provinces and principalities of the East. Now, gentlemen, I wish to lay before you my view upon that

subject, because there are some who tell us that we are not contending for liberty, but contending for despotism, and that the result of our policy will be that when the power of the Turkish Government ceases to sway the Eastern provinces of Europe, it will be replaced by another despotic Empire—the Empire of Russia. That, gentlemen, is not your view nor your desire, neither is it mine, and I wish to avail myself of this occasion for the purpose of clearly putting and clearly answering one question of vast importance—"Who is it that ought to possess, who is it that ought to sway, those rich and fertile countries which are known as composing what is called the Balkan Peninsula?" It seems, gentlemen, to be agreed that the time has come, that the

Who is to succeed Turkey?

hour is about to strike, if it has not struck already, when all real sway of Turkish power over those fair provinces must cease if it were only by reason of impotence. Who, then, is to have the succession to Turkey? Gentlemen, from the bottom of my heart, and with the fullest conviction of my understanding, I will give you the reply—a reply which, I am perfectly certain, will awaken a free, a generous, a unanimous echo in your bosoms. That succession is not to pass to Russia. It is not to pass to Austria. It is not to pass to England, under whatever name of Anglo-Turkish Convention or anything else. It is to pass to the

The people of the principalities.

people of those countries; to those who have inhabited them for many long centuries; to those who had reared them to a state of civilization when the great calamity of Ottoman conquest spread like a wild wave over that portion of the earth, and buried that civilization under its overwhelming force. Those people, gentlemen, are already beginning to enjoy the commencement of liberty. Four or five million Roumanians, who were formerly subject to Turkey, are now independent. Two million Servians, who were

Roumania.

once political slaves, are now absolutely free. Three hundred thousand heroes such as Christendom cannot match—

Servia.

the men of Montenegro—who for four hundred years have held the sword in the hand, and never have submitted to the insolence of despotic power—those men at last have achieved, not only their freedom, but the acknowledgment of their freedom,

Montenegro.

and take their place among the States of Europe. Bulgaria has reached a virtual independence. And, gentlemen, let me say a word on another province, that which

Bulgaria.

was the scene of the terrible massacres and horrors of 1876—the province of Eastern Roumelia. It is inhabited by perhaps a population of a

Eastern Roumelia.

million. Well, gentlemen, at the Congress at Berlin we were told by Prince Bismarck and others that the Congress had restored to the Sultan a fair and rich province—namely, the province of Eastern Roumelia. Some were then afraid that the meaning of those words must be held to imply that the ancient despotism was still to prevail in Eastern Roumelia. The words that were used were ominous and dangerous words. It was said that the province was restored to the direct authority—political and military—of the Sultan. Gentlemen, I can a little console you on that subject; I hold in my hand—and if we were a less extended assembly I might be tempted to read to you—but I hold in my hand an account of the opening of the First Representative Chamber—assembled in Eastern Roumelia. It has been freely elected by the people. It is, as was to be expected, a Bulgarian Chamber, but along with Bulgarians there sit in it Greeks, and, I believe, also, in one or two cases, Turks, by the title of freemen, and about to learn, as I hope, to act in that character. On the day of the meeting you will not be sorry to hear that the Governor-General entertained the representatives of this country, which four years ago was an enslaved country—he entertained them at dinner to the number of eighty-four. After dinner toasts were drunk in our manner, and among those who proposed the toasts one was a Turk, in perfect harmony with the rest, who asked the company to drink to the health of the Sultan for having given them such an excellent Governor-General. Gentlemen, this is what I call progress. When you uproot slavery, when you put an end to suffering and shame, when you give security to life, property, and honour, which have previously only existed at the will of every representative of the Turkish power, of every one professing the Mahomedan religion, you accomplish a great and blessed work—a work in which the uttermost ends of the civilized world ought to rejoice, do rejoice, and will rejoice. The end of it all, gentlemen, is thus far, that not less than eight or ten millions of people have in one form or another been brought out of different degrees of political servitude, and have been made virtually freemen. Gentlemen, I appeal to you to join me in the expression of the hope that under the yoke of no Power whatever will those free provinces be brought. It is not Russia alone whose movements ought to be watched

Austrian aggression.

with vigilance. There are schemes abroad of which others are the authors. There is too much reason to suspect that some portion of the statesmen of Austria will endeavour to extend her rule, and to fulfil the evil prophecies that have been uttered, and cause the great change in the Balkan Peninsula to be only the substitution of one kind of supremacy for another. Gentlemen, let us place the sympathies of this country on the side of the free. Rely upon it those people who inhabit those provinces have no desire to trouble their neighbours, no desire to vex you or me. Their desire is peacefully to pass their human existence in the discharge of their duties to God and man; in the care of their families, in the enjoyment of tranquillity and freedom, in making happiness prevail upon the earth which has so long been deformed in that portion of it by misery and by shame. But we say, gentlemen, that this is a fair picture which is now presented to our eyes, and one which should not be spoiled by the hand of man. I demand of the authorities of this country, I demand it of our Government, and I believe that you will echo the demand, that to no Russian scheme, that to no Austrian scheme, to no English scheme, for here we bring the matter home, shall they lend a moment's countenance; but that we shall with a kindly care cherish and foster the blessed institutions of free government that are beginning to prevail—nay, that are already at work in those now emancipated provinces. So that if we have been late in coming to a right understanding, if we have lost many opportunities in the past, at least we shall see and lay hold on those that remain, so that when in future times those countries again shall arrive at the prosperity and civilization which they once enjoyed, they shall have cause to remember the name of Great Britain among the names of those who have contributed to the happy and the blessed change.

I think, gentlemen, that I have had sufficient evidence in the demeanour of this meeting that this is your opinion. I hope I am right in saying that such a meeting is not a mere compliment to an individual, or a mere contribution to the success of a party. Your gathering here to-day in almost countless thousands I regard as a festival of freedom, of that rational freedom which is alone secure, of that freedom best known to us, which is essentially allied with order and with loyalty. And I hope, gentlemen, that you will carry with you a determination, on the one hand, to do all you can in your civil and your social capacities for maintaining that precious possession of yours, and for handing it down to your posterity; and on the other hand, for endeavouring by every lawful and honourable means, through the exercise of the vast moral influence of this country, and through all instruments which may from time to time be conformable to the principle of justice, for the extension of that inestimable blessing to such races and nations of the world as hitherto have remained beyond the range of its happy and ennobling influence.

Gentlemen, I thank you for the extraordinary kindness which has enabled me to convey the remains of a somewhat exhausted voice, I hope even almost to the farthest limits of this enormous building. That kindness is only a portion of the affectionate reception, for I can call it no less, which has been granted to me at every turn since my arrival in this country, and through you I desire, I will not say to discharge, for a discharge there can never be, but at least warmly, truly, cordially, to acknowledge the debt that I owe to the people of Scotland.

Votes of thanks to the various deputations presenting addresses, between sixty and seventy in number, and a formal vote of thanks to the Chairman, terminated the proceedings of what must be regarded as one of the most remarkable political gatherings ever witnessed in this country.

## **VII. *Monday, December 1st, 1879.***

# **Speeches at Dunfermline, Perth, and Aberfeldy Railway Stations,**

Mr. Gladstone left Dalmeny Park on the morning of Monday, December 1st, and, crossing the Forth at Queensferry, proceeded by special train to Inverkeithing. There an address was presented to him by the Magistrates and Town Council of the burgh. On arriving at Dunfermline, the next stoppage, a large crowd, numbering about 9000 persons, was found awaiting the train at the railway station. Provost Walls, in the name of the Corporation, presented an address.

## **Speech at Railway Station, Dunfermline.**

MR. GLADSTONE, who, on accepting the address, was enthusiastically cheered, said:—

Mr. Provost and Members of the Town Council, and Ladies and Gentlemen,—

I have to thank you very heartily for the address that has been placed in my hands, and I feel that even that

address affords not so striking a testimony of your feelings as the numbers in which you have gathered together before me. Believe me, that though I am grieved to pass by this historic spot with such rapidity, yet I shall carry away with me a long and lively recollection of the remarkable demonstration you have been pleased to give me of your sympathy and kindness. I do not receive it, ladies and gentlemen, as a personal matter. I receive it as a tribute to a common cause, in which we are all alike engaged. The Provost has well said that we are endeavouring to strike a blow on behalf of Liberalism in the stronghold of Toryism. I trust that blow will be effective. At any rate the delivery of it will be as earnest, as steady, and as strong as I, for one, can help to make it. For you, the men of Fife, I have only to say that you may be satisfied with the position, the happy position, in which you have hitherto been, of returning to Parliament a member acting in conformity with your views, and promoting the progress of sound Liberal opinions. For, ladies and gentlemen, if all had done as Fife has done, if England and Ireland had done as Scotland has done, even the Scotland of 1874, which I trust will be greatly improved upon by the Scotland of 1879 and 1880, if they had done even as the Scotland of 1874 did, we should not now have had to face a deficiency of six millions in England, confusion of finance in India, war in South Africa, war in Afghanistan, and in Europe a state of turbulent expectation, which, if it do not bear the name of war yet, unfortunately, too much resembles it in effect and substance.

Ladies and gentlemen, I bid you farewell, cordially hoping that your industries may continue to flourish, and that, under the shade of that ancient church whose melodious bells we now hear in the distance, you may prosecute those industries with satisfaction and with advantage; further, that you may prosecute another industry which at this moment I do not undervalue—the industry of maintaining those sound political principles which, depend upon it, lie at the root of our national greatness and our national prosperity.

Mr. Campbell-Bannerman, M.P., then presented sets of damask table linen, in the name of the manufactories of the town, to Mrs. Gladstone, the gifts being acknowledged by Mr. Gladstone, amid continuous cheering, which lasted until the train left the platform. Crowds had assembled at various wayside stations, but only at Cowdenbeath was a stoppage made to take up the Right Hon. W. P. Adam, M.P.

## Speech at the Railway Station, Perth.

WHEN the special train reached Perth the station was found to be crowded, and Mr. Gladstone was received with the most vehement expressions of joy. Accompanied by the Lord Provost and Magistrates, the right honourable gentleman and his friends proceeded to the City Hall, and there received the freedom of the Fair City. Mr. Gladstone, in returning thanks, made a graceful allusion to the death of Mr. Roebuck, M.P. After the ceremony a start was made for the railway station, around which by this time an enormous crowd from the city and the surrounding districts had assembled. Immediately adjoining the station a small platform had been erected, and cheer followed cheer when, after receiving addresses from the City and County Liberal Associations, Mr. Gladstone, introduced by Mr. Parker, M.P., began to reply as follows:—

My Lord Provost, Sir James Ramsay, Ladies and Gentlemen,—Sir James Ramsay has not read, has not caused to be read, the county address out of consideration for the limited time which is at our disposal. That was most considerate on his part, and I think that we do not lose hereby all that might be supposed on this account, that we can form some idea of what is in it. Let me say, ladies and gentlemen, I have had a varied experience during my short stay in Perth. In the City Hall just now I fell in with a Lord Provost Richardson, who in that City Hall was no politician. Neither was I. But I come here, and here I find a Lord Provost Richardson, who is perfectly intelligible in his statements of political opinion, and I really believe he is the same man. My friend Mr. Parker spoke of the influence that this visit might have on the city and county elections. But, gentlemen, I am not here to interfere in your elections. You do not want any advice from me. Your city is a virgin city. It has never been stormed by the adversary, and I believe it never will be. And as to the county, no doubt I am a spectator, a spectator only, but I am much mistaken if it does not, on the earliest occasion, follow the example of the city. I was very glad to hear the address of the city Liberals read, but the address of the city Liberals said that while it was pleasant to welcome me their pleasure would be still greater if Scotland should make me one of her representatives. Now, gentlemen, I want to get rid of that "if." You may depend upon it, except for the uncertainty of my life, or of human life, there is no "if" at all in the matter. The county of Midlothian, if it had not spoken sufficiently already, has spoken in this last week in a manner perfectly intelligible to us, and, depend upon it, perfectly well understood by those who are to oppose us.

Gentlemen, I came down here upon a very grave errand, and upon that errand I will say a few words, because the business is a common business

The serious Indictment against the Government.

—for us, for the men of Midlothian, and for you all. I came to advance a most serious indictment. The declarations that I have made have covered a very wide field; they have exposed a large open front. I have not been able, I admit, to read with perfect care all that has been written in the newspaper press of the country upon

this interesting occasion. But so far as I have read, or so far as friends have informed me, there is only one statement of fact—and I have made a great many—there is only one which has been seriously challenged. I stated, gentlemen,

The normal duration of Parliaments.

in Edinburgh that it was an established usage for a great length of time that the Parliaments of this country should only address themselves to the regular transaction of the business of six and not of seven sessions. I wish here to repeat that statement, and to say that so far as the time of my own experience goes, and I believe so far as an earlier experience is concerned—but I will not now speak of that, because I have not had time to re-examine the whole of the facts—but so far as the last half-century is concerned, I say I will hereafter shatter to pieces the allegations of those who have impugned my statement. And the matter is of much importance; because my point, gentlemen, is this. I have never said that the Parliament might not, for grave cause, go through the regular business of a seventh session. I can conceive circumstances which would render it right and expedient, but the rule being that seven regular sessions should not be taken, I am entitled to ask why it is that

Special circumstances may be conceived rendering seven full sessions necessary.

rule is to be departed from on the present occasion? That is a most instructive question for us, because there is but one answer. The Government do not like to dissolve, because they dare not dissolve. They do not like to dissolve, because they naturally, and not dishonourably, not culpably, wish to prolong their Ministerial existence. They think, gentlemen, that they are conferring immense blessings on the country, and they very naturally desire that the flow of these blessings—which we may almost call a deluge—should not be arrested one day sooner than is necessary. But the practical point of the whole discussion is this; I omit the investigation of the facts for the present, I will deal with it before I go out of Scotland, [unclear: i] life and breath are given me. But the practical point is this: They do not dissolve, because they dare not dissolve, and the fact that they do not dissolve in and must be to you an additional incitement, an additional ground of confidence because it amounts to a moral demonstration that we are those who now represent the mature convictions of the majority of the constituencies.

Gentlemen, I came down here with a set of very ugly charges to sustain, for notwithstanding that, as I have said, her Majesty's Government believe them selves to be the authors and parents of innumerable blessings and benefits to the country, we have the misfortune to believe exactly the reverse. In fact gentlemen, their speeches could be made into speeches suitable for us by a very simple process. I will tell you what it is. If you would strike out the word "not" wherever they insert it—and if you would put it in wherever they do not use it, their speeches, depend upon it, would in a great degree save us the trouble of making speeches for ourselves. I will read to you, gentlemen because it is very short, the charges that I came to Scotland to sustain, advanced them in a letter in which I accepted the offer of the Liberals of Midlothian,

Mr. Gladstone's charges against the Government.

and I wish to be pinned to what I then said—it is a very good thing for public men to be so pinned. I charged them, first with the mismanagement of finance; secondly, with an extravagant scale of expenditure; thirdly, with having allowed legislation, which is always in arrear in this country, from the necessary pressure of the concern of so vast an empire—with having allowed that legislation to come into such a state that its arrears are intolerable and almost hopeless. I charged them with a foreign policy which has gravely compromised the faith and honour of the country. I charged them with having, both through their ruinous finance and through their disturbing measures, broken up confidence in the commercial community, and thereby aggravated the public distress. I charged them with having contributed needlessly and wrongfully to the aggrandizement of Russia I charged them with having made an unjust and dangerous war in Afghanistan, and I further charged them in these terms: "By their use of the treaty-making and the war-making powers of the Crown, they have abridged the just rights of Parliament, and have presented prerogative to the nation under an unconstitutional aspect, which tends to make it insecure." Now gentlemen, I was very anxious to go about the concerns of this Midlothian contest, which is, in fact, in some degree a Scotch contest. I am very anxious to go about it like a man of business: yet I grieve to say that, so many are the counts of the indictment and so heavy—so copious is the matter which it is necessary to bring out fully before the country in connection with the coming dissolution, that I have not yet discharged myself, though I have been pretty liberally heard on various occasions, I have not yet discharged myself of all that requires to be said. And therefore, with your permission, I will avail myself of the quarter of an hour that is at my disposal before the time appointed for the departure of the train for the north, in order to explain to you one of the

The abuse of the war-making power.

phrases that I have used in this letter to the electors of Midlothian I charged the Government with having abused the war-making power and the treaty-making power. Of the war-making power I will not now speak further than to say that I allude especially to the war in Afghanistan, on which I yet hope to find some opportunity of explaining myself more at length. To you I will speak, within the narrow limits I have described,

[*unclear*: o] the treaty-making power; and, gentlemen, though you are a vast assemble meeting here in circumstances of some inconvenience, and though the subject is one not free from difficulty, I have so much reliance on your intelligence as well as upon your patience, that I am confident you will clearly understand what I want to convey to you.

Consider, gentlemen, I entreat you, what is meant by the treaty-making power It is a power under which the Crown of the United Kingdom is

The abuse of the treaty-making power

entitled to pledge the faith and honour of the country to any other State whatever and for any purpose whatever, unless I except the payment of money, but this exception is more apparent than real. Now that is a power so large, that it must be most dangerous unless very discreetly used. It is so large, gentlemen, that at various times it has attracted the jealousy of patriotic men; and attempts have been made in Parliament to limit the action of that power by requiring that treaties should be submitted to Parliament before they are finally concluded. [Cheers.] I do not wonder for a moment that you are disposed to receive with some favour a suggestion of that kind. The objections to that suggestion are not objections of principle. In principle I cannot say it would be unsound. They are objections entirely, in my opinion, of practice, and they come to this, that the nature of negotiation with foreign States is frequently so complicated and so delicate that it hardly can be carried on except by a single agency concentrated like the agency of Ministers; and that agency invested with the exercise of a large discretion. Now, my opinion

The treaty-making power was formerly safe and useful

is that the treaty-making power of the Crown, as it has been used by former Governments, was a safe and a useful power. About a year or two ago, I forget exactly how long, Mr. Rylands, a well-known member of Parliament, made a motion in the House of Commons to the effect that some control ought to be placed on this power. I, gentlemen, opposed that motion, upon grounds which I wish to state to you. I said the Crown, and the Crown acting through its responsible Ministers, is by far the most effective agent for the conclusion of the difficult subjects that are necessarily involved in the making of treaties. But then I said—No doubt you will object that it is a vast power which is thus placed in the hands of Ministers, and that it would be most dangerous if it were exercised without reference to the known convictions and desires of the nation, but, gentlemen, I also said my reply to the objection is, that after all the long years of my public life, I cannot

Treaties should be in conformit with the convictions of the people.

now recollect a case in which any treaty has been made except in conformity with the well-understood general tendencies and convictions of the people. The subjects hare usually been long before the public. It may not be known what the precise materials of the treaty are, but it is known within certain bounds what they must be, and any right-minded Government has no difficulty whatever—as I can say from practica experience—in so conducting itself in these delicate matters as to have a mora certainty that though they have had no formal communication with the Parliament or the people, yet they are truly expressing the convictions of the parliament and the people. I will not now trouble you with references to instances, but if, gentlemen, you were to go back to the time of the Crimean war and the treaties at the close of that war—if you were to take the treaty made in 1870 with respect to Belgium, or, in fact, a whole multitude of instances upon which we might proceed—I do not hesitate to say that these treaties were instruments which, in each case, were agreeable to the national feeling at the time. Now that was the express ground on which I defended the treaty

Upon that ground alone the treaty-making power is defensible.

making power. I said in Parliament that it was impossible to defend that power upon any other grounds. I want to tell you what then happened. Sir Stafford Northcote, as the leader of the Government in the House of Commons, and as the man who, upon the highest subjects, is entitled to speak the sense of the Government—Sir Stafford Northcote rose after me, and he said—I do not quote his words, but I state their effect—he said, such was his concurrence with the opinions I had given as reasons for not entertaining the motion of Mr. Rylands that it would save him the trouble of entering at length upon the subject. Therefore, gentlemen, I hold that the Government were bound, in making treaties, to do nothing of importance except upon the principles to which Sir Stafford Northcote then assented. They were bound to make no treaties upon questions of a novel character and of vast importance with regard to which the country had had no opportunity of making up its mind. Now I want to know what it was that happened a very short time after that debate. To the perfect astonishment alike of Tories and Liberals, it

What the Anglo-Turkish Convention involved.

was announced, without almost the notice of a day, that her Majesty's Government had contracted what is called the Anglo-Turkish Convention. No human being had heard of the subject-matter of that Convention. Neither Tories nor Liberals had had the slightest opportunity of considering it. We were told one fine day that we had become responsible for the good government of the whole of Turkey in Asia. Look at your maps, gentlemen, and see what that vast country is; seething, I am afraid, with all the consequences of bad

government. And here we whose own affairs properly belonging to us are beyond our power to deal with, so that they are constantly running into arrear, by the act of the Government, taken and done in the dark, were involved suddenly and without notice in the provisions of this Convention. Now what are these? I have given you one. We were to be responsible for the good government of the whole of

(1) The protectorate of Asia Minor.

Turkey in Asia. You are some times told it is Asia Minor. It is not Asia Minor peculiarly: it is all Syria, all Palestine, Assyria, Turkish Arabia. The whole of those vast countries are placed under our responsibility, and if, gentlemen, any functionary of the Turkish Empire misconducts himself in any of those countries that is now your affair. But that is not all, gentlemen. You have also undertaken by this treaty-made on a sudden and in the dark, while the Powers of Europe were assembled at Berlin, but without the knowledge of any of those Powers—you have also undertaken to defend the frontier of Armenia against the Russian arms. You, at a distance of three thousand miles, have undertaken to send your fleets and armies to that country to meet Russia on her own borders, and to repel her from

(2) The defence of the Armenian frontier.

the Turkish territory. And, moreover, you have made that covenant, irrespectively of the goodness or badness of her cause; for it does not say that you will defend Turkey against Russia on the Armenian frontier after convincing yourselves that she is in the right. But you are placed under an unconditional engagement. But then, along with all this, what other great provision is there? There is this provision, that you have

(3) The acquisition of Cyprus.

become practically the masters of the island of Cyprus. [Laughter and jeers.] Well, gentlemen, I find this—I cannot name the island of Cyprus in any assembly of my fellow-countrymen without immediately drawing forth a flood of derisive laughter. But, gentlemen, this is no laughing matter. You have undertaken responsibility for that island. You have undertaken the good government of that island. And what have you done? I have no doubt that in many matters of administration we may have improved the government. It would be very difficult indeed to take over any Turkish island and not to improve the government. But I am sorry to say, gentlemen, that we have imported some new scandals into that island. I will tell you of two ordinances that have been passed by British authority. First of all, I ask you, was it a right or a proper thing, without the knowledge of the people of this country, to take over an island of that kind? I think it a very shabby trick to play the Turk. But independently of that, was it right for you people who were a free people to take over that island and govern it despotically? You are governing that island despotically by the hands of military officers. Is that a proper position for a free people to be placed in without its knowledge as well as without its consent? But you have done these things already. Under the Turk, any man could buy land in the island of Cyprus and go and cultivate it. We in our wisdom—because it is the nation after all: this is a self-governed country—I do not mean the people of Perth—not at all—the people of Perth would not have done it—but I mean the people of the country—have passed an ordinance, under which no man is allowed to buy land in Cyprus, unless he is either an English or a

Cyprus under British rule.

Turkish subject. Before Cyprus became ours, any Greek of the kingdom of Greece might have bought land in Cyprus; and remember Cyprus is inhabited by Greeks. Nothing could have been more natural and proper than the purchase of land by a Greek. That we have forbidden. But I will tell you what else we have done that is a great deal worse, and you will hardly believe it. Under the Government of this free nation, an ordinance has been passed, the effect of which is that the authorities of the island, who are chiefly military authorities, appointed by us, have power to banish from the island any man they please without putting him on trial for any offence. [Cries of shame.] Yes; you are justified in crying shame. It is a shame. It is a disgrace to this country; it is a scandal before the world. Gentlemen, I have given you three leading points. I will not speak now upon the worthlessness of Cyprus for the purpose for which we were told it was to be so valuable, because time would forbid it.

But now observe, I come to my practical conclusion—that the treaty-making power has been abused. It has been used for purposes in themselves objectionable, and it has been so used in contempt, as I should say, of the moral title of Parliament and of the nation to be aware of the principles on which a Government is acting, and of the ends that it has in view. That treaty-making power, in my opinion, is good while it is rightly and wisely used; it is evil and indefensible when used as it has been used by the present Administration. On that account, gentlemen, I say that this in its effect, whatever its intention may be, is, on the part of the Government, a disloyal conduct; because the effect of it is to prejudice the prerogatives of the

The effect of the abuse of the treaty-making power is to prejudice the prerogatives of the Crown, by rendering them odious.

Crown, and to impair their foundation by making them odious in the sight of the nation at large. That is all, gentlemen, that I will now say, because it is true that our time is about exhausted. But I wish you to see even

from this brief exposition that I did not speak lightly when I said that prerogative had been presented to the country in a light which tended to make it insecure, and thereby to import organic disturbance among us—among a people who love their institutions, among a people who desire only to turn them to the best account, and not to be brought into the condition of countries that, less fortunate than ourselves, are obliged to be considering from day to day in what manner they shall remake the Government of the land. I beg your pardon, I want to remake the Government of the land—but by "remake the Government," I meant the institutions of the land.

These are, gentlemen, a small part of the whole case that is before you. It is a most grave case. Some portions of it, I think, I have been able in some degree to develop and explain in the county of Midlothian. I very much doubt whether it will be again very confidently asserted by any Minister that finance is the strong point of the Government. That was so stated. That very word was used at the meeting in the Guildhall on the 10th November; and when I read it, I recollected that there is a passage, found in a book of high authority, and commonly cited in these words: "Oh that mine enemy would write a book!" With a very slight change, I am disposed to alter that line, and to say—"Oh that mine enemy would speak a speech!" He could not have done better. Gentlemen, I want you to understand that the claim of the Government is that finance is their strong point. Pray understand it when they produce their defects, pray understand it when they propose their taxes, or pray understand it when they present to you the figures which

The issue is whether in this way we wish to be governed.

will measure the accumulation of debt upon the country. Gentlemen, let us all do our best to make clear the issue that is to be placed before the nation. That issue is—is this the way, or is this not the way, in which the people of the United Kingdom desire to be governed? Gentlemen, I bid you a grateful farewell.

Mr. Donald Currie said, Within a minute or two we have to proceed by the train to Breadalbane, and I now ask you kindly to give three cheers for Mr. Gladstone, thanking him for having come to Perth.

This call was most heartily responded to, and with cheers for Mr. Currie, Mr. Parker, M.P., and the Earl of Breadalbane, the proceedings in the open air concluded.

Mr. Gladstone amidst the greatest enthusiasm at once entered the train and proceeded to the north.

## **Speech at the Railway Station, Aberfeldy.**

AT Dunkeld, during a stoppage of a few minutes, Mr. Barry, merchant, in the name of the assembled inhabitants, gave Mr. Gladstone a hearty welcome to the Highlands, and received a few words of thanks in reply.

On the arrival of the special train at Aberfeldy at about 4.30, Lord Breadalbane, with Lord Colin Campbell, M.P., Mr. C. S. Parker, M.P., and Mr. Donald Currie, Liberal Candidate for Perthshire, were ready to receive the distinguished guest. An address from the inhabitants of Aberfeldy and district having been presented by Mr. Rankin, banker, Mr. Gladstone, who on coming forward to acknowledge the presentation was loudly cheered, said:—

Mr. Rankin, Lord Breadalbane, Ladies and Gentlemen, Inhabitants of Aberfeldy and the district,—I accept with very great pleasure an address which has been as spontaneous in its character as it is warm and earnest in its language. I assure you, ladies and gentlemen, that it is to me an unexpected pleasure. I had no idea, when I accepted the courteous and kindly hospitality of Lord and Lady Breadalbane, that I should give you an occasion to meet together in public for the purpose of expressing your sentiments on what is now going on, and has been going on, in Midlothian. But I am the more gratified in proportion as I feel that this movement was unexpected—in proportion as I feel it has come entirely from yourselves. Gentlemen, I have not now received for the first time an expression of similar sentiments from the people of Scotland. I am bound—I will not say in modesty—but I am bound in truth to state that I regard many of the kind words that you are pleased to use with respect to myself and with respect to my past public life, as proceeding from your indulgence rather than from my own deserts, and, at any rate, as being used towards myself not merely with reference to the past, not merely on personal grounds, but because you are aware that, as a member of the Liberal party, I have undertaken an arduous contest in the metropolitan county of Scotland; and as you not unnaturally regard this contest as an occasion on which you may well and suitably express sentiments that you conscientiously entertain.

Ladies and gentlemen, I cannot find words to express to you my feelings of

The serious nature of the occasion.

the serious nature of the occasion. I do not use the language of exaggeration; I do not act under the impulses of party. Those impulses would not lead me, advanced in years, to undertake *[unclear: a]* labour of this kind were it not that I feel that the issues are so grave. They so deeply involve the character as well as the happiness of the country, that, in my opinion, it is the duty of every man to use his utmost exertions, to contribute all that he can, towards causing it to be rightly understood and rightly decided and I, who have

preached this doctrine indefatigably to others, am bound not to shrink from acting upon it myself. Ladies and gentlemen, I must frankly tell you as regards the issue of that contest in Midlothian that unless I am deceived in the grossest manner, there can be no doubt. There is even reason to believe that some of the shrewdest among our opponents are perfectly well aware that they cannot win; and let me tell you, gentlemen, that our opponents in electioneering matters are frequently very shrewd indeed. We have much to learn from them in that respect; and, ladies and gentlemen, I trust we shall learn from them many useful and valuable lessons, not as to the ends exactly that they have in view, but as to the judicious and careful use they make of the means of obtaining these ends. The mind of this country, ladies and gentlemen, has been led abroad and over the whole earth. It really seems as if under the present sway our business was not to regulate the concerns of our own land and of our own firesides, but the concerns of the people of Europe, Asia, Africa, and the rest of the world. That is not my view of the matter at all. My view of the matter is, that the promotion of good government among and for a people is a great, and noble, and arduous work, that taxes all their energies. I wish to get rid of a great deal of the nonsense—the mischievous nonsense—that has been introduced into our politics. None of us can forget the enormous responsibilities, the extended duties, that attach to such an empire as this country has erected, stretching forth into every quarter of the world, and having relations with the whole of its inhabitants far and near. But while we duly estimate these relations, while we will never shrink from those duties, let us avoid that system of meddling—those theatrical displays and tricks, which are aimed,

The "theatrical policy."

apparently, at drawing off the minds of the people of this country from their own interests, and from their own necessities, and at blinding them to the fact that, while they are inflamed and flattered by high-sounding discourses about the great position of England, and the necessity that England should become the teacher and the instructor of every nation in the world, we are in danger of falling into a condition in which we shall be conspicuous for the neglect of our own affairs, and in which all the reasonable wants and wishes we entertain for the improvement of our laws and institutions will remain entirely unfulfilled.

Gentlemen, I will not further detain you at this time. I assure you I rejoice to think that so lively a sympathy exists among you for the cause in which we are engaged; and, gentlemen, I hope when the county election in Perthshire comes you will show that you are aware that Scotland, as well as England, "expects every man to do his duty;" you will contribute your part towards the constitution of a Parliament sounder and wiser than that which now exists; and rely upon it, we shall see, in the course, I hope, of a very limited time, some progress made towards undoing the many mischiefs that have been brought upon us in recent years, and towards giving some satisfaction to the reasonable wants and wishes of the people.

Hearty cheers for Mr. Gladstone and for Lord and Lady Breadalbane concluded the proceedings, after which the party drove through the illuminated village of Aberfeldy, past bonfires blazing on the adjoining hills, and on between rows of torch-bearers towards Taymouth Castle, where fireworks and rejoicings closed the eventful day.

## **VIII. *Friday, December 5th, 1879.***

### **Speech in St. Andrew's Hall, Glasgow,**

ON Friday morning Mr. Gladstone delivered to the students at the University his address as Lord Rector, and subsequently took luncheon at the University with the Senatus Academicus. Mr. Gladstone then returned to the residence of Sir James Watson, where he remained till the hour fixed for the public meeting in St. Andrew's Hall.

This great meeting was composed of nearly 6000 persons, the great majority standing in the area of the hall, from which, in order to accommodate a larger number, all the seats had been removed. At half-past five Mr. Gladstone left the house of Sir James Watson, his host, and, amid loud cheers from crowds collected along the route, drove to the Hall.

There a reception certainly in no degree less enthusiastic than any the right honourable gentleman had received in Scotland awaited him.

Among those who occupied places on the platform were: The Earls of Breadalbane, Airlie, and Rosebery, Lord Napier and Ettrick; Right Hon. W. P. Adam, M.P.; Sir T. E. Colebrooke, Bart., M.P.; Dr. Charles Cameron, M.P.; Mr. George Anderson, M.P.; Mr. Charles Tennant, M.P.; Mr. W. H. Gladstone, M.P.; Colonel Mure, M.P.; Mr. R. W. Duff, M.P.; Mr. William Holms, M.P.; Mr. James Stewart, M.P.; J. W. Burns of Kilmahew, Donald Currie, H. E. Crum-Ewing, J. B. Balfour, advocate; John M'Larn, advocate, etc. etc.

Lord Breadalbane introduced Mr. Gladstone, whom the audience greeted with loud and prolonged cheering. He said:—

My Lord Breadalbane, my Lords, Ladies, and Gentlemen,—I meet you, I hope, this evening under good auspices. I mean, in the first place, the auspices of the noble Lord who has taken the chair, and who, representing an illustrious family in Scotland, promises to walk in the steps of those distinguished noblemen who have given to aristocracy its true and most permanent strength throughout the land, by associating it at every point with the liberties and privileges of the people. Under good auspices, because the feeling of the people of Scotland, which has been exhibited during the last fortnight in a manner not to be mistaken, has, I think, nowhere arrived at a more forcible expression than in the city of Glasgow, and in the great Hall where we are now assembled.

I wish, gentlemen, that I felt myself worthy and capable of doing justice to an occasion, which I describe as a good and a great occasion. But I find that the work in hand, instead of dwindling as I proceed, always seems to grow, from day to day. The subject is so large, the points to be argued so unusual, I may say, though it is not a very significant portion of the case, that I should have liked, with regard to one or two even insignificant points, even small

The creation of a new Civil Service Commissionership.

points, such, for example, as that which related to the creation of a new Civil Service Commissioner ship and to Lord Hampton, had time permitted, to show to you that I spoke within the bounds of truth in the matter which I stated, and that the character which I attached to that transaction was warranted by its nature. But I cannot detain you on that subject. There is, however, another matter, on which comment has been made, that I cannot pass without notice. It is, gentlemen, the question of dissolutions of Parliament, and of the ordinary life of a Parliament. The reason why I cannot pass this by is because it bears in an important manner on our present position. My argument is that there must be some reason why, in

The ordinary duration of a Parliament.

the face of an established usage, the Government do not advise the Sovereign to dissolve the Parliament; and I can find no reason except one, and that is, that they fear the verdict of the people. I am met, gentlemen, by the assertion that there is no such usage. It might, perhaps, be sufficient for me to fall back upon the declaration—the published declaration—of the two highest authorities on constitutional matters—one of them Mr. Hallam; the other, happily still spared to us, Sir Thomas Erskine May. Both of these have declared that six years, and not seven, are the established modern rule for the duration of Parliaments. But, gentlemen, there has been a cavil, and I must say a quibble, in this matter. The word session has been taken advantage of. The word session has a technical meaning. Everything that follows a prorogation, and that ends with a prorogation, is a session, although it should only last seven days. I had not time—I had other matter to deal with—I could not enter into the technical account of a session. But what I tell you is this, gentlemen, that there is not a case upon record since the Reform Act—that is to say, that there is no case within fifty years, and I am of opinion that there is no real case for fifty years before that—in which one and the same Parliament has approached the work of seven integral or real sessions. Now, that is the question, and that is the point of usage. Remember, we in the present Parliament have now done the work of six integral sessions. We are told by agents of the Government that we are to sit for another twelve months. The meaning is, we are to go through a seventh integral session. Two cases are quoted against me—one is that of 1841, the other that of 1859.

The duration of Parliaments in 1841 and 1850.

In neither of them did the Parliament perform the work of seven integral sessions. What they did was this: In 1841, and again in 1859, the old Parliament was dissolved in the middle of a session,—near the close of it,—but before the necessary work of the annual session had been accomplished. I will not dwell upon 1859, because the two cases are virtually identical, and we have no time to spare.

In the session of 1841 the Government of the day had been declared by a vote of the House of Commons to have lost its confidence. The consequence was that it was impossible for that Government to ask for the supplies for twelve months. Accordingly, they took the supplies for three months, and they dissolved the Parliament, I think, in the month of June. Why, after that, you will see yourselves it was matter of absolute necessity that the Parliament should meet after the dissolution, should determine who should be the Ministers, and, having come to that determination, should vote the annual supplies for the Government that had its confidence. That is exactly what was done; and that having been done, the Parliament separated. Technically that was a session, but really and in substance it was no session at all. It was simply winding up what remained undone of the essential, necessary, formal business of the year. Why, gentlemen, if I found my way into a shop in Glasgow, and took part along with the young men when they were putting away the goods in the evening for the night, you would not call that serving for the day in the shop—and yet that is just as much serving for the day in the shop as those pretended sessions—that is to say, those technical and formal sessions—are real sessions in the sense that we have now before us.

I return, then, to my point. I do not detain you on the case of 1859, which is substantially just the same; but I return to my point, and I say—no Parliament, at any rate for the last fifty years—I will not detain you with complicated explanations on the earlier case of the Parliament of 1820, long before the Reform Act—no Parliament under the modern system of Government, which dates from the Reform Bill, has ever done more than the regular work of six sessions. There must therefore be a reason why the Government, deviating from rule and usage, are going, as they say, to give us a seventh. There can be but one reason, and that is, that they dread condemnation by the people, and dismissal from their offices.

Now, gentlemen, I frankly own to you one of the motives that has led me, in coming to Glasgow, to undertake addressing you on political subjects, after it might well be supposed that the patience of all Scotland was thoroughly exhausted in listening to me, has been that in this constituency, placed as it is by Act of Parliament in a peculiar position, I might venture humbly to point out to you the enormous importance of your holding together.

The three-cornered representation of Glasgow

The three-cornered representation is eminently adverse to the expression—the clear and effective expression—of the interests of a majority. Where there is, as there is in Glasgow, a very large majority, it may well happen that that large majority shall fail to command the three seats; and if they do not the effect is this, that though you may be three to one compared with your Conservative opponents, yet in your representation by your three members one neutralizes the other, and Glasgow, this vast community, has virtually but one representative. Gentlemen, I will not go over the commonplaces, though they are very important commonplaces, respecting the tendency of the Liberal party to defeat its own objects by allowing the attachment of an undue importance to aims which are partial and which are sectional;

The necessity for united action.

but this I will say, that if we cannot be brought to act heartily together, and to make great sacrifices of our own personal and sectional views, in a crisis like this, if the picture that the Empire and that the world now present to us does not at this moment drive home upon the breast the consciousness of that great necessity of union, I for my part should despair; I should say the evil was incurable. And in that case, what is the result? The result is this, that the Liberal party, although, as I think, a decided and a considerable majority of the whole people of the country, would be handed over for another six years, or perhaps, gentlemen, for another seven years, to that under which I believe we have been for the last six years, namely, the domination of what is really a minority of the constituencies of the country.

Well now, gentlemen, I must endeavour to-night, with your permission, to present to you one or two more touches of that picture. You have been told that there is no picture at all which need excite the uneasiness of anybody. It is all owing to Liberal prejudice; and when the great voice was raised three years ago from earth to heaven against the horrors that were enacted in the Turkish Empire, you were asked, and you are now asked, to believe that that was no better than a party manoeuvre. We have said that we never compound the sense of party with the duties of humanity; but foolish indeed it would have been if, because we were a party, we were to have renounced our obedience to those duties.

An illustration of the connection between the objects of party and the duties of humanity.

But who are they that appear to make a combination of the kind? Gentlemen, we have lately had the most extraordinary illustration that ever met my eyes—and, in truth, unless it had met my eyes I should have said it had been quite impossible—with respect to the connection between the objects of party and the duties of humanity. Such illustrations are not to be drawn from within the Liberal precincts. This comes, gentlemen, from the opposite camp. I will not quote, I would not venture to quote a statement such as I am going to read from the *Daily News*, or the *Echo*, or the *Scotsman*, but I am going to quote it where I am safe in my source. I am going to quote it from the *Standard* and the *Times*. Gentlemen, you know well that we have heard much of the efforts that have lately been made to induce the Turkish Government to amend the condition of the Christians in Asia Minor; and you are aware that the menace of sending Admiral Hornby to the East with a British fleet has been averted; and averted how? By authorizing Baker Pasha to make a tour of inspection through that country,

The recent dissatisfaction of the Government with the Turkish delay to carry out promised reforms.

and to write a paper embodying an account of what he may have seen! But how came, gentlemen, this extraordinary zeal. I quote from the *Standard* of November 29th, and I think it was in the *Times* of November 19th. It appears that there was dissatisfaction on the part of the English Government with the Turkish Government; and two despatches, says the correspondent of the *Standard*,—two despatches were written to Musurus Pasha in order to disarm the displeasure of Great Britain. The first despatch did not contain any matter which appears to require our particular attention, but the second despatch was one which, it appears, has been published in a foreign newspaper called the *Political Correspondence*, and I am going to read to you the passage as I find it in the *Standard*. This is the apology of the Turkish Government, and the promise of the

Turkish Government by which it averted the displeasure, apparently, of the English Government, and made it ready to accept the declarations so transmitted: "The Porte must certainly acknowledge that the position of the English Cabinet would be extremely difficult if the promised reforms are not immediately introduced. On the other hand, the Sultan's Ministers lay great stress on the maintenance of the Beaconsfield Cabinet." As I by, gentlemen, I interpolate a few words; and I recommend every Tory candidate in Glasgow and elsewhere to print at the head of his address, in capital letters at least, perhaps it ought to be done in letters of gold, these words which I have just read, "The Sultan's Ministers lay great stress

The Turks regard the intentions of the present Cabinet, as benevolent for their Empire. on the maintenance of the Beaconsfield Cabinet,"—I resume the perusal—"which has given so many proofs of its benevolent intentions for the Turkish Empire. It also is not unknown to the Porte that a Liberal English Cabinet would make common cause with Russia and the other enemies of Turkey. The Cabinet, presided over by Said Pasha, therefore recognises that its fate, and that of Turkey itself, is connected with the maintenance of the Conservative Cabinet in England; and, therefore, has decided on lightening the task of her Majesty's Ministers by introducing without delay the reforms which are needed." Therefore it appears that the motive of the reforms which Turkey has promised is to improve the position of the Beaconsfield Cabinet at the general election; and the nature of those reforms is summed up to you in this, that Baker Pasha is to travel through Asia Minor, and to write a paper describing what he sees. In the Times the connection with party interests was still more largely assumed by the Turkish Government. And I must say I think that exhibition of facts proceeding from their friends in Turkey, and casting so strange a light on the origin of the recent movement professedly on behalf of the Christian population, ought to meet with some explanation from the Tory party generally, and from the Ministers of the Crown.

But now, gentlemen, it may be said, and it has been said, they have been exerting themselves to procure reform; why do not you give them credit for so exerting themselves? I will give you the answer. I will assume that they have been so exerting themselves; I will assume, if you like, that their exertions have not had reference, as the Turkish Government in the Times was made to say they had, to the coming dissolution. What, then, have they been about? They have been about a single-handed advocacy of the interests of

A single-handed advocacy of the interests of the Christians in Turkey.

the Christians in a portion of the Turkish Empire, and have threatened to support that single-handed advocacy by force. That would be the statement of the case, as they themselves would make it. Now, gentlemen, I want you to remember this. Why did you make the Crimean war? You made the Crimean war purposely to prevent that single-handed advocacy on the part of Russia. Russia said in 1853, by the mouth of Prince Menschikoff, "We demand from the Porte a Convention which shall enable us to enforce the redress of Christian grievances, and, if they are not redressed, to resort to force." For that declaration you made war against Russia. For the same declaration you are now asked to give credit to the Government. And why, gentlemen, was this done in 1853, and done with the general and enthusiastic consent of the country? Because it was felt that all this single-handed advocacy was full of danger, that it excited the jealousy of Europe, that it gave scope for selfish intrigue, that there was no security of its efficacy for its purpose, that it laid down exceptional rules on

Its dangers.

behalf of particular Powers, and thereby tended to subvert the public law of Europe. These grounds were the very grounds you thought fit to make war in 1853, and they are exactly the grounds upon which, and modes of action to which, you are now asked to accord confidence and praise.

After, with a perverse obstinacy, difficult to understand, the concert of Europe had once and again been broken up by the action of the Government, this attempt at single-handed advocacy is that for which they are now claiming praise. Hut, gentlemen, with regard to this single-handed advocacy, there is more in the case than I have stated.

I told the people of Midlothian, in my letter of acceptance, that one of the charges against her Majesty's Government, which had repeatedly been made, but which had not been, and which could not be answered, was the breach of the public law of Europe. I am here to make good that charge, and to make it good by a brief, and, I hope, intelligible exposition. This interference in Asia Minor,—of which all I can say is this, that, right or wrong, I should be very glad if any good results are produced, whatever I may think of the means,—this interference in Asia Minor purports to be justified by what is called the Anglo-Turkish Convention. I will not inquire whether it is so supported, but I will assume it in favour of the Government, for the sake of the argument. My

The Anglo-Turkish Convention was a gross breach of the public law of Europe.

contention is that the Anglo-Turkish Convention was in itself a gross and open breach, or rather a gross and manifest breach, of the public law of Europe. I corrected myself at the word "open," for open it was not. It was secret and clandestine. But why was it a breach of the public law of Europe? Because, by the Treaty of Paris,

the result of the Crimean war, it was solemnly enacted that everything that pertained to the integrity and independence of Turkey, and to the relations between the Sultan and his subjects, was matter, not for the cognizance of one particular Power, but for the joint cognizance of the great Powers of Europe. And what did we do in 1878? When the Russian war with Turkey came to a close, we held Russia rigidly to that principle, and we were right in so holding her. We insisted that the treaty she had made should be subject to the review of Europe, and that Europe should be entitled to give a final judgment on those matters which fell within the scope of the Treaty of Paris. We did that, and we even wasted six millions in warlike preparations for giving effect to that declaration. We then brought together at Berlin, or assisted to bring together at Berlin, the powers of Europe for the purpose of exercising this supreme jurisdiction; and while they were there, while they were at work, and without the knowledge of any one among them except Turkey, we extorted from the Sultan of Turkey,—I am afraid by threatening him with abandoning the advocacy of his cause before the Congress,—we extorted from the Sultan of Turkey the Anglo-Turkish Convention. But the Anglo-Turkish Convention was a Convention which aimed at giving us power, in the teeth of the Treaty of Paris, to interfere between the Sultan and his subjects; and it was a Convention which virtually severed from his empire the possession of the island of Cyprus.

It interfered with the integrity of the Sultan's dominions. It violated the Treaty of Paris. It interfered with the integrity. It interfered with the independence. It broke the Treaty of Paris, and the Treaty of Paris was the public law of Europe.

Now, gentlemen, I will proceed with as much rapidity as I can; but I have yet a word to say upon the subject of Cyprus. I want you briefly to contrast in your minds the promises that were made to you about Cyprus, and the position in which those promises now stand. What was Cyprus to be, gentlemen? You recollect the exultation that went abroad throughout the land at the time when the virtual acquisition was announced. What was

The Government and Cyprus.

Cyprus to be? Why, in the first place, it was to be a naval harbour, better than the harbour and arsenal of Malta. That was a declaration which, unless I am much mistaken, proceeded on a solemn occasion from the mouth of the Prime Minister. And not only so, but you were to have this wonderful harbour with great rapidity, for, on the 28th July 1878, or 23rd July 1878 the Prime Minister made a promise to the House of Lords in these words:—"By

The harbour of Cyprus.

this time next year"—that is, July 1879—"your Lordships will find that there are ports sufficient to accommodate British ships;" that means, of course, British ships of war. There is no such port. There is not the slightest prospect of such a port. They are not making such a port. They have no money to make such a port. I have no doubt that if you will give them some millions of your money,—that money, the total store of which they have not much contributed to increase,—if you will give them some millions of your money, in time they will make a port there, or anywhere else. And most probably, gentlemen, it will turn out, when made, to be like the port of Alderney. There we were assured, that if we would spend a few hundred thousand pounds—we were told by the unanimous opinion of all the military, naval, scientific, engineering authorities—we should have an admirable harbour that would seal up the port of Cherbourg. Gentlemen, we spent, not a few hundred thousands, but a few millions; we made a ruinous place useless, I believe, for any purpose of commerce or of war; and the port of Cherbourg is as open as it ever was. So much for the harbour in Cyprus. But it was also to be a place of arms. There was there to be a great military force that was to overawe Russia, and was in case of need to march across the mountains of Asia Minor, I suppose by the aid of the instrument which used to be called seven-league boots; and to intimidate Russia on the Armenian frontier. Is it, gentlemen, a place of arms? Well, it is a place of arms, but it is a

A place of arms.

place, I believe, only of the arms of about 200 men. They began, indeed, with sacrificing the health of some thousands of British troops in Cyprus; but they knew very well that could not be continued. That would not serve on the hustings, nor would it serve for any other good purpose. So, instead of being a place of arms, it is a place in which we have not a force sufficient to defend it against the meanest armament that ever undertook the most trivial operation.

But besides this, gentlemen, there was another object to be gained by the possession of Cyprus, and that was—it was to be a safeguard of

Cyprus a safeguard of the road to India.

the road to India. Now I want to say a word, if you will allow me, upon this safe-guarding of the road to India. I want to know what is the meaning of that claim. In the principles of foreign policy, gentlemen, as I have professed them from my youth, it is a fundamental article that we are to set up no claim for ourselves which we do not allow to others, and that he who departs from that principle is committing treason against public law, and

the peace and order of the world. What is the meaning of safeguarding the road to India? It seems to mean this; that a little island at one end of the world, having possessed itself of an enormous territory at the other end of the world, is entitled to say with respect to every land and every sea lying between its own shores and any part of that enormous possession, that it has a preferential right to the possession or control of that intermediate territory, in order, as it is called, to safe-guard the road to India. That, gentlemen, is a monstrous claim.

We have no title with regard to any land or any sea, other than that within the allegiance of her Majesty, except titles equal to those of all other Powers. Do not suppose that I am saying that the route to India is a matter of no importance. This doctrine of safe-guarding the road to India

This doctrine began with the Suez Canal.

began with the purchase of the shares in the Suez Canal, and I must say that manœuvre was most successful. I do not deny, I confess with sorrow, that though I with some others resisted it from the first, it was admirably devised for hoodwinking the people of the country, for catching them on their weak side; and it did carry with it undoubtedly approval at the time. But, gentlemen, it was a mere delusion. No doubt the Suez Canal is of importance; but if war breaks out, and if the channel of the Suez Canal becomes vital or material to your communications with India, you will not

The Suez Canal can only be secured by naval supremacy.

secure it one bit the better because you have been foolish enough to acquire a certain number of shares in the Canal. You must secure it by the strong hand. You must secure it by the superiority of your naval power. That superiority would secure it whether you are a proprietor in the Canal or not, and will not secure it a bit the better because you have chosen to complicate your already too complicated transactions with a new financial operation of that ridiculous description.

But, gentlemen, suppose that I am entirely wrong; suppose purchase of the shares in the Suez Canal was the desire of the consummate human wisdom; suppose that you are entitled to lay hands on all the countries that lie between you and India, under the pretext of what is called safe-guarding the road to India. Does the island of Cyprus safe-guard the road to India? Nothing of the sort, gentlemen. It is 300 miles off the road to India. How in the world, if the question of maintaining the road to India depends upon possessing the Suez Canal, how in the world are you the better by choosing to encumber yourselves with the trust and the defence of a foreign island, with people of another race not sympathizing in your purposes, not connected with your nationality, and lying more than 300 miles from the point—not simply from the point, but off the route to the point—where your naval force is to be applied? Well,

Cyprus is a "valueless encumbrance."

gentlemen, the truth is this, that Cyprus is to us—whatever it may be in itself, it is to us a valueless encumbrance. The getting of it offended Europe. The getting of it, I do not hesitate to say, was even a wrong to Turkey. The governing of it by despotic means has been dishonourable to the British Power; and the fact that it is valueless does not in the least exempt us from the responsibility of the transaction. No doubt it was a possession gotten by a clandestine treaty, in violation of public law; and whether it be precious, or whether it be worthless, if it was so gotten by clandestine means and in breach of public law, the getting of it is a deed as much tainted with secrecy and corruption as was that which sent forth Gehazi from the presence of Elisha a leper white as snow.

I might, gentlemen, quote to you an important authority upon that subject, the authority of Sir Samuel Baker, a traveller of great courage and enterprise, well and honourably known to us by his researches and his discoveries in Africa; but I will not detain you. It is certainly remarkable that he should give his authority, as he has done in a recent and interesting work, against, entirely against, the possession of Cyprus on the footing on which we now hold it; because he is a gentleman who evidently in the main agrees with the principles of what have been called the Jingo party in this country. Therefore his evidence is the more remarkable; but I will not detain you further on this head.

I have another matter on which I wish to speak. It is one on which I have  
India and Afghanistan.

as yet, hardly opened my mouth in Scotland. It is the question, gentlemen, of India, and of Afghanistan. Now there is, I think, a great propriety in speaking of India before a Glasgow audience. I find a most legitimate ground for the assertion of that propriety in the great interests connected with India that subsist in Glasgow. You will recollect, gentlemen, that on a former occasion a Conservative Government gave a most emphatic acknowledgment of the title of Glasgow to be heard on Indian matters. It was in the year 1858 that a Government bearing that title brought in a bill for the government of India, which was considered at the time to be of a highly comic description. If you remember, there were to be in the Indian Council four members who were to be chosen for that Council by the £10 householders of Liverpool, of Manchester, if I recollect aright, of Belfast, and of Glasgow. In virtue of many titles, gentlemen, I ask you to consider with me what has been and what is going on in India. Very faintly and imperfectly, indeed, can I on this occasion open up the question; but

yet I hope to say something which may serve to draw your attention to it, and to beget in the minds of some the conviction that unless an effectual attention be given to that portion of her Majesty's dominions by others than those who are now in the direction of affairs, the greatest danger overhangs our connection with India, and with that danger the greatest dishonour that this country can undergo, in the failure to fulfil the most arduous and perhaps the noblest trust, that ever was undertaken by a nation.

Gentlemen, about three or four years ago Parliament was asked, and Parliament consented, to supersede the title under which up to that time her Majesty, whom God preserve, had governed the whole of her dominions, so far as India was concerned, by empowering her to assume the title of Empress

Thè title of Empress of India.

of India. Well, gentlemen, I am not about to reargue the matters, which were largely discussed with respect to the policy of the assumption of that title. We thought it partook in a measure of those theatrical elements, which have since been much more fully and much more ruinously developed. But I will now assume that it was right; and if it was right, gentlemen, I call upon you to agree with me in this, that in order to complete the transaction, that assumption of a higher title ought to have been accompanied, in the face of the vast Indian people, by increase of franchise or of privilege, by augmentation of benefit, by redress of grievances and correction of abuse. Is that the course of government which has since been pursued in India?

I must call your attention, gentlemen, to three, or rather to four topics, on none of which will I dwell with the particularity that their importance deserves. The first of them is what was called "The Arms Act." This was "The Arms Act."

one of the early accompaniments of the assumption of the title of Empress. Before that time the importation of arms, and the use of gunpowder and other explosives, had been either wholly or to a great extent free in India. It was most desirable that that freedom should not be restricted or withdrawn. First, because special laws for the restraint of the possession of arms always indicate a mistrust of the people; and the assumption of the Queen's title of Empress had been accompanied with the most high-sounding declarations as to her confidence in the universal loyalty of the people and the chiefs of India. Next to that it is important, because in India the possession of arms is necessary for a cause of which we know nothing in this country—for the defence of the people against dangers to life, which you will understand when I tell you that I believe, according to a moderate estimate, no less than 20,000 persons lose their lives every year in India by wild beasts and serpents. It was, thirdly, desirable that this use should be free, because commercial enterprise, such as public works, railroads, and almost every engineering work depends in a large degree upon the large use of explosive material; and I have had the most striking statements of the impediments, which have been placed in the way of enterprise in India, from gentlemen whose case I cannot know, but who state it in a manner that commands attention, and invites assent. I have had these statements, showing how this mischievous Act, as it appears to me, restricts the application of capital, and the development of industry and of useful works in India.

Gentlemen, the next head is, in my judgment, yet more serious. Half a century, or very nearly half a century, has elapsed since Lord William Bentinck, whom Glasgow did herself the honour of sending to Parliament,

The freedom of the native press in India.

when he was appointed—I believe it may be more than half a century since—Governor-General of India, conferred upon the popular press of that country practical freedom. That freedom never was misused. That freedom was not a freedom to be eyed with jealousy. It was of immense advantage to us. The difficulty of every superior race which has to exercise political domination, and which wishes to exercise it well, is this—that timidity checks the full expression of opinion, and that those who rule cannot get at the true mind and meaning and desires of those who are ruled. This native press was invaluable for the purpose of giving insight into the native mind; but, a very short time after the assumption of the title of Empress, when benefit and franchise ought to have been enlarged in India in every way that Viceroys of India to obliterate from recollection by good deeds and kindly treatment, and the resolute endeavour to restore their confidence in a people whose historical relations with the Afghan country had been marked with so dark a stain. Much had been done in that sense. Distrust had greatly disappeared. The Afghan rulers were disposed to cling to us. No doubt the last of them, Shere Ali, whom we have sent in sorrow to his grave, endeavoured at times, as civilized Powers too will do, to make the most of his connection with us. But he never committed an offence against us; he never gave us the

It wa our wilful action alone that raised the cause of quarrel.

slightest cause even for distrust of his ultimate intentions. It was our wilful action, and our wilful action alone, that raised the cause of quarrel. And, gentlemen, what is true of Cyprus on a small scale, is true of Afghanistan on a greater scale. The fact that the result of our enterprise is nothing to ourselves but mischief and embarrassment, does not in the slightest degree redeem us from the charge of a guilty cupidity under which that enterprise was undertaken.

Now, gentlemen, what happened? There were two gentlemen, men of distinguished names, who supported

the Indian policy of advance into Afghanistan. Who were they? Sir Henry Rawlinson and Sir Bartle Frere. These were the two great authorities. Sir Henry Rawlinson was, I believe, a distinguished officer; he is a scientific man—a man of high character and great ability. Sir Bartle Frere, except that I believe he is entirely a civilian, deserves the ascription to him of all those qualities in the highest degree. But neither the one nor the other has ever been in a position of real responsibility; neither the one nor the other has ever imbibed, from actual acquaintance with British institutions, the spirit by which British government ought to be regulated and controlled. That they are men of benevolence I do not doubt; but I am afraid they are gentlemen who are apt, in giving scope to their benevolent motives, to take into their own hands the choice of means in a manner which those who are conversant with free government and with responsible government never would dream of. Sir Bartle Frere's mode of action at the Cape of Good Hope does not tend to accredit his advice in Afghanistan. Against these two gentlemen there are the judgments of all the Viceroys from Lord Ellenborough to Lord Mayo, of most distinguished generals, of a whole host of Indian authorities, and of responsible British statesmen.

Well, now, gentlemen, what has been our conduct to the late Ameer of  
Our conduct to Shere Ali.

Afghanistan? We were bound by treaty to that Ameer—the treaty of 1857, made by Sir John Lawrence. We were bound, and admitted, I think, by every Viceroy down to Lord Northbrook to be bound, not to force upon Shere Ali the reception of British envoys of European birth. Remember this, gentlemen; there never was the least difficulty about having envoys at the Court of Shere Ali. Shere Ali was perfectly willing to receive native envoys, because he could receive native envoys—men of his own religion—without their exciting jealousy; and consequently the lives of those envoys were perfectly safe. He did not receive our native envoy; it was Lord Lytton's wilful act that withdrew him. But after what had happened before, Shere Ali, wiser far than we, remonstrated against the attempt to send British envoys into Afghanistan, for he said it was impossible to answer

The sending of an Envoy to Cabul.

for their safety. But we insisted on sending our British envoys. Nay, even that did not satisfy us; for when in 1857 the subject was discussed between Sir Lewis Pelly on our part, and the Minister of Shere Ali, it was known to the Viceroy, or apprehended by him after the death of his Minister, that the Ameer, in his terror and despair, was sending a new envoy to concede all our demands rather than quarrel with us; and with that fact in his view the conferences were closed, and Shere Ali was not permitted even the opportunity of making this mischievous and forced concession.

And why, gentlemen, did we make war upon Shere Ali? I will now read to you in the fewest words two declarations—two sentences, one from the speech of one of the confidential advisers of the Crown, and another from the speech of another of those advisers. Lord Cairns, a man of great ability, said in the House of Lords in the Afghan debate—I believe I quote the report correctly—"We are not going to war with Afghanistan for receiving a Russian envoy. We are going to war with him for not receiving our envoy." While Lord Cairns gave that account in the House of Lords, another Minister is said to have given the following account in the House of Commons: "We did not quarrel with the Ameer because he did not receive the British Mission at Cabul;

The contradictory reasons given for the quarrel.

we quarrelled with him for having received the Russian Mission at Cabul with great pomp." This contradiction, gentlemen, may well amuse you. I am not at all surprised at it. It appears to me that gentlemen who undertake to justify policy like the Afghan policy must of necessity, unless their stars be highly favourable to them, fall into many contradictions. But I want to ask you which of those two reasons do you prefer; which do you think is the best? Lord Cairns has said to us, we are going to war with him for not receiving our envoy. But, in the first place, it is an understood principle of public law that nobody has a right to fasten an envoy upon an independent ruler, and the declarations of the Government—the declaration especially of Sir Stafford Northcote as lately as twelve months ago—was that the object of their policy was to make Afghanistan free, strong, friendly, and independent. You see how that policy has been fulfilled. But you had no title to force an envoy upon Shere Ali. Does, then, Lord John Manners relieve us from our embarrassment by giving us a better reason than the lame reason of Lord Cairns? He says we made war because the Ameer received a Russian Mission at Cabul with great pomp. Why did he receive the Russian Mission? Because the Russian Government, as a measure of hostility to us, most unjustifiably as regards the Ameer, when they apprehended a quarrel with England, sent word to the Ameer that he must receive their Embassy. It was impossible for the Ameer to resist. He received that Embassy under compulsion. He did no wrong, therefore, in receiving it if under compulsion. But supposing he had done wrong, which was the greater offender—the feeble Ameer who received the Embassy of Russia because he could not help it, or the great White Czar, the Emperor of all the Russias, who forced him to receive that Embassy? And what was our conduct? You have heard much, gentlemen, about a vigorous foreign policy and a spirited foreign policy. A meaner act, a shabbier act, a more dastardly act is not to

be found upon record than that by which this Government, forbearing to punish Russia, forbearing even to remonstrate with Russia—that is to say, accepting from Russia the most feeble and transparent excuses with an ostensible satisfaction—reserved all its force and all its vengeance for the unfortunate Ameer of Afghanistan. And, gentlemen, is not the result worthy of the origin? Some credit has been given by some writers to us, who took part in strong protestation, from the first, against those most iniquitous proceedings, for having prophesied their disastrous result. There was no merit in those prophecies. The deeds done were deeds that could have none other but a disastrous result.

If you failed in Afghanistan, I mean in a military sense, which was most improbable—your permanent military failure almost impossible—if you failed in Afghanistan, even for a time, you disgraced yourselves in the eyes of the world, and lost that military repute and credit which undoubtedly is of the highest importance to an Asiatic Power. But if you succeeded in Afghanistan, you broke Afghanistan to pieces. The barrier—the firm barrier,

The Government has destroyed the barrier between Russia and us.

well defended by its mountain ranges—which we and which former Governments had striven to place between Russian and English possessions, now exists no more. Afghanistan is no longer a kingdom. Province after province has broken away. You are in possession of its most important strongholds to the south and to the east. Other persons are in possession of its severed fractions in other quarters; and your possession—useless, fruitless, hopeless—brings upon you a large military charge which you do not dare to ask the people of England and of Scotland and of Ireland to pay, and which you are imposing, with an injustice never surpassed in the history of the world, on the impoverished population of India.

Well, gentlemen, what then is the general upshot of this review in which I have been engaged since I came to Scotland; which I have had, I feel it more than any can, no power adequately to conduct, but yet which I hope I have not gone through without bringing out into the light, and bringing home to the mind and the heart, some truths at least which it is material for this nation to

A summary of our position now under a Tory Government.

know? What is the general upshot? Let us look at it together. I will use the fewest words. We have finance in confusion; we have legislation in intolerable arrear; we have honour compromised by the breach of public law; we have public distress aggravated by the destruction of confidence; we have Russia aggrandized and yet estranged; we have Turkey befriended as we say, but mutilated, and sinking every day; we have Europe restless and disturbed; Europe, which, after the Treaty of Paris, at all events so far as the Eastern Question was concerned,

The Treaty of Berlin.

had something like rest for a period approaching twenty years, has, almost ere the ink of the Treaty of Berlin is dry, been agitated from end to end with rumours and alarms, so that on the last 10th of November we were told that the Prime Minister thought that peace might be preserved, but on the previous 9th of November—namely, four months after the Treaty—

The Zulu war.

it had been much more doubtful. In Africa you have before you the memory of bloodshed, of military disaster, the record of 10,000 Zulus—such is the computation of Bishop Colenso—slain for no other offence than their attempt to defend against your artillery with their naked bodies their hearths and homes, their wives and families. You have the invasion

The annexation of the Transvaal.

of a free people in the Transvaal; and you have, I fear, in one quarter or another,—I will not enter into details, which might be injurious to the public interest,—prospects of further disturbance and shedding

The Afghan war.

of blood. You have Afghanistan ruined; you have India not advanced, but thrown back in government, subjected to heavy and unjust charges, subjected to what may well be termed, in comparison with the mild government of former years, a system of oppression; and with all this you have had at home, in matters which I will not now detail, the law broken, and the rights of Parliament invaded. Gentlemen, amidst the whole of this pestilent activity—for so I must call it—this distress and bloodshed which we have either produced or largely shared in producing, not in one instance down to the Treaty of Berlin, and down to the war in Afghanistan,—not in one instance did we either do a deed or speak an effectual word on behalf of liberty. Such is the upshot, gentlemen, of the sad enumeration. To call this policy Conservative is, in my opinion, a pure mockery, and an abuse of terms. Whatever it may be in its motive, it is in its result disloyal, it is in its essence thoroughly subversive. There is no democrat, there is no agitator, there is no propounder of anti-rent doctrines, whatever mischief he may do, who can compare in mischief with possessors of authority who thus invert and who thus degrade the principles of free government in the British Empire. Gentlemen, I wish to end as I began. Is this the way, or is this not the way, in which a free nation, inhabiting these islands, wishes to be governed?

Will the people, be it now or be it months hence, ratify the deeds that have been done, and assume upon themselves that tremendous responsibility? The whole humble aim, gentlemen, of my proceedings has been to bring home, as far as was in my power, this great question to the mind and to the conscience of the community at large. If I cannot decide the issue—and of course I have no power to decide it—I wish at least to endeavour to make it understood by those who can. And I cherish the hope that

*"When the hurly-burly's done,  
When the battle's lost and won,"*

I may be able to bear home with me at least this consolation, that I have spared no effort to mark the point at which the roads divide,—the one path which plunges into suffering, discredit, and dishonour; the other which slowly, perhaps, but surely, leads a free and a high-minded people towards the blessed ends of prosperity and justice, of liberty and peace.

## **IX. Saturday, December 6th, 1879.**

### **Speech at Motherwell Station,**

MR. GLADSTONE, on Saturday morning, December 6th, proceeded by rail from Glasgow to Motherwell, where he was received with every demonstration of joy by about 600 persons within the station itself, and by a crowd estimated at fully 2000 immediately outside the gates. The various deputations from the Liberal Committees of the Middle and Upper Wards of Lanarkshire were introduced by Mr. Hamilton of Dalzell, the Liberal candidate for South Lanarkshire, in the absence, from ill-health, of Sir T. E. Colebrooke, Bart., M.P., and an address was presented by Mr. Houldsworth of Coltness. Then followed addresses from the Magistrates of Motherwell and of Wishaw, presented by the Provosts of those Burghs.

Mr Gladstone, who was received with loud cheers, in acknowledging these presentations, said:—

Gentlemen, the business on which I came to Scotland is substantially for the present at an end. That business was not the mere seeking of a seat in Parliament, and still less a desire to evoke personal honours for myself. It was to be enabled, in the face of a patriotic people, to make something like a detailed exposition of a difficult and complicated case, extending over the transactions of many years, reaching to the various quarters of the globe, and yet necessary, as it seemed to me, to be placed with unusual fulness before the people of the country for their consideration and decision. Gentlemen, after the efforts of yesterday, which were considerable, I should not be in a condition to resume that work even were we not assembled at a spot where we are of necessity, to a certain extent, in competition, so far as sound is concerned, with some of the ordinary operations of a railway station. I will only, then, ask you to believe with me that the errand which has brought me here is a most serious errand. I find confirmation of that view in the language of the address from the Liberal Associations which has been read in your hearing. These Associations feel that the time has arrived when the country should be freed from the disastrous policy of the present Government. At that phrase, gentlemen, I will stop to say that undoubtedly the liberation of the country from the present Government is a main and capital object of my pilgrimage. After the demonstration which the conduct of the present Parliament has afforded, and in particular far beyond the rest, after the demonstration which the last two disastrous years have afforded, I tell you frankly that unless you effect that you will effect nothing. That removal of itself is but a part of the work. What will come afterwards, for those who may be selected to guide the affairs of this country, will be a matter of the utmost complexity

Party triumph is not the end, but the essential beginning.

and difficulty. Do not suppose that party triumph is the end of all things in my view. No, gentlemen, but it is the necessary, the essential, indispensable beginning. And here let me say, with respect to the kind expression that was used in one of the speeches just addressed to me, that a return to place and power is no part of the purpose for which I have come here for myself.

But for the public interest, gentlemen, what you have here stated is that you want statesmen who will uphold the constitutional privileges of the people, and the meaning of that is, that during these latest years the constitutional privileges of the people represented in their Parliament have not been upheld. It is perfectly true that they have been compromised with the willing, nay, the eager, consent of Parliament, and that is the very reason why you should long for the moment when you will have the opportunity of choosing a Parliament of a different complexion. You say you want statesmen who will maintain the national

The national honour has been maintained by boasting and by brag.

honour. Gentlemen, if national honour could be maintained by boasting and by brag, then indeed it has

been splendidly maintained. But if national honour depends upon a firm decision to accord to others the rights you claim for yourselves, if national honour is the everlasting principle of equal right to all, if national honour requires that wherever strong words are used they shall be followed by strong acts, then, indeed, we are of opinion that national honour has not been maintained. Finally, you want statesmen who will be guided by the great principles of justice, economy, and reform. It is needless for me to do more than say that in my firm and sad belief those principles of justice, those principles of economy, those principles of reform, have been either neglected or gravely compromised, and even trodden under foot. So, gentlemen, this work is a serious work. It is the work of to-day, and of not to-day alone. The firm and manly purpose which has been indicated, so far as my observation has gone, at every point during the last fortnight, is a purpose which it will be your duty and your necessity to maintain in its full vigour till the day of trial comes.

This, gentlemen, is not the first time in our history when the first effort for liberty—the first illuminating ray that has spread over the land—has come from Scotland. I reflect with joy that many places in England have distinctly shown that they are already alive; but something, gentlemen, is left to you. You will have a forward place in the work to be done, in the triumph to be achieved; and it is because I believe that none were better qualified to take that forward place than the people of Scotland that on this occasion I came among you with the firm determination not to fall short in any effort that my humble energies could afford to be a sharer in your labours, and to assist you towards gaining their triumphant end.

Colonel Buchanan of Drumpellier called for three cheers for Mr. Gladstone, which were most heartily given. The right honourable gentleman drove off to Dalzell House amid hearty demonstrations of good feeling, which were not allowed to die away till he had passed out of the town.

In the afternoon the freedom of the Burgh of Motherwell was presented to Mr. Gladstone by a deputation of Magistrates specially appointed for the purpose.

During the fortnight he spent north of the Tweed Mr. Gladstone addressed on various occasions personally upwards of 75,000 people, and were the vast crowds who assembled in various places to do him honour computed, it may fairly be said that something like a quarter of a million of persons took some part in the demonstrations everywhere evoked by the mere announcement of an intended visit. The only event in the least degree comparable to the progress of the right honourable gentleman is the historical visit of Earl Grey to Edinburgh in 1834, not long after the first Reform Bill became law, and it may be doubted whether even that memorable journey witnessed such a thrill of the enthusiasm of a nation as Scotland but the other day felt, ay, and still feels.

Report of the Industrial Exhibition,  
Held in the Drillshed, Christchurch,  
July 15 to 21 Inclusive.

1880.

Printed At This "Times" Office Christchurch. Gloucester Street,  
Industrial Exhibition Committee.

President: Mr. R. Allan.

hon. Secretary and Treasurer: Mr. W. W. Charters.

Committee:

MESSRS. Mr. R. Allan. E. H. Banks J. A. Bird N. K. Cherrill G. Coleman T. W. Draper R. W. England J.

Holmes A. G. Howland C. P. Hulbert C. Hull

PROFESSOR. Von Haast

MESSRS. J. P. Jameson F. Jenkins A. Kirk H. B. Kirk W. Moor J. L. Scott W. S. Smith R. H. Wood W. Toomer

PROFESSOR Bickerton

Association for the Fostering and Encouragement of Native Industries & Productions.

President: Mr. R. Allan.

Vice-President: Mr. G. G. Stead Mr. John Holmes

Honorary Secretary and Treasurer: Mr. W. W. Charters.

Committee:

Messrs. A. G. Howland E. Toomer J. Piper H. B. Kirk R. W. England Geo. Coleman W. Moor Dr. Turnbull

Messrs. A. Kirk R. H. Wood J. L. Scott W. H. Lee C. Lezard W. S. Smith E. H. Banks C. P. Hulbert

## Objects.

1. THIS ASSOCIATION has been formed for the purpose of advocating the Fostering and Encouragement of Native Industries and Productions. The time has arrived when, from the fact of many of our leading articles of export being practically shut out from the neighbouring Colonies, the low prices of our great staples—wool and

wheat, and the rapid increase of population, it has become imperatively necessary that a large portion of the people should be employed in other ways than farming; and this can only be effected by a judicious Fostering and Encouragement of Local Industries.

2. It does not advocate the claims of any special trade or industry, but is general in its character, embracing as it does among its members every class of the community.

3. The manufacturing interest, and the development of the natural resources of the country, will alike receive the support of the Association.

4. An indiscriminate or excessive protective policy is not advocated, the intention being to foster only those industries that will have a fair chance of succeeding in the Colony.

5. The Association, although only recently formed, is already a very powerful one; and it is earnestly requested that every one feeling an interest in the objects of the Association, and who has the real welfare of the Colony at heart, will join the ranks and lend a helping hand.

6. Any information or statistics bearing on the subject will be thankfully received, and the Association will also be glad to communicate with any one wishing to establish branches of the Association in any part of the Colony, or to co-operate with similar Societies for the purpose of influencing public and Parliamentary opinion.

Any communications addressed to the Honorary Secretary, MR. W. W. CHARTERS (MESSRS. DRAPER, CHARTERS & Co., Christchurch), will be promptly acknowledged.

## Industrial Exhibition.

[Reprinted from the "Lyttelton Times"]

Committee of Management:—Mr Robert Allan, Chairman; Mr W. W. Charters, Honorary Secretary and Treasurer; Messrs E. H. Banks and J. A. Bird, Professor Bickerton, Messrs N. K. Cherrill, G. Coleman, T. W. Draper, and R. W. England Professor Von Haast, Messrs J. Holmes, Howland, Hulbert, C. Hull, J. P. Jameson, F. Jenkins, A. Kirk, H. B. Kirk, W. Moor, J. L. Scott, W. S. Smith, and it. H. Wood.

The poet laureate of England, in his dedication to the "Idylls of the King," indicates in a graceful manner the incalculable benefit secured to the whole civilised world, when "Albert, the good" became the

*"Far-sighted summoner of War and Waste  
To fruitful strifes and rivalries of peace."*

The Great Exhibition of 1851 was the dawn of a new era—the grand initiation of a long series of Exhibitions, in connection with art, science and manufacture, in various countries; and year by year there has been a growing re-cognition of the true value of such gatherings. By their aid, nations as well as individuals have been enabled to compare results, and to ascertain their several positions in the march of progress. By their aid, also, when they are carried out in a modified form, a Colony can show what has been accomplished by the strong, indomitable will, that turns to stepping stones all hindrances. There is, in connection with our Industrial Exhibition, no need to compare small things with great. The same principles underlie all such efforts, and the present gathering in the Cathedral City is intended simply as an index, whereby we may the more readily read our own history. There is, perhaps, one feature in connection with such displays, which has to be allowed for in forming a correct estimate of the general progress made. That feature is, that everything is in exhibition trim; that there have been special manufactures for the occasion, and with a higher degree of finish than would be perceptible in the ordinary course. But it is a somewhat curious fact, that in the Christchurch Industrial Exhibition this condition of things cannot possibly obtain, save in a modified degree. From the inception of the gathering, to its completion, the time has been far too short to admit of the production of specialities; and as a matter of fact there are instances in which, exhibitors have had to borrow for the occasion articles which they had made and sold sometime previously. It will be remembered that the date for the Exhibition was materially changed, in order that the Committee might be enabled to embody in the display the goods which were about to be forwarded to Melbourne. These things form but a comparatively small portion of the imposing collection, and of the Exhibition as a whole it may therefore be said, that it constitutes a fair representation of our every-day work, further, it can be claimed that the Christchurch Industrial Exhibition is of a practical nature. It originated from a suggestion made by Mr W. W. Charters, to the effect that the Association for Fostering and Protecting Local Industries and Productions, was about completing the first year of its existence, and that a fitting mode of celebrating the anniversary would be to have some sort of display of local productions. Practical men saw at once that the idea was a good one, and that it might advantageously be enlarged upon. Their first desire being to help forward the local industries, one of the best possible ways of doing so would be to make the people practically acquainted with what was being done in their midst. Theoretically, the public knew already that woollen goods, hats, boots and shoes, nails, all sorts of articles in wood and in iron were being made here; but this notwithstanding, their recognition was largely of that dubious character which awards no

honour, no merit, to an immediate and everyday work. It would be well, then—it was argued—that interest and even enthusiasm should be awakened, by showing some of the processes conceived by thinking brains, and carried on by dexterous hands. This meant that machinery in motion—always an attraction—should constitute one of the features of the local Exhibition. It also meant a large amount of detail work for somebody. Visitors will recognise the fact that the needed work was spiritedly undertaken, and that the results afford such an amount of practical instruction, presented in such an interesting manner, as must leave an indelible impression on the minds of the rising generation. Even the Committee of Management, although they had formed a somewhat ambitious conception, had no idea of the wide-spread interest that would be developed. They at first intended to include only Christ church exhibits, but applications came in thick and fast, some of them from Dunedin, Auckland, and other places, and the Committee resolved that—so far as space would permit—they would welcome all comers. Bearing in mind that there had been no inviting of outside contributions, it will be seen that, with a longer period of preparation and a more general announcement of the intended Exhibition, the collection would have assumed gigantic proportions, and there would have been no place in which the display could have been made. With less than 200 exhibitors, the largest building in the city proved too small, and at last a sub-committee had to perform the unenviable task of cutting down nearly all the applications for space. This work seems to have been done with the strictest impartiality.

The short time available for preparation precluded the possibility of making the Exhibition a competitive one, or even of awarding certificates of merit. For this first local Exhibition, public opinion is to be the reward of the contributors, with the subsequent impetus which it is hoped may be given to the various industries. On a future occasion, the Committee, profiting by the experience now gained, will no doubt be able to carry out still more complete arrangements, and to secure a more thorough classification of exhibits than has been possible in the hurry and bustle of the past few days.

The general arrangements of the Exhibition are as follows:—On entering the in-closure, and passing the inner barricade, the visitor at once sees some of the exhibits, the out-of-door items including vehicles, a windmill pump, &c. Conifers have sprung up, as if by magic, at the entrance to the building, which is in the centre of the western side. The spacious verandah is closely covered in, and is utilised as a place in which to show carriages. A portion at one end is fitted up as a refreshment room and luncheon bar. Entering the large hall, the scene is a brilliant and imposing one. The north end may be termed the top of the room. In the centre is an admirably fitted refreshment bar for ladies, wherein Mr Morton dispenses tea, coffee, &c. Above the bar is the band platform. On the left is the grand display of locally made art furniture sent in by Mr A. J. White, and on the right is a similar collection shown by Messrs King and Co. Turning along the right is the hatter's stand of Mr Hulbert, wherein two skilled workmen are showing the various stages of the manufacture; and next them, Mr Proctor, optician, is giving practical lessons in connection with the production of lenses. Then comes clothing, as produced by the New Zealand Clothing Company; and the adjoining display is that made by the proprietors of the *Lyttelton Times*, to illustrate the progress made in artistic printing, engraving, photo-lithography, &c. The next stands are those of Messrs Dunn Brothers, tinsmiths, and of Mr Atkinson, range maker. The great trophy of woodware extending from floor to roof, has been built up by Mr Jenkins; and the remainder of this side of the hall is occupied by Messrs A. and T. Burt, of Dunedin, who make a really wonderful show of articles in brass and copper, gasaliers, pumps, lead and composite piping, &c. The South end of the building is filled in with a aeries of collections representing some of the mineral wealth of the Colony, and some of the results of that wealth, the various items also tending to show that there are workmen employed here who have a clear conception of art forms. On the western side—there are pictures innumerable, examples of engraving, photography, electroplating and electrotyping, letter-press printing, taxidermy, cabinet and carpentry work, masonry, &c. In the body of the hall, the three huge tables, extending almost the entire length, are crowded with exhibits of all kinds, the more valuable contributions being for the most part on the central stand. Just in the centre of the hall is the splendid hexagonal stand shown by Messrs King and Co., and containing samples of grain. The machinery in motion is all grouped in the gun room, to which there are two approaches. This place is extremely well lighted, and it constitutes the great attraction of the Exhibition.

At a few minutes past noon, the Railway band, which had been performing within the enclosure, ascended to the high platform in the interior. The lower and temporary platform was occupied by His Worship the Mayor of Christchurch and the members of the City Council; and the President and members of the Committee of Management.

The President said—Mr Mayor, Ladies, and Gentlemen,—Before the Exhibition is formally opened, I have been requested by the Committee, of which I have the honour to be Chairman, to deliver a few remarks as to the origin and objects of this Exhibition. It is now about eight years ago since an exhibition was held in this same building, prior to the despatch of the exhibits for Vienna. No doubt many of you will remember that occasion. It was opened by His Excellency the Governor, at that time Sir George Bowen, and was an undoubted success, and great hopes were entertained that the industries of New Zealand were about to occupy a more

prominent position than in the past. The population of the Colony was then 259,000, to-day it is nearly 500,000, and during the eight years that have elapsed, the debt of the Colony has been increased from £10,000,000 to £28,000,000. It might naturally be supposed that with this large increase of population and the immense turns of borrowed money, our industries would have received a great impulse, and that the hopes that had been entertained would have had a fair chance of being realised; but I regret to say that such is not the case, for there is no disguising the fact that our industries and the development of our material resources have not made that progress that we had a right to expect. Agriculture has indeed made rapid strides. But notwithstanding this fact, and all the borrowed money, we do not find the Colony in that prosperous state that we could wish. Why is this? I am firmly of opinion that one great reason is to be found in the fact that we have neglected our industries. For eight years we have lived in too great a hurry; we have not had time to use our own materials. It has appeared to be so much easier to import. We have been trying to make money too easily as a nation of importers and land jobbers. We have imported often inferior timber for our railway and rolling stock, while we have been burning our own, and this same principle has been carried on in other ways, and in a sense we have grasped at the shadow and lost the substance. The peculiar position of New Zealand renders it most important that we should in the future do more of our own work and utilise more of our natural resources. For some years past, apart from the importations for Government purposes, our imports have largely exceeded our exports, and seeing that we have a large amount to pay for interest, it is a most serious position for a young country that has not the stored wealth of an older country to draw upon to cover this deficiency. But the depression of the past two years has not by any means been an unmixed evil. It has directed public attention to the necessity of looking more to those matters that we had neglected, and this brings me to the origin of this Exhibition. About a year ago an Association was formed here, called the Association for the Fostering and Encouragement of Native Industries and Productions. Similar Associations were formed in Dunedin, Wellington and Auckland, and consisted of many of those directly interested in manufacturing, and many who had no direct interest. We frankly confess, although it is a "red rag" to some people, that part of their duty was to obtain such a revision of the Customs tariff as would be more favourable to local industry. They sought to have the duties removed from raw materials required by manufacturers and not produced within the Colony, and also the imposition of increased duties on articles that the Colony could reasonably manufacture. I do not intend to weary you with any questions of Free Trade and Protection, and will merely state that the present tariff is, in many respects, more favourable to manufacturing, and I have no doubt will tend to give a substantial impulse to manufacturing in the next few years to the profit of the whole Colony; but the duties of the Association did not by any means end in the tariff question. They have been useful in colic cling and disseminating information on various subjects, and in many other ways; and one of the ways in which they thought they could prove of service was in the inauguration of an Industrial Exhibition. They called to their aid the services of two or three well known gentlemen who are always ready at a moment's notice to give a helping hand in any useful work, and hence the cause of the display to-day. And in this matter we think we can fairly claim the sympathies of all classes; and the objects to be attained are manifest. In the first place it creates a wholesome rivalry between exhibitors, and thus tends to improvement; and on another occasion (and I hope there will be other occasions) this rivalry can be increased by giving awards, a matter that we had not time to take up this year. In the meantime it may suggest to the capitalist or the citizen some new opening. It also serves as a means of education; and lastly, and by no means the least, it is a capital advertisement for manufacturers, and brings the public at large into direct contact with our productions, and this tends to remove prejudice, for there is such a thing as prejudice, even in the matter of local industries. It is not so long ago that it was considered quite impossible to use native coal on our railways, but that prejudice has now been overcome, and with the result of saving many thousands a year to the Colony and with a good profit to the railways. It is to be hoped that this removal of prejudice will extend to other industries. I stated just now that our industries had not made that progress that we had a right to expect, but it must not be supposed that they have made no progress, for the very contrary is the case, and I alluded more to volume of business that they had had the opportunity of accomplishing than to their ability to turn out really first-class articles; and, in support of this, we refer you to the many beautiful articles of furniture, cabinet work, and wood ware of various kinds represented here to-day, and venture to hope that we shall use more of our timber for these purposes, and import less of the rubbishing furniture that has been poured into this market during the past five years. And while on the matter of timber, I may mention that I have noticed recently in two of the leading American journals, matter drawing attention to the beautiful articles in the New Zealand woods. We refer you to the splendid samples of woollen goods, clothing, &c., from the Kaiapoi mills, also from the Mosgiel. We draw your attention to the splendid samples of pottery, native coal, metal goods, carriage work, and many other lines; all a credit to the Colony. Eight years ago great hopes were centred in flax, and I am very sorry to say these hopes cost some people large sums of money. To-day we have it here represented only by rope twine, but I yet think there is a future for flax, and within the past few months two mills have been started in buildings in the vicinity of Christchurch, for the conversion of flax into pulp for paper-making, an article I

believe there is an almost unlimited demand for in Europe and Australia. And we have an article represented here to-day that I think has never before figured at an Exhibition in New Zealand, viz., petroleum from Gisborne. The people at Gisborne sent a delegate with samples to the Sydney Exhibition, and it has led to the formation of a company for working the oil mills, and I hope they will prove successful. Years ago the term "Colonial" applied to an article, meant something rough and ready, but it is not so now, and this, we think, you will ascertain to-day; and as a matter of fact it really means something good, for it is generally in competition with imported shoddy that a colonial manufacturer fails, and if the public will only recognise the fact, there is a bad time in store for shoddy, but, if not, and they will have shoddy, then I suppose our manufactures will have to go on improving till they even reach that undesirable point. The prosperity of this country depends on its people, for it teems with natural wealth and advantages, and its brightest future can be summed up in two words—Economy and Industry, and if we can to-day move it but one step in that direction, we shall feel that our labours have not been in vain. On behalf of the Committee, Mr Mayor, I have much pleasure in asking you to formally open this Exhibition.

Mr Allan was loudly cheered.

The Mayor of Christchurch, who on this occasion wore his chain of office, said:—Mr President, ladies, and Gentlemen—When I was asked by the President and members of the Committee to take a part in this opening ceremony, I consented to do so with very great pleasure, because it is the duty of any one holding an official position, to give all the support and countenance which that position is supposed to give to an undertaking of this kind. I am sure you will all agree with me that the best thanks of this community are due to the President and Committee for the great energy and enterprise which they have displayed in getting together so large an Exhibition as this in so short a time. Those who were here seven years ago, and who recollect the Exhibition of that time, however great that Exhibition was, for a young country like this, cannot help being struck at the very great progress that has been made in manufactures and local produce generally. I think it speaks well, and proves that our manufacturers and producers are alive to the fact that they must be prepared to produce as good articles here as manufacturers and producers can elsewhere. Whether we consider the quality of our wools, the excellence of our coal, limestone, cereals, building material, our beautiful woods for cabinet ware, and other natural productions, it appears to me that we have everything necessary for man's use in even a high state of civilisation. I may state that exhibitions of this kind are productive of great good inasmuch as they bring to our knowledge the resources of our country. They tend to stimulate healthy competition between manufacturers and producers; and, what is even more beneficial in my opinion, rouse us to place greater reliance in ourselves. If this Exhibition shall, in the smallest degree, tend to bring about a greater knowledge of our resources, and open up a larger consumption of local manufactures; and if it causes our manufacturers to exercise greater energy and enterprise, and thereby provide labour for our surplus population, I consider it will have done great good, and have served the object which the promoters of this gathering had in view; and it will not have been in vain. Ladies and gentlemen,—With those few remarks I have very much pleasure in declaring this Exhibition publicly open. (Cheers.)

The band—"God Save the Queen."

Three hearty cheers were then given, and the opening ceremonial thus terminated.

In proceeding to notice in detail some of the vast number of items included in the collection, it will be convenient to follow, so far as possible, the order of the "Catalogue of Exhibits" issued to visitors. It was only at the last moment that it was decided to publish some sort of classified list, and in the too great hurry of preparation, the compiler has been erratic, and—at times—intensely funny.

## Minerals.

The mineral wealth of New Zealand has become almost proverbial; but only within the past few years have we been able to form even an approximate idea of our buried treasures. As new industries spring up, and as the country becomes more densely peopled, our minerals will be brought more and more into use. So far, we are best acquainted with the various clays used in brick and pottery; and our best known examples of clay products are those shown from time to time by Messrs Austin and Kirk—now a company. Of their exhibits on the present occasion it would not be easy to speak too highly; and it can be stated that the articles are simply selections from the stock on hand—not "special" productions. It is a pity that there should have been any necessity for dividing the collection into three portions. There is a stand in the centre of the south end of the large hall, another on the centre table, and yet another in the machinery room. In the first mentioned portion there are, amongst the brown-glazed goods, a number of well-made teapots. These, Messrs Austin and Kirk hope for the future to be able to supply to the trade, and so to shut out one more line of imported ware. There are also tobacco jars of rustic design, spittoons, basket-pattern jugs, plain and ornamental dishes, &c. In lighter coloured ware there are filters for household use, tazza and other vases—some of which would be capital things

to grow musk and trailing plants; in white clay there are some beautiful forms of open-work vases, and, for the first time, a mortar and pestle was shown. This article gives out an almost metallic ring, and is evidently sufficiently hard to be serviceable for almost all purposes. The stand in the machinery shed includes the series of drain pipes as produced by hydraulic power; and the samples seem to be good enough for any possible purpose, the material being dense, and the glazing continuous over the interior surface as well as on the outside. The same stand includes some fine examples of garden vases, and jars of all sizes. There are also some of the recently introduced glazed silt traps, ready for connection with piping of from four to six inches, and these things must certainly come into general demand at no distant date. The glazed goods also include tiles for edgings, and for flooring, some of the flooring tiles being glazed with black, dense blue, buff, or white. These form a recent addition to the productions, and they simply require to be known about, to be brought into use. Another new item for the firm to show, was a sample of the coal existing on the recently acquired land in the Malvern district. The seam was worked some years ago, but was subsequently abandoned. It will now be brought into use again, and will be a most material aid in developing the industry. Mention must not be omitted of the third portion of Messrs Austin and Kirk's exhibit, shown on the central table in the large hall. The articles, which are made of the finest fireclay, and are finished in the biscuit or un-glazed state, are exquisitely modelled. They were made some time ago by the mode her who is now working at a table in the machinery room, where the visitors press round him in crowds, eager to watch the wonderful amount of manipulative skill which he displays. The various cases include large groups of flowers, marvellously true to nature, elegantly-shaped vases containing bouquets, portrait frames wreathed with flowers and foliage, and even such tiny articles as scarf rings, crosses for neck ribbons, brooches &c. An interesting story attaches to a brooch similar to those exhibited. It was sent as a present to a lady in Wellington, and happened to be placed in the window of a jeweller there. Lady Robinson saw it, and expressed such a desire to possess it, that it was shortly afterwards presented to her.

But if Messrs Austin and Kirk are as yet pre-eminent for their pottery, formidable rivals are springing up, and for some things the new comers have at once secured prestige. For example, the various forms of bricks shown by Messrs Ford and Ogdon are practically unrivalled. The ordinary bricks are almost mathematically true as compared with one another, and the fire bricks present angles as sharp almost as could be secured in metal. This firm shows some fine mouldings, which will be valuable for string courses for relieving brick buildings; and they also show some of the raw materials found on the land worked by them at Malvern, such as marble, manganese (an "iren-like" metal), ironstone, clay, gannister (one of the fireclays abounding in siliceous matter), and glass sand. This sand, by the way, should be compared with the sample shown in another part of the building by Mr Stansell, and to which the judges at the Sydney Exhibition awarded a first prize. It will be found that the two samples appear to be from the same deposit, and that evidently Messrs Ford and Ogdon have at their disposal a mineral which sooner or later will have to be largely drawn upon. Messrs Neighbours, one of the order firms, show a large stand of pottery ware. They have, from time to time, carried off honours for their products at various local gatherings, and they show one of their medals. A protest must be entered against the two well-shaped garden vases, which have been painted over, and in gaudy fashion. This is a mistake. The natural appearance of well-made brown or fireclay erare cannot be improved by such means. It may be that some section of the public demands vases so spoiled; if so, the fact is much to be regretted. Mr W. Plant, of the Thames, shows on one of the centre tables a small collection of glazed ware, including teapots and jugs, all sufficiently well modelled to have a fair chance of being readily sold.

The Canterbury Marble Company is represented by a series of polished specimens such as would be built up into pillars. Through all the vicissitudes of the Company, the marble from their reefs has never failed to win admiration either here or in England, though as yet it has—through a variety of causes—been but little used for any practical purpose. Now and again, one has an opportunity of seeing how well it may be worked up, and there is a fortunate instance furnished by the adjoining exhibit of Mr W. Stocks, who shows some marble mantelpieces. These are, for the most part, of the well-known Sicilian marble, which has been imported in slabs, and worked up by the exhibitor. But one of the mantelpieces is relieved by panels of richly-coloured marble from the Canterbury quarry, and the contrast obtained is decidedly beautiful. Mantel or chimney pieces in the white stone now so much used in our better class of buildings, are shown by Mr C. Parsons. They have been worked with great neatness, and Mr Parsons has shown a desire to meet the wants of all classes of the community, by the prices he has affixed. These are respectively, 25s, £2 10s and £5. Terra cotta, the Italianised version of fire-clay ware, has a representation, and a highly effective one, in the display made by Messrs Condliffe Bros., of White Cliffs. They show moulded blocks which may be combined to form relief lines in imitation of stone carving, with the advantage that the intensely hard clay product is not liable to have its sharp outlines weathered away, nor to become begrimed so speedily as the much softer stone. There are also decorative medallions in the same almost imperishable material, vases of various kinds, and a prettily designed table, which is suggestive of a quiet nook in a well-kept garden. Mr William Wilson shows a block of the

widely used white rock building stone, and specimen blocks of the bituminous and anthracite coals found at Whitecliffs. The anthracite or stone coal, it may be remarked, almost always presents a peculiarly hard and shiny appearance, and in use it gives out a large amount of heat with scarcely any flame or smoke. For household purposes, if it can only be delivered in the centres of population at sufficiently low rates, it ought to be valuable for mixing with other coals. The bituminous coal, such as that shown by Mr Wilson, would, of course, burn much more freely.

There recently appeared in the columns of the *Lyttelton Times* a most important report from Dr Hector upon the chalk deposit which occurs on the land of Messrs Ingram and White, at Oxford. The report in question included an analysis of this chalk, and indicated the various purposes—such as the manufacture of cement—to which it might be readily applied. Messrs Ingram and White show a block of the chalk, and also a sample of whiting made therefrom. It is much to be hoped that when another Industrial Exhibition is held in this city, there will be evidence of large practical results. Messrs Ingram and White are themselves quietly preparing for the manufacture of cement, and under date July 5 they have received from Dr Hector analyses of various samples of clays which they sent to Wellington, with the view of ascertaining which was "best adapted for the manufacture of Portland cement in combination with the chalk found at Oxford." In the remarks accompanying the analytical tables, Dr Hector says:—"The result of this comparison is to show that No. 6 is the clay that is most suitable for mixing with the Oxford chalk, as it requires an aluminous rather than a siliceous clay, owing to its containing a high per centage of silica in the eighteen per centage of impurity which it contains." If Kaiapoi is famous for nothing else, it is becoming most favourably known for its curious and abundant strata of sand, gravel, and grit, 30 kinds of which are shown by Mr E. Smethurst, who has established a Christchurch agency with Messrs F. B. Lloyd and Co., No. 4 siding, South belt. The finest of the sands shown is said to contain as high as 98 per cent of the constituents required in glass-making; and it is at present being used as a flux in the pottery works of the Messrs Neighbours, and the Messrs Austin and Kirk. The supply is considered to be practically inexhaustible. The peculiarly sharp feel of some of the specimens of sand led to inquiry, and it was soon ascertained that in the tedious and extremely difficult piece of concrete work at the Drainage Pumping Station, this sand is being used by the contractor at the request of Mr Napier Bell, the Engineer. The sand was also used in forming that portion of the Madras street storm-water sewer which runs under the railway premises, and in the construction of the important works recently carried out by the Christchurch Gas Company. One of the grades of gravel was referred to recently in these columns, as having been spread upon some of the Hagley Park footpaths, the noticeable feature being the extraordinary evenness of this stony "grain," as it has been termed. When the various layers are broken down together they form, according to weighty evidence, a splendid material for concrete building, and some thousands of yards have been used within the past few years at the Addington and Lyttelton gaols, at Sunnyside, and in the building of some parts of the Cathedral, and the new Resident Magistrate's Court. With regard to the exhibit under notice, it is highly commendable for the neatness with which the thirty samples have been arranged. Sand specially adapted for glass-making is shown by Mr Stansell, the two bottles being those which were shown at the recent exhibition in Sydney, and there awarded a first prize. It is well known that one of the best glass-making sands in the world is that obtained in the Isle of Wight. The sand now under notice, which is peculiarly white and fine, has been pronounced by competent judges to be quite equal to the Isle of Wight deposit. According to the analyses made by Mr Stan-sell, and confirmed by Professor Bickerton, it contains 98.8 per cent of silica, and 0.5 of alumina and lime, the remainder being water. So far, then, as one of the principal requisites is concerned, there is reason to hope that glass-making may eventually be one of our local industries. The small blocks of pottery clay from South Malvern, also shown by Mr Stansell, are valuable as indicating the high quality of some of our deposits. The specimens contain 95 per cent of silicate of alumina, about 4 of alumina, and 1 of lime. Mr J. M'Iraith, Glentunnel, shows specimens of moulded fire-bricks, the shapes being such as to admit of their being easily and neatly built together for furnaces, &c., without the need for hand-shaping. The quality of the bricks is extremely good.

## **Metal Manufactures.**

At a recent gathering in the Provincial Government Buildings, the President of the Philosophical Institute mentioned the fact that he was present when the first ploughshare was cast in the Canterbury foundry. Since that time the metal manufactures have progressed enormously; and at the Industrial Exhibition some of the visitors have steadfastly adhered to the opinion that some of the productions were "not really" made here. Despite their pardonable disbelief, the very exhibits which most tested the credulity of the public are genuine specimens of New Zealand manufacture. We are not as yet using our iron ores or sands to any appreciable extent, although, as will be shown later on, we are working most successfully, and somewhat largely, with ores of the precious metals. Of our iron work generally, it may with the utmost confidence be claimed that it

compares favourably with English products, and that there are instances in which the wonderful finish of American appliances is being rivalled.

In the various castings shown by Mr R. Buchanan, there is not only solidity and good workmanship apparent, but there is also a most commendable attention evinced in the choice of suitable designs. As a specimen of most artistic conception, mention may be made of the pair of circular castings intended to serve as ventilator panels. The pattern consists almost entirely of conventionally treated foliage; and one of the pair has been decorated by bronzing in various shades, the metallic green imparting a rich effect. The palisades, rails, &c, are equally good of their kind. Messrs Reid and Gray have done good service by exhibiting a series of castings just in the condition in which they were lifted from the sand moulds. The cog-wheels, for example, though as yet unconnected, and of course free from any dressing, are so clean and sharp as to be almost fit for immediate use. The exhibit is valuable from an educational point of view, as indicating some of the detail work of the foundry; and it is valuable also as an illustration of the skilled workmanship which the Colony possesses. It has been claimed that there are items which rival in finish the world-renowned products of American factories. In support of this one has only to refer to the double and single furrow ploughs shown by Messrs P. and D. Duncan. The reputation of this firm is not of yesterday; but they have on the present occasion fairly exceeded themselves, and their implements have been one of the most admired exhibits in the building. It need scarcely be said that the makers have been particularly careful (not to sacrifice the working value of their ploughs in securing this perfection of finish. A careful examination shows that easy draught for the horses and easy control for the ploughman have been successfully studied. The leading exhibitors of ranges are the Messrs Scott Bros., Manchester street. The ranges have been fitted up as if placed ready for use, and this *in situ* idea is an admirable way of enabling the public to form a fair estimate of the general appearance of each range, and of its practical value. The attractiveness of the group of six ranges was due partly to the size of the largest one, intended for use in hotels, clubs, &c., partly to the taste shown in the general details, and partly to the household convenience promised by certain minor arrangements. The larger undertakings of the firm were represented by a series of drawings, showing amongst other things the improved turbine recently constructed. Out-side the building, Messrs Scott Bros, had erected one of their now well-known windmill pumps, and near it they showed one of their prize grass seed strippers. This machine, by the way, deserves more than passing mention, if only for the reason that it has recently been brought into general use on the Peninsula and elsewhere. One of its commendable features is that the comb which catches the heads of the rye grass is composed of a series of small castings, precisely alike, and that in case of accident a given section of the comb can be easily replaced. Breakage, however, is not likely to be of common occurrence, for the tines are made very much in the sectional shape of a bayonet blade, and have thus all the strength of a T shaped girder. Another special feature is the clever contrivance for throwing the beaters—which cut or knock away the heads of the grass—out of gear instantaneously. The precaution is rendered the more necessary from the fact that the strong blast which carries the seed back into the body of the machine is due to the speed at which the beaters are rotated by multiplying gear from one of the driving wheels. Mr T. Crompton, of Armagh street, is another large exhibitor, his specialities being somewhat varied. The boilers fitted into Mr Crompton's ranges are made of boiler plate, and as they are cut and moulded into shape by specially contrived hydraulic machinery, they are as economical in their first cost as the ordinary castings. The advantage of such boilers is obvious. The housewife runs no risk of hearing the ominous bang which tells her that the boiler is cracked and useless. The "Colonial oven" may be said to be Mr Crompton's exclusive production. He manufactures them in almost incredible numbers, and they are now in use in every part of New Zealand. One other important branch of the Armagh street factory is the manufacture of zinc spouting, ridging, &c., and any visitor to the works is certain to be deeply interested by the labour-saving appliances which he will see in use. All the cutting, bending and blocking can be managed by lads, and in this way such goods can be produced here, to the exclusion of importations of similar fittings. The portable washing boilers shown by Mr Crompton are strong and well finished; the boilers being produced in copper, galvanised iron, or enamel. Mr J. Piper, of the Canterbury Sheet Iron Works, makes a highly creditable show. One of his items is a 60-gallon cheese tub, with curd-cutter combined, and there are some well made grain-samplers, brasstubed and tipped with steel. Mr Piper's best items, however, are those in japanned tinware, and he may be highly complimented upon the quiet taste of the set which is finished in shades of French grey. A sample can, painted in sections, serves to show the various combinations of pretty neutral colours which are used in the enamelling process. The floral decorations on some of the articles are not painted by hand. That would be too costly a mode for ordinary purchasers. Instead of this, a transfer process is resorted to, and the film of gelatine, printed in durable oil colours, is subsequently protected either by the varnishing or enamelling of the entire article. Candle moulds, stable lanterns, and other articles in tin, are also shown by Mr Piper. A range, a register grate, a washing furnace, a wringing and mangling machine, and some castings, form the exhibit of Mr T. Atkinson, who appears to be studying the problem how to produce useful appliances at the lowest possible cost. It may be remarked that the mode of

hanging the door of the cooking range so as to convert it into a shelf when desired is a good one; and that generally speaking, the workmanship is neat. In one instance the coating of black varnish has been put on much too thickly, and has in consequence spoiled the appearance of the exhibit. Mr J. Hern is another exhibitor of ranges, &c., his most interesting item being a portable washing boiler, fitted with a double jacket, and pierced with circular holes round the inner circumference, at the top of the boiler. The apparatus was shown in action. So soon as the water reaches the boiling point, the circular holes are discharging scalding streams of soapy water on to the clothes, and it is claimed—probably with the utmost truth—that by this means the need for hand rubbing is almost entirely obviated. Messrs Deane Bros., of Cashel street, gained great attention for their stand, on account of the fact that they exhibited specimens of "japanning" or enamelling, prepared in their own workshop. They claim to be the introducers of this process in Christchurch, and a hip bath shown by them is extremely well finished, its inner surface being very white, smooth and hard. Perhaps it may not be generally known that there is a vast difference between such a surface and a carefully painted one, although the two may to an ordinary observer appear alike. After a coating of enamel has been applied, the article has to be placed in a furnace, and subjected to such a degree of heat as will fuse the silica of the enamelling preparation, and convert it into an imperishable glaze. Messrs Deane Bros, also show a Venetian ashpan, with polished metal laths or flat bars—a really well finished article. They also show a cinder sifter, on the rocking principle, fitted with a dust-tight cover for indoor use; and a large brass urn, fitted up for the immediate end continuous supply of hot water, coffee, and beer—a somewhat curious trio. It may be explained that the general body of the urn contains the hot water, and that beer, for instance, may be poured into a funnel at the top, whence it flows through a serpentine pipe to one of the taps, having been sufficiently heated *en route* by the body of boiling water.

The manufacture of articles in copper, brass and lead, is splendidly illustrated by Messrs A. and T. Burt, of Dunedin. Visitors looked at the splendid gasaliers suspended above their heads, and refused to believe in them as "Colonial" productions; they looked at the coils of lead and composite piping, and denied the existence of such a manufacture in the Colony, and they were more than ever sceptical when they examined some of the force pumps made of burnished copper and brass. "Years ago," said the President in his inaugural address, "The term 'Colonial' meant something rough and ready, but it is not so now." There are members of the Committee of Management who have had the opportunity of inspecting the manufacturing premises of the Messrs Burt, and who can therefore vouch for the fact that in the very large and really magnificent collection of articles, there is not one which is not a genuine specimen of New Zealand production, from casting to finish. The designs of the gasaliers, it may be mentioned, are quite equal to London and Birmingham patterns, some of which are based upon modellings obtained from Vienna and Paris; and in point of finish Messrs Burt have left nothing to be desired. They show a large case filled with steam fittings, and another which is for the most part taken up by hydrants and water-service connections. There are also various styles of force and lifting pumps; and the corking and bottling machine included in the collection is as ingeniously contrived as it is well finished. The lead piping shown ranges in internal diameter from three-eighths of an inch to two inches, and the composite piping from a quarter of an inch to an inch and a quarter. There are also specimens of lead piping, one and a half to five inches diameter, intended for carrying away waste water, &c., from dwelling-houses. Bearing in mind the fact that Messrs Burt secure for themselves a first-class means of advertising by their present display, they are still deserving of the thanks of the community for having been the means of exemplifying, in so complete a manner, the standard of excellence which has been reached in this Colony.

Works in gold and silver, &c., will be more conveniently referred to under another heading.

## **Printing, Bookbinding, &c.**

Great importance attaches to the exhibits made by the proprietors of the *Lyttelton Times*, for the reason that they represent—as fully as possible—the advancement of the higher branches of printing. Now-a-days, typography, or ordinary letter press printing, is largely encroached upon by lithography, or printing from matter which has either been drawn upon or transferred to slabs of stone affording a suitable surface. For the present, stone for lithographic purposes has to be imported. There are, however, deposits of suitable material on the West Coast, and some years ago a few fragments were faced up and experimented upon at the office of this journal, with good results. Since then, little or nothing has been heard of this item of mineral wealth. By the aid of lithography, colour printing is carried on, and in one of the frames exhibited may be seen nicely coloured, clean-worked views of the Chicory farm and works of the Messrs Trent, Bros. There are also numerous illustrations of the application of the process in producing such things as ball-room programmes, certificates of merit, &c., in gold and colours. But the chief feature of interest is the frame of specimens of photolithography. In this highly scientific process, any drawing which consists of clear lines or dots, may be photographed, a carbon base being used. Then, working on the transfer principle, the photo-film is made to act on the surface of

the lithographic stone, as a greatly reduced copy of the perhaps coarse drawing or woodcut. This done, any number of impressions are obtainable. A good example is furnished by the reproduction of a spirited drawing by Mr T. S. Cousins, which illustrates a natural history paper in the present issue or the *New Zealand Country Journal*. For the multiplication of maps and plans, the process serves admirably. Ordinary letter-press printing was well illustrated by the *Press Company*, whose specimens had been carefully prepared; and in nearly every instance the "display" of the type had been well managed. Bookbinding was represented by Messrs J. T. Smith and Co. and by Messrs Tombs and Davis. The specimens shown by Messrs Smith are all good, and some of them possess a very high degree of merit. The examples of hand-tooling on some of the covers, and on one or two edges, would compare well even with the work of noted Home firms; and it may be remarked that in the choice of their morocco, Russia, and other binding materials, Messrs Smith have secured a high quality. They have undoubtedly proved that the choicest books may be entrusted to their care. The firm also showed various specimens of the application of lithography to the production of show cards, &c. The best specimens of binding shown by Messrs Tombs and Davis were those in rough calf—the material used for covering ledgers and other mercantile books. They also displayed some neat work in Russia leather, and some creditable "half-binding." Messrs Wolfe, Ford, and Co. made engraving their speciality, and they show numerous and very varied specimens of brass and copper work, some of the brass cutting being beautifully sharp. Monograms, billheads, and many other things are included in the collection.

## Woods and Wood-Ware.

At one of the preliminary meetings of the Committee of Management of the Industrial I Exhibition, a member suggested that it would be unfortunate if no exhibits of native wood were sent in. Thereupon Mr R. W. England undertook, notwithstanding the short time available, to secure some sort of representation. He telegraphed or wrote to various places, and although he did not receive in time for the Exhibition all the results he hoped for, he has been enabled to show no fewer than 70 polished specimens of New Zealand woods. Looking at this magnificent collection, one could appreciate the force of what had been said by the President, to the effect that we have been importing often inferior timber and burning our own; that in a sense we have grasped at the shadow and lost the substance. Any one who may take the trouble to look up this subject as referred to in Parliamentary and other papers, will speedily find that others have spoken out far more strongly. "I am astonished," says the Conservator of state Forests, "at the reckless and improvident manner in which the timber lands of Canterbury have been managed." Of the timbers which have been classed as "of great durability, adapted for general building purposes or constructive works, &c.," Mr England's specimens include the following:—Kauri, totara, black pine, yellow silver pine; tawai, or round-leaved beech; puriri, or New Zealand teak; rata, ironwood; rawiri, or tea-tree; kowhai, black maire, maire tawhake, &c. Of the next class, "timbers adapted for general building or special purposes, but not possessing great durability," the following are shown:—Red and white pine, miro, entire-leaved beech, towai, pukatea, hinau, pokako, titoki; rewa-rewa, or honeysuckle; whitewood, &c. In another class, "timbers chiefly of small dimensions, but adapted for various purposes," there are the following:—Pepper tree, ribbonwood or houi, akeake, small tea-tree, fuchsia, lancewood, broadleaf, neinei, maire, ngaio, &c. In the case of such woods as totara, honeysuckle, varieties of grain are represented, and the extreme beauty of some of the markings was much commented upon. Above the neat framework containing these specimens, Mr England had a large pentagonal pillar, formed of five polished panels of kauri, as received from various mills. Many visitors, in conversing with members of the Committee, expressed their regret that some of these exquisite woods which they had not before seen, were not generally applied to the manufacture of articles of utility, or for ornamental purposes.

Next to this collection of native woods, it is fitting that mention should be made of a house door exhibited by Mr P. Reese, builder. This door, which is constructed of the native rimu or red pine timber, is worked out after a Gothic design, the panels being let solid into the framing; and in the opinion of decidedly competent judges it is one of the best specimens of workmanship in the exhibition. It is a pleasure to be enabled to add that such a specimen is the work of a Colonial youth, who learned his trade in Mr Reese's establishment. The adjoining cheffonier and book-case, of blackwood timber, and entirely worked out of the solid wood, was also made by a Colonial youth taught in the same establishment.

No one will be likely to regret the fact, that a large amount of space was occupied by Mr Jenkins. Mr England had shown what our native woods were like, and Mr Jenkins had very completely illustrated how complete are the appliances now used by our workers in wood, and how well they are thereby enabled to supply fully the requirements of the country at the lowest possible prices, and to help our wheelwrights to compete with the Sydney and other makers. In point of fact, the trophy under notice, must be regarded as not merely representing the extensive works of Mr Jenkins, but as generally illustrating one of our great local industries. "Highly commended" is the unanimous verdict of the visitors as they look at the beautiful design which has

been built up of spokes and other unpromising items; and the verdict is as unanimously repeated when the workmanship of the articles is more closely looked into. The beautifully finished spokes have been produced by a wonderful machine termed a copying lathe. Given, a spoke which is to be reproduced, it is put into the upper portion of the machine, immediately underneath it is a length of rough wood. The rapidly revolving cutting apparatus travels slowly to and fro, its pressure against the rough wood being guided by lever connection with a finger-like feeler, which is passing to and fro along the spoke to be copied. The machine works so truly that all the after finish necessary is the application of sandpaper, and even this part of the work is done by suitable machinery. There are also brackets which have been entirely produced by mechanical agency, and the neat, fluted patterns cannot fail to win favour, for they are really tasteful, and bear a certain resemblance to the Early English style of design now so much used for furniture, &c. There are French bedposts and octagonal table legs, also mechanically formed and fluted; and even the big sweep of the circular moulding which crowns the trophy, and the wavy moulding which forms one of the relief lines are entirely machine made. In the carved brackets, handwork is of course represented, though even here the labour has been materially lessened by using machinery for the first shaping from the solid. Dressed spokes are also shown by Messrs W. Langdown and Co., who have long used one of the copying lathes, and a fine series of machine-made mouldings is neatly displayed by Messrs W. Montgomery and Co. The designs for wood-carving, displayed by Mr C. J. Hill, are good from a constructive point of view, and they are also thoroughly good in execution, the light and shade being admirably managed. Close by them, Mr Hill shows the carvings which he has produced therefrom. His work is very clean and regular, but it would have appeared to greater advantage as a specimen of his skill had he abstained from applying a coat of paint. A considerable number of the wood ware products of Messrs Guthrie and Larnach, of Dunedin, are exhibited by Messrs T. O. Kelsey and Co., the Christchurch agents. The buckets, &c., of which there are many patterns, are produced entirely by special machinery, and with almost inconceivable rapidity; and in the production of all the other wood ware in the collection the best possible appliances are used, so as to issue the goods for sale at such prices as to ensure a steady trade throughout the Colony. In the machinery room, where a carving bench had been set up, Mr H. Smith practically illustrated his skill by carving ornamental brackets, some of them of most tasteful design; and he left no doubt on the minds of the visitors either as to the rapidity of his execution or as to the effectiveness of his work.

## **Leather and Leather Goods.**

It has been carefully computed that at the present time there are in this city from 1300 to 1400 souls who are dependent for their daily bread upon the boot and shoe trade. The fact shows in a marked manner the extent and importance of the industry; and it also shows how successfully this Colony can produce for itself when enterprise and energy are brought into play. It is an admitted fact that the exhibits of boots and shoes now in the Drill-shed include not only such "lines" as are in every day demand, but also such examples of handwork as could not be excelled in the best West-End establishments of London.

Locally made leathers are shown by Mr A. M'Kinnon. There is the "kip," which, being interpreted, is cow-hide tanned and prepared specially for boot uppers. There is harness leather, which is also of cow-hide, but made harder and stiffer by a different process of tanning, and there is ox-hide sole leather. The last mentioned presents the best quality in Mr M'Kinnon's exhibits. Speaking generally, he is excelled by Messrs Taylor and Co., of Wellington, the only other exhibitors.

Messrs Lightband, Allan and Co. may be regarded as representative exhibitors of the wholesale manufacture of boots and shoes. In a large and very neat case, the kauri framework of which was made by Mr Jewell, they show over 70 kinds of their productions. Most of these boots and shoes have had the soles put on by the Blake sole-sewing machine, which is working in the machinery-room. That machine, which is absolutely marvellous in its perfection, was fully described in these columns some time ago; and it may now be said that despite the prejudice which exists in favour of hand-sewn boots, its work is at least equal to any that can be done by human agency. The fact is demonstrated by a number of the boots and shoes in the show case. They were made nearly a year ago; they have been "on view" at the Sydney Exhibition, and though they have not been redressed in any way since they were made, not a crack can be found in any of them, nor any departure from the appearance of freshness. It is noticeable, too, that nearly all the 70 sorts are very plain, and on enquiry it was ascertained that they had been simply taken from the stock which fairly represented the men in daily demand; in other words, just those varieties which sold most readily. The whole of the sole leather used in their production is of New Zealand manufacture, and so is all the upper leather used for the stronger kinds. For the lighter boot uppers French calf and kid are used, and sealskin or "Levant" is employed. This last mentioned leather is comparable in appearance to a strongly-grained Morocco. Very tasteful little things are the ladies' "brogues," and these really pretty shoes may be commended to the notice of our fair readers, because, while they are prettily shaped, they are sufficiently broad to escape the designation of instruments of torture. Dr

Richardson and other eminent authorities have written strongly upon the worse than; absurd fashion of using high-heeled and narrow-soled boots, which cripple the feet of the wearer, and often work disastrous evils by the induced strain upon the muscles of the legs and body. Let visitors carefully examine those boots which have soles projecting beyond the uppers and say whether they do not more nearly conform to the natural shape of the foot than the "fashionable" shapes so extensively used and misused. Messrs Toomer Brothers also represent the wholesale manufacture, though in a modified degree. They show many of the lines which have been referred to, their other goods being more of an exhibition nature, and having the pegged work elaborated into neat patterns. Their collection as a whole may in all fairness be described as a grand lot of well-finished goods; and in their case also it is noticeable that the wider soles predominate. Mr Harris, Cashel street, has a very neat show case, in which there are some 18 pairs of ladies' and gentlemen's boots and shoes; and some of the more ornamental kinds are of really elaborate design and finish. A pair of Scotch grain shooting boots is worth looking at; and such an exhibit will no doubt attract very general attention. Mr George Hyde shows the exhibition case which he had at Sydney; and Mr E. George shows some useful well made lines, such as are no doubt fairly representative of his everyday work. The stitching is all hand work. The highest class of hand-made work in the Exhibition is that shown by Mr W. Nicholls, who was formerly connected with one of the first West End establishments of London, and now presents his patrons—if they desire it—with shapes in the latest fashion. As has been intimated, Mr Nicholls has shown himself to be an artist in boots; and this qualification extends itself to all the varieties he makes. Some of them are roomy and comfortable, and they afford an extraordinary contrast to "the latest thing" in pointed toes. This notice would be incomplete without special mention of the pair of gentlemen's boots, which are of hand-work throughout, The uppers are of black satin, and are most beautifully stitched.

## **Furniture, &c.**

The chief representatives of the manufacture of furniture are Mr A. J. White and Messrs W. S. King and Co. In each instance a beautiful and most tasteful display is made, Mr A. J. White confining himself more especially to drawing-room articles, and the Messrs King including a dining-room suite. Nearly all the articles shown are in the early English style, upholstered in satins or in morocco leather. Mr White includes some nice looking articles of what may be termed ebonised wood, the black ground being tastefully relieved with lines of bright gold. In the manufacture under notice a largo number of hands are now employed in Christchurch, nearly all the furniture used being locally produced. For the framework of all the best productions Victorian black wood is used partly on account of the richness of its appearance, but especially because of its strength, which admits of its use in the required curved forms. If it showed any brittle tendency, it would, of course, be altogether unsuitable for such a purpose. The blackwood, however, is, in every respect, a desirable material for this manufacture, surpassing even walnut in beauty, and working extremely well. For the more common descriptions of furniture made in this city, the woods very generally used are the Native kauri, and the Queensland or Sydney cedar. In producing the woodwork very complete machinery is now being used. The timber is split up by steam power, and planing machines, lathes, shapers, &c, are subsequently employed upon it. In the finishing processes of the better class of goods, however, there is a great deal of handwork, more especially in connection with the carving. Visitors to the Great Exhibition of 1851, were enabled to watch the beautiful effects so rapidly obtainable by the use of a carving machine on the drill principle, the revolving tool biting into the wood much or little at the will of the operator, and enabling him to produce complex details that would be unobtainable by hand-work, save at too great a cost for ordinary requirements. Leathers for upholstery are now being made here, but their quality is not as yet at all comparable with the imported supplies. The principal varieties required are roan and morocco, the former being prepared from the skin of the sheep, and the latter from that of the goat. The stuffing materials used, include imported horse-hair, native flax, and Colonial flock. In Wellington and Dunedin flock is manufactured from rags; but none is made in Christchurch. This is an industry which might well be made a local one, large quantities of the material being used. The required webbing, again, could be made a local production, and practical men have expressed the opinion that it could be made from our own flax, of abetter quality and at a lower price than the imported material. Amongst the minor industries connected with the production of furniture, and which might be undertaken here with every prospect of success, may be mentioned the binding or braiding, the leather covered nails, and the castors. For the wheels of these castors our gansister or flinty clay would serve extremely well, and the brass castings could of course be made in any of the foundries. The springs required in the manufacture of seats are imported duty free, and their local production is not at all likely to be undertaken. A further possible local industry under this section is the manufacture of carpets.

The two exhibits of furniture which have been mentioned, will, by their general excellence, and by the great taste which they display, command the admiration of visitors. The latest style in drawing-room suites, it will be

noticed, is to have the various articles made of diminished proportions, as if—in the progress of the "development of species," we were gradually becoming a race of Lilliputians. The Exhibition includes various other examples of articles of furniture, some of them remarkable for the extreme beauty of the totara knot, honeysuckle and other native woods used; and also for the thorough excellence of the workmanship. Amongst these items are the chest of drawers, shown by Mr J. Hickman, Lichfield street; and the cheffonier with curved panels entered by another exhibitor. An entry of special interest was the table top made by Mr Kent, Cathedral square. Its inlaying includes 50 different New Zealand woods, and no fewer than 40 of these are from Canterbury grown timber. Some of the desired varieties having been obtained only just before the Exhibition, the article had to be hurriedly finished; but no non-professional critic will be at all likely to detect even a trace of defective workmanship. Mr Kent has done good service by showing a number of smaller articles in the native woods, such as candlesticks, egg cups, trays, &c.; and another exhibitor, Mr W. Graham, of Lyttelton, is working in the same direction. Mr Graham has made a good beginning in another but connected industry, the production of articles in bone, such as paper-knives, netting-needles, &c., all of them neat, well finished, and really useful domestic requisites. One of the finest examples of cabinet work in the Exhibition is the hexagonal show-case made by Messrs W. S. King and Co., and utilised for showing the grain sent in by Messrs George King and Co. The panels forming the sides of the hexagon are most tastefully inlaid with the most effective New Zealand woods, and the finish of the elegant design is a vase, the vertical stripes of which are due to the varying tints of the red and white pine, kauri and rimu, which have been used in its construction. This show-case, which is to be forwarded to Melbourne, was built by Mr T. G. Moule, Avonville.

## Wool, Fibre, &c.

Of the general quality of the New Zealand wools, nothing need be said here. A fine lock of long wool was shown, and Mr T. York had two bales of scoured wool, extremely well got up, representing the product as ready for shipment, and not in any way specially treated for exhibition. Woollen goods were—almost as a matter of course—most largely displayed by the Kaiapoi Company. It was peculiarly gratifying to be enabled to note that within the past year the Company has not only greatly enlarged its operations and its list of productions, but has succeeded in obtaining as high a degree of finish as could well be desired. The Exhibition display demonstrated in an unmistakable manner the great variety of the products. The excellence of the goods was decisively and emphatically pronounced upon, for scarcely had the Exhibition been well opened, when it was known that Messrs Ballantyne and Co, of Cashel street, had purchased the entire collection. Some of the Company's tweeds were shown as made up into suits of clothing, and they most deservedly won general admiration. In the machinery room, the Company had one of their more recently imported Jacquard looms at work. This particular machine, manufactured by Messrs Schofield and Kirk, of Huddersfield, works five shuttles and 24 shafts, and is, therefore, capable of producing complex patterns. It simply represents numerous other looms, of a similar nature, which have been in use by the Company for some time past. The woollen manufacture is now firmly established here, and, so far as the production of goods of first-class quality is concerned, it is certain to increase year by year, and to take in other details. Our manufacturers do not attempt to compete with "shoddy." Let us hope that public demand will never be of such a nature as to induce them to do so. The New Zealand Clothing Company (Messrs Hallenstein Bros.) were also large exhibitors, their goods including an excellent variety of the Mosgiel tweeds, Other minor displays were made.

Hope, cordage and twine, fax and tow, were included in the stands of Messrs Hale and Forbes, Mr R. Marshall (Oust), Mr J. Seed (Rangiora), Messrs Hayman Bros., and Mr R. Gould. Of the general excellence of these products there could be no doubt. At the present time, however, most interest attaches to the examples of locally grown European flax, and to the rope or twine made therefrom. Mr Murphy's able paper on the subject is yet fresh in the minds of the public, and as it has fortunately been reprinted in pamphlet form by the Local Industries Association, its valuable information, both as to culture and manufacture, has been made a still more permanent record. It was intimated in these columns some time since, that there was the possibility of a company in connection with the growth and manufacture of the European flax being formed at no distant date. It may now be stated that detailed estimates are being obtained from England for the required machinery, and that not a few of our capitalists are sanguine as to the success of the enterprise if undertaken. It has been pointed out that of twine for reaping and binding machines an enormous quantity must be used here, and for such twine the fibre of the European flax is much better adapted than the coarser, and more brittle kind we are familiar with; and in a small way, but nevertheless in a really practical manner, one of our farmers has shown how well the European flax can be grown and worked here.

Closely connected with the manufactures from wool and flax, there are various minor industries. One of these, the production of felt, could be readily undertaken at Kaiapoi; and the quantity now required in this Colony in one branch of work alone—the manufacture of hats—is very great. It is, indeed, highly probable that

the Kaiapoi Woollen Company will, before long, include felt in their list of products; though, of course, some special machinery must first be obtained. In the production of the variety of felt required by hatters, the necessary materials are just those which this Colony produces in enormous quantities—wool and rabbit fur. Another "waste" product is flock, of which three bags were shown by Messrs Ellis and Nicholson, of Kaikorai, near Dunedin. These samples had been well prepared, and commanded much attention as a Colonial product. The whiter sample had apparently been prepared from waste flannel, &c., and was priced at 1s per pound. The grey variety was offered at 6d, and the darker kind—the waste from grey blanketing, &c., at 3 ½ d. The flax mills also yield large supplies of waste, and a sample thereof was shown by Mr Stansell, together with specimens of "half stuff" and papier-maché. By properly macerating the flax waste, so as to reduce it to a pulpy condition, and then subjecting a layer of it to hydraulic pressure, a millboard of coarse paper-like material is produced. Such millboard is used in strong and cheap binding, for the foundation of cardboard boxes of large size, and for various other purposes. If the pulp from the flax waste is somewhat differently treated, and has incorporated with it substances such as resin and glue, it may by powerful pressure and suitable moulds be squeezed into any desired forms, and it sets with extreme hardness. It is now "papier-maché," and is capable of receiving a high degree of subsequent decorative finish. Mr Stansell's papier-maché specimens were squeezed into the comparatively coarse moulds used by plasterers, and the details have therefore none of the sharpness obtainable by the use of the proper moulds of metal; he has obtained rather better results, with a pair of lion heads, by using wax moulds. In boiling and filtering the waste, a saponaceous matter is obtained which it is believed might very well be utilised. Mr Stansell showed a bottle of this substance.

A sample of the brown wrapping-paper, made at the Mataura mills, was shown. This paper, which is strong and tough, has been manufactured from the fibre of one of our native tussacs, *danthonia flavescens*, or broad-leaved oat tussac grass. On our upland sheep runs it grows in great abundance, up to an altitude of 3000ft, and it is considered to be capable of affording "an unlimited amount" of fibre material for the manufacture of paper. The manufacture of printing and other papers from linen rags, &c., has yet to be undertaken in New Zealand. The manufacture of paper or cardboard boxes has been begun in Christchurch by Mr A. Aulsebrook, who makes an excellent and very complete show, His specimens are well finished and tasteful, and they include such kinds as will meet almost all commercial requirements.

## General Manufactures.

Hats and hat making formed an exclusive but perfect display, the sole exhibitor being Mr C. P. Hulbert. Our artist in hats does not make "for the million," and cannot possibly do so, for all the commoner kinds can be imported at low rates, and at the end of each season they can be advantageously cleared off at below cost, so as to enable room for new stock and later styles. On the other hand, Mr Hulbert can fairly shut out all the better class of goods. These he makes in every desired shape, and sells them at the prices at which they would be obtainable in London. The manufacture has grown rapidly, and may now be regarded as a thoroughly established one in our centres of population. In making goods of the class under notice "foundations" have first to be prepared, the materials used being sheet cork, calico and shellac, moulded into form on suitable blocks. When the foundations are firmly set, the covering is proceeded with. For the "bell-toppers," the covering is silk plush, the short and thick fibre of which can be smoothed into a beautiful gloss. For other hats felt is used, and it has already been pointed out that this material could well—and probably will—be produced locally. Under existing circumstances, the wool and rabbit fur have to be sent to England for manufacture, much to the disadvantage of this Colony. According to Mr Hulbert's experience, a larger number of styles is required in Christchurch than in any other city in New Zealand. However, all requirements are being met, the local manufacture including both the military helmet and the academic "mortar-board;" and at the present time the factory work also includes the University gowns and hoods. In addition to the large and tastefully arranged collection of finished goods, Mr Hulbert illustrated all the stages of hat-making, and two of his workmen practically explained the processes of making foundations, and of adding the coverings of plush or felt.

Carriage building has been largely exemplified in the Industrial Exhibition, and it has been demonstrated that a brougham, built and finished in the most perfect manner, can be sold at a considerably lower price by a local manufacturer than would have to be paid for a similar carriage imported from England. The cost here of the same style of carriage imported from Australia would be greater still. The exhibitors of vehicles of various descriptions are Messrs A. G. Howland, W. Moor and Co., Glanville and Co., Boon and Stevens, Steel Bros., and Elmsley and Curlett. Drays are shown by Messrs Montgomery and Co. and E. Jones. There is no necessity to enter into any detailed description of these exhibits, which are all good of their several kinds; but there is one point in connection with the industry, to which attention may well be drawn. "It is a moot point," says one authority, "whether carriage building is to be regarded as one of the fine arts, or whether it is to be classed among the branches of industry which are included in the list of mechanical trades." He shows that in various

parts of Europe it is regarded as an art, by the fact that "in France, Belgium, and Germany the respective Governments have established technical schools, where youths intending to follow carriage building are instructed in drawing and modelling, in the harmonious arrangement of colours, in chemistry, in the proper working of metals, and in the principles and applications of mechanics and mathematics to manufactures." In this Colony, technical education above all things ought not to be neglected, and in connection with this matter, attention may be drawn to a want which has been very generally indicated by the various departments of our Industrial Exhibition. That want is a School of Art for this city; an institution at which evening classes can be held, and the young men and lads engaged in our factories and workshops, can, at a nominal cost, receive instruction in the various branches of drawing, and in the principles of design. It is true that the Board of Governors of the Canterbury College have determined to establish a School of Art, but it must be remembered that if such an institution is needed at all, it is needed now, and that in any one of our schoolrooms a beginning might be made, by forming elementary classes, and instructing and training the pupils upon some systematic plan.

Brush making has become a well developed industry in Auckland, the manufacturer being Mr T. J. Harbutt. The agents here, Messrs J. Clark and Sons, showed a capital collection, and a careful examination of the brushes proved that in both foundation and fibre they were of sterling quality. The wire sewing is used in fastening in the bunches of bristle or fibre, and the finish is good in every instance. Mr J. Miller, Harry street, showed a small collection of brushes made by him, and the exhibit may be regarded as the nucleus of another local industry for this part of New Zealand.

The two exhibitors of saddlery were Mr A. Dunbar, of Cashel street, and Messrs Great or ex and Son. The articles were splendidly got up in each instance, but the local maker fairly holds his own, and in the beauty of some of the decorative work employed, he appeared to the best advantage.

## Art Processes.

Instantaneous photography, of a reliable character, has long been a desideratum. Portrait painters and photographers know, only too well, what an infinity of expression will flit over the face of a sitter, and the difficulty they sometimes experience in securing just that look which makes the picture a successful and pleasing one. English scientists have recently reported a new discovery, by means of which they have fairly revolutionised photography, and have enabled the operator to catch even the most fleeting expression, and to produce absolutely instantaneous pictures. On reading of this new method, Mr Cherrill set to work, and thought out for himself the details of the process. He exhibits a series of resulting pictures, and wonderfully good they are. The photographer has photographed himself, and perpetuated for us that variety of facial distortion which is supposed to make people grow fat, but which evidently does not do so in all cases. But of this process generally it will be noticed that the great charm is the really natural look of the faces. The sitters have, as a matter of fact, been unconscious at the particular moment that they were "being photo-graphed," and therefore they "looked like themselves." A description of the new process would occupy too much space to be given now, but it may be explained that the preparation of gun cotton known as collodion is dispensed with, and that instead of it a film of gelatine is used. Further, of the iodide and bromide of potash formerly used as sensitising agents, the former is dropped out. The bromide alone, acting in conjunction with the specially prepared gelatine, is twenty times more sensitive to light than the collodion, and hence the wonderfully natural portraits. Mr Cherrill also exhibits some of the beautiful carbon photographs on porcelain, and various other kinds, together with some choice examples of the after work on photographs in chalk, water colour, or oil. Photographic portraits, some of them exquisitely finished, are shown by Mr Schourup, and examples of portraits in oil on photographic backgrounds are contributed by Mr Cambridge and Mr T. Satchell.

Electroplating and electrotyping are well illustrated by Mr S. Papprell. The former process is the deposition of silver upon other metallic surfaces by galvanic electricity, and in the latter process copper is the deposited metal. The exhibits include examples of gilding on iron, steel and brass, and they are made sufficiently comprehensive to demonstrate the wide range of application given by this species of electric action. Some of the copies of fern fronds, medals, and bas-reliefs are very good.

Optical instruments are shown by Mr T. R. Procter, who in addition to his display of lenses of every conceivable kind, exhibits some of the crude material employed, and gives practical illustrations of the grinding and polishing processes. In the show cases there are some fine specimens of rock and quartz crystal, and the extreme clearness of the lenses produced therefrom proves that Mr Procter is a true optician. It may perhaps, be well to state the fact, that every article shown by Mr Procter has been manufactured by him, with the exception of the artificial eyes.

The workers in the precious metals make imposing displays. The most valuable collection is that shown by Messrs Coates and Co, who stand unrivalled for the production of articles in gold and enamel. They show the

splendid gold service, made for presentation on a recent memorable occasion to the Most Reverend the Primate, but their richest items are those in gold and enamel. Nothing more beautiful in design and colouring, or more perfect in workmanship, could well be conceived, than the collection of Masonic jewels, made for presentation at various times and now lent to the firm for exhibition. The enamelling, which seems capable of embodying all the most beautiful colours, is in itself an art of the highest order, and it is gratifying to find that it has been so fully developed here. In other ways, Messrs Coates and Co. show us the most perfect workmanship, based upon designs that would be creditable to any firm in the world. Silver work is best illustrated by Messrs B. Petersen and Co., who appear to have made this metal their speciality, They show a small block of the quartz found in the Thames district, and a lump of the mixture of gold and silver obtained therefrom. There are other progress specimens, including a lump of pure silver, a sheet of the metal ready for modelling, and the parts of a vase as they appear before polishing or engraving. All the articles in the case have been made from Thames silver. They include the fine cup recently made for the Agricultural and Pastoral Association as the Merchants' Prize; this, and other cups or vases being exquisitely engraved in imitation of fronds of the more delicate ferns. Mr Sandstein is also an exhibitor of jewellery, his items being noticeable more especially for the diamond and crystal work, and for the ornaments in hair.

The engravings on glass by Mr A. Milne, exhibited by McClenahan and Co. (late Matheson Bros.), of Cashel street, have been commented upon in these columns in terms of the warmest commendation. Amongst these pictures on glass included in the Industrial Exhibition, there is an unusually large one, representing an episode of Waterloo, and entitled, "The Fight for the Standard." Evidently the stirring subject, so graphically worked out, has reference to that particular historic passage which describes how, when the enemy essayed to retrieve the fight, the Household Brigade met them, and after a desperate encounter—of the best horsemen in England and the best in France—the whole mass of the French, horse and foot, were driven back in confusion, leaving behind them the eagles of the 45th and 105th regiments. Mr Milne's treatment, in his reproduction of the picture, has been highly successful, and his work in this and other subjects has won universal praise, the only regret experienced being that pictures of this nature are of necessity far too costly to be generally purchased.

Various scientific instruments, and several forms of medico-galvanic batteries, were shown by Mr Noble, and a number of the delicate instruments employed in modern telegraphy had been sent in by Mr Meddings, the district Inspector of Telegraphs. In every case, the workmanship displayed in these instruments was of the highest character.

## **Petroleum.**

The exhibits included a bottle of crude petroleum, which had been specially sent by Mr W. Teat, of Gisborne. Great importance attaches to the item, for the reason that it indicates the almost certainty of our being supplied with New Zealand kerosene oil at no distant date. The petroleum field of New Zealand is estimated as extending over a distance of 60 miles north and south, and in one locality it occurs in surface pools of various sizes, from 10 to 20 yards in circumference and from two to four feet deep. These pools never overflow, nor do they diminish, save for the slight sinking perceptible during the summer. They present a most curious and interesting spectacle, for owing to the myriads of bubbles of constantly rising gas their surfaces are never at rest. There are nearly twenty of these oil pools, which are spread over an area of about 200 acres. Some time ago a company was formed for developing this source of profit, but the locally subscribed capital of £5000 was altogether insufficient for the undertaking. A new company—of Australian promotion—has now been formed, and it includes members of the former proprietary. Its origin occurred in this way:—Some of the local people sent a delegate to the Sydney Exhibition. The delegate showed his samples and sought out men who were acquainted with the work done in the oil regions of America. The result was that the Canadian agent at Sydney, and another gentleman of great practical experience, visited the New Zealand oil region, satisfied themselves as to the prospect of success, and speedily had a strong company formed. Preliminary boring by the aid of steam power will be commenced in the course of a few weeks; and it is proposed to connect the Port with the oil field by a line of pipes 28 miles long. It will be instructive to add a brief extract from an able letter by Mr G. H. Stubbs, which appeared in the Poverty Bay *Herald*:—"The kerosene imported into New Zealand in 1873 was 648,892 gallons, valued at £59,592, the duty on which was £16,222. In 1879 it would probably be a sixth more. The retail price of kerosene in America is 6½d per gallon; in New Zealand 2s 9d; the difference is made up of freights, duty, and other charges. Further comment is needless with crude petroleum at our doors."

## **Produce, &c.**

The produce of the Colony is well known and appreciated amongst ourselves, and has become an important

factor in the food supply of different countries. Messrs E. H. Banks, G. King and others enabled visitors to the Exhibition to judge of the excellence of New Zealand cereals and of some of the products therefrom. Sides and rolls of bacon, and hams of generally high quality were shown by Mr J. Gilmour, Mr T. H. Green and Messrs T. and W. R. May, the last mentioned exhibitor also making a tempting display of cheese and butter. A new item, starch made from potatoes, was introduced by Mr C. A. Ulrich. On this product a great deal has recently been written, in the belief that the manufacture of potato starch may be made one of the moans whereby our farmers may render their profits larger and more regular. Mr Ulrich's modest samples include the raw pulp, containing the starch, and presenting anything but an inviting appearance; the discoloured—because unpurified—starch as taken from the pulp; the purified farina in a marketable condition, and the refuse, which could be used for pig or cattle feeding. The local manufacture of biscuits, confectionery, baking powder, writing ink, and various dietetic preparations, was included in the crowded representation under the general heading of produce; and the allied, though much more extensive manufactures of soap and candles were admirably represented. The New Zealand Provision and Produce Company not only showed the varieties of soap manufactured at their Belfast works, but also the various ingredients used, and the modes of moulding, cutting and stamping. They claim that since the rebuilding of their works in May, 1879, they have "introduced such improvements that they are now able to turn out soap at a much less cost than was possible under the old system of manufacture;" that the importation of foreign soap has so been stopped, and large quantities are now exported. Messrs J. Kitchen and Sons may claim that the candles made by them are in every respect equal to those of the best English makers; they are entitled to warm commendation for the tasteful arrangement of their show case. Messrs T. Hancock and Beardsley were also exhibitors of soap and candles. The local brewers were well represented, and Messrs Schwartz and Co. showed sample bottles of the New Zealand wines for which they are the Christchurch agents. Mr Gee, confectioner, made a speciality of jellies, specimen bottles of which he is sending to the Melbourne Exhibition.

## Machinery and Models.

Beyond all question, the machinery room has been the most attractive feature of the Exhibition. Some of the exhibits in this department have already been referred to, but mention may again be made of the interesting process of modelling in clay, which has throughout each day delighted so many hundreds of visitors. The modeller is Mr Bedson, Colombo road south. He has now commenced this special manufacture on his own account, and will no doubt secure a good share of patronage. The most important item in the room, from a Colonial point of view, was the string binder attachment intended to use with any M'Cormick reaping machine. The inventor, who is only 23 years of age, is Mr Charles R. Cooper, of Carleton, near Oxford. He had worked out a model before last harvest, but experienced a partial failure, and had to let the matter rest for a time. Subsequently he perfected his invention, secured a patent, and arranged with Messrs P. and D. Duncan to manufacture the appliance for him. The attachment, which is to be supplied at £10, including the cost of fitting it to any given machine, is meeting with general approval, and a number have already been ordered. The mechanism is strong and simple, and the single-bow knot which it produces is pulled so tightly as to run no risk of becoming unfastened during the cartage of the sheaves. The exhibits of Messrs Andrews and Beaven included an ingeniously contrived model of a straw elevator, the automatic action imparted to the tines seeming likely to find favour with agriculturists. The smallest working model in the Exhibition was the miniature verticle engine, made by Mr H. J. Cunnington, whose constructive skill has been more than once referred to in these columns. The circular base of the engine requires no more standing room than is occupied by the Queen's head on a threepeeny piece. The total height is one inch; diameter of fly wheel half an inch; internal diameter of cylinder, 3-32nds of an inch, and length of stroke 9-32nds. The drills used in boring the tubes, &c., were small needles, filed into half-round form. Mr J. Donald, Harewood road, has a model of self-acting protective works, such as he conceives would be of great value in our erratic rivers. Models and pictures are shown of the vessels of the New Zealand Shipping Company, and pictures of the Union Steamship Company's fleet. There is also a model—now finished—of the Lyttelton Graving Dock, now in course of construction; and working models of railway and stationary engines are shown by Mr W. W. Charters.

The nail-makers' forge, presided over by Mr Hill, fittingly represented the new industry recently established in Sydenham. Since the descriptive report of that industry appeared in our columns, Mr Hill has received a number of gratifying testimonials, and has ensured for himself a certain, and in all probability a rapidly growing trade.

## Pictures.

The best portrait picture in the Exhibition is one exhibited by Mr Hulbert, "Maori Woman and Child," by

Herr Lindauer. This picture was noticed in these columns some time since, together with other works by the same artist. The best landscapes are those shown by Mr Gibb, whose subjects are Lyttelton Harbour, two views on the Avon, Heathcote Valley, and a scene in the Little River district. It will suffice to say that Mr Gibb fully sustains his reputation as a faithful delineator of New Zealand scenery. Mr Gibb also demonstrates on the present occasion that he is a highly successful teacher. The immense number of pictures included in the Exhibition renders any detailed notice of them in these columns an impossibility. Some of the young lady exhibitors displayed almost a precocity of talent, and the work they have done must be most gratifying to their teachers and friends.

## Conclusion.

In bringing to a close what must of necessity be an imperfect notice of the Industrial Exhibition, it is fitting that acknowledgement should be made of the self-denying labour of Mr Robert Allan, President of the Committee of Management. To him, and to the Honorary Secretary, Mr W. W. Charters, the success of the important undertaking is largely due. Happily these gentlemen have been aided by an intelligent, business-like and hard-working Committee. They will feel themselves abundantly repaid if, as was so well said by the Mayor of Christchurch at the opening ceremony, they have succeeded in bringing about, in the smallest degree, a greater knowledge of our resources, and in opening up a larger consumption of local manufactures.

## Close of the Exhibition.

No more pronounced success has ever been achieved in this Colony, that that accomplished by the Committee of Management of the Christchurch Industrial Exhibition. That success has not in the slightest degree waned during the six days for which the Drillshed has been open, but on the contrary both visitors and exhibitors have manifested the keenest interest. From day to day, new items have been added here and there, and these have included some picture frames of native woods, beautifully inlaid in various patterns, exhibited by Mr A. Carroll and Mr Graham, of Lyttelton; some slabs of polished totara, remarkable for their fine grain, from Mr T. J. Baigent, of Nelson; models of single and double-furrow ploughs, shown by Mr W. H. Hall, of Christchurch. Several practical farmers visiting the Exhibition spoke highly of the accuracy and finish of these models. A painting of the Royal Arms on glass has been exhibited by Mr J. Lane, of Christchurch. Some fine samples of rope, cord and twine, made from New Zealand flax, have been sent by Mr J. Seed, of Rangiora. Mrs Crowley has exhibited some samples of painting on velvet; the designs consisting of flowers, beautifully executed. The Messrs. Burt, of Dunedin, have sent an ingenious machine for corking bottles, cleverly adapted to suit any size of cork. Some specimens of anthracite coal from the Malvern Hills have been sent by Mr Wilson, and Mr Stansell has added to his most useful contributions a few pieces of imperfectly made glass. Therewith he showed the cause of his partial failure—a fractured crucible, which had not been capable of withstanding the required degree of heat. Mr Stansell has fairly demonstrated that at any rate such glass as is required for making bottles can be produced readily enough from some of the Kaiapoi sand. Other exhibitors proved that for such bottles there would immediately be a large demand, for putting up the writing inks, gloss, sauces, and other things now made here. The natural wealth of the Alford Forest district has been further represented by Mr J. Hudson, who sent in a piece of stone, which compares very well with Aberdeen granite, and a collection of pieces of wood representing the Alford Forest timbers, namely, red birch, black and white pine, broadleaf, gowai, manuka, miki-miki, and rata. The way in which one of these woods—the gowai—may be utilised, has been well illustrated by Mr Jenkins. He has sent in carriage spokes made from it, and has shown that by proper treatment any required degree of curvature may be given to such strips of wood. The same exhibitor has done further service by showing wavy mouldings produced entirely by machinery—a shaping machine on the principle of the copying lathe, these mouldings being of various irregular and compound curve outlines.

One exhibit escaped notice in the general report, and one of considerable importance. Mr Billens showed two pairs of carriage lamps, one pair being on a square plan, and the other circular, with bright metal relief lines to the japanned work. These lamps are admirably got up, and are quite good enough for use with any ordinary carriages. Are our carriage builders using them much? They are men who have had to complain loudly themselves that their work was not receiving due encouragement. They should be prompt to give practical aid to an industry which must be dependent upon them.

At a few minutes to 10 o'clock last evening, when the drill shed was well filled, the President and members of the Committee of management ascended the platform. The President addressed the large assemblage as follows:—

Ladies and gentlemen,—The Committee desire to publicly express their very great gratification at the splendid results of this Exhibition, and we assure you that it is a pleasure that comes not so much from the financial result—although that is by no means disagreeable—as from the knowledge that during six days 23,000 people have visited and evinced the keenest interest in everything in connection with the exhibition; and we sincerely hope that the deep interest that has been awakened will not die out with the closing, but that you, the public at large, will do everything in your power, by giving the preference wherever you can to our productions, and by joining the Industrial Association, and in whatever way you can, practically assisting the cause of Industry. In doing this you will help to pave the way to future industrial displays that shall, by their magnitude and splendour, dim the lustre of this our first Industrial Exhibition. (Cheers) At the request of the Committee, the Government appointed a Commission to examine and report upon the exhibition, and we think they will gather information that will be of service. To the exhibitors we say, we regret that the limited space at our disposal prevented you from making all the display you were capable of, but we think you will give us credit for having endeavoured to act impartially towards all. We sincerely hope that the industries you represent will flourish, and that many industries only represented here in embryo will develop into thriving businesses. We very much regret that the building has prevented us from doing justice to the pictures and works of art, as they have materially helped to make the exhibition attractive. You will all be glad to know that the financial results have left a handsome balance, which will be strictly applied to the cause of local industry. (Cheers.) Ladies and gentlemen, all things must have an end, and although we have spent many pleasant and instructive hours here, and the interest seems as great as on our opening day, it has become my almost sorrowful duty to now pronounce the Industrial Exhibition of 1880 closed. (Hearty applause.)

On the invitation of Professor Bickerton, three hearty cheers were given for the President.

The Band—"God save the Queen."

## Industrial Exhibition Commission.

A meeting of gentlemen appointed by the Government to act as a Commission to inspect the Local Industrial Exhibition was held at the City Council Chamber, at 2 o'clock on Tuesday, July 20. The following gentlemen were present:—Mr E. Wakefield (Chairman of the Royal Commission on Local Industries), Captain Colbeck, M.H.R., Messrs P. Cunningham, J. Inglis, Hon H. B. Gresson, and His Worship the Mayor of Christchurch.

It was proposed by the Mayor, and seconded by the Hon H. B. Gresson—"That Mr E. Wakefield act as Chairman." Carried.

The following letter, from the Hon the Premier, which had been addressed to each member of the Commission, was then read:—

"Government Offices,

"Wellington, July 19, 1880.

"Sir,—The attention of the Government has been directed to the interesting exhibition of articles of Colonial manufacture now being held in Christchurch, and it has been suggested that it is very desirable full and accurate information respecting such articles should be obtained, with a view to publication.

"The Government, believing that this information would be instructive and valuable, decided to appoint a Committee of gentlemen known to take an interest in Colonial Industries to examine the exhibits, and to report:—

"1. On their quality and the cost at which they are produced, as compared with similar articles imported.

"2. The extent to which their production has already taken root in the Colony.

"3. The amount of employment which each manufacture now affords or appears likely to afford; and—

"4. Any other facts or suggestions relating to the exhibits with which the Committee may think it desirable that the Government and the public should be made acquainted.

"The following gentlemen have consented to act on this Committee:—Mr Justice Gresson, His Worship the Mayor of Christchurch (Mr Ick), Mr Edward Wakefield, and Captain Colbeck, M.H.B.s, Mr Peter Cunningham, and Mr John Inglis, and I shall feel much obliged if you will agree to afford to the Government the benefit of your services in a like capacity.—I have, &c.

"JOHN HALL."

A deputation from the Exhibition Committee, consisting of Messrs Allan (Chair-man), Hulbert, Howland, Coleman, Charters, Jenkins, and Professor Bickerton, was then introduced.

Mr Wakefield said that they had been appointed by the Government to acquire information as to the nature, quality and cost of the articles on view at the Exhibition, and they thought one of the best modes of gaining such information was to invite the assistance of the Christchurch Local Industrial Exhibition Committee.

Mr Allan, on behalf of the Exhibition Committee, said the members of that Committee would be happy to give any information in their power, but much valuable information would be obtained from the various exhibitors. The object of the Committee in asking the Government to send a Commission to visit the Exhibition, was that they might receive a visit from the Local Industries Commission, the members of which could here have seen in a compact and condensed form what they had been seeing during their travels scattered over different parts of the country.

After some further conversation,

The Commission, accompanied by the deputation, then proceeded to the Drill-shed to view the exhibits, and immediately commenced an examination, carefully noting down any particular exhibit which seemed worthy of especial notice. During their inspection the Commissioners frequently expressed their surprise and admiration at the superior character of many of the exhibits.

## Complimentary Dinner.

On Tuesday a complimentary dinner was given at Messrs Ford and Newton's rooms, to the promoters of the recent Local Industries Exhibition. More than 100 gentlemen sat down to a repast which did credit to the caterer, Mr J. W. Morton. The rooms were well lighted, and the tables and walls suitably ornamented.

The chair was occupied by his Worship the Mayor, supported on his right by Mr R. Allan, President of the Local Industries Association, and on his left by the Hon H. B. Gresson, The vice-chair was occupied by Mr John Ollivier, supported by Messrs S. C. Farr and W. R. Mitchell.

After the dinner had been disposed of,

The Chairman proposed the usual loyal toasts, which were duly honoured.

Mr H. E. Alport proposed "The Members of the General Assembly," and expressed a hope that they would do their work properly.

The toast was duly drunk.

Mr J. Ollivier, whose rising was the signal for prolonged applause, had been astounded at being called upon to respond to the toast. What connection was there between the General Assembly and himself? He was glad to drink their health, but how could he respond to the toast seeing that that General Assembly had that day sent him among the dead men. On Monday morning he would have to take his billy to the soup kitchen. (Laughter.) He must in the course of things have a supreme contempt for such an assembly. (Laughter.) The General Assembly might turn him upside down if they liked, but he would come up right side uppermost. (Laughter.) After all there were some good men in the Assembly. When the time came, let them send him up to the Assembly, and he would stick to the Province of Canterbury, which had set an example the Assembly would show wisdom in following. There were representatives already at Wellington who were willing enough to follow this example, but there were wheels within wheels. He trusted that the time would come when Canterbury principles would rule in the Assembly. Those principles were comprised in the phrase, "Justice to all men." (Applause.) Though he had nothing at all to do with the Assembly, he had much pleasure in acknowledging the toast. (Applause.)

Mr R. Allan proposed—"His Worship the Mayor and the City Councillors." (Applause.) The Council had a large amount of work to do, and deserved credit for the way they did it. His Worship had occupied the chair in the Council for two years with credit to himself and satisfaction to the citizens. (Applause.) The Council compared favourably with previous Councils, and had they raised the trifle of £200,000 or £300,000, would have left their footprints on the sands of time. (Applause.)

The toast was drunk with enthusiasm. His Worship the Mayor responded. The duties of the Council were very onerous, and were becoming more so every year, The Mayor must be prepared to sacrifice himself for the benefit of the citizens. He was proud of his Councillors, and in their name and his own thanked the company for the manner in which they had received the toast. (Applause)

The Chairman proposed "The promoters of the Local Industries Exhibition." This was the toast of the evening. (Applause.) He had never before felt how unable he was to do justice to a toast. It had been thought that the opportunity should not be allowed to pass without, honour being done to the Committee. Considering the short time and limited space at their disposal their success showed what could be done by a few energetic men. It reminded him of the mythic springing of Minerva from the head of Jove. It was wonderful to see what had been done in this Exhibition, which had brought manufacturers and consumers together, and would serve as a starting point for the future. At the next Exhibition, which he believed would not be far off in time, no doubt great progress would be shown. He had taken part in the first New Zealand Exhibition 13 years ago, and must say that the recent one here was more interesting. He had heard numerous observations from visitors to the effect that they would for the future patronise local articles. (Applause.) As the Hon Mr Gresson was to follow

with another toast going over much the same ground, he would not further trench upon the company's time.

The toast was drunk with musical honours, and "one cheer more for Mr Allan."

Mr Allan, who was greeted with loud and long continued applause of a most enthusiastic character, responded. He felt deeply the great honour which had been shown the Committee. It was an acknowledgment that their steps had been directed towards a good object. The Committee had been actuated solely by a sincere desire to help forward the cause they had been desirous of helping. Their friends had laughed at them for having Local Industries on the brain. (Laughter.) But their success had been most gratifying. It was equally gratifying to see many gentlemen who differed from the Association assembled there. It showed that there was a disposition to give fair play. He might call attention to the opportunities which could be afforded by merchants and others to local industries. He might mention one firm, whose names he would not give, but who, the moment they found a local industry established, ceased ordering from Home, and did what they could to foster the local effort. As to the Committee, they had worked together most harmoniously, quietly and unostentatiously. They had only one failing, and that was too much modesty. The great compliment paid them that night had somewhat shocked that modesty. (Laughter.) In twelve or eighteen months' time it was hoped that another Exhibition would be held. He trusted that when it took place all would be able to look back with pleasure to the Exhibition now just past. (Applause.)

The Hon H. B. Gresson, who was loudly applauded, proposed—"The Exhibitors." He was not surprised at the manner in which the last toast had been received. It would have been strange had it been otherwise, but he must claim a great part of the merit of the Exhibition for the exhibitors. (Applause.) Wise as was the plan devised, and energetic as were the efforts of the Committee, the Exhibition would not have been a success without the exhibitors. A difficulty in their way was the commercial depression deeply affecting local industries. Despite of this, it now had been seen how spiritedly the exhibitors had seconded the efforts the Committee. (Applause.) For himself he had always believed in a great future for New Zealand, but on entering the Exhibition he had been amazed and bewildered by the amount of the exhibits and their quality. (Applause.) At first sight all appeared to be confusion, but on examination it was seen that everything had been displayed to the best advantage. The credit of this might partly be given to the promoters, but he desired those whom he might call his clients (laughter), not to be forgotten. He would mention one or two natural productions in the Exhibition, and the local industries springing from them. The first were the minerals connected with the pottery works—fire clay, sands, chalk, coal, and other things were most striking, and not the less so on account of their being found in close proximity to one another. The results were shown by the exhibits, beautiful and useful, of four firms. (Applause.) Another exhibit which was most striking for its beauty and variety was the collection of native woods. These were shown in furniture, in articles of turnery, &c. The gowai, for instance, had been shown to be superior to hickory for wheel spokes. He would not detain the company further than to say that it had come before the Commissioners that in superior articles the Colony could compete with Home, being beaten only in slop and shoddy work. (Applause.) He hoped the day for the use of shoddy was far distant. (Hear.) It only remained for him to allude to the good done by the exhibitors to the Colony at large. He felt proud of the compliment paid to him by having the toast entrusted to him. Feeble as his advocacy was, he felt content that the cause of local industry did not require even his poor advocacy. (Applause.) The resources of the Colony, with the indomitable industry transplanted from the Old Country, were destined to make this Colony the happy home of thousands yet unborn. (Applause.) He coupled the toast with the names of Messrs Isaac Wilson, Austin and Kirk and F. Jenkins. (Applause) The toast was enthusiastically drunk.

Mr Kirk felt that speaking was a different thing from working. On behalf of the exhibitors, he could say that they had worked with heart and soul, and were glad to find that they had achieved so satisfactory a result. The firms connected with the industry he represented employed some 400 hands, many of them married men. (Applause.) Almost all industries shown at the Exhibition had representatives present. Otago would endeavour to emulate Canterbury; and if it did, Canterbury must endeavour to out-do Otago. He returned sincere thanks for the manner in which the toast had been received.

Mr F. Jenkins returned thanks, He was a bashful man, and hoped they would excuse him from making a speech. (Applause)

Mr Tate, of Messrs Burt and Co., of Dunedin, was loudly called for, but desired to be excused.

Mr Alport had visited Messrs Burt's factory, and found to his surprise that they employed 100 men, and that their productions were equal to the best at Home. (Applause.)

Mr John Anderson, who was loudly applauded, proposed—"The Commercial Agricultural and Pastoral interests of Now Zealand." The Committee, though showing a want of judgment in entrusting the toast to him had redeemed their credit by associating with the toast the name of Mr Stead. (Applause).

The toast was duly drunk.

Mr G. G. Stead, who was loudly applauded, responded. He reminded the company of the fact that 56 largo vessels, of 54,500 tons register and 80,000 tons burden, had within the last six months taken 44,000 bales of

wool, and 2,500,000 bushels of wheat to the United Kingdom. This was sufficient to show the enterprise of the commercial men of Canterbury. For the agricultural men he could say that in 1879 they had cultivated 318,000 acres of land, and raised 7¼ millions bushels of grain. Last year 384,000 acres had been cultivated, and had given 12¼ million bushels of grain, showing an increase of 70 per cent, in twelve months in the yield, and 25 per cent, increase in acreage. Wool-growers would be better pleased with the result of their shipments than with anything he could say. He thanked the company for the manner in which they had received the toast. (Applause.)

Several other toasts were also drunk.

This concluded a very pleasant evening, itself a fitting conclusion to what has proved a most successful enterprise from first to last—the Christchurch Industrial Exhibition.

Guthrie & Larnach's New Zealand Timber and Woodware Factories Company, Limited,  
Dunedin, New Zealand.

*New Zealand Manufactures*

In Native Timbers, with Description Thereof.

decorative feature

Dunedin, Otago, New Zealand, October, 1879.

decorative feature Printed At "Daily Times Office, Dunedin Rattray and Bond Streets.

## **Selections the Company's Manufactures now Exhibited.**

### **Class II.—Furniture.**

#### **I.—Cabinet.**

The cabinet, consisting of 8508 pieces of New Zealand Woods, has an elliptic top, in the centre of which is an enlarged copy of the old Provincial Seal of Otago, N.Z., and on the sides are carved ferns copied from nature. Over the principal mirror, in the back of the cabinet, are six panels of totara-knot, moki, pukaki, and figwood, studded with moki buttons. The border round the mirror is inlaid with pepperwood and goai. Supporting the centre glass are two carved brackets of rimu inlaid with moki, and having centre-pieces of silver pine. Under the glass there are a series of arches, supported by turned pilasters, and these are thrown out in relief by gilding. Below the arches is a shelf made of rimu, and under this there are four mirrors framed with riwa-riwa and moki. The top of the cabinet proper is of rimu, tastefully moulded and carved. The enclosed portion is made of riwa-riwa. The doors have each panels of moki, inlaid with fine lines of totara, and the centres of the doors are made from broadleaf burr. The mouldings of the panels consist of riwa-riwa, moki, and bog manuka. There is also a large amount of ornamental work about the cabinet, and specimens of mottled kauri, figwood, and goai are placed in conspicuous positions.

#### **II.—Drawing Boom Suite.**

In 12 pieces, from New Zealand silver birch, ebonized and gilt. &c., upholstered in crimson and gold brocatelle; consisting of settee, lady's and easy chairs, six small chairs, three-seat ottoman, and mirror, 60in. x 40in.

#### **III.—Japanese Cabinet.**

Five feet six inches, from New Zealand silver birch, ebonized and gilt.

#### **IV.—Bedroom Suite.**

From rimu, and mottled kauri, with totara mouldings, upholstered in Poucean silk damask; 12 pieces, consisting of circular head canopy bedstead, French wardrobe, washstand, toilet table, lady's couch, lady's easy chair, four small chairs, commode, and towel horse.

## **V—Chest of Drawers.**

In mottled kauri, rimu, white pine, totara, and riwa-riwa.

## **VI.—Door and Door Frame.**

Ten feet by seven feet, with samples of parqueterie-work; pillars and styles of rimu, panels of ribbon wood, and mouldings of riwa-riwa.

## **VII.—Tubs and Buckets.**

Nest of three tubs, in the following combinations of native woods: Reel and white pine, riwa-riwa and white pine, ribbon wood and red pine.

Nine buckets, in rimu and ribbon wood, totara and white pine, ribbon wood and white pine, rimu and ribbon wood, totara and ribbon wood, totara and white pine, riwa-riwa.

The Company has also manufactured the following show cases:—In Department II.. The Mosgiel Woollen Factory Company's show counter and case; Sargood, Son, and Ewan's show case for boots; McLeod Brothers' show case for candles.?

# **Guthrie and Larnach's New Zealand Timber & Woodware Factories Company, Limited,**

Manufacturers, Importers, Timber, iron, and Furniture Merchants.

HEAD OFFICE: DUNEDIN, N.Z. LONDON OFFICE: 114. CANNON STREET. BRANCHES AT AUCKLAND, CHRISTCHURCH, TIMARU, AND INVERCARGILL.

BUSH MILLS: KAURI—PARARAHA AND WHATIPU (AUCKLAND PROVINCE); RED, BLACK, AND WHITE PINES, &C.—KEW (SOUTHLAND); CATLIN'S AND OWAKE MILLS (OTAGO).

THE MANUFACTURING DEPARTMENT comprises the production of Furniture of every description, Doors, Sashes. Tubs, Buckets, Joiner-Work, Wheelwrights' Material, Turnery, Sawing, Planing, and Moulding; Ridging, Spouting, &c., and the Company's Factory is admittedly the most extensive and complete Woodworking Establishment in the Australian Colonies, if not, indeed, in the World.

THE IMPORTATIONS of the Company, in all branches of its trade, are the most extensive in the Colony, and the stocks are unequalled for variety and completeness.

THE TIMBER SUPPLIES are drawn from five bush mills, owned by the Company throughout the Colony, producing kauri, white, red, and black pine, totara, and a variety of other woods; and the Company's fleet of 15 vessels is constantly engaged on the coast in its trade.

THE PREMISES in Dunedin occupy an area of 60,000 square feet, affording a floor space of 120,000 square feet, which is apportioned as follows:—Factory and Offices, 61,000 feet; Hardware Department (four floors), 26,200 feet; Furniture Department (four floors), 22,400 feet; Woodware Department (four floors), 10,400 feet; General Buildings, 25,000 feet; in addition to which the Timber Yards cover an area of 3 acres in extent.

THE CAPITAL OF THE COMPANY is £250,000, in 50,000 fully paid-up shares of £5 each, nearly all of which have been allotted, and the profits hitherto earned have been equal to 21 per cent, per annum, out of which dividends at the rate of 12½ per cent, per annum have been declared, and the balance carried to reserve fund. In accordance with a resolution adopted at the last General Meeting of Shareholders, held on March 3rd last, it was decided to offer the unallotted shares to the public, at such times as the Directors might decide upon, prior to the next General Meeting, at 20s. premium on the following terms, viz., 20s. on application, 20s. on allotment, and the balance by four, payments of 20s. each, at intervals of three months. Applications to be made at Head Office and Branches.

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New Zealand Court International Exhibition Sydney—1879.

Official Catalogue of Exhibits

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## **Local Committees.**

- Auckland,—
  - J. M. Clark, Esq., Chairman; Messrs. Geo. Holdship, Thos. Morrin, Thos. Peacock (Mayor).
- Grahamstown,—
  - W. McCullough, Esq. (Mayor), Chairman; A. Brodie, Esq. (County Chairman); Colonel Fraser, Messrs. J. Brown, F. C. Dean, L. Ehrenfried, A. Price, A. Porter, W. Carpenter.
- Gisborne,—
  - Mayor and Council.
- Napier,—
  - J. H. Vautier, Esq. (Mayor), Chairman, Borough Council.
- New Plymouth,—
  - A. Cracroft Fookes, Esq. (Mayor), Chairman; Messrs. W. Beale, A. Colson, Hamerton, Humphries, C. Rennell, R. Rimdrew, Thos. Veale, J. M. Vivian, A. Weyergang, L. H. Cholwill (Hon. Sec.)
- Wanganui,—
  - Thos. Bamber, Esq. (Mayor), Chairman; Messrs. G. Carson, H. Hurley, A. D. Willis.
- Wellington,—
  - J. B. George, Esq., Chairman; Messrs. J. H. Bethune, J. B. Harcourt.
- Blenheim,—
  - A. G. Fell (Mayor), Chairman; Messrs. Earll, Houldsworth, Litchfield, Parker, Robinson, Presswood, Rogers, Wemyss.
- Nelson,—
  - J. R. Dodson, Esq. (Mayor), Chairman; His Lordship the Bishop of Nelson, Dr. Irvine, Messrs. Brown, Crewdson, J. Gully, Hackett, Hunter, Little, Pownall, Shepherd, Trask, White, Rev. Jno. Beckenham (Hon. Sec.)
- Greymouth,—
  - Richard Nancarrow, Esq. (Mayor), Chairman; Messrs. Patrick Griffin, James Berkley, Frank Badger, F. W. Lahman, J. G. Thomas, Joseph Kilgour, F. C. Dupre, J. A. Eissenhardt, Edmund Wiekes.
- Hokitika,—
  - McClean W. Jack, Esq. (Mayor), Chairman; Messrs. John Tait, Robert Walker, John Cross, Thomrs Cooke, Wm. Heinz, W. G. Johnson, John Peake, John Nicholson, Thos. Shaffrey.
- Christchurch,—
  - C. W. Turner, Esq., President; Messrs. J. Beaumont. P. Cunningham, L. E. Nathan, S. S. Revans, W. D. Wood.
- Timaru,—
  - Captain Sutter, Chairman; Captain Cain, Messrs. Gibson, Grainger, and Jonas.
- Oamaru,—
  - J. T. Evans, Esq., Chairman; Messrs. Henry Council, Frank Dunlop, William Jukes Steward, George Sumpter.
- Dunedin,—
  - Hon. W. H. Reynolds, Chairman: Messrs. Spence (Vice-Chairman), L. O. Beal, Wm. Blair, C. E., A. Burt, E. B. Cargill, R. Gillies, B. Hallenstein, W. M. Hodgkins, D. C. Hutton, Professor Hutton, William Mason, J. T. McKerras, G. McLean, Hugh McLean, J. B. Mudie, R. Oliver, Vincent Pyke, Donald Reid, J. Roberts, George Gray Russell, G. L. Sise, D. E. Spence, H. Tewsley, Professor Ulrich, J. S. Webb (Hon. Sec.)
- Invercargill,—
  - John Turnbull, Esq., Chairman: Messrs, J. Walker Bain, J. T. Martin, R. Tapper.
- Queenstown,—
  - F. H. Daniels, Esq. (Mayor), Chairman; Messrs. Butel, Cope, J. Douglass, M.D., Edgar, Evans, Hicks, Mason, Worthington, Henry Manders (Hon. Sec.)

## Statistics.

### 1878.

Area—  
Vital.—

Trade—  
Gold—  
Railways—  
Telegraph—  
Finance—  
Land—Cultivation—  
Production—  
Names and Population of Principal Cities, INCLUDING SUBURBS—  
Manufactures—  
Public Education—

## **Crown Lands of the Colony.**

Open for selection 30th June, 1878. Area Remaining at disposal of Land Boards exclusive of Native Lands.  
North Island. Acres. Auckland 36,434 2,178,120 Hawke's Bay 36,800 296,246 Taranaki 13,872  
1,362,106 Wellington 25,840 1,131,668 112,946 4,968,130 Total 5,081,076 South Island. Nelson 5,848,294  
Marlborough 1,096,116 1,057,847 Canterbury 5,569,010 Westland 244,264 2,661,970 Otago 219,765  
11,188,890 Southland 1,802,088 14,779,537 14,908,707 Total 29,788,244

## **New Zealand Court.**

## **Index to Departments.**

## **New Zealand Court.**

## **Index to Exhibitors.**

## ***Errata and Omissions.***

## **New Zealand,**

## **Department I. Mining, Metallurgy, and Their products.**

Group—MINERALS, ORES, BUILDING STONES, AND MINING PRODUCTS.

### **Class 100.**

I—AUCKLAND COMMITTEE.

- *Tailings from Mines at the Thames, for Testing—*  
From Moanatari Gold Mining Company  
From Moanatari Gold Mining Company  
From Moanatari Gold Mining Company  
From Alburina Gold Mining Company

From Waiotahi Gold Mining Company  
From Waiotahi Gold Mining Company  
From Kurunni Hill United Gold Mining Company  
From Caledonian Mining (quartz yielded 1 oz. to ton)  
From Golden Calf Gold Mining Company  
From Premier Gold Mining Company

*Three Specimens of Auriferous Quartz from the Thames—*

- From Moanatari Gold Mining Company at Thames
- From Caledonian Gold Mining Company at Thames
- From Long Drive Gold Mining Company at Thames

2—BANK OF NEW ZEALAND.

- *Specimens from the New Zealand Gold Fields—*  
Auriferous Quartz from the Thames Gold Fields  
Models of Ingots of Gold and Silver as exported  
Samples of Alluvial Gold from Otago Gold Fields

3—CHAPMAN, JOHN ALWENT, *Dunedin—*

- Quartz Specimens from Thames, Auckland
- Quartz Specimens from Macetown, Otago

4—COMMISSIONERS—

- Auriferous Quartz, and a Trophy, shewing the yield of Gold from New Zealand. Value, £36,227,114; 9,253,021 ozs. troy; 285 tons; 670 cubic feet; height, 36.5 feet; Base, 5.2 × 5.2 feet; Apex, 3.5 × 3.5 feet.

5—CROMWELL QUARTZ MINING COMPANY, *Cromwell, Dunedin—*

- Specimens of Tailings for treatment

6—DOUGLAS, GEORGE BROWN, *Macetown, Arrow, Lake County, Otago—*

- Quartz Reef Specimens from Macetown, Arrow River, Otago.

7—D'URVILLE ISLAND COPPER MINING COMPANY (Limited)—.

- Specimens of Copper Ore from D'Urville Island Copper Company (Limited.)

8—EDGAR, JOHN, *Queenstown—*

- Specimens of Fossilized Fern Roots and Leaves, from Lake Wakatipu, Queenstown

9—EDWARDS, E. R., *Thames—*

- Specimens of Gold-bearing Quartz, from Thames

10—GARDINER WILLIAM, *Moke Creek, near Queenstown—*

- Copper Ore, specimens from Moke Creek

11—HACKETT, T. R. (*for Johnston and Co.*) *Aniseed Valley, Nelson—*

- Copper Stratum Specimens
- Chrome Stratum Specimens

*Description of the Copper Stratum in Aniseed Valley, Nelson.*

The Copper Stratum in Aniseed Valley was discovered in 1878 by Messrs, Johnston, and is hence called "Johnston's Copper Stratum." It was first found in the centre of the belt of Serpentine Rock, known as the Mineral Belt, in the immediate vicinity of a former chrome ore working.

The copper-bearing stratum runs in the same direction as the surrounding serpentine rock, of which it is only a portion, but in its northerly course it is interrupted by a mass of volcanic breccia, from which possibly its contents of copper may have originated.

The copper occurs in a native state almost equally interspersed through the whole mass to a thickness of about 8 feet. The stratum has been traced, copper-bearing, for a length of 250 feet, the average contents being 5 to 6 per cent, of copper, disseminated through the mass in minute irregular grains.

In the natural cleavages of the rock constituting this stratum, the copper is not visible, and it can only be seen in a fracture made across the grain, which makes it difficult to trace on the surface, and which will probably account for this deposit not having been previously observed.

The great practical value of the stratum consists in the facility with which the copper can be extricated, inasmuch as nearly the whole of the grains of metal can be panned off from the pounded mass, as easily as gold can be panned from crushed quartz, and it can consequently be saved by a crushing machine similarly to gold, or rather, similarly to tin or lead ore as treated in Europe.

At present the proprietors are endeavouring to open up the stratum in its southern continuation, and are also making a cart road to it, with a view to its eventual working on a large scale.

12—HEMATITE PAINT COMPANY, *Nelson, New Zealand—*

- Specimens of Raw Hematite Ore
- Specimens of Calcined Hematite Ore

- Specimens of Paint from Hematite Ore
- Specimens of Crystalline Limestone, from Para Para, Collingwood, Nelson
- 13—JACKSON, H. D. *Nelson*—
- Specimens of Ores and Regulus
- Specimens of Copper Brick
- Specimens of Silver (pure 19 oz.) from Richmond Hill Mine
- 14—JOHNSTON Bros, and Co., *Nelson*—
- Specimens of Galena and Silver Lead Ore, Collingwood
- Specimens of Zinc Blende, Collingwood
- 15—LOW, WILLIAM, *Maori Point, Shotover, Queenstown*—
- Specimen of Specular Ironstone, from Maori Point, Shotover, Queenstown
- The Sample is water-worn as found on the Terraces. Lode, from 3 feet 4 inches thick
- 16—MARTIN, CHARLES HENRY, *Mt. Hamburg, Wakapuaka, Nelson*—
- Rock, from Mount Hamburg
- Excellent Road-metal, owing to its forming a good cement when well watered, and making a durable binding surface
- 17—MCCAFFREY, EDWARD, Sculptor, *Queenstown*—
- Specimens
  - Marble, from the head of Lake Wakatipu
  - Freestone, fossil leaf, from Fews Creek
  - Freestone, light yellow, Fews Creek
  - Freestone, different grain, Fews Creek
  - Freestone, green, Fews Creek
  - Gypsum, from head of Lake Wakatipu
  - Gypsum, from 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
  - Freestone, dressed
  - Freestone, partly dressed, fine grain
- The freestone is imperishable, can be turned out from 1 ft. to 20 ft. for pillars any thickness and size, obtainable for building. Price at quarry, 2s. 6d. per cubic foot, free on board lake steamer. Freight to Kingston Railway Station, 10s per ton.
- 18—MOFFETT, WILLIAM, *Invercargill*—
- Tailings, from Geelong Claim, Longwood Ranges, Southland—
- 19—MOUNT RANGITOTO SILVER/ MINING COMPANY (Limited)—
- Specimen of Silver Ore (Crushed), from Rangitoto Mine, Hokitika
- 20—STANSELL, JOHN B., *Christchurch*—
- Specimens of Iron Ore and Small Ingot, from Para Para, Nelson
- 21—WARREN, WILLIAM, J. P., *Queenstown*—
- Specimen of Copper Ore, found between Lake Wakatipu and West Coast
- 22—WHITE ISLAND SULPHUR COMPANY, *Auckland*—
- Specimens of Crude Ore and Flowers of Sulphur, manufactured by the Company
- 23—WILLIAMS, CORNWELL JOSEPH, *Thames*—
- Specimen of Silver Lead Ore, from Tareru Creek
- 24—WOHSINGTON, JOHN S., *Queenstown*—
- Specimens of Iron Sand
- Occurs in large quantities at Queenstown
- 25—GARDINER, WALTER, *Moke Creek, Wakatipu*—
- Three Specimens of Copper Ore

## **Class 101.**

- 40—BAT OF ISLANDS COAL COMPANY, *Kawa Kawa Colliery, Bay of Islands*—
  - Specimens of Coal, from Bay of Islands
  - Glance Coal, shewing every stage from Brown Coal to Anthracite
- 41—BRUNNER COAL COMPANY, *Brunnerton, Grey River*—
  - Specimen of Coal, two blocks, from Brunner Mine, Grey River. Price, 12s 6d per ton, shipped
  - Specimen of Coke. Half-ton. Manufactured from screenings of the above. Price, £2 per ton, shipped
- 42—COAL PIT HEATH COAL MINING COMPANY (Limited), *Greymouth*—
  - Section of 18-ft. Coal-seam, from the Company's mine
  - 12s. per ton, delivered on board ship at Greymouth
- 43—GARDNER, JAMES, *Birchwood, Southland*—
  - Specimen of Coal, from Birchwood Estate, Southland
- 44—GREEN ISLAND COAL COMPANY (Limited), *Dunedin*—
  - Specimens of Brown Coal from the Green Island Mines
- 45—MURRAY, DALGLEISH AND COMPANY, *Nightcaps, Southland*—
  - Specimen of Coal, from Nightcaps, Southland
- 46—SHAG POINT COAL COMPANY, (Limited), *Dunedin*—
  - Specimen of Coal
- 47—WALTON PARK COAL COMPANY, (Limited), *Dunedin*—
  - Samples of Brown Coal from the Company's pits, Green Island, near Dunedin
- 48—WESTPORT COLLIERY COMPANY, *Westport*—
  - Specimen of Coal, and Pillar shewing one half the thickness of the 30-foot seam, Mount Rochfort Mine
- 49—WILLIAMS, CAPT. W. R., *Wellington*—
  - Specimens of Coal (Soft Smithy), from Wellington Mine
  - Specimens of Coal (Soft Smithy), from Wellington Westport
- 50—WILSON, W., *Malvern, Christchurch*—
  - Specimens of Coal (Bituminous) seam 6-ft. 6-in,
  - Specimens of Coal (Anthracite) seam 2-ft. 10-in., from Malvern Hills, Canterbury

## Class 102.

- 51—CANTERBURY MARBLE COMPANY, *Christchurch*
    - Marble, red and grey specimens, from Canterbury Marble Quarry Company
  - 52—DANIEL, WILLIAM, *Dipton, Oreti, Southland*—
    - Specimens of Stone from quarry at Dipton, Southland
  - 53—EDWARDS, E. R., *Thames*—
    - Specimen of Building Stone
  - 54—ENYS, J. D., *Trellisic, Canterbury*—
    - Specimen of Building Stone from Castle Hill, West Coast Road
  - 55—HAAST, PROFESSOR JULIUS VON., Ph.D., F.R.S., *Director of 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 26 feet broad. Heathcote 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). Mt. Somers; Cox's Quarry.
      - Calcareous Sandstone (Waipara formation). Mt. 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 Coast Road; Enys' Quarry.
      - Doleritic Tnfa. 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 free-stones 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 cretaceous-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 the 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.

56—HACKET, T. R., for Johnston Stratum Company, Aniseed Valley, Nelson—

- Specimen of Marble.

57—MUNRO, G., Dunedin—

- Specimens of New Zealand Marble (polished and rough)
- Specimens of Kakanui Stone, viz.:—
- Clock Case, made from Kakanui Stone
- 2 pieces of White Marble, cut and polished, from Caswell Sound
- 2 pieces of Dove-coloured Marble, from Caswell Sound
- 4 samples of K.K. best quality Kakanui Stone
- 1 sample of K. second quality Kakanui Stone

58—NEW ZEALAND AGRICULTURAL Co., Southland—

- Specimens of Building Stone

59—OAMARU STONE COMPANY (LIMITED), Oamaru—

- Stone Column with capitals, Cornice and Balusters
- Specimens of Stone, undressed

60—OTAGO SLATE COMPANY, (Limited) Otepopo, Otago—

- Samples of Slates, quarried from the Company's Quarries, viz.,  
Slab, 3 ft. 9in. × 1 ft. 8½in.  
12 Slates 20 × 10 (Countess)  
5 pieces of Slate, split thin to show cleavage

61—PORT CHALMERS BUILDING STONE COMPANY, Dunedin—

- Sample of Base Course Blue Stone
- Sample of Kerbing Stone

62—STANSELL, JOHN B., Christchurch—

- Specimen of Marble

63—WILSON, J., Malvern, Christchurch—

- Specimen of Building Stone, from White Rock Quarry, Canterbury

## Class 103.

70—DUNEDIN HARBOUR BOARD—

- Cement Boulders from Sea Beach, Port Moeraki, Otago

71—ELDRED, E., Few's Creek, Lake Wakatipu—

- Specimens of Limestone from Few's Creek, Lake Wakatipu, Otago
- Supply unlimited, price for Burnt Lime, 5s per sack, delivered at the Bluff Harbour

72—MUNRO, GEORGE, Dunedin—

- Six samples of Hydraulic Cement in its native state

73—O'NEILL, CHARLES, C. E., Wellington—

- Artificial Caithness Flagging, patented by the Exhibitor, 12 × 33 feet, laid at the Main or West Entrance to the Garden Palace

## Class 104.

80—AUSTIN AND KIRK, Christchurch—

- Specimens of Fire Clay and Ganaster  
81—BOYD, GEORGE, *Newton, Auckland*—
- Specimen of Fire Clay Bricks and Puzzolana  
82—BRUNNER COAL COMPANY, *Brunnerton, Grey River*—
- Samples of Fire Clay (ground and unground) from seam, underlying coal in Brunner Mine, from 2 feet to 5 feet thick. Value £2 per ton, shipped
- Sample of Fire Bricks, manufactured from above clay. Value £6 per 1000, shipped
- 83—EDWARDS, E. R., *Thames*—
- Potter's China Clay, from Thames
- Potter's Felspar Clay, from Thames
- 84—FORD AND OGDEN, *South Malvern, White Cliffs, Christchurch*—
- Fire Bricks
- Fire Clays
- 85—GUM AND SPENCE, *Lawrence, Tuapeka, Otago*—
- Specimens of Pipe Clay
- Has been successfully manufactured at the Dunedin and Milton Potteries
- 86—HACKET, T. R., *for Johnston and Co., Stratum Co., Aniseed Valley, Nelson*—Steatite
- 87—MUNRO, GEORGE, *Dunedin*—
- Sample of Pottery Clay
- 88—STANSELL, JOHN B., *Christchurch*—
- Sample of Glass-making Sand
- Sample of Pottery Clay

## **Class 106.**

- 95—PAWA RIKA LITHOGRAPHIC STONE COMPANY, *Abbey Rocks, West-land*—
- Slabs of Lithographic Limestone

## **Class 107.**

- 100—ARCHARD, FREDERICK, *Makaraka, Auckland*—
- Artesian Mineral Waters
- 101—KELLY AND FRASER, *Thames*—
- Mineral Waters from Puirī Springs, Thames
- 102—THOMAS, J. A., *Moutere, Nelson*—
- Fossil Shell from Wairoa, Nelson
- 103—WHITE ISLAND SULPHUR COMPANY—
- Specimens of Crystallized Gypsum

## **Group—METALLURGICAL PRODUCTS.**

### **Class 111.**

- 110—VIVIAN, JAMES MITCHELL, *New Plymouth, Taranaki*
- Specimens of—
  - Iron Sand from Taranaki Beach
  - Soil used as flux
  - Brick, prepared for smelting
  - Pig Iron, after smelting
  - Pig Iron, polished
- It is hoped that these samples from Taranaki may attract the attention of scientific men, and lead to the discovery of a process for smelting this sand that will be commercially successful.
- Wheels for Railway carriages have been ordered by the Minister for Public Works in New Zealand, to be made out of Taranaki sand

## **Group—MINE ENGINEERING, MODELS, MAPS, AND SECTIONS.**

## Class 120.

120—CLIMO, WILLIAM, *Tararu, Thames*—

- Specimens illustrating a Chlorine Process for obtaining gold from tailings

## Class 121.

130—BEETHAM, GEORGE, *Wellington*—

- Model of Mount Ruapehu, the central extinct volcanic mountain in the North Island. The summit was for the first time explored by Messrs. Beetham and Maxwell, in February, 1879.

131—COAL PIT, HEATH COAL MINING COMPANY (limited), *Greymouth*—

- Section of Coal Seam

132—GREYMOUTH LOCAL COMMITTEE, *Westland*—

- Gilt Pyramid showing amount of Gold exported from Greymouth since 1857. 1,216,987 ozs., value £9,867,998

133—HECTOR, JAMES, C.M.G., *Wellington*

- Model of the Volcanic Mountain of Tangariro

134—HOKITIKA LOCAL COMMITTEE—

- Model of Mining Claim "Morning Star," Ross, Westland

135—HOKITIKA LOCAL COMMITTEE—

- Gilt Pyramid representing quantity of Gold exported from Hokitika from 1865 to 1879—2,032,339 ozs. Value £8,261,860

## Class 122.

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

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

138—HECTOR, JAMES, C.M.G., M.D., F.R.S., *Director of the Colonial Museum and Geological Survey of New Zealand*—

- Relief Map of New Zealand
- Relief Map of New Zealand, Geologically coloured
- Geological Maps of New Zealand, dated 1865, 1869, 1873, 1879, shewing the progress of the Geological Survey of New Zealand.
- Plans, Sections, and Local Geological Maps
- Plans and Sections of Coal, and other Mines of New Zealand

## Department II.

### Manufactures.

#### Group—CHEMICALS.

#### Class 200.

140—CREASE, EDWIN H., *Wellington*—

- Three dozen Tins of Baking Powder

141—GRAYLING, W. IRWIN, *Ornata Chemical Works, Taranaki*—Chemicals

- —Six Samples of Extract of Towai
  - Discoloured and refined from cold infusion
  - Refined from cold infusion
  - Unrefined infusion
  - From the Timber infusion
  - Spring growth infusion

- From hot infusion, unrefined
- —7. Extract of Rimu or Red Pine, unrefined
- Extract of Birch or Red Pine, unrefined
- Extract of Rata Climber or Red Pine, unrefined
- Tanning Compound or Red Pine, unrefined
- Extract of Hinau or Red Pine, unrefined
- Extract of Pukatea

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 tabular 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.—Hinai (*Elæocarpus Dentatus*) is of sufficient importance to deserve a special notice.

The Hinai 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 Hinai can only be considered of value as a dye, yielding yellow buffs and blacks.

No. 12.—Is an Extract of the Pukatea (*Atherosperma Novae 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.

142—HILL AND HUDSON, *Chemists, Auckland*—

- Baking Powder for making Bread and Pastry without Yeast, manufactured by the Exhibitors

143—HITCHENS, *HENRY ALBERT HOLLAND, WAKEFIELD STREET, AUCKLAND*—

- Vegetable Compound for Purifying the Blood, and a Miraculous Cure for Rheumatism and Rheumatic Gout—result of years of investigation

144—KEMPTHORNE PROSSER & Co., *NEW ZEALAND DRUG Co. (LIMITED) Dunedin*—

- Washing Powder, also general Exhibit of Chemicals, Cordials, &c., manufactured by the Exhibitors

## Class 201.

150—AUCKLAND OIL COMPANY (LIMITED), *Auckland*—

- Sample of Oil extracted from the dried kernel of the cocoa-nut known as "Copra." Good for lubricating, and largely used for manufacturing the best soap

151—DURRAND BLANCK & COMPANY, *Dunedin*—

- Specimen of Oil for lubricating, manufactured in Dunedin

152—ELDER, WILLIAM, *Dunedin*—

- Sample of Sea Elephant Oil, for lubricating

153—HANCOCK, THOMAS, *Christchurch*—

- Sample Box of Soap

154—HATCH, JOSEPH, *Invercargill*—

- Samples of Soap—Carbolic Acid

155—MASTER, CHARLES JOHN, *Wellington*—

- Samples of Soaps and Oils, &c.

156—MCLEOD BROTHERS, Crown Soap and Candle works, *Dunedin*—

- Samples of Soaps (plain and fancy)

- Candles. Stearine

157—MCLEOD & SONS, WM., *Dunedin*—

- Sample of Soap; manufactured by the Exhibitors

158—PARNELL SOAP FACTORY COMPANY, *Auckland*—

- 1 Cwt. Common Soap

- 1 Cwt. Toilet Soap

159—ROBINS & MC LEOD, *Dunedin*—

- Samples of Soaps (household); manufactured by the Exhibitors
- 160—ROSS, A. Y., *Gisborne, Poverty Bay*—
- Four Gallons Petroleum, in crude and refined state (Philadelphia Juror's Report attached,)

## **Class 202.**

- 170—ATKINSON & MC COLL, *Newmarket, Auckland*—
- Sample of Enamel Paint and Varnish
- Eight Tins Assorted Paints
- Two Tins Brunswick Black
- Made from New Zealand Kauri Gum and ordinary Pigments Average price 6d. per lb.
- 171—BARREIRA, JOSEPH, *Christchurch*—
- Colonial Blacking in tins and cakes
- Colonial Varnish
- 172—HAMMOND, THOMAS, *Richmond, Nelson*—
- Paste Blacking and Ink, as supplied to the trade
- 173—KAY, THOMAS, *Wellington*—
- Samples of Fire Kindlers
- Samples of Blacking
- Samples of Sealing Wax
- Samples of Japan
- 174—KEMPTHORNE, PROSSER & Co., NEW ZEALAND DRUG Co. (limited)
- Blacking, manufactured by the Exhibitors
- 175—RICE, THOMAS, *Napier*—
- Samples of Furniture Polish

## **Class 203.**

- 180—BEISSEL, F. *Dunedin*—
- Samples of Perfumery
- 181—MARTER, JOHN CHARLES, *Wellington*—
- Toilet Requisites

## **Group—CERAMICS, POTTERY, PORCELAIN, &c.**

### **Class 206.**

- 190—AUSTIN AND KIRK, *Christchurch*—
- Samples of Stoneware
- Samples of Drain Pipes
- Samples of Pottery Ware
- 191—BOYD, GEORGE, *Newton, Auckland*—
- Samples of Gas Tiles
- 192—PLANT, WILLIAM, *Thames*—
- Pottery Ware (made by an amateur with amateur appliances)

### **Class 207.**

- 196—BOYD, GEORGE, *Newton, Auckland*—
- Samples of Crucibles
- Samples of Fire Bricks
- Samples of Fire Tiles

### **Class 213.**

- 200—CAPSTICK, R. W., *Milton, Dunedin*—
- 6 sets Jugs, 3 in each set
- 2 sets Vases, 3 in each set

- 3 sets Spill Cups, 3 in each set
- 4 sets Teapots, 3 in each set
- 3 sets Candlesticks, 3 in each set
- 6 small Ink Bottles

## Group—FURNITURE AND OBJECTS OF GENERAL USE IN CONSTRUCTION AND IN DWELLINGS.

### Class 217.

- 210—BURT, A. AND T., PLUMBERS, *Dunedin*—
  - Cabinet Washtand woodwork, marble top, tubes, pipes, and taps manufactured by Exhibitors
- 211—CLEMENTS, SAMUEL P., *Wellington*—
  - Blinds (Patent Venetian)
  - Blinds (Wire Gauze)
- 212—COCKS, JAMES, *Thames*—
  - Bedstead made of Mottled Kauri, New Zealand wood
- 213—FINDLAY AND CO., *Dunedin*—
  - Writing Table, Escretoire, made of New Zealand woods
- 214—FLEMING, GEORGE, *Hardy Street, Nelson*—
  - Tables and Boxes, inlaid, of New Zealand woods
- 215—GUTHRIE AND LARNACH'S NEW ZEALAND TIMBER AND WOOD FACTORY CO. (Limited), *Dunedin*—
  - Bedroom Suite, consisting of Canopied Bed, Couch, Wardrobe, Washstand, Dressing Table, 4 Small Chairs, Lady's Chair, Easy Chair, Commode, Towel Horse, constructed of Rimu, mottled Kauri and Totara
  - Chest of Drawers of Rimu, Kauri, Totara and Rewa-rewa
  - Drawing Room Suite, consisting of 6 Small Chairs, 1 Lady's Chair, Easy Chair, Couch, Ottoman, made of Silver Birch (*Fagus solandri*)
  - Japanese Cabinet made of New Zealand Birch, ebonized
- 216—LARGE AND TOWNLEY, *Napier*—
  - Work Table, inlaid, of New Zealand woods
- 217—NICHOLSON, WM., *Cuba Street, Wellington*—
  - Sideboard of New Zealand Woods—made by an Apprentice
- 218—PETERS, CARL, *Cuba Street, Wellington*—
  - Table (Octagon), and variety of New Zealand Woods
- 219—PETHERICK, JAMES, JUN., *Upper Willis Street, Wellington*—
  - Table, Inlaid, of New Zealand Woods
- 220—REILLY, CHARLES, *Timaru*—
  - Double Washstand, New Zealand Wood
- 221—SEUFFERT, ANTON, *Cabinet Maker, Auckland*—
  - Chess Table, Inlaid with New Zealand Woods—Design forming a kind of basket work

### Class 218.

- 230—THE FIRE BRIGADE, *Dunedin*—
  - Silver Vase presented to the Brigade by the Associated Insurance Companies
- 231—PETERSEN, B. & Co., *Christchurch*—
  - Silver Claret Jug and Cups, manufactured by the Exhibitors, from New Zealand Silver
- 232—SANDSTEIN, M. *Christchurch*—
  - Epergne, Silver

### Class 219.

- 240—GUTHRIE & LARNACH'S NEW ZEALAND TIMBER & WOOD FACTORY CO. (Limited), *Dunedin*—
  - Mirror (60 × 40) framed in New Zealand Birch, ebonized

### Class 220.

- 245—CHILD, SAMUEL, *Shirley, Christchurch*—
- Picture Frame, in Cones of New Zealand growth
- 246—MYERS, THOMAS, *Wellington*—
- Sample Picture Frame
- 247—SALMON, KATE, *Wellington*—
- 2 Cone Picture Frames (Seaweed and Ferns)
- 1 Cone Bracket

## **Class 222.**

- 250—FISHER, HUGH, *Thames*—
- Colonial Oven and Grate made in New Zealand
- 251—SCOTT BROTHERS, *Christchurch*—
- Stoves

## **Class 223.**

- 255—BURT, A. AND T., Plumbers, *Dunedin*—
- Gasaliers

## **Class 224.**

- 260—GUTHRIE AND LARNACH'S NEW ZEALAND TIMBER AND WOOD FACTORY COMPANY (Limited), *Dunedin*—
- 3 Tubs
- 6 Buckets

## **Class 225.**

- 265—THOMSON, THOS., *Bluff Harbour*—
- Washing Machine

## **Class 227.**

- 270—GREENFIELD AND STEWART, *Wellington*—
- Mantel-shelf of New Zealand Wood
- 271—HALLEY AND EWING, *Wellington*—
- Door of Red Pine, New Zealand Wood
- 272—STEWART AND CO., *Wellington*—
- Door of New Zealand Wood
- 273—GUTHRIE AND LARNACH'S NEW ZEALAND TIMBER AND WOOD FACTORY COMPANY (Limited), *Dunedin*—
- Ornamental Inner Hall Door, made of inlaid New Zealand Woods: Rimu, Mako, Rewa-rewa, Kauri, Totara, Horopito, Kakikatea, Hoehere, Manuka
- Marquetry Flooring of same timbers. Portable, and can be used as floor cloth; can be laid at 12s. 6d. per yard

## **Group—YARNS AND WOVEN GOODS OF VEGETABLE OR MINERAL MATERIALS.**

## **Class 229.**

- 280—BEVAN, THOMAS, JUNR., *Waikawa, Foxton*—
- Fishing Line, 55 fathoms
- Ball of Double Twine
- 2 Balls of Single Twine
- Lead Line, 16 fathoms
- 2-inch Rope, 14 fathoms

- 2 Horse Halters (double twine)
- Fishing Line, 50 fathoms
- Coloured Fibre
- Coloured Twine
- All made from New Zealand Flax
- 281—ELLIS AND NICHOLSON, *Dunedin*—
- Samples of Flock for Upholstering purposes
- 282—KING, W. R., *New Plymouth*—
- 39 Kits made by Maoris from New Zealand Flax
- 21 Kits made by Maoris from New Zealand Flax
- 2 Native Mats by Maoris from New Zealand Flax
- 2 Native Mats by Maoris from New Zealand Flax
- Large Antimacassar
- 283—MC GLASHAN EDWARD, *Dunedin*—
- Sample of Fibre for Spinning
- Sample of Grass
- 284—NATTRASS, LUKE, *Bridge Street. Nelson*—
- Sample Sack made of New Zealand flax
- Sample of raw flax

## **Group—WOVEN AND FELTED GOODS OF WOOL AND MIXTURE OF WOOL.**

### **Class 236.**

- 290—KAIAPOI WOOLLEN MANUFACTURING CO. (Limited), *Kaiapoi, Canterbury*—
- Samples of Flannel, Cricketing, etc., of New Zealand manufacture
- 291—MOSGIEL WOOLLEN FACTORY CO., *Mosgiel, Dunedin*—
- Flannels of New Zealand manufacture

### **Class 237.**

- 296—KAIAPOI WOOLLEN MANUFACTURING CO. (Limited)—
- Blankets of New Zealand manufacture
- 297—MOSGIEL WOOLLEN FACTORY CO., *Mosgiel, Dunedin*—
- Shawls, Blankets, of New Zealand manufacture

### **Class 238.**

- 300—BRAITHWAITE, A., *Hutt, Wellington*—
- Yarn, Homespun, made by a Station hand from similar Wool as exhibited in Division K.
- 301—HENRY, MISS MARY, *Nelson*—
- Woollen Scarf, spun and knitted by hand from Wool grown in Nelson District
- 302—KAIAPOI WOOLLEN MANUFACTURING CO. (Limited), *Kaiapoi, Canterbury*—
- Samples of Yarn
- Samples of Plaiding
- Samples of Tweed
- 303—MOSGIEL WOOLLEN FACTORY COMPANY, *Mosgiel, Dunedin*—
- Woollen Fabrics of New Zealand Manufacture

### **Class 239.**

- 310—COOK WILLIAM, *Wellington*—
- Four Mats made of New Zealand Flax and Wool
- 311—LAWLESS, THOMAS, *Thames*—
- Woolwork in Frame

## **Class 241.**

- 316—JORDAN, JOSEPH, *Dunedin*—
  - Counterpane or Table Cover (Ornamented)
- 317—LOCKWOOD, MRS., *Timaru*—
  - Antimacassar

## **Group—SILK AND SILK FABRICS, AND MIXTURES IN WHICH SILK IS THE PREDOMINATING MATERIAL.**

### **Class 242.**

- 325—GRAHAM, RICHARD EDWARD, *Auckland*—
  - Silk (the produce of 1,000 Silk Worms 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.

### **Class 247.**

- 330—HENRY, MRS. LUCIEN, *Castle St., Dunedin*—
  - Silk Cushion with cover

### **Class 249.**

- 335—GREENSHIELDS, WALTER, Bracemaker, *Auckland*—
  - Braces and Belts (Silk Orné) mounted with Silver from Thames, manufactured at Auckland. Chiefly made to order as presents, with names woven in and embossed thereon.

## **Group—CLOTHING, JEWELLERY, AND ORNAMENTS—TRAVELLING EQUIPMENTS.**

### **Class 250.**

- 340—BEEBY, MRS., *Queenstown, Otago*—
  - Knitted Counterpane
- 341—BLACK, MARGARET ANN, *Wellington*—
  - Samples of Knitted Goods and Hosiery
- 342—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.

### **Class 251.**

- 346—ALMAO, V., *Dunedin*—
  - Hats and Caps, manufactured by the Exhibitor
- 347—ANDERSON, JOHN, *Dunedin*—
  - Boots and Shoes (made in Dunedin)
- 348—COOMBES AND SON, *Dunedin*—
  - Boots and Shoes
- 349—HYDE, GEORGE, *Christchurch*—
  - pair Men's Boots
  - pair Women's Boots
- 350—INGLIS, A. AND T., *Dunedin*—
  - Boots and Shoes (Manufactured by the Exhibitors)
- 351—KINGSLAND AND COMPANY, J., *Invercargill*—
  - Leather Work, consisting of Shoes, Boot Uppers, &c.

- 352—LIGHTBAND, ALLAN AND Co., *Christchurch*—
- Boots and Shoes of New Zealand Manufacture
- 353—LUCIEN, MRS. HENRY, *Castle Street, Dunedin*—
- Pair of Slippers (Inserted Work)
- 354—MARRIOTT, MRS. THOMAS, *Wellington*—
- Bonnet made from Lace Bark
- 355—NEAL, HENRY, *Motueha, Nelson*—
- Hat made from Phormium Tenax, or New Zealand Flax
- 356—SARSOOD, SON & EWEN, *Dunedin*—
- Boots and Shoes

## **Class 252.**

- 360—BINNS, Mrs. GEORGE, *Wellington*—
- Old Point Lace (Imitation), Hand Made
- 361—BRIDGEN, MRS. A., *Wellington*—
- Hand Screen
- Round Table Cover
- Afternoon Tea Cloth
- Embroidered Bracket
- 362—HENRY, LUCIEN, Mrs., *Castle Sheet, Dunedin*—
- Lace Handkerchief
- 363—O'CONNEL L, MRS. JOANNA, *Mount Street, Auckland*—
- Limerick Lace—Baby's Robe, worked by hand by the Exhibitor
- 364—WILSON, Miss ANNA, *Dunedin*—
- Specimen of Point Lace

## **Class 253.**

- 370—COGAN, JOHN, *Naseby, Dunedin*—
- Chain made chiefly of Gold found at Maniatoto
- Pin made chiefly of Gold found at Maniatoto
- 371—KOHAN AND CO., *Dunedin*—
- Gold and Silver work
- 372—PETERSEN, B., AND CO., *Christchurch*—
- Jewellery
- 373—PROCTER, THOS. R., *Christchurch*—
- Specimens of Jade, manufactured and unmanufactured
- 374—SANDSTEIN. M., *Christchurch*—
- Jewellery
- 375—TELFER, JOHN T., *Dunedin*—
- Jewellery (colonial made)
- 376—WILLIAMS AND SON, *Picton*—
- Pearl (Black) found by a Maori in a Mussel caught in Tory Channel, Marlborough Province

## **Class 254.**

- 380—BEISSEL, F., *Dunedin*—
- Hair and Artificial Hair Work
- 381—BURT, A. AND T., Plumbers, *Dunedin*—
- Lady's Electro-Plated Cotton Reel Stand

## **Class 256.**

- 386—LIARDET, H. E., *Wellington*—
- Specimens of Furrier's Work

## **Group—PAPER, BLANK BOOKS, AND STATIONERY.**

## **Class 260.**

- 390—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
- 391—MATAURA PAPER MILL COMPANY (Limited), *Mataura*—
  - Brown and Grey Wrapping Paper manufactured chiefly from Native New Zealand Grass
- 392—MC GLASHAN, EDWARD, *Dunedin*—
  - Sample of Paper Stock made from New Zealand Grass
- 393—OTAGO PAPER COMPANY (Limited), *Dunedin*—
  - Two Samples of Brown Wrapping Paper manufactured by the Exhibitors

## **Class 261.**

- 400—BURRETT, ROBERT, *Wellington*—
  - Specimens of Bookbinders' Work
- 401—DIDSBURY, GEORGE, *Wellington*—
  - Specimens of Bookbinders' Work
  - 1 10-qr. Super Royal Ledger—Bound in Russia Under Bands, with loose Index in lied Basil
  - 1 10-qr. Journal—Bound in Green Vellum, Single Russia Bands
  - 1 10-qr. Cash Book—Bound Full Rough Calf, Double Russia Bands
  - Set of 11 Volumes of the Transactions of "The New Zealand Institute"—Bound in Calf Half Extra
- 402—FERGUSON AND MITCHELL, *Dunedin*—
  - Account Books, &c.
- 403—LYON AND BLAIR, *Wellington*—
  - Specimen of Bookbinders' Work
- 404—SMITH, J. T. AND Co., *Christchurch*—
  - Specimen of Bookbinding
- 405—TOMBS AND DAVIES, *Christchurch*—
  - Specimen of Bookbinding, Account Books, &c.
- 406—WISE, HENRY AND CO., *Dunedin*—
  - Books

## **Group—MEDICINE, SURGERY, PROTHESIS.**

### **Class 272.**

- 415—ELDER, WILLIAM, *Dunedin*—
  - Samples of Cod Liver Oil
- 416—INNES, WILLIAM MARTIN, *Port Chalmers*—
  - Bottles of Cod Liver Oil—2 Quarts
- 417—MONTEITH, J., *Wellington*—
  - Case of Assorted Medicines
- 418—NEIL, JAMES, Herbalist, *Dunedin*—
  - Botanical Medicines
- 419—WETZEL, JOHN, *Wanganui*—
  - Medicines

### **Class 276.**

- 425—PACKER, J. A., *Nelson*—
  - Artificial Leg, with Movable Joints

## **Group—HARDWARE, EDGE TOOLS, CUTLERY, AND METALLIC PRODUCTS.**

## **Class 281.**

435—KEMPTHORNE, PROSSER, AND CO., NEW ZEALAND DRUG COMPANY (Limited)—

- Knife Polish

## **Class 282.**

440—BURT, A. AND T., *Dunedin*—

- Large Bell (6 cwt.), mounted with wheel
- 441—SCOTT BROTHERS, *Christchurch*—
- Ornamental Castings

## **Class 283.**

446—BIRLEY, PETER, Engineers' Smith, *Auckland*—

- Wrought Iron Work. Fuschia on a Stick. Flowers and Leaves from Nature

## **Group—FABRICS OF VEGETABLE, ANIMAL, OR MINERAL MATERIALS.**

## **Class 284.**

450—FFROST, JOHN W., *Wellington*—

- Rubber Stamps (Self Inking)
  - Vulcanite Rubber, Stereotypes
- 451—SNOWDON, T. H., *Christchurch*—
- Patent Hand Printing Press, Six Colours
  - Vulcanite Hand Stamp
  - Rubber Stamp
  - One Stamp of various kinds of Rubber

## **Class 285.**

460—HARBUTT, THOMAS J., Wholesale Brush Manufacturer, *Victoria Street, Auckland*—

- Brush Ware made of Bristles, Hair, Fibre Whisk, &c. The woodwork chiefly of New Zealand growth
  - Made by people taught the trade within the last three years; 26 hands, male and female, employed.
- 461—NEW ZEALAND BRUSH, BROOM AND FIBRE CO., *Dunedin*—
- Brushes, Brooms, &c., manufactured from native fibre

## **Class 286.**

470—AUCKLAND STEAM ROPE FACTORY, *Ponsonby, Auckland*

- 1 Coil White Manilla Rope, 5-in, 4 strands
  - 1 do do do do 5-in, 3 do
  - 1 do each 4, 3, 2½, 2, 1½, 1, ½ inch
  - 1 do Hawser, 6-in, 4 strand
  - 1 do do 5-in, 4 do
  - 1 do do 4-in, 3 do
  - 1 do do 3-in, Rope
  - 1 parcel dressed Flax
- 471—DONACHY, MICH., Rope Manufacturer, *Dunedin*—
- Manilla
  - New Zealand Flax
  - Ropes made the Exhibitor

## **Class 288.**

476—JENNINGS, D. H., *Motueka, Nelson*

- Nest of 3 Baskets, made of native material

- Card of Pawa Shell Ornaments

## **Class 294.**

- 486—CLARK, ALEXANDER, *Heddon Bush Station, Southland*—
- "Stockman's Crackers," made by the Exhibitor
- 487—COOK, JAMES, *Wyndham Street, Auckland*—
- Set of Carriage Harness Furniture
- Close Plated Silver on German Silver. The Hames are forged wrought iron, except the Dees, which are of German Silver
- The rest of the Articles, except the Rosettes and Ornaments, are made of German Silver, moulded and cast in the ordinary way
- The Rosettes and Ornaments are made by means of Steel Dies, into which the Silver is poured and pressed by a counterpart
- 488—COOMBES AND SON, *Dunedin*—
- Two Saddles. Manufactured by the Exhibitors
- 489—HUNTER, GEORGE DAVID, *Te Awamutu, Waikato*—
- Lady's Bridle. Sewn and made by hand by the Exhibitor

## **Department III.**

### **Education and Science.**

#### **Group—EDUCATIONAL SYSTEMS, METHODS AND LIBRARIES.**

#### **Class 301.**

- 500—BUCHANAN, JOHN, F.L.S., *Geological Survey Office, Wellington*—
- Illustrations of Grasses and Alpine Plants of New Zealand, drawn on stone
- 501—BURTON, JOSEPH R., Taxidermist to the Colonial Museum of New Zealand, *Wellington*—
- Specimens of Taxidermist's art
- 502—COLONIAL MUSEUM AND GEOLOGICAL SURVEY DEPARTMENT OF NEW ZEALAND—
- Director—JAMES HECTOR, C.M.G., M.D., F.R.S.,
- *Collection illustrating the Geology and Natural History of New Zealand*  
[For Particulars See New Zealand Hand-Book and Appendix.]
- 503—ENYS, J. D., *Christchurch*—
- Three cases of Stuffed Birds
- 504—GORDON, WM., *Wanganui*—
- Three vegetable Caterpillars
- 505—HAAST, PROF. JULIUS VON, Ph.D., F.R.S, Director of the Canterbury Museum
- Collection illustrating the Ethnology of New Zealand, selected from the Canterbury Museum, Christchurch
- Ethnology of Pre-historic Races beyond the Australian Colonies. (Stone Implements). Maps and Sections  
[FOR FULL DESCRIPTION OF THIS COLLECTION, SEE APPENDIX.]
- 506—JENNINGS, E., *Dunedin*—
- Three Stuffed Mammals (Indian Fox, Monkey and Persian Gazelle)
- Six Stuffed Birds, viz.: New Zealand Falcon, Virginian Owl, New Zealand Ground Parrot, Swamp Hen, Albatross, Spotted Shag
- Two specimens (Male and Female) of Trout (*Salmo Fario*), bred in the Shag River, Otago
- 507—ZOUCH, W. H., *Ashburton, Canterbury*—
- Case of Stuffed Birds—Two Spoon-bill Ducks, one Mako-moko, one Tui

#### **Class 305.**

515—SYDENHAM BOROUGH COUNCIL—

- Chart of Statistics and views of Buildings in the Borough

## Class 306.

525—BARRAUD, C. D., *Wellington*—

- Copy of "The New Zealand Graphic"

526—COLENZO, W., F.L.S., NAPIER—

- New Testament, printed in Maori in New Zealand, 1837. 1st Copy of New Testament printed in Southern Hemisphere (Edition 5000 copies)
- Prayer Book, printed in Maori in New Zealand, 1839
- Early Public Papers, viz.:
  - ¶ 1st Government Gazette, 1840
  - ¶ 1st English Placard, 1836
  - ¶ 1st ditto Circular, 1835
  - ¶ 1st ditto Prospectus, 1839
  - ¶ 1st ditto Proclamation, 1840
  - ¶ 2nd ditto Proclamation, 1840
  - ¶ 3rd ditto Proclamation, 1840
  - ¶ 4th ditto Proclamation, 1840
  - ¶ Treaty of Waitangi in Maori
  - ¶ 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 (Bishop 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

527—LOGAN, JOHN, *Dunedin*—

- Files from the first Newspaper published in Otago

## Group.—SCIENTIFIC AND PHILOSOPHICAL INSTRUMENTS AND METHODS.

### Class 307.

535—HARGREAVES, THOS., *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 Light House, 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 18-ft. wave per minute, the machine would be equal to 19 horse power, and with 3 waves per minute, each 5-ft. it would give 22 horse power. It has been favourably reviewed in "The English Mechanic and World of Science" of October 22nd, 1875.

536—SANDERSON, JAMES, *Dunedin*—

- Level Staff for Civil Engineers and Land Surveyors

538—THOMSON, THOMAS, *Bluff Harbour*—

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

### Class 309.

550—THOMSON, THOMAS, *Bluff Harbour*—

- Method of Lifting Weights

## Class 313.

560—WEST, GEORGE R., *Dunedin*—

- Sample of Music, Lithographed and Printed by Thomas George, Dunedin

## Group—ENGINEERING, ARCHITECTURE, CHARTS, MAPS, AND GRAPHIC REPRESENTATIONS.

## Class 314.

570—AYERS, A., *Christchurch*—

- Two views of Christchurch, with statistical information of Canterbury

571—BROWN, S., *Wellington*—

- Model of Cape Farewell Lighthouse

572—DEVERELL, WALTER, *Invercargill*—

- Specimens of Survey Drafting

573—GEORGE, THOS., *Dunedin*—

- Plan and Soundings of Otago Harbour

574—HOLLIDAY, CAPT. J., *Wellington*—

- Plan of Wellington Harbour

575—LYTTLETON HARBOUR BOARD—

- Model of Lyttleton Harbour

*Breakwaters.*—The Breakwaters are formed of nibble stone blasted from the Quarries at Naval and Officer's Points, and deposited on the respective sites as shewn 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 2,010 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 1,400 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 three years, during which period 756,090 cubic yards, or 1,049,725 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 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 2,700 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 2,000 tons.

*Berthage Space for Vessels within the Inner Harbour, Lyttelton.*—The Berthage Space at the Wharves as shewn in the model is as follows:—

would be capable of Berthing the following number of Vessels:—

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 up to the present date is £344,000, which sum 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 shewn on the Model is now being tendered for, 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:*—

*Wharfage and Port Dues, Receipts, 1878.*—During the year 1878 the Wharfage and Harbour Dues in the Port of Lyttelton amounted to £29,113.

*Shipping Returns, Lyttelton, for Year ending 30th June, 1879:*—

*Panoramic Photograph of the Harbour of Lyttelton.*—A Photographic view of the Harbour of Lyttelton

accompanies the Model, and shews the works already married 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:—

Year.	Wheat.	Oats.	Barley.	Potatoes.	Acres.	Bushels.	Average Yield	Acres.	Bushels.	Average Yield	Acres.	Tons.	Average Yield	Tons.
1876	57,500	1,770,363	30 2/3	72,522	2,888,683	30 3/4	16,820	620,699	37 3,140	17,895	5 2/3	1877	92,417	2,707,627
29 1/3	70,032	2,106,800	31 1/2	16,047	505,700	31 1/3	3,423	19,886	5 3/4	1878	147,197	3,399,353	23 86,728	2,396,483
27 3/4	13,757	335,733	24 1/4	4,419	26,786	6	1879	173,895	3,621,820	21 128,384	3,237,462	25 17,062	371,009	21 3/4
4,613	26,766	5 7/8												

The number of Sheep now depastured within the Canterbury District is 3½ millions.

Two 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.

576—MACGEORGE, LESLIE DUNCAN, *Clyde, Vincent County*—

- Plan of Suspension Bridge over River Clutha
- 577—O'CONNOR, E., C.E., *Hokitika*—
- Plans and Photographs of Nelson Creek Water Race
- 578—ROSE, JOHN, *Dunedin*—
- Model of Breakwater

## Class 319.

585—SPREAT, W. W. J., *Wellington*—

- Litho. Map of Otago, by the Exhibitor

## Group.—PHYSICAL AND MORAL CONDITION OF MAN.

## Class 322.

590—BURNSIDE, H., *Dunedin*—

- Model of the Residence of Hon. R. Campbell, Otekaika
- 591—NEW ZEALAND GOVERNMENT, *Wellington*—
- Maori Carved House, "Matatua," from Whakatane

## Department IV. Art.

## Group.—SCULPTURE.

## Class 400.

600—HENDERSON AND FERGUS, *Sculptors, Dunedin*—

- Carving in Stone
- 601—MUNRO, GEO., *Dunedin*—
- Kakanui Stone—Worked Drapery Vase
- 602—NATIVE AFFAIRS: THE HON. THE MINISTER FOR—*Wellington*—
- Bust of The Late Native Chief, "Hapuku"
- 603—OAMARU STONE COMPANY (Limited)—
- Carved Stone, by L. Godfrey—Subject "Duck and Pukeka," with ferns and creepers
- 604—THOMSON AND COMPANY, *Sculptors, Dunedin*—
- Carving in Native White Marble

## Class 401.

610—BENSEN, P., *Wellington*—

- Carved Relief of Artemis (Diana)

## Class 402.

614—DUNCAN, A. S., *Grove, Queen Charlotte Sound*—

- Bronze Medal, struck in commemoration of Captain Cook leaving England, March, 1772

## Class 405.

616—BANCHOPE & Co, *Port Chalmers, Dunedin*—

- Samples of Vases and Ornaments made from Fern Trees

617—HUME, J, *Dunedin*—

- Carving from Native New Zealand Wood (Mika Mika) Walking Stick

618—WILLIAMS, EDWARD, *Caversham, Dunedin*—

- Panel of Red Pine, mounted

## Group.—PAINTING.

### Class 406.

621—ALLAN, ALEXANDER S., *Wellington*—

- Oil Painting, Anchorage at Kapiti, Cook's Straits

622—BARRAUD, C. D., *Wellington*—

- Two Oil Paintings—  
• Mitre Peak, Milford Sound  
• Hall's Arm

623—CALDER JOHN, *Thames*—

- Oil Painting, "Karangahape Gorge," Ohinimuri, Thames

624—CHARTERS, W. W., *Christchurch*—

- Oil Paintings—  
• Ship "Piako" N. Z. S. Co., (Limited)  
• Ship "Otaki" N. Z. S. Co., (Limited)  
• Ship "Waimate" N. Z. S. Co., (Limited)  
• Ship "Rangitikei" N. Z. S. Co., (Limited)

625—DRIVER, H. D., *Thames*—

- Oil Painting, "Fishing Rock," Thames

626—GIBB, J., *Christchurch*—

- Oil Paintings—  
• Godby Heads, Lyttelton  
• Milford Sound, West Coast  
• Akaroa Harbour  
• Little River, head of Lake Forsyth  
• Fishing Boats on the Estuary of the Avon

627—GIBB, WM., *Christchurch*—

- Oil Paintings—  
• Okutu Valley, Little River  
• Beach, Akaroa  
• Bush, Little River

628—GIFFORD, E. A., *Oamaru*

- Oil Paintings—  
• Milford Sound with Mitre Peak  
• Sunset Glow near Oamaru

629—LAISHLEY, REV. R., *Thames*—

- Oil Paintings—

- ♣ Finding the Body of William Rufus in the New Forest
  - ♣ Children in the Wood
  - ♣ Maori woman with Peaches
- 630—LOGAN, H. F., *Wellington*—
  - Oil Painting, "Fruit" by C. Stuart
- 631—LUXFORD, G. H., *Wellington*—
  - Oil Painting of Glencoe, Isle of Arran
  - Native Scenery on River Wakanae
- 632—MACKENZIE, GEORGE, *Dunedin*—
  - Four Oil Paintings by J. D. Moultrie, Edinburgh
- 633—MARTIN, ALBNI, *Auckland*—
  - Oil Painting, Explosion of Dynamite, Snagging Thames River, by the Exhibitor
  - Frame entirely colonial, by John Leech
- 634—MC DUFF, J., *Dixon Street, Wellington*—
  - Heraldry Painting
- 635—NEVILLE, LOUIS, *Christchurch*—
  - View of Lake Wanaka, New Zealand
- 636—PAYTEN, MRS. C. H., *Christchurch*,—
  - Oil Painting—
    - ♣ "Brazenose Peak" Akaroa
- 637—POWER, P., *Dunedin*—
  - Oil Paintings of Local Scenery
- 638—POWNALL, R. W., *Nelson*—
  - Oil Paintings—
    - ♣ Nelson Boat Harbour at Sunrise
    - ♣ Astrolabe Roadstead, Blind Bay at Evening
    - ♣ By the Wayside, Ngatimoti, Nelson
- 639—RICHMOND, HIS HONOUR, MR JUSTICE, *Wellington*—
  - Oil Painting, "Lake Rotorua" by J. C. Richmond
- 640—SMITH, ROBERT FERGUS—*Dunedin*—
  - Oil Paintings of New Zealand Scenery
- 641—THOMSON, J. T., F.R.G.S., F.R.S.S.A., *Wellington*—
  - Oil Paintings
    - ♣ 1. Mt. Earnslaw, Otago
    - ♣ 1. Valley of Water of Leith
    - ♣ 1. Kirtle Burn
    - ♣ 1. Natural Bridge, Molyneux River
- 642—WATKINS, K., *Auckland*—
  - Four Oil Paintings—
    - ♣ "Winter's Morning in a Forest Clearing"
    - ♣ "Break of a North Easter"
    - ♣ Gorge of Wairakau, Whangaroa, Bay of Islands
    - ♣ Sunset from St. Paul's Bay of Islands
- 643—WATKINS, W. M. N., *Christchurch*—
  - Oil Painting—"On The Morain," Mount Cook in distance
- 644—WILSON, SIR JOHN CRACROFT, C.B., K.C.S.I.—
  - Oil Painting—"Arab Horse and Groom," by Barraud

## **Class 407.**

- 660—ANSTED, Mrs. F. S., *Oamaru*—
  - Water Colour—"Basket of Fruit"
  - ♣ "By the Way Side," Ngatimoti, Nelson
- 661—BARRAUD, C. D., *Wellington*—
  - Two Water Colours—
    - ♣ "Wet Jacket Arm," Dusky Sound
    - ♣ "Doubtful Sound"
- 662—BLACK, A., *Dunedin*—

- Two Water Colours of Port Chalmers, by R. A. Hancock.  
663—BRANDON, H. E. de B., *Wellington*—
- Water Colours—
  - ‡Hall's Arm, Smith Sound, West Coast, New Zealand
  - ‡Near the Entrance to Milford Sound Do.
  - ‡Milford Sound from below Fresh Water Basin
  - ‡Moonlight in Milford Sound
- 664—CARTER, JOHN J., *Dunedin*—
- Water Colour Drawing of New Zealand Scenery
- 665—FOX, LADY, *Rangitikei*—
- Water Colour, New Zealand Shrubs and Flowers from Nature by Miss King, Taranaki
- 666—GIFFORD, E. A., *Oamaru*—
- Water Colour, "Winter's Day" Lake Pukaki, Mount Coonik the distance
- Water Colour, "Sheep Station," Ben Ohow, Mackenzie Country
- Water Colour, "Round Boulders," Moeraki Beach
- Water Colour, "Moeraki Beach and Boulders"
- 667—GULLY, JOHN, *Nelson*—
- Water Colours—
  - ‡"Winter Sunset," Lake Wakatipu, Otago
  - ‡Junction of Otira and Teramakau Rivers," West Coast, South Island, New Zealand
  - ‡Needle Peak," Milford Sound (Stormy)
  - ‡Teramakau Valley," Early Morning
  - ‡Lake Pearson," Valley of The Cass, West Coast Road (Stormy)
  - ‡Entrance to Otira Gorge," Sunset
  - ‡Valley of the Cass," West Coast, South Island, New Zealand (Sunset on Snow)
  - ‡Valley of The Wairarapa," North Island
- 668—HALCOMBE, Mrs. E., *Fielding, Wellington*—
- Water Colour, "Lake Rhea," Otago (by the Exhibitor)
- 669—HARRIS, MISS E., *Nile-street Bast, Nelson*—
- Twenty-eight Water Colours (drawings of New Zealand wild flowers and berries)
- 670—HORNE, C. W., *St. George's Bay Road, Auckland*—
- Water Colour "Dead Wood," Pukekohi, Auckland
- Water Colour "A Rough Sketch," Pukekohi, Auckland
- 671—HORNE, M. W., *Fern Bank, St. George's Road, Auckland*—
- Water Colour, "Bush Clearing by Sunset"
- Water Colour, "Forest Track," West Pukekohi, Auckland
- 672—HOYTE, J. C., *Dunedin*—
- Four Water Colours, New Zealand Scenery
- 673—HUDDLESTONE, F. C., *Lake Wanaka, Dunedin*—
- Five Water Colours of Scenery in the Wanaka and Hawea Lake Districts of Otago
- 674—KESTEVEN, Dr., *Wellington*—
- Sketches of Sydney and Suburbs taken 50 years ago, by Edw. Mason
- 675—LEEVEES, N., *Rothsay, Dunedin*—
- Water Colours, Local Scenery
- 676—NEVILLE, L., *Christchurch*—
- Five Water Colours, New Zealand Scenery
  - ‡View of Port Lyttelton
  - ‡View of Forty Mile Bush
  - ‡View of Lake Wakatipu
  - ‡View on Lake Wakatipu
  - ‡View on Lake Wakatipu
- 677—NUTT, MISS, *Dunedin*—
- Twenty-four Water Colour Designs of New Zealand Ferns from Nature
- 678 PALMER, R. G., *Foxton, Manawatu*—
- Water Colour—
  - ‡River Scenery, West Coast
  - ‡Kai Warra Warra Gorge, Wellington
- 679—PHAKAZYN, Mrs. C., *Longwood, Featherston*—

- Water Colours, by the Exhibitor—  
Picton Harbour  
Rimutuka Coach Road, Wairarapa  
Wellington Harbour  
680—ROSCOE, MISS A., *Christchurch*—
- Water Colours—  
"Peal Forest," Canterbury  
681—STURTEVANT, E., *Newton, Auckland*—
- Water Colour—  
"A Creek Scene," North Wairoa, by the Exhibitor  
682—TIZARD, Mrs. E., *Thames*—
- Water Colours—  
Sixteen of Native New Zealand Flowers  
Four of English Lessons  
683—WARNER, T. PARNELL, *Auckland*—
- Water Colour Landscape  
684—WATKINS, K., *Auckland*—
- New Zealand Fern Trees from Nature  
685—WILLIS, A. D., *Wanganui*—
- Water Colour Painting of Rangitoto Island, Auckland, by a crippled Maori boy

## Group—ENGRAVING AND LITHOGRAPHY.

### Class 410.

- 700—GORDON, W., *Wanganui*—
- Pen and Ink Drawing, "Study Table," by the Exhibitor  
701—HALCOMBE, Mrs. E., *Fielding, Wellington*—
- Sketches of New Zea and Ferns and Forest Trees, by the late W. Swainson, Esq., F.R.S.  
702—PETHERICK, JUNR., JAMES, *Wellington*—
- Crayon Drawing of Rotorua Hot Springs, by Sir W. Fox  
703—SAVAGE, W., *Christchurch*—
- Pen and Ink Drawing, by H. C. W. Wrigg  
704—WRIGG, H. C. W., *Public Works Department, Wellington*—
- Pen and Ink Drawing, "Leisure Hours," by the Exhibitor

### Class 411.

- 709—BURRETT, ROBERT, *Wellington*—
- Specimens of Engraved Work  
710—EDWARDS AND GREEN, *Wellington*—
- Show Frames of assorted Printing  
711—HOLMES, R. T., *Wellington*—
- Steel Plate, with progressive proofs—  
"Wayside Reverie," from an Oil Painting, by Gilbert  
712—LYON AND BLAIR, *Wellington*—
- Specimens of Engraving  
713—PROPRIETORS OF THE "LYTTELTON TIMES," *Christchurch*—
- Specimens of Engraving

### Class 413.

- 720—HALCOMBE, Mrs. E., *Fielding, Wellington*—
- Lithographs of Manchester Block, Fielding Settlement, by the Exhibitor  
721—PROPRIETORS OF THE "LYTTELTON TIMES," *Wellington*—
- Specimens of Lithography  
722—SURVEYOR GENERAL OF NEW ZEALAND, *Wellington*—
- Specimens of Lithographs, by the Survey Department

## Class 414.

730—WISE AND CO., HENRY, *Dunedin*—

- Chromo-lithographs

## Class 415.

740—BARTLETT, R. H., *Auckland*—

- Photographs, Portraits, and Views

741—BOTHAMLEY, A. T., *Wellington*—

- Photographs of Wellington City and its neighbourhood, by the Exhibitor

742—BRAGGE, J., *Wellington*—

- Photographs

743—CHAMBER OF COMMERCE, *Oamaru*—

- Photographs of the Town of Oamaru

744—CHERRILL, N. K., *Christchurch*—

- Photographs, Ceramic Enamel
- Photographs, Carbon, or Autotype
- Photographs, on Porcelain, Glass, Paper, &c.

745—CITY COUNCIL, *Wellington*—

- Photographs of Public Buildings

746—CLIFFORD AND MORRIS, *Dunedin*—

- Photographs

747—COLLIE, W., *Napier*—

- Photographs (silver prints), Negatives taken by the Wet 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 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)

748—CORPORATION OF DUNEDIN—

- Photographs of Dunedin and its neighbourhood

749—FIRE BRIGADE, *Dunedin*—

- Photograph of the Members of the Dunedin Fire Brigade

750—FOY BROS., *Thames*—

- Photographs of the Thames

751—GIBBS, W. B., *Wellington*—

- Photographs of New Zealand Scenery

752—HART, CAMPBELL AND COMPANY, *Queenstown, Wakatipu*—

- Photographic Views of Lake Scenery, Wakatipu District

753—HEMUS AND HANNA, *Auckland*—

- Five Large Photographs—Sir H. Robinson, G.C.M.G.
- Hon. Lady Robinson
- Sir George Grey, &c.
- One Case, Cabinet Photographs

754—HOKITIKA COMMITTEE—

- Photographs of Westland Scenery—Glaciers, Snow Clad Hills

755—MUNDY, D. L.—

- Photographic Views of New Zealand, taken by the Exhibitor

756—TAITE, JOHN, *Hokitika*—

- Photographs

757—TAYLOR, J. J., *Motueka, Nelson*—

- Photographs of Natural Scenery in Nelson Province

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

- Photographs of Scenes in New Zealand, by the Exhibitor

759—WRIGGLESWORTH AND BINNS, *Wellington*—

- One case Albuminized Paper Silver Print Photographs
- Cabinet and Carte-de-Visite Photographs
- Mezzo Tint Portraits

## **Class 416.**

780—BURTON BROS., *Dunedin*—

- Photographs of New Zealand Scenery in carbon and silver

## **Class 417.**

786—DEVERILL, H., *Wellington*—

- Specimens of Photo—Lithography

787—PROPRIETORS OF "THE LYTTTELTON TIMES," *Christchurch*—

- Specimens of Photo—Lithography

788—SURVEYOR-GENERAL OF NEW ZEALAND, *Wellington*—

- Specimens of Photo—Lithographs (printed by the Survey Department)

## **Group—INDUSTRIAL AND ARCHITECTURAL DESIGNS, MODELS, AND DECORATIONS.**

### **Class 419.**

795—LEVES AND SCOTT, *Dunedin*—

- Specimen of Sign Writing

796—POWELL, MRS. H., *Usk Street, Oamaru*—

- Picture in Wool and Silk (Huguenot)

### **Class 420.**

800—LAWSON, A., *Dunedin*—

- Architectural Drawings

801—MASON AND WALES, *Dunedin*—

- Architectural Drawing

802—PETRE, F. W., *Dunedin*—

- Architectural Drawings

## **Group—DECORATIONS WITH CERAMIC AND VITREOUS MATERIALS, MOSAIC AND INLAID WORK.**

## **Class 424.**

815—LEVES AND SCOTT, *Dunedin*—

- Specimens of Glass Embossing

## **Class 427.**

820—COLENZO, W., F.L.S., *Napier*—

- Ancient Asiatic Bell
- Ancient Asiatic Bell (Framed and Glazed Plate of)
- Paper made from Phormium Tenax, before 1838

821—CROSS, JOHN, *Hokitika*—

- Poem written expressly for the Exhibition

822—GORDON, W., *Wanganui*—

- The Lord's Prayer in Maori, illuminated in Maori Tracery, representing Ancient Maori Carvings
- Maori Grammar (1820)
- Three Penny Ticket, dated River Hutt, 1845

823—HENRY, BRIDGET, *Kensington, Dunedin*—

- Picture in Silk and Worsted Work

824—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 McLean, who was murdered in Australia. It was sold by his brother, the Rev. D. McLean, to the Exhibitor.

825—M'CARDELL, J. F., *Ghristchurch*—

- Illuminated Calendar, noting the birth and death of musical celebrities, by the Exhibitor

826—MILNE, A., *Wanganui*—Engraving on Glass of Racehorses

827—PORTER, JAS., *Waiotahi, Thames*—

- Glass Decanter containing a Puzzle

828—WAITE, J. E., *Thames*—

- China Dish (Raised Figures) 200 years old

## **Department V. Machinery.**

### **Group.—MACHINES AND TOOLS FOR WORKING METAL, WOOD, AND STONE.**

#### **Class 514.**

856—PUBLIC WORKS DEPARTMENT. THE HON. THE MINISTER OF, *New Zealand*—

- Variety of Forgings, viz.:—
  - Four Wheels
  - Two Axles
  - Seven Buffers
  - One Piston and Rod for Steam Hammer
  - Made at the Government Works, Port Chalmers

### **Group.—HYDRAULIC AND PNEUMATIC APPARATUS, PUMPING, HOISTING AND LIFTING.**

#### **Class 552.**

860—BURT, A. AND T., *Plumbers, Dunedin*—

- Specimen of Pumps

## **Class 557.**

885—BURT, A. AND T., *Plumbers, Dunedin*—

- Corking Machine (complete)
- Bottling Syphon

## **Class 558.**

895—BURT, A. AND T., *Plumbers, Dunedin*—

- Samples of Brass and Copper Taps
- Joints and other Castings, and Plumbers Work
- Three Wall Boards with Specimens of Pipes
- Loose Samples of Large Lead Pipes

## **Class 576.**

900—BURT, A. AND T., *Plumbers, Dunedin*—

- Specimen of Refrigerator

## **Group.—AERIAL, PNEUMATIC, AND WATER TRANSPORTATION.**

## **Class 581.**

921—GREEN, HY. THOS., *Pelichet Bay, Dunedin*—

- Sculling Outrigger Wager Skiff

922—LOVE, JOHN THOMPSON, *Wellington*—

- Fireproof Marine Safety Chest

923—LUXFORD, G. H., *Wellington*—

- Model of a Maori Canoe

924—NEW ZEALAND SHIPPING CO. (Limited), *Christchurch*—

- Models of Ships, viz.:—"Orari," "Mataura," "Opawa,"
- "Piako" "Wanganui"

925—UNION STEAM SHIPPING CO. OF NEW ZEALAND, *Dunedin*—

- Model of s.s. "Rotomahana," 1700 tons, 450 horse power belonging to the Company
- Model of s.s. "Wakatipu," 1796 tons, 250 horse power belonging to the Company

## **Department VI. Agriculture.**

## **Group.—ANIMAL PRODUCTS, LAND AND MARINE (USED AS FOOD).**

## **Class 600.**

934—BLAKE AND SON, CHAS., *Picton*—

- One cask Pickled Herrings, 6d. doz., cask 6s.
- Three tin boxes smoked Picton Bloaters, each 4 doz., 9d. per doz., boxes 1s. 6d. each

935—INNES, WM. MARTIN, *Port Chalmers*—

- Samples of Dried Fish (Red Cod), Smoked Barracouta

936—M'DONALD AND MILLER, *Green Island, Dunedin*—

- Four Hams
- Six sides
- Bacon Two
- rolls Bacon
- Cured by the Exhibitor

937—MEIN, W. H., *Christchurch*—

- Samples of Preserved Meats, viz.:—Boiled and Corned Beef, Spiced Mutton, Corned and Boiled Mutton, Spiced Beef, Haricot Ox Cheek, Sheeps' Tongues, Rissoles, Brawn, Mixed Collops, Pigs' Feet, Turtle Soup, Oxtail, and Mock Turtle Soups, Ham and Chicken, Potted Tongue, Potted Beef  
938—SHEEDY, EDWARD, *Dunedin*—
- Samples of Hams, Bacon and Rolls of Bacon Cured by the Exhibitor  
939—WARBURTON, PIERS ELIOT, *Shenstone Farm, Palmerston North Manawatu*—
- Six Mutton Hams, average weight lbs., salted and smoked, 6d. per lb. over 50 lbs.  
940—WETZEL, JOHN, *Wanganui*—
- Sample of Preserved Meat

## Class 601.

- 950—BANKS, B. H., *Christchurch*—
- Sample of Cheese from small Farmstead, 7½d. per lb., shipped  
951—BLACKWOOD AND CO., *Invercargill*
- Two Cheeses, made by Allan Galt  
952—CANDY, C. B., *Christchurch*—
- Three Canterbury Cheeses, 218 lbs.  
953—GRAHAM, J. A., *Christchurch*—
- Two Cheeses  
954—KIRKLAND, WM., *Elm Grove, East Taieri*—
- Two Cheeses, made by the Exhibitor  
955—KNIGHT, CHAS., *Richmond, Nelson*—
- Two new large Cheeses, made by the Exhibitor, 1st March, 1879  
956—M'INDOE, ROOT., *Berwick, Lake Waipori*—
- New Milk Cheese, made March, 1879  
957—PATERSON AND M'LEOD, *Dunedin*—
- Sample of Cheese, made in Otago  
958—WADE, JAMES, *New Plymouth*—
- Cheddar Cheese, 31 lbs. 8d. 1b
- Gloucester Cheese, 32 lbs. 8d. 1b
- Won a Prize at the Canterbury Show

## Class 603.

- 970—REW, H. J. U., *Makaraka, Gisborne*—
- Samples of Canned Honey, Beeswax, Mead

## Group.—ANIMAL PRODUCTS, LAND AND MARINE (USED AS MATERIALS).

## Class 604.

- 982—DOWLING, JOHN, *Hokitika*—
- Two Cases of Leather (assorted), viz.:—Yearling Tweed,
- Yearling Wax, Calf Large Wax, Calf Small Wax, Calf
- Memel, Kip Wax, Kip Tweed, Black Rein, Black Harness,
- Brown Harness, Stirrup, Bridle  
983—TYER, ALFRED, *Nghaurangha, Wellington*—
- Two Sides Sole Leather, Tanned with Black Wattle Bark and Valonia
- Three Sides Kip Leather, Tanned with Black Wattle Bark Two Valonia  
984—WALTON, HENRY, *Glen Cragie, Wellington*—
- Basils—Black Grained
- Brown Tanned
- Whites

## Class 607.

- 1000—BARBER, J. AND H., *Wellington*—
- Sample of Tallow
- 1001—HATCH, JOSEPH, *Invercargill*—
- Seal Oil from South Islands, used for making soft soap and preserving leather work
- 1002—WARBURTON, PIERS ELIOT, *Shenstone Farm, Palmerston North, Manawatu*—
- Keg of pure digestive Mutton Tallow, 28s. 6d. per cwt.

## Class 609.

- 1010—BEAL, MRS. MARY, *Dunedin*—
- Ornamental work in Seaweed and Shells

## Group.—ARBORICULTURE AND FOREST PRODUCTS.

## Class 613.

- 1020—AUCKLAND HARBOUR BOARD—
- Specimens of Australian and New Zealand Timber shewing the action of "Teredo navalis"
- 1021—BAGNALL BROS., *Thames*—
- Sample Board of Kahikatea
- 1022—BECKENHAM, REV. JOHN, *Nelson*—
- Section of a Stump of Flowering Fuschia Tree grown in scrub near Nelson, 65 inches in circumference; larger specimens can be obtained
- 1023—HAAST, PROFESSOR JULIUS VON, PH.D., F.R.S, *Director of Canterbury Museum*—
- Timbers of Canterbury and Westland—  
[FOR PARTICULARS SEE APPENDIX.]
- 1024—HOKITIKA COMMITTEE—
- Specimens of Timber, from Westland
- 1025—HOLDSHIP, G., *Auckland*—
- Specimens of large Kauri Timber, grown in New Zealand
- 1026—ISAACS, EDWARD, *Eden Crescent, Auckland*—
- Rough piece of Kauri Timber, shewing the natural formation of Kauri Gum
- 1027—Potts, T. H., *Christchurch*—
- Cones of Forest Trees, grown in New Zealand
- 1028—ROBERTSON AND Co., J. W., *Queenstown*—
- Samples of Birch Totara
- 15s. per 100 feet, delivered at Winton Railway Station
- 1029—TAPPER, R. AND A., *Invercargill*—
- Specimens of Timber, from Southland

## Class 614.

- 1040—BLAIR, W. N., *Engineer-in-Chief for the South Island, Dunedin*—
- 50 polished and named samples of native New Zealand Woods
- 1041—GEORGE, J. C., *Taranaki*—
- Specimens of New Zealand Woods (French polished on face, rough at back)
- 1042—GUTHRIE, ROBERT, *Dunedin*—
- Thirty-one samples, polished and named, of Timbers grown in New Zealand, chiefly in the neighbourhood of Dunedin
- 1043—HALCOMBE, A. F., *Fielding, Manawatu*—
- Eight specimens of native Ornamental Woods
- Table Top, shewing Totara-knot and Honeysuckle (Rewa Rewa)
- 1044—HORNBY, JOHN, *Mount Pleasant Mills, Picton.*—
- Two planks of Rimu, polished
- 1045—JAMES, WM., *Wellington*—
- Specimen of Ornamental Timber, known as "Totara Knot," very handsome when made up into furniture, and will cut into about 30 Veneers
- 1046—NORRIE, WM., *Cabinet Maker, Auckland*—

- Ornamental Timbers from New Zealand Forests
  - 7 Varieties, Mottled Kauri
  - 2 Ditto, Puriri
  - 2 Ditto, Rewa Rewa
  - 1 Ditto, Ake Ake
  - 1 Ditto, Mottled Totara
  - 1 Ditto, Rihikitu
  - 1 Ditto, Rimo
  - 1 Ditto, Curly Kauri
- 1047—OTAGO MUSEUM, *Dunedin*—
- Specimens of Native Timber of Otago
- [FOR PARTICULARS SEE APPENDIX.]
- Portion of Totara Log, worked with Stone Adzes, from Maori Fith-weir, Shag River

## Class 616.

- 1050—BAKER, JAMES E., *Wellington*—
- Collection of Kauri Gum
- 1051—HULL, JUN., AND CO., *Auckland*—
- Sixty lbs. Kauri Gum (ordinary market samples)
- 1052—THAMES PRODUCE COMPANY (Limited), *Thames*—
- Three cases Kauri Gum

## Class 619.

- 1060—POTTS, T. H., *Ohinitaki, Governor's Bay, Christchurch*—
- Statistical Information of Forestry

## Group—AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS.

### Class 623.

- 1071—ADAMS, THOS., *Gisborne*—
- Sample of Maize
- 1072—ALLPORT, ALFRED, *Stoke, Nelson*—
- One bushel Lord Ducie's White Wheat, grown by the Exhibitor
- 1073—ARKELL, JOHN BLENHEIM—
- Sample of Malt
- 1074—BANKS, E. H., *Christchurch*—
- One Bushel each Pearl Barley, Oats, Barley, Short Oats No. 1. Pearl Barley, manufactured at the Crown Stores, from Barley grown within a few miles of Christchurch, market value, F.O.B. £24 per ton
- No. 2. Malting Barley, a fair average sample, yields about 40 bushels per acre, grown on light soil, market value, F.O.B. 6s. per bushel
- No. 3. Short Tartarian Oats, average yield 50 bushels per acre on stiff land, market value, F.O.B., 2s. 4d. per bushel
- No. 4. Tartarian Oats, yields in fair seasons about 4 tons of Oaten Hay per acre, value £4 per ton
- 1075—BOLTON, JOSEPH, *Waimea West, Nelson*—
- One Bushel Pearl Wheat
- One ditto Oats
- 1076—BROWN, ALEXANDER, *Islay Farm, Frankton, Wakatipu*—
- Sample of Milling Wheat—50 Bushels per Acre, 4s. per Bushel
- 1077—COLL, DANIEL, *Waitohi Downs, Timaru*—
- Sample of Swilly White Wheat
- 1078—CUNNINGHAM, P. AND CO., *Christchurch*—
- Velvet Chaff Wheat
- Canadian Oats
- Tuscan Wheat
- Flathead Barley

- Danish Oats
  - Tartarian Oats weighing 44-1bs. per Bushel
  - Velvet Chaff Wheat weighing 66½ per Bushel
  - Tuscan Wheat weighing 68½ per Bushel
  - Hunters White Wheat weighing 65 per Bushel
  - Pearl Wheat weighing 65 per Bushel
  - Hunters White Wheat
  - White Pearl Wheat
  - Seed Tartarian Oats for Hay
  - Red Straw White Wheat
  - Red Chaff Wheat
  - Chevalier Barley
  - Velvet Chaff Wheat
  - Tuscan Wheat
- 1079—DAVIS, WILLIAM LOVELL, *Wakatipu Brewery, Queenstown*—
- One bushel Barley, 58 lbs.; 60 to 70 bushels per acre; grown near Spear Grass Flat. Eagerly bought at 5s. per bushel
- 1080—DODSON, HENRY, *Blenheim*—
- Sample of Malt
  - Sample of Barley
- 1081—DWYER, MATHEW, *Diamond Lake Farm, Frankton, Lake Wakatipu*—
- Sample of Milling Wheat, grown 1070 feet above sea level. Threshed in the open air immediately after reaping, 50 bushels per acre; second successive crop, ground not manured; 4s. per bushel at Frankton Jetty
- 1082—FELL BROS AND CO., *Blenheim*—
- Sample of Malting Barley
- 1083—GIFFORD, ISAAC, *Spring Creek, Marlborough*—
- Sample of Barley
- 1084—GRAT, FLEMING, AND CO., *Invercargill*—
- One bushel Barley, grown and manufactured in Southland
  - One bushel Wheat, grown in Southland
- 1085—GUNN, ROBERT, *Miller's Flat, Wakatipu*—
- One bushel Milling Wheat; 50 bushels per acre; 4s. per bushel
- 1086—HARLEY AND SONS, *Nelson*—
- One bushel Malt
  - Four bushels of Malt, of Nelson growth and manufacture
  - One bushel Barley, grown by W. Nieman, Spring Grove
- 1087—HAYNES, CHARLES, *Merchant, Palmerston, Dunedin*—
- One bushel of Oats
- 1088—HOLDAWAY BROS., *Richmond, Nelson*—
- One bushel Spring Wheat, grown by the Exhibitors
- 1089—HOOPER AND DODSON, *Nelson*—
- One bushel Malt
- 1090—JOEL, MAURICE, *Dunedin*—
- Sample of Malt, from Barley grown in Otago
- 1091—LAMB, JOHN, *Waitemata Mills, Auckland*—
- One bushel Wheat
- 1092—LINTOTT AND OTTERSON, *Oamaru*—
- One bushel Malt, made from Barley grown in Oamaru district, 8s. to 8s. 6d. per bushel
  - One bushel (Malting) Barley, grown by E. Wright, Waitaki
- 1093—MAHER, JOHN, *Wairau, Blenheim*—
- Sample of Wheat
- 1094—MANNING AND CO., S., *Christchurch*—
- One bushel Malt
- 1095—M'BRIDE, FRANCIS, *Frankton Flat, near Queenstown, Wakatipu*—
- Two bags Milling Wheat, grown at Frankton, 45 bushels per acre; third successive crop, 4s. per bushel at Frankton
- 1096—M'GILL, PETER, *Miller, Tokomairiro, Otago*—

- Sample of Pearl Barley
- Sample of Wheat—
  - ♣ Tuscan Wheat, grown at Spear Grass Flat, Teviot District, 68 lbs. to bushel
  - ♣ White Velvet Wheat, grown at Laurence, 1000 feet above the sea level, 66 lbs. to bushel
  - ♣ Red Straw Wheat, grown at Tokomairiro, 66 lbs. to bushel
- One bushel of Oats, grown at Waituhuna
- 1097—M'LAREN, A., *Palmerston, Otago*—
- Sample of Wheat, grown at Palmerston
- 1098—M'NAB, ALEXANDER, *Knapdale, Southland*—
- One bushel Oats, grown in Southland, 3s.
- 1099—MEEK, J. AND T., *Oamuru*—
- No. Bag. Grower. Average per Acre. Bushels per Bush. Description of Land.
  - ♣ Tuscan Wheat Mr. Lane 35 5s. High land
  - ♣ Purple Straw Mr. Kircaldy 35 5s. Lowland
  - ♣ White Velvet Wheat Mr. Stewart 45 5s. High land, limestone formation
  - ♣ Red Straw Wheat Mr. Fulton 35 5s. High land
  - ♣ Barley Mr. Wm. Meek 45 5s. 6d. Low land, limestone formation
  - ♣ Short Oats Mr. Orr 45 2s. 10d. Ridgy land
  - ♣ Danish Oats Mr. John Scott 45 2s. 8d. ditto
  - ♣ Black Tartarian Oats Mr. Morton 55 2s. 8d. Lowland
- 1100—MURRAY, DALGLIESH, AND CO., *Invercargill*—
- One bushel Wheat
- One ditto Barley
- One ditto Oats
- 1101—NEW ZEALAND AGRICULTURAL COMPANY, *Southland*—
- One bushel Oats
- 1102—NEW ZEALAND AND AUSTRALIAN LAND COMPANY, *Pareora, Timaru*—
- One bag Wheat, 66-lb. per bushel, grown on the above estate
- 1103—NEW ZEALAND LOAN AND MERCANTILE AGENCY COMPANY, *Agents for Growers, Oamaru*—
- No. of Bag. Grower. Average per Acre, Buhsels. per Bush. Kind of Land.
  - ♣ White Velvet Wheat. Messrs. Howden and Warnoch. 50 4s. 6d. Red loamy soil
  - ♣ White Velvet Wheat. Messrs Murdock and Watson 38 4s. 9d. Light sandy
  - ♣ White Velvet Wheat. Andrew Bell 40 4s. 6d. Black loamy, on limestone formation
  - ♣ White Velvet (seed). (seed) John Forrester 46 4s. 3d. Black loamy, on limestone formation
  - ♣ White Tuscan Wheat Jas. Gibson 30 4s. 6d. Light loamy soil, lea ground
  - ♣ White Tuscan Wheat Messrs. Fleming and Hedley 37 4s. 6d. Dark loamy soil
  - ♣ Red Straw Wheat Messrs. C. and J. M. Todd 40 4s. 3d. Black loamy, limestone formation
  - ♣ Chevalier Barley Hy. Little 70 5s. 6d. limestone formation
  - ♣ Chevalier Barley Mr. Jessop 35 5s. 6d. Loamy soil, clay subsoil
  - ♣ Canadian Oats Messrs. Fleming and Hedley 54 2s. 6d. Light loamy soil
  - ♣ Barley Oats John Lewis 50 2s. 6d. Black loamy, limestone formation
  - ♣ Danish Oats Andrew Bell 52 2s. 3d. limestone formation
  - ♣ White Velvet Wheat, as gleaned at Harvest Time The Hon. Mathew Holmes wg. lbs. bush. 66 4s 6d. Undulating land, limestone formation
  - ♣ White Velvet Wheat, as gleaned at Harvest Time The Hon. Mathew Holmes wg. lbs. bush. 66 4s 6d. Undulating land, limestone formation
  - ♣ Potato Oats Mathew Holmes 55 acre. 2s. 6d. limestone formation
  - ♣ White Velvet Wheat E. Menlove, Esq. 40 4s. 6d. Undulating land, loamy soil on limestone formation
- 1104—O'CONNOR, PATRICK, *Stafford Place, Waimea West, Nelson*—
- Sample of Pearl Wheat
- 1105—PAUL, J. AND E., *Spring Creek, Marlborough*—
- Sample of Barley
- 1106—PRINGLE, ALEXANDER C., *Timaru*—
- One bushel Barley, grown on Timaru Downs
- 1107—RAMSAY, PETER, *Karamu, Hawke's Bay*—
- One bushel Barley, grown on grass land; 60 lbs. Imperial bushel, 7s.
- 1108—REDWOOD BROS, *Blenheim, Marlborough*—
- Sample of Oats

- 1109—REW, JOHN, *Elderslie, Dunedin*—
  - Sample of Wheat (one bushel)
- 1110—RICHARDSON, GEORGE FREDERICK, *Oaklands, Southland*—
  - One bushel White Canadian Oats, grown by the Exhibitor, 3s.
- 1111—ROYSE, STEAD AND CO, *Wairoa, Hawke's Bay*—
  - One bushel of Hunter's White Wheat, grown on first furrow fern land, 66 lbs. Imperial bushel, 5s.
- 1112—ROYSE, STEAD, AND CO.. *Dunedin*—
  - Sample of Pearl Barley
  - Bushel of Purple Straw Wheat
  - Bushel of White Velvet Wheat
  - Bushel of White Velvet Wheat
  - Bushel of Canadian Oats
  - Bushel of Short Tartarian Oats
  - Bushel of Long Tartarian Oats
  - Bushel of Malting Barley
- 1113—RUNCIMAN, JAMES, *Green Island, Dunedin*—
  - Samples of Wheat and Oats
- 1114—RUSSELL, CAPTAIN W. R., *Karamu, Hawke's Bay*—
  - One bushel Barley, grown on first furrow grass land, 59 lbs. per Imperial bushel, 7s.
  - One bushel White Tuscan Wheat, grown as above, 67 lbs. per imperial bushel
- 1115—SURMAN AND CO., *Invercargill*—
  - One cask Malt, manufactured by the Exhibitors
- 1116—TOWNSHEAD, JOSEPH, *Gore, Southland*—
  - One bushel Oats, 3s.
- 1117—TOMBS, WILLIAM, *Papanui, Christchurch*—
  - Two bushels Hunter's White Wheat, grown in a 10-acre paddock, yielding 74 bushels per acre; cropped the previous year with potatoes, and 3 previous years laid with grass
- 1118—VILE, JOB, *Masterton*—
  - One bushel Tuscan Wheat
  - One bushel Black Tartarian Oats
- 1119—WARD AND CO., *Christchurch*—
  - One bushel Malt
- 1120—WHITE, WILLIAM, *Kaikora, Hawke's Bay*—
  - One bushel Wheat, 6s.
- 1121—WIGLEY, HON, T. H., *Opuka Station, County of Geraldine*—
  - One bushel Wheat (Red Chaff) weighing 66 lbs. net, grown on the above Estate, 4s.

## **Class 624.**

- 1140—DALZIEL, JAMES, *Blenheim*—
  - Sack of Potatoes
- 1141—NEW ZEALAND AGRICULTURAL COMPANY, *Southland*—
  - Two bags Potatoes

## **Class 626.**

- 1150—ANDREW, RICHARD, *Waimea West, Nelson*—
  - Sample of Hops grown in this locality, by the Exhibitor
- 1151—CHILD, SAMUEL, *Shirley, Christchurch*—
  - Sample of Tomato Sauce
- 1152—CREASE, E. H., *Wellington*—
  - Samples of Coffee and Spices, all manufactured and ground by the Exhibitor
- 1153—DURIE, WHITE, AND CO., *Dunedin*—
  - Samples of Coffee and Chicory, roasted and ground by the Exhibitor
- 1154—GARRATT, WILLIAM THOMAS, *Wellington*—
  - "Wellington Relish," Sauce for Meat, Fish, Game
- 1155—GREGG AND CO., W., *Dunedin*—
  - Samples of Coffee, Pepper, Spices

- 1156—HARLEY, ALFRED, *Stoke, Nelson*—
  - Sample of Hops
- 1157—HARLEY THOS. H., *Nelson*—
  - Sample of Hops, season 1879, picked at the end of February
- 1158—HAWLEY, J. S., *Opawa, Canterbury*—
  - Sample of Tomato Sauce
- 1159—HOLLAND, GEORGE, *Foxhill, Nelson*—
  - One bale of Hops, grown by the Exhibitor
- 1160—KOEFOED, H. L., *Thames*—
  - Sample of Tomato Sauce
- 1161—NAIRN, DAVID, *Christchurch*—
  - Sample of Tomato Sauce
- 1162—NOONAN, M. J.—
  - Samples of Indian Sauce Samples of Cocanut Sauce
- 1163—SAEFFER, BARNETT, *Wellington*—
  - Samples of hand-made Cigarettes
- 1164—STRANG, DAVID, *Invercargill*—
  - Samples of prepared Coffee, Pepper, and Spices
- 1165—TRENT BROS., *Christchurch*—
  - Samples of Coffee, Colonial-grown Chicory, Spices, &c.
- 1166—WALKER, JOHN C. E., *Thames*—
  - Samples of genuine Tomato Sauce
- 1167—WITTY, JAMES WM., *Clyde, Wairoa, Hawke's Bay*—
  - Sample of Hops grown in this locality from "Goldfind Hops," third year of bine, obtained from Nelson
  - Samples of Hops grown in this locality from sets obtained from Messrs. Shoobridge, Tasmania, second year of bine

## **Class 627.**

- 1180—BANKS, E. H., *Christchurch*—
  - Samples of Peas, Rye, Rape, Beans—
    - Horse Beans, yield from 40 to 45 bushels, grown off stiff clay soil; value 4s. to 4s. 3d per bushel of 60 lbs.
    - Prussian Blue Peas, yield 30 to 35 bushels per acre, used for domestic purposes; value about 6s. per bushel of 60 lbs.
    - Partridge Peas, yield in ordinary seasons 35 to 40 bushels, up to 70 bushels in some cases; value 3s. 9d. to 4s. per bushel of 60 lbs.
    - Grey Peas, yield similar to No. 7; extensively used for hog-feeding purposes; value 3s. 6d. to 3s. 9d.
    - Rye corn, yield from 35 to 45 bushels per acre; grown principally for green feed and for straw used by collar makers; value 4s. per bushel of 54 lbs.
    - Spring Tares, yield well, very suitable for our strong land; value from 4s. to 10s. per bushel of 60 lbs.
    - Linseed or Flax, grown in stiff clay subsoil, yield about ½ ton per acre; value £30 per ton
    - Rape Seed, yields well, and climate very suitable for rapid growth. It has been known to return £55 per acre net profit; value £56 per ton
- 1181—CUNNINGHAM AND CO., P., *Christchurch*—
  - Samples of—
    - Rye Grass
    - Field Peas
    - Peas
    - Beans
- 1182—DRANSFIELD, JOE, *Wellington*—
  - Samples of Grass Seed, 25 bushels
- 1183—DUNCAN AND SON, *Christchurch*—
  - One sample bushel each—Grey Partridge Field Peas, Canary Seed, James Intermediate Carrot, Elvetham Long Red Mangold, Imperial Orange Globe Mangold, Cocksfoot Perennial Rye Grass, White Dutch Clover; all grown in Canterbury
- 1184—EYLES, MRS., *Richmond, Nelson*—
  - Sample of Cocksfoot Grass Seed, grown by the Exhibitor; harvested in 1879

- 1185—HAYNES, CHARLES, *Merchant, Palmerston, Dunedin*—
  - Sample of Perennial Rye Grass Seed
- 1186—RUSSELL, CAPTAIN, W. R., *Karamu, Hawke's Bay*—
  - Sample bushel of Rye Grass Seed, 32-lbs., Imperial bushel, 8s.

## Group—VEGETABLE PRODUCTS, USED AS FOOD OR MATERIALS.

### Class 629.

- 1201—BUTEL AND COMPANY, PETER, *Arrowtown, Southland*—
  - Sample of Flour
- 1202—GILMOUR ROBERT, *Wakatipu Flour Mills, Lake Hayes, Arrow Flat, Lake Country*—
  - 25-lbs. Silk dressed Flour (No. 3) from Wheat grown on Arrow Flat, milled by Robert Richardson, exhibitor's miller in May, 1879, 2s. 6d. per 25-lbs
  - 25-lbs. Oatmeal from Oats grown on Arrow Flat, milled as above, 16 April, 1879, hard dried, 5s. per 25-lbs.
  - 25-lbs. Oatmeal (No. 2.), milled as above, medium dried, 5s. per 25-lbs.
- 1203—GRAY, FLEMING AND COMPANY, *Invercargill*—
  - Sample of Oatmeal, grown and manufactured in Southland
- 1204—HUDSON AND IRVINE, *Shag Valley Mills, Dunedin*—
  - Sample of Oatmeal from Oats grown at Palmerston
- 1205—KING AND COMPANY, *Gisborne*—
  - Sample of Flour
- 1206—KREEPT, CAPTAIN, F. C., *Wellington*—
  - Sample of Flour from Wheat grown at Rangilikei, Wellington, by J. Wolland, Koro Koto Mills
- 1207—LAMB, JOHN, *Waitemata Mills, Auckland*—
  - Sample of Flour, 50-lbs.
- 1208—MC BRIDE, FRANCIS, *Frankston Flat, near Queenstown, Wakatipu*—
  - Sample of Flour
- 1209—MC GILL, PETER, *Miller, Tokomairiro, Otago*—
  - Samples of Flour, made from Wheat grown at Evan's Flat, Lawrence, (silk dressed)
  - Sample of Flour, made from Wheat grown at Tokomairiro (silk dressed)
  - Sample of Oatmeal from Oats at Tokomairiro. (finely grown)
  - Sample of Oatmeal from Oats at Tokomairiro. (patent oatmeal)
  - Twelve tins Patent Groats, from Oats grown at Tokomairiro
- 1210—MEEK, J. AND T., *Wellington*—
  - Sample bag of Flour (100 lbs.), from New Zealand Wheat, 10s.
- 1211—MOIR AND CO., *Christchurch*—
  - Sample of Colonial Oatmeal
- 1212—MORISON, JOHN, *Dipton, Southland*—
  - Sample of Flour, from wheat grown by the Exhibitor
- 1213—REED, CHAS., *Westerfield, Ashburton*—
  - Sample of Flour
- 1214—ROBERTSON AND HALLENSTEIN, *Frankton, near Queenstown*—
  - Sample of Flour ground from Wheat exhibited by F. McBride. Mixed Milling Wheat; £11 per ton at Kingston
- 1215—RÖYSE, STEAD AND CO., *Millers, Dunedin*—
  - Samples of Wheat Meal, Silk Dressed Flour, Superfine Flour, Sharps or Pollard, Bran, Oatmeal
- 1216—RUNCIMAN, JAMES, *Green Island, Dunedin*—
  - Samples of Oatmeal and Flour
- 1217—VILE, JOB, *Masterton*—
  - Sample bag of Flour ground from Wheat, exhibited
- 1218—WOOD, W. D., *Riccarton, Christchurch*—
  - Samples of Best Flour Seconds, Semolinas, Sharps, Bran

### Class 630.

- 1230—TIZARD, Mrs. E. F., *Thames*—

- Samples of Preserved Peaches in 8-lb. McCaul's tins

## Class 633.

- 1235—BINNIE, J., *Confectioner, Dunedin*—
  - Samples of Biscuits
- 1236—CURTIS AND CO., A., *Wellington*—
  - Samples of Confectionery
- 1237—GODBKR, JAMES, *Cuba Street, Wellington*—
  - Bridal Cake
- 1238—GRANT, O. D., *Pollen Street, Thames*—
  - Sample of Biscuits in tins (12 varieties) Wholesale price, 7d. per lb., delivered on board Australian vessels
- 1239—GRIFFITHS, S. S., *Wellington*—
  - Samples of Biscuits and Confectionery, made by the Exhibitor
- 1240—LAMB, JOHN, *Waitemata Mills, Auckland*—
  - Samples of Biscuits—Cabin, Saloon, Sweet, Lunch
- 1241—NEWBURY, P. J. *Dunedin*—
  - Samples of Biscuits
- 1242—RENTON, J. C.. *Dunedin*—
  - Samples of Biscuits, viz.: Wine, Water, Mixed, Dessert, Picnic, Abernethy, &c.
- 1243—SCOTT, SIMON, *Manners Street, Wellington*—
  - Bridal Cake
- 1244—WATERS, EDWARD, *Auckland*—
  - Samples of assorted Confectionery, made by the Exhibitor at his Steam Factory
  - The Comfits are composed of sugar and flavourings, coloured with saffron and carmine
  - The Lozenges are made of gum arabic, sugar, and similar colouring

## Group—WINES, SPIRITUOUS, FERMENTED, AND OTHER DRINKS.

### Class 635.

- 1250—BLUNCK, DIEDRICH, *Hokitika*—
  - Sample of Elderberry Wine, 1 dozen
- 1251—GOUGH, ALFRED, *Thames*—
  - Samples of Colonial Wines
- 1252—OMEARA, MORGAN, *Queenstown, Wakatipu*—
  - Sample of Red Wine (Colonial), made of equal quantities of Black Currants and Gooseberries. Three years old, 42s. dozen. Name of wine, "Wakatipu"
- 1253—SMITH, JAMES, *New Street, Nelson*—
  - Fourteen samples of Fruit Wines
- 1254—TAYLOR, MRS. JANE M., *Queenstown*—
  - Three bottles of Wine, made from fruit grown by the Exhibitor, 6 years old, 2s. 6d. bottle
- 1255—WENDEL, J., *Symons Street, Auckland*—
  - Samples of Wines, (1) from "Sweetwater" and "Reisling" grapes grown in Auckland in 1877; no alcohol, glucose, glycerine, sugar, or colouring matter added. Price, 25s. a. dozen. 2000 gallons in stock
  - Same as the above, 1878 vintage, 25s. per dozen
  - Same as No. 2, with quinine added, and called "Quinine Grape Wine"; 30s. per dozen

### Class 636.

- 1270—CRAWFORD, W. T., *Gisborne Brewery, Poverty Bay*—
  - Sample of Draught Ale, XXX (Bitter), 1s. 10d. per gallon, of Colonial Malt and Hops
  - Two dozen XXX Ale
  - Two dozen XXX Stout
- 1271—CROWN BREWERY COMPANY, *Christchurch*—
  - Sample of Beer, in bulk
  - Kilderkin of Strong Ale, 2s. per gallon, 57 lbs. Malt, 1½ lbs. Colonial Hops

- One dozen Strong Ale, 9s. per dozen
- 1272—DAVIS, WILLIAM LOVELL, *Wakatipu Brewery, Queenstown*—
- Samples of bottled Ale and Stout, 9s. per dozen
- One barrel Pale Ale, XXXX 2s. 2d. per gallon
- One barrel Brown Ale, XXXX 2s. 2d. per gallon
- Brewed from Colonial products, except half the hops
- 1273—DODSON, HENRY, *Blenheim*—
- Sample of Beer, in wood
- 1274—EHRENFRIED BROTHERS, *Phœnix Brewery, Thames*—
- Samples of Ales and Stout—
- 26 gallons XXX Ale, 1s. 8d. per gallon, 80% Colonial Malt, 65% Colonial Hops
- Two dozen Bottled XXX Ale per gallon, 80% Colonial Malt, 65% Colonial Hops
- 28 gallons Mild Ale, 1s. 5d. per gallon, all Colonial Malt and Hops
- 35 gallons (old stock), 2s. 3d. per gallon, 50% all Colonial Malt and Hops
- Two dozen (old stock), (bottled) per gallon, 50% all Colonial Malt and Hops
- 47 gallons Porter, 1s. 8d. per gallon, all Colonial Malt, 80% Colonial Hops
- Two dozen Porter, 1s. 8d. per gallon, all Colonial Malt, 80% Colonial Hops
- One dozen Bitter Ale, 2s. per gallon, 70% Colonial Malt, 50 Colonial Hops
- 1275—HARLEY AGD SONS, *Nelson*—
- Sample of Ale and Stout—
- Two dozen Porter
- One hhd. Mild Ale, at 2s.
- 1276—HOGG, ALEXANDER, *Thames Brewery*—
- Sample of Ale (Mild), 1s. 10d. per gallon, 25% Colonial Malt, 40% Colonial Hops
- 1277—HOOPER AND DODSON, *Nelson*—
- Samples of Ale and Stout—
- 36 gallon Pale Ale, XXX, 2s. per gallon
- One dozen Stout
- Malt made and Hops grown by the Exhibitor
- 1278—INNES, FRANCIS, *Waltham, Canterbury*—
- Samples of Ale and Stout
- One Barrel Bitter Ale
- One Kilderkin Stout
- 1279—JOEL, MAURICE, *Dunedin*—
- Samples of Ale and Stout
- Excelsior Pale Ale, £5 hogshead (Colonial Malt)
- No. 1. Middle Ale, £6 hogshead (50 % Colonial Hops)
- One dozen Ale, 8s.
- One dozen Stout, 8s.
- 1280—KEAST AND MC CARTHY, *Dunedin*—
- Samples of Ales porter their own Brew
- 1281—LINTOTT AND OTTERSON, *Oamaru*—
- Samples of Ale and Stout
- Two Kilderkins Light Pale Ale for family use. Low Alcoholic per centage. Colonial Malt, £4 hogshead
- One dozen bottled Stout for family use, from Colonial Malt, 9s. dozen
- One dozen bottled Pale Ale for family use, from Colonial Malt, 9s. dozen
- 1282—MANNING AND CO., S., *Christchurch*—
- Samples of Ale and Stout—
- Two barrels Ale (No Colonial Malt or Hops)
- One barrels Stout (100 % Colonial Malt)
- One dozen each, bottled Ale and Stout
- (2.) Standard Bitter Ale, 2s. gallon, half-dozen, 9s. per dozen
- (3.) India Pale Ale, 1s. 8d. gallon, half-dozen 8s. per dozen
- XXX Porter, 2s. gallon, 1 dozen 8s. (Colonial Malt and Hops)
- 1283—MARSHALL AND COPELAND, *Dunedin*—
- Samples of Ale and Stout—
- One hhd. Pale Ale, £5, Kent and Tasmanian Hops
- One hhd. India Ale, £6, XXXX Kent Hops

- One hhd. Mild Ale, £4, Californian and Kent Hops
- One hhd. Strong Ale, £6, Kent Hops
- Four Dozen Bitter Ale, 9s., for export
- Four Dozen Stout, 9s
- 1284—MARTIN, JOHN TICE, *Invercargill*—
  - Samples of Ale and Stout—
    - One hhd. Pale Ale, XXXX, 2s. 2d. gallon (Mixed English and Colonial Malt and Hops)
    - One hhd. Porter, XXX, 2s. gallon, (Colonial Malt, mixed Hops)
    - One dozen bottled Porter
- 1285—PASCOE AND CO" *Wellington*—
  - Samples of Ale and Stout—
    - One quarter-cask Excelsior Bitter Ale, £5 10s. hhd., colonial Malt, and half German, half Nelson Hops
    - One quarter-cask Stout, XXX, £6 6s. hhd., colonial Malt, and half German, half Nelson Hops
- 1286—ROCKEL, J. G. *Masterton*—
  - Samples of Ale—
    - 36 Gal. Ale, brewed April, 1879
    - 4 Doz. Bottled Ale, brewed April, 1878
    - Unfermented ale brewed by process known only to brewer, J. Gattscha. No yeast, and it is not allowed to ferment
- 1287—SHARP AND CO., J., *Nelson*—
  - Samples of Ale and Stout—
    - One hhd. Pale Ale
    - One doz. India Ale
    - One doz. Porter
    - Five bushels Malt per hhd; 8 lbs. Hops per hhd. Brewed from Colonial produce
- 1288—SPRIOHT AND CO., JAMES, *Dunedin*—
  - Samples of Ale—
    - One hhd. Pale Ale, branded 1, 1s. 6d. gal Colonial Malt, 50 % Col. Hop
    - One do. Strong do. branded 3, 2s. gal. Colonial Malt, 50 % Col. Hop
- 1289—STRACHAN, WM., *Victoria Brewery, Dunedin*—
  - Samples of Ales—
    - One barrel Pale Ale, 2s, 2d. 4 doz. in case, at 8s.
    - One barrel mild do. 1s. 6d. 4 doz. in case, at 8s.
- 1290—VINCENT AND CO., *City Brewery, Christchurch*—
  - Samples of Ale and Stout—
    - Two kilderkins Stock Ale, 2s. 6d. gal.
    - One kilderkins Stout, 2s. 6d. gal.
    - Photograph of City Brewery
- 1291—WARD AND CO., *Christchurch*—
  - Samples of Ale One Barrel XXXX, 2s. 3d. per gallon
- 1292—WHITSON AND SON, R., *Auckland*—
  - Samples of Ale
    - One dozen Bottled Pale Ale, 2s. gallon
    - One dozen Strong Ale 3s. gallon
    - 18 gallons Pale Ale 2s. gallon
  - Brewed by the Exhibitors from Colonial Malt and Hops grown in Auckland
- 1293—WILLIAMS AND SON, THOS., *Picton*—
  - Samples of Ale
    - One Hogshead Luncheon Ale, 2s. gallon
    - One Hogshead Dinner 2s. 4s. gallon
    - Three dozen Dinner 2s. 4s. gallon
    - 100 % Colonial Malt and Hops
- 1294—WILSON AND CO., JAMES, *Well Park Brewery, Dunedin*—
  - Samples of Ale and Stout—
    - One barrel Ale Ale, 1s. 6d. gallon
    - Two dozen Light Ale, 8s.
    - Two dozen Stout, 8s.

## **Class 637.**

- 1310—CAREW AND CO., *Dunedin*—
  - Samples of Cordials and Liquors (own manufacture)
- 1311—DIXON, GEORGE, *Wellington*—
  - Samples of Ærated Waters and Cordials in case
- 1312—FERAUD, JEAN DÉsirÉ, *Clyde, Vincent County*—
  - Samples of Liquors and Cordials
- 1313—GOMEZ, JOSEPH, *Bulls, Rangitikei*—
  - Samples of Cordials and Syrups—
    - Lemon Syrup, Cloves, Peppermint
    - Raspberry Vinegar, Ginger Wine and Brandy
    - Orange Bitters
- 1314—GOUGH, ALFRED, *Thames*—
  - Sample of Cider
- 1315—MOFFETT, WILLIAM, *Invercargill*—
  - Sample of Cordials made by the Exhibitor

## **Group—TEXTILE SUBSTANCE OF VEGETABLE OR ANIMAL ORIGIN.**

### **Class 639.**

- 1330—BETTANY, WILLIAM, *Nelson Steam Wool Works, Nelson*—
  - Three Samples of Fellmongered Wool, scoured at the Nelson
  - Steam Wool Works
  - (1.) Merino Clothing
  - (2.) Half Bred Carding
  - (3.) Leicester Combing
- 1331—BRAITHWAITE, A., *Hutt, Wellington*—
  - Sample of Wool, "G" Division, 6 Fleeces
  - Sample of Wool, "K" Division, 40 lbs.

### **Class 642.**

- 1340—CHINNERY, CHARLES, *Christchurch*—
  - Sample of New Zealand Flax, dressed
- 1341—FULTON, CHARLES, *Blenheim*—
  - Sample of Flax
- 1342—ROBERTSON, ALEXANDER, *Nelson*—
  - Sample of Phormium Tenax (New Zealand flax) dyed in colours to show its use for manufacturing into fabrics. Cost of dyeing 4d. per lb.
  - Large Specimens dressed by machinery
  - Small Specimens dressed by Maoris

### **Class 643.**

- 1350—NAIRN, DAVID, *Christchurch*—
  - Cases of Silk from Silkworms reared in Canterbury

## **Group—MACHINES, IMPLEMENTS, AND PROCESSES OF MANUFACTURE.**

### **Class 653.**

- 1361—REID AND GRAY, *Dunedin*—
  - Reaping Machine

- Double Furrow and Subsoil Plough
- Set of draught Pulley Blocks, 4-horse yokes
- Set 4-horse Swingle Trees

## **Class 654.**

1370—REID AND GRAT, *Dunedin*—

- Seed Sower

## **Class 658.**

1390—ELLIS, THOMAS, *Primrose Farm, Kai Iwi, Wanganui*—

- Butter Churn, manufactured by Thos. Ellis, of New Zealand Kauri wood; will churn from 5 to 45 lbs. butter

## **Group—AGRICULTURAL, ENGINEERING, AND ADMINISTRATION.**

### **Class 660.**

1400—HATCH, JOSEPH, *Invercargill*—

- Sample of Bone Meal

### **Class 662.**

1410—WALKER, JOHN, C.E., *Thames*—

- Designs for Farm Buildings

## **Group—TILLAGE AND GENERAL MANAGEMENT.**

### **Class 666.**

1420—HATCH, JOSEPH, *Invercargill*—

- Logan Wilson's Sheep Dip, manufactured by the Exhibitor

1421—SLESINGER, S., *Veterinary Surgeon, Dunedin*—

- Horse Medicines—
  - Colic or Gripe Drink
  - Condition Powder
  - Worm Powder
  - Embrocation
  - Blister Ointment
  - Grease Ointment
  - Hoof Oil

## **Department VII. Horticulture.**

### **Group—ORNAMENTAL TREES, SHRUBS, AND FLOWERS.**

#### **Class 707.**

1430—TAIT, JAMES, *Hokitika*—

- Case of Ferns and Mosses of New Zealand

#### **Class 709.**

1440—ARMSTRONG, CHARLES C., *Stafford Street, Dunedin*—

- Collection of New Zealand Ferns in Natural Colours (dried)  
1441—CRAIG, ERIE, *Princes Street, Auckland*—
- Large Book, containing 48 specimens of New Zealand Ferns
- Small Book, containing 30 specimens of New Zealand Ferns
- Covers made of Mottled Kauri, French polished
- Ferns collected, dried, and mounted by the Exhibitor
- 1442—HARDY, C. A. C., *South Rakaia*—
- Dried Specimens of New Zealand Ferns
- 1443—HELMS, RICHARD, *Greymouth*—
- Two Collections of New Zealand Ferns
- 1444—JEFFS, CHARLES K, *Wellington*—
- Collection of Dried New Zealand Ferns and Fern Allies
- 1445—LOGAN, H. F., *Wellington*—
- Collection of Dried New Zealand Ferns
- 1446—REGAN, JOHN, *Thames*—
- Collection Colonial Ferns, 12 in number
- 1447—SPENCE, MRS. CHARLOTTE, *Maitland Street, Dunedin*—
- Specimens of New Zealand Ferns, bleached, with skeleton leaves
- 1448—STEWART, PETER, *Wellington*—
- Collection of Dried New Zealand Ferns
- 1449—TIZARD, MRS. EDWARD, *Thames*—
- Four Frames containing Collections of New Zealand Ferns
- 1450—THOMSON, J., *North East Valley, Dunedin*—
- Book of New Zealand Ferns from the neighbourhood of Dunedin

## **Group.—GARDEN DESIGNING CONSTRUCTION AND MANAGEMENT.**

### **Class 721.**

- 1470—BURT, A. AND T., *Plumbers, Dunedin*—
- Two Fountain Pillars, with Jets (complete)  
decorative feature: plant  
*Printed by FOSTER AND FAIRFAX, 13 Bridge-st, Sydney.*

Dunedin Industrial Exhibition

Catalogue of Exhibits

Offices: 7 Union Chambers, Princes Street, Dunedin.

Dunedin Fergusson & Mitchell, Printers Princes St.

UNEQUALLED IN THE WORLD FOUR MILLIONS NOW IN USE. WANZERS "IMPROVED" SEWING MACHINES AND WANZER'S NEW KILTING MACHINES A. B. SIDFORD, 4 ROYAL ARCADE, DUNEDIN, Sole Agent for New Zealand,

## **Dunedin Industrial Exhibition.**

### **President:**

- His Excellency Sir Arthur Gordon. G.C.M.G., Governor of Now Zealand.

### **Vice-Presidents:**

- His Honor the Chief Justice sir James Prendergast.
- The Hon. John Hall, Premier of New Zealand.

## Hon. Committee:

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- His Honor Judge Williams.
- The Hon. W. H. Reynolds. M.L.C.
- W. D. Stewart. ESQ., M.H.R.. Dunedin.
- His Worship the Mayor of Dunedin.

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- Captain Baldwin, Union Chambers.
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Treasurer:

C. S. Reeves, Princes Street, Dunedin.

Offices:

7 Union Chambers, Princes Street, Dunedin, George Grant, Secretary.

## Dunedin National Industrial Association.

### President:

- Robert Stout.

### Vice-Presidents:

- Walter Guthrie (Messrs. Guthrie, Larnach & Co.)
- Alexander Burt (Messrs. A. & T Burt).

# Executive Committee:

- John Mitchell (Messrs. Fergusson & Mitchell).
- James Marshall (Messrs. Marshall & Copeland).
- Allan M'Leod, Albany Street.
- Charles M'Queen (Messrs. Kincaid, M'Queen & Co., Engineers).
- E. Prosser (New Zealand Drug Company).
- C. S. Reeves.
- R. Reid (Messrs. Reid & Gray, Agricultural Implement Makers).
- M. Sinclair, Coach Builder.

# General Committee:

- Captain Baldwin.
- M. Bardsley (Messrs. Bardsley & Son, Soapmakers).
- Samuel Clayton (Messrs. Gibbs & Clayton).
- Charles Coombs Messrs. Coombs & sons, Leather Merchants)
- George Dowse (Saddler and Harness Maker).
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- A. Gibbs (Messrs. Gibbs & Co)
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- Alex. Inglis (Messrs A. & T. Inglis, Warehousemen).
- Archibald Morrison (Messrs. Anderson & Morrison, Plumbers).
- James Muir (Hat Manufacturer)
- R. K. Murray (Wholesale Confectioner).
- J. Robin (Messrs. Robin & Co, Coach Builders)
- Alex. Sligo (Bookseller)
- R. S. Sparrow (Messrs. Sparrow & Co., Engineers).
- James Taylor (Hat Manufacturer).

# Treasurer:

- C. S. Reeves.

# Secretary:

- George Grant.  
Offices: 7 Union Chambers, Princes Street, Dunedin.

# Objects.

1. The Association shall be called "THE DUNEDIN NATIONAL INDUSTRIAL ASSOCIATION."
2. The objects of the Association will be to watch over, assist, and promote the legitimate advancement of our local industries, and to utilise and employ to the best advantage our labour and raw material.
3. To adopt all legitimate means of keeping before the public mind the fact that true national economy demands the promotion and encouragement of native industries.
4. To collect and publish statistics and information relating to or calculated to forward the objects of the Association.
- 5 To agitate for the adoption of a fair and discriminating Tariff, and the improvement of our relations with

the producers, distributors, and consumers in New Zealand, the neighbouring Colonies, and other Countries.

6. To co-operate with similar associations in other centres of population, and to promote the discussion and consideration of matters affecting the manufacture and trade of the Colony.

7. To secure the co-operation of members of Parliament in furthering the objects of the Association.

The Subscription of Members of the Association shall be an annual payment of One Guinea by employers and others, and of Five Shillings by employés.

*Every information as to the objects of the Association will be furnished on application to the Secretary, with whom members and others interested are invited to put themselves in communication*

As the weight and influence, and consequently the interests of this Association will be augmented and advanced in proportion to its increase in numerical strength, it is suggested that each Member should urge its importance and advantages upon all manufacturers and others interested in the prosperity of the Colony within the circle of his acquaintance, with a view to inducing them to join its ranks.

*George Grant, Secretary.*

*7 Union Clumbers,  
Princes Street, Dunedin.*

## Introduction.

THE Dunedin National Industrial Association was formed to aid in the encouragement of manufactures. The members of the Association felt that the colony could never hope to be permanently prosperous if reliance were put on one or two products only. The more diversified our industries are the less the risk of dull times and commercial crises. Looked at from a mere money point of view, the need of developing manufactures was felt. The members of the Association, however, believed that in addition to the money point of view there was another aspect in which the encouragement of industrial enterprise should be considered; namely—the more diversified the industries become, the greater are the advantages educationally to the people.

Being thus impressed with the absolute need of diversified industries, the question was asked, How can we best attain our aim? Various projects were proposed. First, it was felt that the very existence of such an Association would be one means of impressing on the people the need of manufactures. Second, the Association could carefully watch the legislation proposed in Parliament, so that nothing detrimental to the rising manufactures might be enacted without protest; and third, the Association might use every effort in fostering and encouraging the local manufactures already started, and then urge on the founding of new industries. The holding of an Exhibition was deemed one way of drawing attention to the already existing manufactures and of encouraging the colonists to use locally manufactured articles. Beyond this, it was felt that an Exhibition would be the best way of showing what the colony was capable of doing in manufactures, and also in what direction new industries might be started. It was with these objects in view that arrangements were made for holding an Industrial Exhibition in Dunedin.

The Association has had considerable difficulties to overcome. First, the getting of a suitable place for the holding of an Exhibition was difficult. It was thought that there might be erected a permanent building in the Botanic Garden Domain that would be suitable for holding the Exhibition, and that might be used for concerts and meetings, and also as a Winter Garden. This project, though warmly taken up by many citizens, had to be abandoned. There was no proper provision in the existing Public Domains Statute for erecting such a hall and charging for admission, and the City Council did not feel warranted in moving in the direction indicated. The Association hope, however, that this project will not be entirely abandoned; but that some means may be devised for the erection of a hall suitable for Industrial Exhibitions, and also suitable for social meetings.

So far as the exhibits are concerned, they must speak for themselves. The Association think that any one viewing this display of the products of a country so newly settled as New Zealand, must admit that in the colony there are all the natural agencies necessary to the establishing and maintaining of varied manufactures. The industrial development in Dunedin since 1861 has been most marked; and the fact that Dunedin has successfully competed with manufactures from all parts of the world in the Sydney and Melbourne Exhibitions ought to urge on all kinds of industrial enterprise. The educating effects of industry are generally underrated. A nation devoted to industry is a peaceable and thrifty nation, and its people happy. But not only in mere well-being does industry help forward humanity. The existence of varied manufactures calls out all kinds of intellectual energy and demands the best training in Science and Art. Inventions to overcome difficulties, and all the mechanical aids that get rid of hard physical exertion, follow in the wake of manufactures. Man rises as

his command and control over nature increases. And there arises also that scientific spirit that has made such strides during the present century—the spirit of investigation and love for truth—for the real. An impetus is given to true research and the claims of humanity are recognised.

To further develop our manufactures, however, several things are requisite. First—There must be a feeling created that it is our duty to foster Native industries by all legitimate means. Second—Something must be done to prepare our youth for following industrial enterprises. The first may be aided by the holding of this Exhibition. It will show how much has been done; it will also point out the vast possibilities of our colony in industrial enterprise; and it will, it is thought, prove that in many industries we can equal, if not excel, the products of older countries. The second thing requisite, is the training of our youth to industrial pursuits. One of the great advantages that old countries have over colonies, is that there is in the former, always a great number of men trained to certain manufactures. In the colonies, manufactories have often to be started, wanting the necessary skilled workmen; then again, manufactories grow and have their history and associations. Here they have to be started without these advantages. To overcome such difficulties, there is need of the youths being industrially trained, Politics include industry as well as government. Technical Schools and Technological Museums should be founded. These would be useful not only in training youths to industries, but they would also help to create an enthusiasm in the founding of factories, and Industry might compete with Medicine and Law for the possession of our best youths. Perhaps after a time, under such an enthusiasm, it might be considered a greater honour to conduct a factory or to start a new industry, than in England it is reckoned to obtain a peerage, or found a family.

The Industrial Association has therefore many claims on the public. Its aims are legitimate and praiseworthy; the means it takes to further them, cannot be condemned. Its members are fully aware that in no new country can it be expected to have industries so numerous and so well equipped, as in older countries, but it is believed that a public spirit once created amongst the population in favor of local manufactures, must bear much fruit. It will draw out all the varied intellectual powers of the young colonists. Some may excel in one branch of industry, some in another. It will provide for diversity in occupation—a diversity that of itself, tends to intellectual advancement. If this Exhibition, held under the auspices of this Association, does in any small degree tend to create an enthusiasm for local industries, it will have accomplished its object. For the aid and assistance given by the exhibitors. and some who are neither exhibitors nor members of the Association, hearty thanks are due. The desire to show what the colony may produce, animates many. If since 1861, we can show so many industries; if, contrasted with the General Exhibition of 1865, our products have become so numerous, varied, and interesting, who can predict to what stage of advancement we may not reach, say in a decade? Our immediate Industrial outlook is hopeful. New industrial forces are about to be brought to bear upon our powers of production. There might be named—the manufacture of Sulphuric Acid (now being established in our midst), and it is not easy to over-estimate its effect upon agriculture and manufactures; the successful Deepening of the Channel to the Port by the labours of the Harbour Board; the fair prospect of a Company being started to undertake the Freezing of Meat, with its natural complement of a line of steamers direct from our city to London; and the re-leasing in smaller blocks of the millions of acres of land about to revert to the Crown. And when the close interaction and interdependence of industrial forces is remembered, who can gauge our progress? This is the first exhibition of the Industrial Association. Who can say what advances other exhibitions may not show, once the industrial spirit is diffused throughout our people?

Robert Stout.

DUNEDIN,

MAY, 1881.

*Chairman of the Association.*

## **Class 1.**

### ***Works of Art, &c.***

- Allen, J. W. Dunedin  
Oil Paintings. Oil Portrait
- Armstrong, John P., Dunedin

- Case of Artificial Dentistry
- Armstrong, Mrs., Dunedin
- New Zealand Ferns
- Bank of New Zealand
- Specimens from the New Zealand Goldfields—
- 3 Specimens Auriferous Quartz from the Thames Goldfield
- 38 Specimens Alluvial Gold from Otago Goldfields Models of Ingots of Gold and Silver as exported
- Also additional Specimens—
- The following is the average composition of alluvial gold from the Southern Goldfields, 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:—
- Barker, Stephen, Dunedin
- New Zealand Ferns in frames
- Barry, M., Napier
- Wool Flowers
- Binns, George J., Dunedin
- Water-colour Sketch
- Binns, Mrs. M. C, Dunedin
- Water-colour Sketch, New Zealand Scenery
- Block, Theo., Nelson
- 2 Frames Photographs
- Blomfield, Charles, Auckland
- 4 Oil Paintings, New Zealand Scenery
- Bonner, A. C., Dunedin
- Book of New Zealand Ferns
- Brown, James, Dunedin
- Specimens of Kauri Gum Ornaments
- Buller, Dr. Walter Laury, Sc.D., F.L.S., F.G.S., &c., Wellington
- A History of the Birds of New Zealand. Royal quarto. London, 1873.
- Contributions to the Zoology of New Zealand. Being a volume of original papers, contributed to various Scientific Journals
- Manual of New Zealand Birds. Published by the Geological Survey Department, Wellington
- Te Karere o Poneke, 1858-1859. A weekly news-paper in the Maori language; edited by exhibitor
- Te Manuhiri Tuarangi; or, "Maori Intelligence," 1861. Published by the Government, and edited by the exhibitor
- Te Karere Maori, 1861. Special series containing proceedings of Kohimarama Conference, in English and Maori. Published by authority. Edited by exhibitor, as Secretary of the Conference.
- Burnside, J. A., Dunedin
- Model of the Residence of the Hon. R. Campbell, Otekaika
- Burton Brothers, Dunedin
- Photographs. (See also Dunedin Corporation Exhibit)
- Burwell, F. W., F.R.I B.A., Invercargill
- Architectural Drawings
- Callender, Miss Eliza, Dunedin
- Book British Ferns, arranged by exhibitor
- Callender, Miss Jane, Dunedin
- Book New Zealand Ferns, arranged and classified by exhibitor
- Carmichael, Mrs. Helen, Dunedin
- 2 Gipsy Table Tops, Ornamented
- Carroll, Miss E., Dunedin
- 2 Pictures in wool and silk
- Cherrill, Nelson K., Christchurch
- Photographs on Porcelain, Ceramic Enamels, Por traits, &c.
- Clifford and Morris, Dunedin
- Photographs consisting of Portraits and New Zealand Views
- Colenso, W., F.L.S., Napier

New Testament, printed in Maori in New Zealand, 1837, 8vo. edition, and first one of 5000 copies; being the first copy of the New Testament printed in the Southern Hemisphere

Church of England Prayer Book, complete, with Psalms, Rubrics, Thirty-nine Articles, and also Forty-two Hymns 12mo.

Early Public Papers, viz.:—

First Government Gazette, 1810

First English Placard, 1836

First English Circular, 1835

First English Prospectus, 1839

First English Proclamation, 1840

Second English Proclamation, 1840

Third English Proclamation, 1840

Fourth English Proclamation, 1840

Treaty of Waitangi, in Maori, 1870

Statement from Confederate New Zealand Chiefs, 1835

First Book ever printed in New Zealand (Epistles to Ephesians and Philippians, February, 1835

First English Book printed in New Zealand, 1836, written by Exhibitor

First English Sermon printed in New Zealand (Bishop Selwyn), 1842

Two Almanacks printed in Maori, 1840 and 1843

Letter from Eight Honourable Viscount Goderich, to the Chiefs of New Zealand, and Addresses from I. Busby, Esq., British Resident to the Native Chiefs of New Zealand. Both printed at 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

N.B.—All of those books printed in New Zealand were composited by the Exhibitor, and some were written, bound, and translated by him. Also Class 427, No. 820, Official Catalogue, New Zealand Court.

Cast of Ancient Asiatic Bell

Framed and Glazed Plate of Ancient Asiatic Bell

Paper made from Phormium Tenax, before 1838

A small volume, 12mo, containing 14 early printed publications, many before the foundation of the Colony, viz.:—

(Numbered as bound up in the said volume.)

Order Morning and Evening Prayer Church of England, with additional Prayers. Third Edition, 1840

Forty-two Hymns for Divine Service, 1840

Psalms of David 1840

Daniel i-vii., and Jonah, 1840

Gospel of Luke, 1835

Epistles to Philipians and Ephesians, 1835.

Portion of Service Consecration of Burial Ground

Order of Confirmation, 1839 (see No. 14)

First Tract written and published in Maori, by Exhibitor, 1837.

First Book against Errors of Church of Rome by Exhibitor, 1840. Printed at Sydney

Second Book against Errors of Church of Rome, by Exhibitor. 1840. Printed at Hobart Town

Four Catechisms, three of Dr. Watts and one the Catechism of the Church of England, 1840. Fifth edition

Scripture Questions with Scripture Answers, for Schools, &c., 1840

Sermon in Maori, by the First Bishop of Australia (Broughton) at the time of his confirmation of several Maories at Paihia, Bay of Islands, January 5, 1839 (see 8 *supra*)

A Maori Prayer-Book in quarto (Services of Church of England and Hymns), printed at Sydney, 1833, and bound by Exhibitor in Bay of Islands, 1835, but without proper tools, &c

Excursion of a Naturalist in New Zealand in 1841, 1842. Printed at Hobart Town; vol. 2 "Tasmanian Journal of Science." By the Exhibitor

On some newly discovered Ferns in New Zealand. Also printed at Hobart Town; vol. 2 "Tasmanian Journal of Science." By the Exhibitor

Essay on Botany of North Island of New Zealand. Printed at Dunedin, 1865. By the Exhibitor

Essay on the Maori Races. Printed at Dunedin, 1865. By the Exhibitor

Both these essays were published in "Transactions New Zealand Institute," vol. 1. Other essays and papers by the Exhibitor are contained in vols. 10-13, "Transactions New Zealand Institute."

Fiat Justitia on Kereopa, &c., with translations of some of the celebrated Te Kooti's prayers, written by himself. By the Exhibitor, 1871

▲ Sheet of New Zealand Lexicon, and other Parliamentary papers respecting the same, containing Letters Explanatory, &c. By the Exhibitor

¶ Tracts for the Times, No. 1: On the Proper Sunday (not Sabbath) Observance. By the Exhibitor, 1878

▲ Ancient Maori Carved Tinder Box, prior to 1835; originally in one piece

● Curious specimen of Maori Hand-made Cord, obtained in 1837; very rare

¶ Two Whale's Teeth (Sperm Whale) from the largest whale killed in Hawke's Bay, 1850

● Specimens (7) of the "Vegetable Caterpillar," *Cordyceps Robertsii*, some of them being branched, which is not common

- Corbett, James, Dunedin  
Two Gilded Miniature Picture Frames
- Coultman, Katie Mary, Dunedin  
Two Crayon Pictures
- Coxhead and Le Sueur, Dunedin  
Two Frames of Photographs; Views and Portraits
- Craig, Eric, Princes street, Auckland  
New Zealand Ferns
- Crawford, John, Dunedin  
Specimen of Plaster of Paris Casts  
Four Water-colour Drawings
- Cumming, Richard, Dunedin  
Six Copies of Masonic Newspapers, printed in two colours
- Davis, Louis, Dunedin  
Map of India  
Specimen of Writing
- Davis, Chas., Lawrence  
Map of World
- Deverell., W., Invercargill  
Specimens of Survey Drafting, bound in book form
- Dick, Miss, Dunedin  
Painted Table and several Fancy Articles
- Dunedin Corporation  
Series of Photographic Views of Public Buildings in and around Dunedin, taken by Burton Brothers
- Egglestone, Joseph, Lawrence  
Ornamental Mirror Frame made of Kauri  
Panels White Holly  
Photograph Frame, made of Kauri
- Erfurth, Paul, Dunedin  
Greatly-improved System of Book-keeping by double-entry completely set out and shown on large elephant sheets of paper
- Fergusson, John L., Dunedin  
Maps; the work of pupils
- Fergusson & Mitchell, Dunedin  
Account Books of their own manufacture Specimens of Embossing, in Coloured Relief, for paper and envelopes.  
Specimens of Rubber Stamps
- Fodor, Geo. F., N. E. Valley  
Oil Painting of race-horse "Sir Modred"
- Forbes, Alex., Kensington  
Water Colour Painting
- Fowler, Mrs., Lawrence  
3 Frames Fancy Cut Papers
- Fraer, Wm., (aged 13), Lawrence  
Map of New Zealand
- Frost, W. R. Dunedin  
Specimens of Photography
- George, Sydney, Dunedin  
Illuminated Draught Board
- George, Thomas, Dunedin

Illuminated Address presented to Mr. G. R West, of Dunedin, by Members of the Dunedin Wesleyan Church

- George, Thomas, Dunedin  
Lithographic Specimens
- Gibb, John, Christchurch  
4 Oil Paintings; New Zealand Scenery
- Gibbs, W. B., Lambton Quay, Wellington  
Photographs
- Gifford, E. A., Oamaru  
Water-colour Painting, New Zealand Scenery
- Gilbert, David. Gore  
Oil Paintings
- Gillies, Alex., Dunedin  
Map drawn by Miss Gillies when aged 13
- 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  
Pen-and-ink Picture—"Stray Leaves"  
3 Vegetable Caterpillars
- Grant, James L., Dunedin  
Specimens of Fretwork in Boxes, Picture Frames, Pen Racks, and ornamental work
- Grant, Thomas M., Survey Department, Wellington  
Pen and Ink Drawing, on single sheet paper
- Green, Samuel E., Waiholo  
Water Colour Painting
- Griffin, George, Dunedin  
Specimens of Typography—"Colonial Printers Register" and Card Printing
- Gully, John, Nelson  
Water-colour Painting, New Zealand Scenery
- Harding, John, Waipukurau, Napier  
Stone Axes, native manufacture  
Maori Carvings  
Limestone Fossils, Mount Vernon
- Harlock, Miss M. A., Roslyn  
Water-colour Painting; Flowers
- Hart, Campbell, & Co., Invercargill  
Photographic Views and Portraits
- Hart, J. H. Lawrence  
Fretwork in Black Walnut
- Hawkins, F. G., Dunedin  
Photographic Views of New Zealand Scenery
- Helms, Mrs., Greymouth  
Collection of New Zealand Lichens and Mosses, 80 species, on cards 12 × 10 in., in 2 folios
- Helms, Richard, Greymouth  
Collection of Insects from the West Coast of New Zealand  
Collection of New Zealand Ferns of 30 varieties, on 31 cards, size 25 × 20 in., in folio  
Collection of New Zealand Ferns of 132 species, on 121 cards 20 × 12 in., in 3 folios  
Collection of New Zealand Ferns of 89 species, on cards 12 × 10 in., in 2 folios
- Hibberd, C., & Co., Abbotsford  
Photography illustrative of Patent Artificial Stone
- Hill, John, Dunedin  
Wood Turning and Carving (various) in New Zealand Woods
- Hodgkins, W. M., Dunedin  
Water-colour Picture; New Zealand Scenery
- Horn, Thomas, Dunedin  
New Zealand Ferns, in frames  
4 Ornaments

- Jennings, D. H., Motueka, Nelson  
Baskets made of native material  
Card of Pawa Shell Ornaments
- Jones and Co., Dunedin  
Model of Dr. Sayers Tripod, for treating spinal curvature  
Specimens of Surgical Instruments
- Laing, John, Dunedin  
Samples of Plaster Casts, Ancient and Modern, made by exhibitor
- Leves, N., Dunedin  
Water-colour Drawings
- Lewis, Miss, Dunedin  
Picture; in Hair Work
- Marshall, G. M., Dunedin  
Fretwork, various articles
- Marx, Miss Annie, Dunedin  
Water-colour Painting
- Matthews, Isaac, Oamaru  
13 Pencil Drawings
- Maxwell, Miss, Wellington  
Water-colour Painting in Silk, for Banner Screen  
Water-colour Painting in, Satin, for Brackets
- Melvin, William, Dunedin  
3 Oil Pictures  
Home Treasures  
Grandmamma  
Royal Arms
- Moran, Margaret, Dunedin  
Wool Work Picture; "Prince Charles in Exile."
- Muller, G., Hokitika  
Map showing distribution of Metals in Westland.
- Murdoch, Helen L., Napier  
Stencillings of Perns and Water-colour Drawings
- McDougall, Miss, Dunedin  
Oil Painting New Zealand Scenery
- McGeorge, Leslie Duncan, Clyde, Otago  
Plan of Suspension Bridge over River Clutha
- McGregor, John, Dunedin  
Photographs
- McNickle, John A., aged 13, Lawrence  
Map of New Zealand
- McTavish, Miss A., Auckland  
New Zealand Flax Work
- Oakden & Begg, Dunedin  
Architectural Drawings  
Plans for Farm Buildings
- 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 4½ lbs complete
- 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 this 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 is separated from the chamber of the nose; the *black* wire, of the *tentorial plane*, or plane of separation between the greater brain or *cerebrum* and the lesser brain 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 in the lowest (frog) and highest (man) members of the series, the *cranial axis* being made of the same absolute length in both. It will be seen that with the increased relative size of the brain, the *facial axis*, *a c*, becomes bent downward upon the *cranial axis*, *a b*, the angle, *cab* being, in man, nearly a right angle, instead of, as in the frog, equal to two right angles. At the same time the *ethmoidal plane*, *a d*, is rotated forwards, the angle *d a b*, a right angle in the frog, becoming greater than two right angles in man, and the tentorial and occipital planes are rotated backwards, the angles *a g e*, *a b f*, becoming obtuse instead of right angles.

- Parker, Professor T. Jeffery, Otago Museum, Dunedin  
 Skeleton of a Calf.  
 Skeleton of a Great Blue Shark
- Parker, Professor T. Jeffery, Otago Museum, Dunedin  
 Adult King Penguin (stuffed)  
 Young King Penguin (stuffed)  
 Egg of King Penguin (stuffed)  
 Skeleton of King Penguin mounted in such a way as to allow of the separate examination of the various bones
- 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.
- Paton, H. J., Bay of Islands  
 Kauri Gum Ornaments
- Percival, W. J. Dunedin  
 Lithographs of Survey Blocks  
 Topographical Map of Lake Wakitipu  
 Water-colour Drawing New Zealand Scenery
- Porter James, Waiotahi Creek, Thames  
 Puzzle in Decanter
- Powell, Mrs. Harry, Oamaru  
 Picture in Wool and Silk
- Power, Peter, Dunedin  
 5 Paintings in Oil of New Zealand Scenery
- Reischek, Auckland  
 Group of Australian Birds  
 Skeleton of Snake  
 Piece of Kauri Gum (80lbs.)
- Roberts, Miss Undine, Dunedin  
 Two Pieces of Dresden China, ornamented with paintings, by the Exhibitor
- Robinson, H. W. G., Dunedin  
 Case of Artificial Teeth
- Rutherford, R. W., Dunedin  
 Portraits in Chalk
- Rutherford, R. W. Dunedin

- Specimens of Photography
- Salmon, Mrs. Kate, Kakaramaea, Patea  
Cone Work Frames, &c.
- Simon, Madame, Dunedin  
Decorated White Cross, in Wax
- Sinclair, George, Dunedin  
Illuminated Designs of part of William Blake's "Mad Song" and of Tennyson's "Two Voices," in Water-colours
- Smith, W. H., Dunedin  
Signboard
- Smyth, William, Caversham  
Stuffed and Mounted Birds and Animals
- South, A., Saddle Hill  
Rustic House; made by exhibitor
- Thomas, Miss E., Kensington  
Basket of Flowers; in Wool and Silk
- Thomson, J. T., C.E., Invercargill  
Water-colour Miniature
- Thompson, William, Dunedin  
Draught Board, made from Painter's Trying Block; imitation of inlaid wood
- "Timaru Herald," Timaru.  
Letterpress Printing
- Trevithick, F. R., Dunedin  
Dog and Bird carved on Burnt Kauri
- Veaux, A. F. de, Christchurch  
Chart showing variations in prices, &c., of Grain, from 1873 to 1881, at Christchurch.
- Wales, N. Y. A., Dunedin  
Architectural Drawings and Pictures
- Walker, John, Christchurch  
Drawings
- Watts, Mrs., Dunedin  
3 Water-colour Drawings
- Wellington Corporation  
30 Views of the principal Buildings in Wellington, photographed by Bragge
- Williams, Hanwell, Greymouth  
4 Frames of Photographs of New Zealand Scenery
- Wilson, H.C., Napier  
Artificial Dentistry
- Zander, Henry, Ashburton  
Specimen of full-sized Maori Devil; caught in Ashburton  
Specimen of Shark's Teeth, embedded in stone Fretwork, various

## **Class 2.**

### ***Furniture and Accessories.***

- Anderson and Morrison, Dunedin  
2 Cabinet Wash-hand Basins, for hot and cold water  
1 Plate Zinc Bath, with fittings  
1 Copper Circulating Cistern, for hot water  
3 Brass Lift and Force Pumps; assorted patterns  
1 Brewer's Refrigerator  
2 Brewer's Copper Mashers  
2 Swan Necks, for yeast troughs  
2 Racking Cocks, yeast troughs

- 2 Sluicing Nozzles, with branch pipes
- 1 Ship's Binnacle (brass)
- 1 pair Ship's Lamps; port and starboard
- 1 pair Jeweller's Reflecting Window Lamps
- 1 Portable Washing Boiler and Furnace
- 1 Archemedian Veutilator (self acting)
- 3 Church Bells
- Plumbers', Gasfitters', and Engineers' Brass Work
- Arnold, Edwin, Karipuni
- 1 Chair
- 1 Flowerstand
- Ashbury, F. H., Dunedin
- Heating Apparatus
- Cold and Warm Air Radiators
- Box Coils, &c.
- Austin, Kirk and Co., Christchurch
- Pottery and Stone Ware
- Baker, Joseph, Dunedin
- Patent Gold Lever Watch, with exception of Dial and Case, made entirely by exhibitor; ditto in Silver
- Barningham and Co., Dunedin
- Patent Cooking and Heating Range
- Baxter, John N., Dunedin
- Specimens of Walking Sticks of New Zealand Wood
- Bayley, J., Woolston, Christchurch
- Wool Rugs
- Coloured Leather for Furniture, &c.
- Black, Agnes F., Dunedin
- Wax Fruit and Flowers
- Blytt, Andreas, Christchurch
- 1 Silver Epergne
- 1 Silver Tea Service (3 pieces)
- 2 Silver Sugar Basins
- 1 Inkstand
- 2 Flower Vases, Emu Egg and Silver
- 1 Silver Claret Jug
- 1 dozen Silver Tea Spoons
- 3 Silver Cups
- 4 Napkin Rings
- 1 Figure
- 1 Kiwi
- 1 Pigeon
- 1 Deer
- 1 Dog
- Burke, G. D., Auckland
- Specimens of Bellows
- Burns, A., Dunedin Hospital
- 1 Fancy Screen
- Burnside, Mrs. and Misses, St. Kilda, Dunedin
- Parlor Screen, Chairs, and Fender Stool
- Burt, A. and T. Dunedin
- Plumbers' Brasswork
- Engineers' Brasswork
- 1 Portable Station Pump
- 4 Brass Lift and Force Pumps (different patterns)
- 2 Brewers' Mashers
- 1 Brewers' Refrigerator
- 2 Brewers' Corking Machines
- 1 Brewers' Sparger

2 Brewers' Bottling Syphons  
 1 Set Copper Measures  
 1 Pyramid Lead Pipe  
 1 Pyramid Composition Pipe  
 1 Improved Water Engine  
 7 Gasaliers  
 3 Pillar Lights  
 1 Billiard Light  
 1 Warehouse Light  
 Gas Brackets  
 Outside Lamps  
 3 Cabinet Wash Stands  
 1 Bath, with Spray and Douche and Water Closet  
 1 Foot Pail  
 1 Bidet  
 1 Tip-up Basin  
 Copper Washing Boilers and Portable Stands  
 Copper Hot Water Circulating Tanks  
 Specimens of Copper Work  
 1 Set Beer Pumps and Motions  
 Coffee Urn  
 Ice Machine  
 Sample Rough Castings  
 Sluice Valves for Water  
 Improved Gas Valve  
 Archemedian Ventilators and Chimney Cows  
 Specimens Apprentices' Brass and Copper Work; under two years at the trade  
 • Cunningham, James H., Oamaru  
 1 Fancy Bird Cage  
 • Duncan, Jane, Port Chalmers  
 Satin Sofa Cushion, worked in Chenille  
 • Ellery, Miss E F.  
 Fancy Brackets  
 • Ellery, Miss M. F., North-East Valley  
 Wax Flowers  
 Paper Flowers  
 Wax Fruit  
 Fern Pictures; Leather Frame  
 • Ellis and Nicholson, Kaikorai  
 3 Samples of Flock for Upholsterers' purposes  
 • Ellis, Thomas, Wanganui  
 Ladies' Cotton Stand  
 • Fermor, Ellen, Mosgiel  
 Furniture and Fancy Articles, in Native Wood;  
 decorated with New Zealand Ferns  
 3 Sofa Cushions  
 • Forsyth, Miss M., Port Chalmers  
 1 Fancy Bracket  
 • France, John, Dunedin  
 1 Bookcase  
 1 Chest of Drawers  
 • Frew, J. D, Dunedin  
 Specimens of Graining on Wood and Glass  
 • Gilchrist, W., and Co., Dunedin  
 Mantelpieces, Painted Panels  
 Design of Paper Panels  
 Pictures, Tiles, and Flower Boxes  
 • Goldstein and Möller, Dunedin

- Silver Racing Cup, manufactured by exhibitors
- Graham, Wm., Lyttelton
- Specimens of Turnery, in Ivory, Bone and Wood, with lathe working
- Guthrie and Larnach's Co., Limited., Dunedin
- Drawing Room Suite
- Hatstand, Bedstead
- Hall Door, Cabinet
- Work Table, Gilt Chair, &c.
- Hacker, Joseph, Dunedin
- 1 Davenport, New Zealand Woods
- Harbutt, T. J., Auckland
- Specimens of Brushware; manufactured by Exhibitor
- Hill, John, Dunedin
- Cabinet; New Zealand woods
- Hyde, Joseph, Ashburton
- Portable Shower and Taper Bath
- Jennings, D. H., Motueka, Nelson
- Nest of two Baskets made of native material
- Card of Pawa Shell Ornaments
- Kelsey, Arnold R., and Co., Dunedin
- 1 Pianette; manufactured entirely in New Zealand by exhibitors
- 1 Pianette; manufactured by Collard and Collard, of London, for comparison
- Kemnitz, Louis, Dunedin
- Specimens of Engraving in Gold and Silver
- Kennedy, Thomas, Oamaru
- Specimens of Imitation Woods and Marble; in Oil Colour
- King, W. R., New Plymouth
- Maori Kits, New Zealand Flax
- Kohn and Co., Dunedin
- Specimens of their work, in gold and silver
- Leves and Scott, Dunedin
- Embossed Cut Glass
- Pantographs, Punches, Photos, &c., &c.
- Malcolm, Alice Jane, Dunedin
- Picture in Berlin Wool and Silk; "Dogs"
- Malcolm. Miss, Dunedin
- Screen on Satin Cloth
- Malcolm, Olivia Alberta, Dunedin
- Picture in Berlin Wool and Silk; "The Huguenots"
- Raised Berlin Wool and Silk Picture; "Flowers"
- Melvin, William, Dunedin
- Round Table with Glass Top
- Milne, Angus, Dunedin
- Specimens of Engraving on Glassware; with Machine shewing method of working at above
- Müller, John, Dunedin
- 2 Ladies' Work Tables
- Munro, George, Dunedin
- Specimens of Tobacco Pipes; made in Dunedin, from Otago Clay
- Murdoch, Miss H. L., Upper Hutt, Wellington
- 2 Banner Screens
- 1 Blotting Case
- 1 Handkerchief Case
- New Zealand Pottery Co., Limited, Dunedin
- Specimens of Earthenware, manufactured by the Company at their Works, Milton; made entirely from New Zealand materials
- Oliver, Edwin H., Kingtstown, Christchurch
- 1 Table Writing Desk, inlaid with New Zealand Woods
- Paterson, Burk and Co., Dunedin

- 2 Venetian Blinds
- Rawley, Thomas, Dunedin
- Specimens of Decoration on Glass
- Rennie, Susan, Glendernid
- Black Satin Sofa Cushion; ornamented with Crewel Work
- Richardson, Dr., Dunedin
- 2 Baskets; made of Ribbon Wood from Akaroa
- Risk, Mrs., Mornington, Dunedin
- Specimens of Leather Work and Wool Flowers
- Sandstein, M., Christchurch
- Silver Epergne; of local manufacture
- Stansell, John Brough, Christchurch
- Half Stuff and Papier-maché; manufactured from New Zealand Flax
- Bottle of Saponacious Matter, from the treatment of Flax for half stuff, &c.
- Flax Waste
- Tray for Half Stuff
- Tray, with six specimens of Papier-maché
- Pieces of Half Stuff
- Scott, Bros., Christchurch
- 3 Cooking Ranges, various
- Scott, George, Mornington, Dunedin
- Rustic Chair, composed of 8,000 Pieces; all New Zealand Woods
- Scott, Miss Jessie, Dunedin
- Satin and Point Lace Cushion
- Shacklock, H. E., Dunedin
- Kitchen Ranges
- Register Grates
- Combined Mangle and Wringing Machine
- Smith, Mary Jane, Dunedin
- Silk Cushion
- Snowden, Frederick, Dunedin
- 3 Enamelled Wood Mantelpieces
- Sparrow and Wilkinson, Dunedin
- 2 Portable Ranges
- 1 Register Grate
- Stannard, A., Dunedin
- Basket Work
- Stebbing, George, St. Kilda
- Specimens of Brackets and other Ornaments for Household Decoration
- Sullivan, M., Dunedin
- Basket Work
- Taylor, John, Dunedin
- Venetian Blinds; with Stand and Pullies complete
- Thomas, Miss E., Kensington
- Flowers in Wool and Silk
- Treacy, Thomas J., South Dunedin
- Fancy Cardboard Boxes
- Watts, Henry, Dunedin
- Couches
- White, A. J., Christchurch
- Dining and Drawingroom Furniture; manufactured by exhibitor
- Waters, T. J., Christchurch
- 1 Range
- White, A. J., Christchurch
- Organ built by exhibitor
- Wilson, William, Dunedin
- Spring Revolving Shutter; in working order Perforated Wood Cornice
- Wood, Mrs. E. T., Dunedin

- 1 Draught Screen, in Silk Embroidery
- 1 Velvet Cushion
- Wright and Vincent, Hamilton, Auckland
  - ✦ Vase (in four parts)
  - ✦ Vase (in four parts)
  - ✦ Vase (in four parts)
  - ⊕ Church Font (in four parts)
    - Three Bottles and Stands
      - 1 Teapot
      - 1 Bread Plate
      - 1 Water Jug and Stand
      - 2 Cornice Bricks
      - 4 Plate Specimens
      - 13 Specimens of New Zealand Clay

## **Class 3.**

### ***Textile Fabrics.***

- Almao, Vincenzo, Dunedin  
Hats and Caps; manufactured by the exhibitor
- Beeby, Mrs. E., Queenstown  
Knitted Counterpane
- Bevan, Thos., Junr., 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.
- Bertinshaw, George, Furrier, Dunedin  
Process of converting Rabbits Fur into Felt Hats—  
✦ 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  
✦ Samples of Hare's Fur
- Binns, Mrs. M. C., Dunedin  
Imitation Point Lace; handmade
- Bishop, Miss, Ashburton  
Hand-braided Work
- Blackley, Miss Edith, Dunedin, (Aged 11)  
Child's Dress; made by exhibitor
- Blackley, Miss Jane, Dunedin  
Child's Night Dress  
1 Crotchet Counterpane  
1 Knitted Counterpane
- Brown, Ewing and Co., Dunedin  
Costumes, Mantles and Bonnets (own manufacture) Men's Clothing (own manufacture)
- Charles, Lizzie, Dunedin  
Fancy Work

- 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 12s. 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.

- Cottrell, John,  
Specimens of Pattens and Clogs
- Davidson, Miss E., Dunedin  
Boots and Shoes; manufactured and in process of manufacture
- Donaghy, M., Forbury  
Samples of Rope and Cordage of Manilla, N.Z. Flax, and Russian Hemp
- Dow, Miss, Dunedin  
1 Quilt
- Duckworth, Miss A., Stirling  
3 Pairs double-knitted Stockings in process; two stockings being knitted at the same time on one set of wires
- Ellery, Miss M. F., North East Valley  
1 Crochet Antimaccassar
- Evans, Miss Sarah (aged 12), Dunedin  
Patch Work Quilt
- Every, Simon F., Anderson's Bay  
Specimens and Models of Fishing Nets

No. 1 represents a net to be used in harbour, to be lowered from vessels when anchored, and to be baited so as to attract the fish. These nets may be made like the model of square mesh, or they may be constructed out of machine made nets more economically. It is proposed to call them the Sailor's Port Dinner providers.

No. 2 represents a trammel. This net is intended for setting in places where there is very little current; the fish roaming about, particularly at night, get caught by the loose net being formed into pockets. For extracting large trout from the rivers, they would be required of very large meshes, and the proportion of slack must be increased.

No. 3 represents a drag net, of novel construction, suitable for harbour or river fishing. Being made with square meshes it will pass freely through the water, and by the introduction of a few widenings will fish to a greater depth in the centre than at the ends.

No. 4 shows how machine made nets may be converted into tuck nets for drawing in rivers or harbours. The mode of altering will depend upon what is required for any special locality. Such an arrangement will be found far more handy than the seine principle, and answer quite as well where the centre depth does not much exceed that of the sides.

Needles Nos. 3 and 4, are for general purposes; No. 5, for gearing, *i e.*, fixing nets to the ropes.

Two large meshes are for trammel walling and sheep nets

Three smaller meshes, to be held differently, are for varied work

- Fermor, Ellen, Mosgiel  
1 Silk Shawl  
1 Tea Cosy  
1 Smoking Cap  
Silk Patchwork
- Fraser, Mrs, Milton  
Hearthrug of Patch Work
- Fulton, Charles, Blenheim  
Sample of Flax
- Gallie, Mrs. Helen, Waimate  
5 pairs Hand Knitted Tartan Stockings, for Highland Costume; made by exhibitor
- Glover, G. H. and Co., Dunedin  
Hats of various sorts. Own Manufacture  
Scarfs of various sorts. Own Manufacture
- Goldie, Miss Jane, Port Chalmers  
Gentlemen's Silk Socks

- Print Lace Collar
- Shawl of Eis Wool
- Goldie, Miss J. C., Dunedin
- Point Lace Collar and Cuffs
- Point Lace Trimming
- Geneva Point Lace Trimming
- Milan Point Lace Trimming
- Collar; Tatting and Point Lace
- Harlock, Miss M. A., Roslyn
- Satin Apron, Roman Shape; Painting in Water Colours
- Pair Satin Shoes to match; Painted in Water Colour
- Harris, Wm., Christchurch
- Boots and Shoes; Home-made
- Hallenstein Bros., New Zealand Clothing Factory, Dunedin
- Clothing, Shirts, &c.; for Men and Boys
- Howlison, Miss Janet, Dunedin
- Specimen of Crochet Work
- Howlison, Miss, Dunedin
- Specimens of Point Lace, and Tape Lace
- Inglis, A. and T., Dunedin—(Workmen in the various departments of)
- Boots and Shoes, and machine shewing manufacture
- Isaacs, Miss F., Dunedin
- Lace Shawl (hand worked)
- Jones, Jeanie M., Nelson
- Point Lace
- Kessell, Mrs. S. E., North-East Valley
- Point Lace
- Cuffs
- Apron
- Lace
- Handkerchief
- Logan, Miss Jessie R., Dunedin
- Specimens of Lace Work
- Martin, Miss Edith, Dunedin
- Crewel work
- Maxwell, Mrs., Fernhill, Wellington
- 2 pairs of Curtains; N.Z. Ferns and China work
- Milligan, Mrs. J. A., Oamaru
- Window Curtains
- Mills, James, Dunedin
- Guns
- Mosgiel Woollen Factory Co., Dunedin
- Woollen Manufactures; consisting of Tweeds, Blankets, Rugs, Plaids, Underclothing, Hosiery, Fancy Yarns, Shetland and Orkney Style of Home-spun Plaidings and Flannels
- Muir, James, Dunedin
- Hats and Caps; manufactured by exhibitor
- Murdoch, Miss H. L., Upper Hutt, Wellington
- Dozen Stencilled D'Oyleys
- D'Oyleys, with Hand-painted Views
- Murphy, J. W., Agricultural Assessor, Christchurch
- Dressed Flax; English, Dutch and Russian
- Hemp of Sorts; New Zealand Fibre
- McLennan, Mrs. C., Broad Bay
- 2 pairs Knitted Window Curtains
- Four Antimacassars
- McQueen and Paris, Dunedin
- Hair Jewellery and Wig Work
- Outred, Mrs., Dunedin

- Knitted Counterpane
- Passmore Brothers, Whare Flat  
Samples of Ropes, Lines and Twine; made entirely from New Zealand Flax
- Paton, Rubina, Port Chalmers  
Knitted Cotton Counterpane
- Pope, Jessie, Bluespur School  
Specimen of Plain Sewing
- Renwick and Co., Dunedin  
Underclothing, Hosiery, &c.; with Stocking Frame at work
- Robson, William, Mornington  
Boots and Shoes; own make
- Ross and Glendenning, Dunedin  
Woollen Manufactures
- Rother, Louis, Dunedin  
Specimens of Dunedin-manufactured Socks, Stockings, Pants, Shirts, Football Suits, all of New Zealand Wools, unadulterated
- Scott, Miss Jessie, Dunedin  
Antimacassar; hand sewed
- Scott, Mrs., Milton  
Patchwork Hearthrug
- Seed, James, Canterbury  
New Zealand Manufactures from Phormium Tenax—  
1 Coil Flax Rope, 2½-inch; £55 per ton  
1 Coil Flax Rope, ½-inch; £55 per ton  
1 Ball Twine for Reaper and Binding Machines; prepared to suit all climates, especially tropical length 250 yards to the pound; 1s. per lb.
- 1 Bale Dressed Flax; £25 per ton  
1 Bale Tow; £20 per ton  
Plough Lines, Twine, &c.
- Skinner, Samuel, Dunedin  
1 pair Ladies' Boots
- Steadman, Mrs. J. D., Opoho  
Knitted Work; in Wool, Linen and Cotton
- Toomer Brothers, Christchurch  
Boots and Shoes, manufactured by exhibitors
- Tunnicliffe, Miss, Dunedin  
Knitted Cotton Counterpane
- Wand, Mrs. C., Dunedin  
Bed Quilt
- Wood, Mrs. E. T., Dunedin  
Velvet Collars and Cuffs (embroidered,  
Child's Dress (embroidered)  
Smoking Caps (embroidered)  
1 Point Lace Cap
- Young, Miss A. M., Timaru  
Wool Work  
Embroidery  
Point Lace

## **Class 4.**

### ***Raw and Manufactured Products.***

- Barber, W., Wellington  
Dyed New Zealand Flax

- Bardsley, M. & E. (each under 20 years), Dunedin  
1 case Fancy Toilet Soap
- Bayley, John Woolston, Christchurch  
Sheepskin Hearthrugs, various colours  
Piano Mats, Door and Carriage Mats  
Lamp Mats, Coloured Skins for Furniture, &c.  
Children's Muffs, black and white
- Collier, Thomas, Nelson  
Parchment, made by exhibitor
- Constantine, J., Dunedin  
Furs, Skins, Rugs  
Feathers trimmed and untrimmed
- Coombs and Son, Dunedin  
Leather  
Uppers for Boots and Shoes
- Edwards, E. R., Thames  
Pigments and Minerals—  
Case 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 Minerale
- Hall, J. E. Dunedin  
Analyne Dyes  
Specimens of Washing Fluids  
Wool Mats; striped and dyed  
Feathers; striped and dyed
- Innes, William, Port Chalmers  
Specimen of Cod Liver Oil
- Isett, F., Christchurch  
Matting manufactured in Auckland from New Zealand Flax
- Johnston and Sons, Nelson  
Hematite Paint from Para Para Iron Ore
- Kempthorne, Prosser and Co., Dunedin  
Chemical, Pharmaceutical, and Manufactured Products
- Marshall, Martin, Dunedin  
Homœopathic Medicines, manufactured by exhibitor
- McLeod Brothers, Dunedin  
Soap and Stearine Candles
- New Zealand Hematite Paint Co., Dunedin  
Hematite Paint and Ore
- Oldham and Sons, Auckland  
Matting manufactured from New Zealand Flax
- Otago Paper Mill Co., Dunedin  
Samples of Wrapping Papers
- Quaife, F. W., Rakaia  
Parafine Candles  
Wax Candles
- Richards, George, Lawrence  
Harness and Boot Polish; waterproof, and requires no brushing
- Smith, E. N. & Co., Burnside, Dunedin  
Wool Mats, Rugs, &c.  
Inside Leathers for Bootmakers
- Stodart, Francis, Ponsonby, Auckland  
Raw Silk, produced by 500 silk worms reared by exhibitor
- Tyer, Alfred, Ngahauranga, Wellington  
Sole Leather; Basils

# Class 5.

## *Alimentary Products.*

- Allan, James, Taieri  
2 Samples of Wheat, grown by exhibitor
- Allen and Neilson, Dunedin  
Wines and Cordials  
Ærätèd Water
- Almao, Vincenzo, Dunedin  
Specimens of Extract of Tomato Preserves  
Tomato Sauce  
Preserved Groper Fish Roe
- Arnold, Edwin, Masterton  
Beehives (straw); by which honey can be obtained without destroying bees
- Begg Brothers, Hill End, near Clutha  
1 Bag Wheat
- Bennet, H. C. & Co., Dunedin  
Two Samples of Porter, in bottle  
Two Samples of Ale, in bottle
- Binnie J., Dunedin  
Biscuits and Bread
- Boenicke, Richard, Kaikorai  
Samples of Vinegar, in wood and bottle
- Butel, P., and Co., Arrow, Otago  
2 Samples of Flour  
2 Samples of Wheat
- Bycroft and Co, Auckland  
70 Tins Biscuits
- Carew and Co., Dunedin  
Samples of Worcestershire and Tomato Sauce; made by exhibitor
- Cuddon, Wm., Christchurch  
1 hhd XXX Ale  
1 dozen Bottled Porter  
Pale and Patent Black Malt from Canterbury Barley
- Drew, John, Waikouaiti  
12 Varieties of Potatoes, grown by exhibitor
- Dwyer, Matthew, Franklin, Otago  
Red Wheat; sown in Autumn and reaped in January, 1880
- Eagle, James, Christchurch  
4 Hams  
2 Sides Bacon
- Eastbrook, E. C., Wellington  
Table Sauce; own manufacture
- Fargie, John, Dunedin  
Three Samples of Adelaide Wines; for exhibition only
- Feraud, J. D., Clyde, Otago  
Samples of Syrups, Liquers, and Bitters—  
Wine Vinegar  
Raspberry Vinegar  
Lemon Syrup  
Peppermint  
Cloves  
Pine Apple

Lime Juice Cordial

Maraschino

Aniseed Liqueur

Orange Bitters

Sarsaparilla

Stomach Bitters

Quinine Bitters

Angostura Bitters

Samples of Wine, 4 bottles each—

Sparkling M. Christo

Malaga

Constantia

Ducal Grape

Muscat

Ginger Wine

- Fleming, John, Dunedin
  - 2 Samples of Cheese
  - 1 Samples of Oats
  - 1 Samples of Wheat
- Fort and Woolfenden, Caversham
  - Hams and Bacon; smoked and green
- Gear, James, Wellington
  - Preserved Meats and Soups
- Gee, Alfred, Christchurch
  - Jellies (various)
- Gibson, James, and Co., Dunedin
  - Samples of Starch
  - Samples of Corn Flour
  - Samples of Maizena
- Gomez, Joseph, Bulls, Rangitikei
  - 1 Doz. Soda Water
  - 1 Doz. Lemonade
  - 3 Bottles Sarsaparilla
  - 3 Bottles Lemon Syrup
  - 3 Bottles Raspberry Syrup
  - 3 Bottles Peppermint
  - 3 Bottles Cloves
- Goodwin, James, Pigeon Bay, Lyttelton
  - Cheese; made on the Cheddar system, especially for export
- Gregg, W., and Co., Dunedin
  - Coffee, Chicory, Pepper, Spices
- Harley and Sons, Nelson
  - 1 Bushel Barley
  - 1 Bushel Malt; made from same sample
- Hudson, Richard, Thames
  - Peaches; preserved in English fashion, without sugar
- Irvine, W. and Co., Millers, Shag Valley
  - Samples of Flour and Oatmeal
- Joel, Maurice, Brewer, Dunedin
  - Beer and Stout
- Kessell, T. N., North-East Valley, Dunedin
  - 1 Case Worcester Sauce
- King, George, and Co., Christchurch
  - Samples of Grain—
  - ¶ Purple Straw Tuscan Wheat; grown at Hornby; weight per measured bushel, 66lbs.; the yield was 65 bushels to the acre
  - ¶ Hunter's White Wheat; grown at Kaiapoi; weight, 65 ½ 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 Pees; 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

- Kofoed and Clive, Milton  
Ale in Bulk
- Kofoed, H. L., Thames  
Tomato Sauce
- Lane, Wm. and Co., Dunedin  
Cordials and Liqueurs—

Ginger Wine

Ginger Brandy

Extract Jamaica Sarsaparilla

Raspberry Vinegar

Quinine Still Champagne

Lime Juice Cordial

Merks' Alpine Bitters

Stomach Bitters

Orange Bitters

Rimmel's Pick-me-up

Maraschino

Curaçoa

- Marshall and Copeland, Brewers, Dunedin  
Ale and Stout; in bottle and bulk  
Malt and Barley
- 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

- Moffett, W. J, Invercargill  
12 Bottles Cordials (various)
- McLean, A. H., Christchurch  
Pickles

- McDonald and Miller, Ham Curers, Green Island  
Hams; smoked and green  
Sides Bacon; smoked and green  
Rolls of Bacon
- Naumann, F. G, South Dunedin  
Beehives; made by exhibitor
- Neil, James, Dunedin  
Botanic Medicines
- Neill, Bros., Merchants, Dunedin  
Samples of Indian Tea; forwarded by the Calcutta Syndicate, for exhibition only
- Newbury, P. J., Confectioner, Dunedin  
Cracknell Biscuits
- Paterson, John, Tapanui  
Samples of Flour and Oatmeal
- Proctors, Jones, and Co., Merchants, Dunedin  
Colonial Dairy Produce
- Proctors, Jones, and Co., Merchants, Dunedin  
Samples of Queensland Sugar, for exhibition only
- Renton, J. C., Confectioner, Dunedin  
Biscuits manufactured by Exhibitor
- Rice and Son, Dunedin  
Confectionery (boiled sugars)
- Richmond, M. C., Ham Curer, Palmerston  
2 Rolls of Bacon  
Purified Lard
- Saeffer, Barnett, Napier  
Hand-made Cigarettes
- Samson, Charles, Dunedin  
Hams and Bacon, Smoked and Green
- Schwartz and Co, Christchurch  
New Zealand Wines—  
  - 2 Bottles Mauzanilla, No. 2; Vintage 1877
  - 4 Bottles Mauzanilla, No. 1; Vintage 1876
  - 2 Bottles Mauzanilla, No. 1; Vintage 1875
  - 2 Bottles Mauzanilla, No. 1; Vintage 1876
  - 2 Burgundy Still No. 1; Vintage 1875
  - 2 Burgundy Still No. 1; Vintage 1876
  - 2 Burgundy Still No. 2; Vintage 1877
  - 4 Sparkling Burgundy, Pints
  - 2 Sparkling Burgundy, Quarts
  - 2 Sparkling Moselle, Pints
- Sheedy, Edward, Ham Curer, Dunedin  
Hams and Sides of Bacon, and Rolled ditto., smoked and unsmoked
- Smith, James, Nelson.  
Fruit Wines, and Liqueors, exclusive of Grape (nineteen numbers in duplicate)  
Rum and Shrub Liqueur; manufactured 1870, from Limes, Oranges, Rum and Sugar  
Shrub Liqueur; manufactured 1870, from Limes, Oranges, and Sugar  
Aniseed Liqueur; manufactured 1870, from New Zealand Aniseed  
This Liqueur has kept itself in excellent candition, and by it appearance, would remain good for 50 years.  
Whiskey Liqueur; manufactured 1878, from Apples and Whiskey, and would make a superb beverage with Soda Water.  
Ginger Wine; manufactured 1870  
This wine is most peculiar in itself, seeing that it has not formed a sediment during the 11 years that it has been manufactured.  
Hock A, manufactured from Green Gooseberries and Rhubarb, 1877; exclusive of effervescing machine  
Hock B, manufactured from Green Gooseberries, 1878

This wine ought to be very clean on the palate, and not sweet.

Hock C, manufactured from Green Gooseberries, 1879

This wine is unsweetened, a little dry, and clean on the palate, requiring very minute tasting.

Hock D, manufactured from Damsons and Gooseberries, 1879

This wine is dry and clean on palate.

Cherade A, manufactured from Strawberries, Apricots, and White Heart Cherries, 1877 (double fermented)

This wine ought to be of a nutty taste, and very clean on the palate.

Cherade B, manufactured from Apricots and White Heart Cherries, 1878 (double fermented)

This wine ought to be very clean on the palate, and of a nutty flavour.

Cherade C, manufactured from Apricots and Gooseberries, 1879

This wine is very light, of a nutty flavour, dry and clean on the palate.

Cherade D, manufactured from Red Rough Gooseberries and Damsons, 1877

This wine is not sweet. Dry and clean on palate.

Cherade A, manufactured from Black Cherries, Damsons, and Mulberries, 1878 (double fermented)

This wine ought to be mellow, mature, and clean on the palate.

Cherade B, manufactured from Cherries and Plums, 1878

This wine ought to be a little dry, and clean on the palate.

Cherade C, manufactured from Grafted Cherries and Mulberries, 1877 (double fermented)

Cherade D, manufactured from Boiled Damsons, 1878 (double fermented)

Cherade E, manufactured from Mulberries, Black Damsons, Bramble and Gooseberries, 1879, each fruit being fermented by itself

Orange Tonic; J, manufactured from Sydney Oranges, 1878

All the foregoing wines are manufactured from the fruits described, sugar, water, exclusive of any fortifying in the shape of alcohol unless created by their own fermentation and saccharine.

- Speight and Co., Brewers, Dunedin
  - 1 Hogshead Strong Ale, (Old)
  - 1 Hogshead Strong Ale, (New)
- Strachan. Wm., Dunedin
  - Ale and Porter; in bottle and bulk
- 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
- Strang, J., Waikouati
  - Potatoes grown from seed imported, principally from California
- Stuck, James R, Riverton
  - Potatoe Starch
- Theyers and Beck, Manuherikia
  - 1 Barrel Ale
  - 2 Dozen Bottled Ale
- Thomson and Co., Dunedin
  - Cordsals, Liqueurs
  - Aerated Waters
- 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
- Walker, John, Christchurch
  - Tomato Sauce
- Ward and Co., Christchurch
  - 1 Bushel Colonial Malt

- Ward, Judge, Timaru  
Samples of Oats grown at Springbank Estate, Southland  
Sample of Wheat, grown in Hakateramea Valley
- Watts, Henry, Dunedin  
Beehives
- Watson, William, Brookside, Canterbury  
2 Cheeses
- Whitson, R. and Son, Brewers, Auckland  
Pale Ale and Stout, in bottle
- White and Tinnock, Merchants, Dunedin  
Coffees and Pepper
- Wilson, James, and Co., Dunedin  
6 Hogsheads Ale  
2 Hogsheads Stout  
3 Dozen Bottled Stout  
3 Dozen Bottled Ale  
Black Currant Wine  
Samples Malt and Bailey
- Wright, William, Dunedin  
Patent Self-Raising Flour  
Biscuits, Bread, and Cakes

## **Class 6.**

### ***Agriculture and Horticulture.***

- Auckland Harbour Board, Auckland  
Specimens of Australian and New Zealand Timber, showing the action of "Teredo Navalis"  
Specimens of Jarrah and Totara Timbers
- Campbell Brothers, Dunedin  
2 Samples of Bone Dust, ground in Dunedin
- Connell and Clowes, Oamaru  
Collection of Grass and Agricultural Seeds; grown in Oamaru district
- Isaacs, Edward, Eden Crescent, Auckland  
Rough piece of Kauri Timber, showing the natural formation of kauri gum
- Jackson, George, North Dunedin  
3 Cases Ferns
- Nimmo and Blair, Dunedin,  
Clover, Grass, and other Seeds
- Regan, John, Thames  
Collection Colonial Ferns. 12 in number
- Watkins, Chas. E., Akaroa  
Sample of Cocksfoot Grass Seed, grown on the Exhibitor's farm
- Watt, John, Glendernid  
Case of New Zealand Ferns
- Wood, W. H., Akaroa  
Sample of Cocksfoot Grass Seed

## **Class 7.**

### ***Machinery & Metal Manufactures.***

- Adams, Walter, Dunedin  
Model of Full-rigged Ship
- 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
- 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 the 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.
- Alves, John, Dunedin  
Patented Furnace Bars and Bridge for better combustion of fuel, securing greater economy, cleanliness, &c.
- Barningham and Co., Dunedin  
Verandah, ornamental cast iron; made by exhibitors
- Clifford, R., Dunedin  
Model of Tararua
- Cutten and Co., Dunedin  
Bicycle  
Machinery
- Dunbar, A, Christchurch  
2 Steeplechase Saddles  
2 Ladies' Saddles  
2 Gents' Saddles
- Ellis, Thomas, Wanganui  
Butter Churn, manufactured by exhibitor of kauri wood; will churn from 5 to 45 lbs. butter
- Frost, John W., Wellington  
Rubber Stamps (various)
- Green, H. F., Pelichet Bay  
Models of Yachts, &c.
- Guthrie and Larnach's Co., Ltd., Dunedin  
Spokes, Wheel Rims, Swingle Bars  
Tubs, Butter Firkins  
Dairy Utensils, &c.; their own manufacture
- 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 5ft., it would give 22 horse-power. It has been favourably reviewed in "The English Mechanic and World of Science" of 22nd October, 1875.

- Haxton and Beattie, Gore  
Patent Flexible Tired Harrow
- Hill, E. H., Kaikorai Valley  
Improved Letter Copying Press
- Hunter, A., Dunedin  
Patent Family Mangle, own make  
Engine
- Jackson, George W., Dunedin  
Working Model of Cable Tramway, with improved gripper
- Lochhead, Robert, Dunedin  
Automatic Plaiting Machine, invented and patented by exhibitor
- Locke, Alfred, Wellington  
Leather  
Saddle and Shoe Work
- Marr, David, Port Chalmers  
4 Casks  
1 Cheese Vat  
1 Washing Tub
- Moore, Charles, Dunedin  
Harness and Saddlery
- McCarthy, Samuel, Dunedin  
Electric Bell and Fittings in working order, &c.
- Nordgreen, John, Port Chalmers  
2 Cases of Model Ships
- Papprell, S., Christchurch  
Specimens of Electrotypes and Stereotypes for Printing  
Specimens of Nickel and other plating
- Reading, Samuel, Dunedin  
Dies, Tools, Stamps, and Engravings
- 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 Double Furrow and Subsoil Plough combined
- 1 Set New Steel Tripod Harrows
- An Assortment of Patented Machine-made Castings
- An Assortment of Spokes, Swingle Trees and Cart Staves
- Robin T. and Co., Dunedin  
Carriages  
Paintings
- Schlaadt, Bros., Dunedin  
4 Horse-power Water Engine, on New Principle  
Sole Cutting Knives, for Leather  
Pressing Rollers, for Boot Factories  
Block Machine, for Boot Factories
- Sinclair, Mark, Dunedin  
1 Double Buggy, built by exhibitor  
1 Set Elliptic Springs, made by exhibitor  
1 Set Buggy Wheels made by exhibitor
- Sparrow, R. S., Dunedin  
Models and Drawings of Steamers

- Stannard and Grigg, Dunedin  
Perambulators, made by exhibitors
- Stewart, T. and W., Dunedin  
1 Waggonette, English Style, built by exhibitors  
1 Single Buggy, built by exhibitors  
1 Double Buggy, built by exhibitors
- Thomson, Thomas, Bluff Harbour  
Washing Machines  
Method of Lifting Heavy Weights  
Models of Ships' Compasses, Ships' Anchors, Wind Power, Water Power
- Union Steamship Co. 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 Co. Chart, showing the ocean tracks of the Company's steamers  
Shield
- Watt and Co., Dunedin  
1 Water Engine  
1 Tide Guage  
1 Bell Punch  
1 Bunsen's Burner  
1 Electric Sign  
1 Pair Blake's Transmitters (telephone)  
1 Pair Microphone do., with automatic switches and Telephones, complete  
Model of House fitted with Door and Window Alarms, Fire Alarms, &c.  
Self Adjusting Pendulum Indicator  
Flag Adjusting Pendulum Indicator  
1 each Nos. 1, 2 and 3 Metallic Base Electric Bells  
Thermostat, Burglar Alarms for doors and windows  
Switches, Fly Switches, 2-way Switches, 3-way Switch  
Medical Coil and Battery  
Electric Pipe Lighter  
1 Bell each of the following Voltaic Batteries:—Smee's, Fuller's, Bunsen's, Daniel's, Woolaston's, Leclanche's. Grove's, Tyer's, Walker's, Dale's, Grant's, Gravity Bichromate, &c.  
Samples of Electro-plating, Nickelling, Gilding, Coppering, Electrotyping, &c.  
Binding Screws, Carbons, Zincs, and other Battery requisites  
Pole Board for Medical Battery
- 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.
- Whittingham, Richard, Dunedin  
3 Churns of Kauri, various designs, with improvements made by exhibitor
- Wootton, Charles, Dunedin  
Bridle Bit; made by exhibitor
- Zander, Henry, Ashburton  
Model of a Fleet of Ships; made by exhibitor

## Class 8.

# ***Mining Industries.***

- Ashcroft, George, Wellington  
Patent Crushing and Gold Saving Machine
- Atkinson, D., New Plymouth  
Concrete and Cement; in various forms
- Austin, Kirk and Co.  
Drain Pipes and Oreamental Fire Clay Goods
- Begg, Thomas, Anderson's Bay, Dunedin  
Specimens of Building Stone, suitable for Asphalting, Screening, &c.
- Binns, George J., Dunedin  
Native Coal, Lignite, and Coke
- Bishop, James, Shag Point  
Model of Safety Cage and disengaging hook
- Cutten and Co., Dunedin  
Miners' Tools
- Edgar, John, Queenstown  
Specimen of Fossilized Fern
- Fernhill Coal Co., Dunedin  
Samples of Gravel and Quartz, as supplied from their Works  
Samples of Clay and of Bricks Ordinary and Fireproof, made therefrom
- Fernhill Coal Co., Dunedin  
Specimen of Coal from their Works at Fernhill
- Hacket, J. R., Nelson  
Chrome Ore, from Ben Nevis Mine  
Silver Ore, from Richmond Hill Mine  
Reports of the Mines
- Hibbard, C. and Co., Abbotsford, Dunedin  
Patent Artificial Stone  
Channelling, Doors and Windows, Water Tanks,  
Drain Pipes, Kerbing, Flagging, &c.  
Portland Cement, from Colonial materials
- Hildgendorf, Charles, Waihola  
Samples of Lime Stone, 3 in number; with Lime made therefrom
- Hoffman, F. H., Dunedin  
Quartz from Golden Link Mine, Serpentine, Otago; result of first crushing, 3oz. to the ton, from 5ft Reef
- Cake of Gold from the Mine
- Kaitangata Coal and Railway Company, Limited, Dunedin Coal
- Lambert, J. H., N.E. Valley  
Drain Pipes, Chimney Tops, Vases, Flower Pots, &c.
- Munro, George, and Co., Dunedin  
Oamaru stone
- McCaffrey, Edward, Queenstown  
Freestone, undressed  
Freestone, dressed by Patent Process Fossils from Wakatipu
- McIlraith, J. A. Home's Bush, Malvern Hill  
Bricks, Fireclay and Coal
- Nightcaps Coal Company, Southland  
Block of Coal
- Port Chalmers Quarry Co., Port Chalmers  
Obelisk of Port Chalmers Bluestone
- Reid and Duncans, for Elliotvale Colliery Company  
Coal
- Saunders, Joseph, White Cliff  
Coal

- Shag Point Coal Co., Shag Point  
Section of Coal Seam, Shag Point Colliery
- Stansell, John B., Christchurch  
Specimen of Iron Ore and small Ingot, from Para Para, Nelson
- Watson and Buchan, Dunedin  
15 Specimens of Otago minerals  
Blocks of Ore from various mineral lodes in Otago
- Welcome Quartz Mining Company, Reefton  
Specimens of Quartz from the mine
- Wellington Corporation, Wellington  
Concrete Slab  
Concrete Kerbing Block, Concrete Channel Block, and Asphalt Channel Block  
Concrete Insert Blocks  
Asphalt Paving Slab
- White, W. M., Kensington  
Sewerage Pipes
- Williams, William, Anderson's Bay, Dunedin  
Building Bricks  
decorative feature

## **Statistics.**

### **Area of New Zealand.**

### **Population.**

### **Education.**

### **Attendance on Classes of the University of Otago.**

### **Shipping Entered Inwards at Port of Otago.**

### **Railways.**

### **Telegraphs.**

### **Imports and Exports.**

### **Public Debt.**

### **Crown Lands.**

### **Live Stock.**

### **Insurance.**

*Industrial Statistics for 1871 are admittedly incorrect, and the totals for 1881 are not yet compiled.*

# Index to Exhibitors.

A Guide to the Property Assessment act, 1879.

by Chas. M. Crombie,

Deputy Property Tax Commissioner, Wellington District.

Price One Shilling.

Printed and Published by Lyon and Blair, Wellington Lambton Quay. 1880

## Preface.

MANY of the difficulties that were met with in carrying out the Land Tax Act arose from owners of landed property not understanding the provisions of that measure. Most people have neither the time nor the inclination to study new legislation, however much they are interested in it. A guide to the general meaning and directions as to the operations of the Property Assessment Act should prove of advantage to those who will be taxed under it. I have introduced some matters that relate to taxation and indebtedness, which cannot be said to be necessary to the explanation of the Property Assessment Act, but they are all appropriate to the questions of direct taxation and national debt, and I do not think they will be condemned as out of place. This is certain: The extracts given from official papers of the State of New York contain words of sound sense and warning that deserve a more conspicuous prominence than I can give them. They will well repay perusal, and they afford material for deep reflection.

Chas. M. Crombie.

*Wellington, N.Z.,*

*31st March, 1880.*

## Index.

### **"The Property Assessment act, 1879," "The Property Tax Act, 1879."**

#### INTRODUCTORY.

THE object of these Acts is to compel every person in the Colony who has property of a greater value than £500 to contribute towards the necessities of the State in proportion to his possessions. This contribution has to be made in addition to taxes paid through the Custom House, by Stamp Duties, and in other more or less indirect ways. It is admitted that direct taxation is most unpalatable. If a man pays £20 a year through the Customs he does not notice it, and does not miss the money, but if he pays £10 a year to a collector or receiver he becomes intensely conscious of the charge. Again, taxes through the Customs give no trouble to the payer, but either a Land or a Property Tax gives him a good deal. He has to value his own property, has to fill up forms, make declarations, possibly has to attend an Assessment Court, and finally has to take his money to some receiving officer. Even if a man knows how to do all this he finds it somewhat vexatious. It must be especially so with any new scheme of taxation, and it is the hope of the writer that this pamphlet may tend to render the assessment of their real and personal property more easily made by owners, may assist them in filling up the forms required, and may explain those portions of the Assessment Act which will, in the first instance, most affect the public; in fact, may enable the tax-payers to disburse their money with the least trouble to themselves, and to the officers of the department. It is not pleasant to pay taxes, neither is it an unmixed pleasure to assist in making others do so. The administration of a new Act is, to a far greater extent than the

working of an old system, a source of constant anxiety to those who are likely to be looked upon by the public as the only persons who derive any advantage from it. Whatever will make the work cast upon the tax-payers more easy for them to do readily and correctly, will lessen the labour and worry of the Property-tax officials; therefore, if any considerable proportion of the inhabitants of New Zealand, who are worth a clear £500, can be induced to read these pages, both tax-payers and those who, in contradistinction, may be called tax-collectors, will, it may be hoped, find things go on more evenly and with less irritation than might have otherwise been the case. However, the public must not forget that the tax is on a principle entirely new to these Colonies, and much will have to be learnt—will have to be evolved out of somewhere or something—before it will be possible to make the machinery work as smoothly as the operations connected with the Income Tax do in the Old Country.

## **PROPERTY LIABLE TO TAXATION. *Section 12.***

Clause 12. "All property within the colony of which any person is owner shall be liable to taxation in respect of so much of the value thereof as shall exceed five hundred pounds sterling, but subject to the exemptions and to the deductions hereinafter provided."

## **THE PRINCIPLE OF VALUATION. *Section 32.***

When the Bill was in Committee of the House of Representatives these words were added to Clause 32: "And the estimated value of all property or interests in property included in such statements shall be the sum it might be expected to bring if offered at public auction for cash." This established a standard of value, but it may be doubted whether it is as clearly expressed as it might have been. The intention was to say that a thing should be valued at what it would sell for if submitted to public competition, its price not being enhanced by giving long terms. Some ingenious folks attempt to argue that cash means that on the fall of the hammer the money must be paid, just as you see done in small auction rooms in large cities, where watches and jewellery of doubtful value are put up as often as a few people are decoyed in by a boy who takes up his stand on the footway. Cash before delivery is insisted on. This cannot be in any way taken as the signification of "cash," but the term would be held to mean payment at a short date, say a month, or thereabouts. "At public auction" must not be taken to be a knock-down sale without reserve, but rather a public sale on fair notice. This is undoubtedly the common-sense view to take of the question, and it is not likely that a Court of Reviewers, or any other Assessment Court, would give these words a different interpretation. This provision gets rid of a difficulty that was more than once referred to when the Bill was introduced, viz., that a man might have some things which he would not sell, and if he assessed them at the rate at which he valued them, *i.e.*, the price which he would take, he would have to put down a sum out of all proportion to the marketable value. Now, he need not assess a family picture at what he prizes it at, but at the figure it might be expected to bring by auction as a work of art. The difference would not unfrequently be more than nominal. This will set at rest the minds of collectors of pictures, books, manuscripts, rare coins, old china, postage stamps, &c. They need not appraise their collections at what they would take, but at what others would give.

The correct interpretation of this provision has the most important bearing on real property. Undoubtedly in assessing a £200,000 freehold, cash could not be held to mean coin of the realm paid on the fall of the hammer, but cash at a month or on completion of title. Indeed, in estimating the value of a large estate the assessor would consider whether it would sell best as a whole or cut up into smaller properties, and no owner who reads the Act fairly would think of claiming that the assessment of an immense freehold should be what it might be expected to realize if offered at public auction in one lot for cash in the room. Some may assess themselves in that way, but Reviewers, who will be well-informed and clearheaded men, would decline to endorse such a valuation as correct.

## **PERSONAL PROPERTY. *Sections 8, 9, 10, 32, 35.***

As the assessment of personal property is the most novel part of the system, it will be well to treat of it first. It cannot be too clearly pointed out that an assessor has no right whatever to pry into a man's household affairs, or to do anything that could be correctly described by the word inquisitorial. The owner of personal property has to value it. The assessor has not to value it. The Act does not give him power to do so, and the Regulations do not. The owner may post his return of personal property direct to the Deputy-Commissioner of his district (clause 35), and if it be accepted as fair nobody outside the office need know anything about it. From time to time statements have been circulated as to the enormity of assessors being empowered to take stock of a man's library and plate, to appraise his wife's jewellery, to go into a merchant's office and examine the contents of his safe, to read his stock book, have a quiz at his bill book, and generally to play Paul Pry whenever they wished. There has been no foundation for all this stuff. But if a man's return should appear to a Deputy Commissioner to

be incorrect, he may demand a fuller return, and if still unsatisfied he may object to it. In such a case the objection would go before the Board of Reviewers, who have power to summon witnesses and call for books and papers.

A bugbear which has been raised is that if a man makes a return of his assets and liabilities he will have his financial position known, and there will be a great risk of it being divulged. This is a danger which is almost imaginary. Each officer and clerk will be sworn to secrecy, and for a breach of his oath may be sentenced to not more than twelve months' imprisonment with or without hard labour. If an officer does anything under the Act without being first sworn he renders himself liable to a fine of not less than £10 and not more than £100 (clauses 8, 9, and 10). These checks ought to be enough to stay the tongue of the veriest gossip, and experience in other things proves that there is very little likelihood of anyone wilfully divulging anything. The bank manager and the bank clerk, the solicitor and solicitor's clerk, possess all sorts of secrets as to the ways and means of all sorts of people, yet whoever hears of tales of Mr. Y.'s overdraft, Mr. Q.'s bills discounted, Mr. Z.'s dishonor of a draft drawn by a London firm, or Mr. A.'s attempts to raise money or to get time. Merchants and traders never dream of these things becoming known. Then the telegraphists—well, what don't they know? Matters of the greatest privacy and urgency, things that would at once ruin a man if they were spoken of, are entrusted with absolute security to the knowledge of telegraph clerks and operators. Telegraphists are loyal and secret, and why should not officers of another department be so. The fact is that making these returns is a new thing, and therefore imaginary dangers are set up. In a short time property owners will have as little uneasiness when sending in their assessments as people have in England when filling up the Income Tax papers.

Another error which has gained currency is that a person must specify his debts; but it is not so. All he has to do is to state the gross amount of debts for which he claims a deduction (clause 32). He can put this as much below the total of his indebtedness as he pleases, and this without breaking his declaration, which is to the effect that he actually owes the debts for which he claims a deduction. He need not say that the sum is the total of all his liabilities, but he is bound to declare that he gives all his property, which of course includes debts due to him. The remark that a man need not claim a deduction for all his debts unless he likes, and thus elect to pay more tax than he ought, may seem like a grim jest; yet it is not, for it is well known that in England many people return their incomes at amounts much larger than they are, and they do this with an idea of keeping up their credit in some way, although how that is effected it is not easy to see, for all returns are supposed to be secret. Possibly the trader who is going backwards may declare to a good income as the result of his business, and let it be known that he pays income tax on so many thousand pounds. A like reason may tempt some to increase their assets and decrease their liabilities, and then make no secret of paying property tax on a handsome surplus. You need not claim a deduction for all debts, but you have either to return all your property or make a false declaration. In default you are liable to heavy penalties, of which more is set out under another head.

A mode of getting rid of your assets for the purposes of the assessment, without running a risk of loss, has been frequently suggested, but it is founded on such a ridiculous misconception that it really is difficult to believe that such a proposal could be seriously made. It is this: If you have a rare collection, a valuable library, or works of art of great price, borrow money on them to the full value, and include the amount in your debts. That was the royal road to cheat the revenue without risk, but the author of this piece of finésse quite forgot that if you borrow £1000 on anything and add that sum to your debts, you at the same time increase your assets. You do something with the cash, and whether you bank it or hide it in a cracked teapot, you must not omit it in your return. The result would be:—"As you were."

The Interpretation Clause declares that "Personal property means all property of whatever nature not comprised in the definition of real property," and real property is defined to mean "lands, tenements, and hereditaments, whether corporeal or incorporeal, and includes all chattel interests in land." These two definitions make it clear that everything a man has which has a selling value is to be assessed with a view to taxation. All his possessions, all his investments, his furniture, his jewellery, clothing, household goods, as well as any property that may be more aptly ranked as marketable, such as stock-in-trade, farming stock, merchandize, &c., are to be taxed. Accumulated profits of his business or profession and all his savings are to be taxed. The Property Tax has been often styled a tax upon thrift, and it is said that the man who lives up to his income escapes. This is not the place to go into the relative merits of Land Tax, Property Tax, or Income Tax, for all that is sought to be accomplished is to, in some degree, explain the law as it stands, yet it is very easy to show that the man who lives freely or extravagantly does not escape taxation. Take this case. A man with a family of five children has a salary of £1000, out of which he in one year saves £500. The Property Tax on this, if he had other property, would at the rate of a penny in the £ be £2 1s. 8d. a year. If next year he lived up to his income the increased expenditure would almost entirely be on articles that had paid duty, and his increased contribution through the Custom House would probably be £10 to £60 for the year. It may be expected that the assessment of personal property will at first be embarrassing, and many people will have to perform an operation

they have rarely or ever done; that is prepare a true statement of their affairs. This may result in some being surprised at learning they are worth so much, and in others being alarmed and astonished at having to deduct their property from their debts, or at all events at ascertaining the large total of their indebtedness. This general stocktaking cannot fail to be advantageous in many ways. It is not unusual for anyone who feels that things are going the reverse of well with him to avoid finding out his actual position, but now he will have to do so, and will thus be brought face to face with his state of affairs.

## **REAL PROPERTY.**

The Interpretation Clause says, "Real property means lands, tenements, and hereditaments, whether corporeal or incorporeal, and includes all chattel interests in land." Particular attention must be given to this definition of the term real property, for it conveys a meaning different from that which it usually bears. For instance, a leasehold is declared to be real property, it being comprised in the definition "chattel interests." Thus the good-will of tenants and sub-tenants will be treated as portions of real property, and will be kept, in schedules and valuation lists, apart from personal property.

It will be remembered that under the Land Tax Act owners were asked to value their land, but as it had been omitted to impose a penalty, numerous landlords refused or neglected to obey. Under the Property Assessment Act every person is bound to furnish a return of all his real property, to value it, and to make a declaration that his return is correct. If he should be overlooked in the distribution of schedules he must obtain them; and the non-receipt of a notice to furnish a return does not exempt him from punishment for neglect (Clause 31). Under this system owners and leaseholders will have themselves to blame, to a great extent, for any erroneous statements as to the number or description of their properties.

## **SEPARATE INTERESTS TO BE VALUED. Section 24.**

Clause 24 is one that everyone who owns, leases, or sub-leases land should carefully consider. It is as follows:—"The interest of every person in any property shall be separately assessed, and every such person shall be liable to taxation in respect of the value of his interest in such property. Provided that in respect of land held in any tenancy exceeding a yearly tenancy, the interest of the owner of such land shall be estimated at a sum equal to an amount of fourteen times the annual rental received by the owner in respect of such land; and the interest of any occupier of such land shall be estimated at the sum such interest might be expected to bring if offered at public auction for cash."

## **ASSESSMENT OF LEASED LAND.**

Special provision is supplied to meet the case of lands held on a lease for more than one year. The owner's interest is taken at fourteen times the annual rent received by him, and this will give a protection to those who own land that was let for a long term before the great rise in property took place. For instance—The owner of a Wellington town acre let it in 1869 for 21 years at £20, its then full yearly value, but the land is now worth £2000. This would be assessed to the owner at fourteen times £20, equal to £280, on which sum he would be taxed at 1d. in the pound=£1 3s. 4d. The leaseholder would be assessed at the value of his lease; that is, what it would sell for. A tenant of a Corporation property, known as the reclaimed land, Wellington, pays a rental of 10s. a foot frontage on 60 feet, but this land is worth, to sell, £60 a foot. This would give a total value of £3600, and as the tenant only pays £30 a year, the landlord's interest—if the Corporation were not exempt—would be £420, while that of the tenant would be £3180, and his tax £13 5s. He would have to pay that on account of the land, and the improvements on it would be added to his assessment. If they were worth £3000 his total tax in respect of the property would be £13 5s. and £12 10s—£23 15s. In the case of an Invercargill town section let on a forty years lease at £50 a year the landlord's interest would be £700, and if the land and buildings were together likely to bring £5000 at auction, the tenant's interest might be returned at £4000, on which he would pay £16 13s. 4d, and the landlord's tax would be £2 18s 4d. If a property should be let to a tenant who again sub-let, the interest of tenant and sub-tenant or sub-tenants would have to be assessed at the value of each to sell, that of the landlord being taken at fourteen times his rental.

## **ASSESSMENT OF LAND SOLD ON TIME PAYMENTS.**

Under the Land Tax Act cases frequently arose in which there existed a difference of opinion as to who was the owner, and therefore had to pay the whole tax. B bought £1000 worth of land, and had to pay the purchase money at the rate of £200 a year for five years; he had paid £000 at the date of the valuation, but no conveyance had been given. Who was the owner, A, or B, to whom he had sold? A held the title, and B might never

complete. Some said A was the owner; but, on the other hand, B could compel A to give a conveyance upon completing the terms of sale; and others said, "Oh, he is entitled to the freehold in possession" upon doing certain things, therefore B is the owner. The point does not appear to have been tried in the Supreme Court, but probably it will find its way there.

Fortunately this knotty question will not be raised under the Property Assessment Act, because, says Clause 24, "The interest of every person in any property shall be separately assessed." If M sells to N 250 acres at £4 per acre, the terms being £200 a year, and should £600 be paid at the date of assessment, M's interest would be the amount of money he had to receive, *i.e.* £400, and N's would be the value of the property less the £400 he owed. If land had gone up since his purchase it would be more than £600, or if there had been a depreciation it would be less. It may be expected, however, that there will be some complications. An estate may have been sold in three or four large lots to speculators, terms part cash and the balance at three years. One buyer cuts up into small sections, which he sells on very easy terms, taking, perhaps, quarterly payments extending over many years. The interest of the seller of the estate would be equal to the amount he had to receive, and that of the middle man would be what he had to receive less the amount he owed the original owner.

Say Jones sold 4000 acres at £6 to Smith, £12,000 cash and the balance at 3 years. Smith cut his purchase up into ten farms of 400 acres and sold these at £10 per acre, the payment to be one-fifth cash and the balance by five yearly instalments. If the assessment were made two years after the first sale, and one year after the second, Jones' interest would be equal to the purchase-money outstanding £12,000, and Smith's would be the amount he had to receive—£25,600, less £12,000 he had to pay. The interests of the farmers would be fairly set down at what they had paid, *viz.*, £8,000 cash and £6400 one instalment. It would sum up thus:—

No allowance has been made for interest, it being assumed that all sums unpaid bore a fair rate.

In these examples no notice has been taken of the exemption of £500, and it has been supposed that the land is not mortgaged by Jones. If it were the amount of the mortgage would have to be stated by him in making up his schedule.

## **LAND INCLUDES IMPROVEMENTS.**

It may be well to point out that land includes all improvements upon it. Owners in making their returns must take care not to be guided by the valuations under the Land Tax Act, for in these all improvements were deducted in order to arrive at the taxable value. People when assessing their real property must remember that they are to comprise in it every kind of improvement, houses, other buildings, fences, orchards, plantations, &c.; in fact, they must estimate the value of the whole property to sell, less, of course, the personal property which may be on it at the time.

## **MORTGAGES. Sections 22 and 23.**

Following out the principle that a man shall only pay on his possessions, a landowner, when valuing his land, &c., is entitled to deduct any sum he may owe on mortgage, but he must give the name and address of the mortgagee. This is done so that it may be ascertained that the amount is accounted for by the mortgagee in his return of personal property. The mortgagee is also compelled to furnish particulars of all properties over which he holds a mortgage as security for money owing to him. A comparison of these returns will afford a complete check upon this portion of the general assessment. The second part of Clause 23 states: "Every such mortgagee, not exempted as herein provided in respect of companies, shall be liable to taxation on the value of his mortgage, subject to the ordinary deductions." That is to say, if a mortgagee has the misfortune to hold a property that is worth £1000 as security for a debt of £2500 owing by a man who is worth nothing, the value of this asset is to be returned at £1000; the other £1500 being, for the time at all events, a bad debt.

## **REAL PROPERTY LIABLE FOR TAX NOTWITHSTANDING TRANSFER. Section 25.**

*"Notwithstanding the sale, or transfer, or conveyance of any real property, such property shall continue to be liable for the payment of any tax owing in respect thereof so long as it shall remain unpaid."*

## **EXEMPTIONS. Section 26.**

Clause 26.—"The following property shall be exempt from taxation:—

- All agricultural implements in actual use.
- All property of the Crown, or of any local body, or of any company or society of persons not formed

- wholly or mainly for the purpose of gain or profit divisible amongst the shareholders.
  - All churches and other places used exclusively for public worship.
  - All property of, or vested in, any body or persons for public charitable, or public educational purposes.
  - All property of, or vested in, any public body, society, or persons, and used only for the purposes of public health, or recreation.
  - All public reserves of whatever nature made under any law granted to, or vested in, any body or persons.
  - All property of Maoris.
  - All property owned in reversion, remainder, or expectancy of any kind, the owner thereof not having any present beneficial interest therein at the time an assessment is made thereof.
  - All vessels of every kind.
  - All policies of life assurance.
- Except as hereinafter mentioned."

## **TENANTS OF EXEMPT LANDS. *Sections 27 and 28.***

Clauses 27 and 28 deal with the tenants of exempt lands, and whether these belong to a local body or to a Maori, the tenant has to pay just as though he leased from a taxable person; that is to say, on the value of his interest to sell. The pastoral tenant of the Crown will be assessed at what the selling value of his lease or license is, and so will the holder of a Maori leasehold, or the occupier of Native land.

## **COVENANTS CONTRARY TO ACT VOID. *Section 29.***

Clause 29.—"No contract, covenant, or agreement touching the payment of taxes to be charged on their respective premises heretofore made, or hereafter to be made, between any persons which is contrary to the intent and meaning of this Act shall be binding on the parties."

This provision is a most important one. It relieves those tenants, who are not by this Act made taxable in respect of their interests, from all liability to pay the Property Tax, notwithstanding that in their leases they may have covenanted to pay all taxes then existing, or that might be in future imposed, in respect of the leased land. Thus if a proprietor let a farm last year, when this Bill was spoken of as likely to be introduced, and he had inserted in his lease that the tenant was to pay all taxes then charged, or that might thereafter be charged on the premises, the tenant would not be bound by that to pay Property Tax. Probably this clause goes so far as this: If a tenant expressly covenanted to pay Property Tax, he could not, if he chose to repudiate, be compelled at law to do so. In the Land Tax Act there was a stringent provision somewhat similar in effect, but notwithstanding that, it may be surmised that a good many tenants paid that tax, believing that they were bound to do so by an agreement to pay rates and taxes.

## **COMPANIES TO APPOINT PUBLIC OFFICER. *Section 18.***

It is provided by the 18th clause that every company within the meaning of the definition of "company," and also those engaged in banking and insurance, shall appoint a public officer, who will, for the purposes of the Property Tax, be the representative of the corporation; and that a place where notices, &c., may be served must be named. A company having a board of directors or managers in the Colony must make the appointment within three months of the passing of the Act, 19th December, 1879, and a company not having such local board has six months in which to name its representative. This longer time was given to enable local officers to communicate with England for instructions. Any company formed since the passing of the Act, or which may be formed, has to appoint a public officer, and name a place for service of notices, &c., within three months. The penalty for non-compliance with this part of the Act is severe, being £50 a day for every day after the date at which such officer and place ought to be appointed. The public officer is answerable for doing all things necessary for the due assessment of the company, and the payment of the tax, and any statement or representation made by him will be of the same force and effect as if made by the company. Notices and processes may be served upon, and proceedings taken against, the public officer, but if there should not be one, then upon and against any person acting or appearing to act in the business or affairs of the company.

## **COMPANIES ASSESSED. *Section 13.***

The Interpretation Clause states, "Company means an incorporated body or company, or society of persons, other than an association for purposes of banking or insurance, formed wholly or mainly for the purpose of gain or profit divisible amongst the shareholders." These companies are, so says Clause 13, to be taxed on their capital, but in reality each company is to be taxed just as a person is; that is to say, on the amount by which the

assets exceed the liabilities. The clause does not say this concisely, but that is its meaning. In the assets no unpaid-up capital is to be included, and amounts received in respect of shares issued are not to be reckoned as liabilities. That is, capital which has been paid and capital which is unpaid are both to be discarded in arriving at the "capital" on which a company is to be taxed. "The assets of the company shall be taken to be the marketable value of the property of the company." This does not mean the market price of shares, because that is supposed to represent, more or less approximately, the difference between the assets and liabilities, and from the marketable value of the property of a company the debts have to be deducted to ascertain the taxable value. Example: The Penguin Quartz Company, Limited, has assets or property, the marketable value of which is £12,000, and the liabilities or debts are £3000, leaving a taxable value of £9000. No account is taken of the capital, the subscribed amount being £10,000 in 5000 shares of £2 each, of which £1 10s. per share has been called up and paid. A schedule specially prepared for companies will be delivered to the public officer. See page 26.

## **BANKING COMPANIES ASSESSED. *Section 14.***

A banking company, the principle office of which is within the Colony, or which is principally carrying on business within the Colony, will be assessed on the amount of its capital actually paid up added to the amount of the accumulated undivided profits. This applies to the Bank of New Zealand, the National Bank of New Zealand, and the Colonial Bank of New Zealand. The provision by which other banks are taxed does not explain itself, but it was stated in the House of Representatives that the arrangement had the sanction of three eminent bankers. It may be said that it was arrived at, after various calculations had been worked out, in order to place foreign banks in a position as nearly as possible equal to that of colonial institutions. Banks are not liable to any further taxation under these Acts in respect of any property, real or otherwise.

## **INSURANCE COMPANIES ASSESSED. *Section 16.***

Insurance Companies are dealt with in Clause 16, which provides that they shall be assessed upon the total amount of annual premiums received in respect of fire, marine, and guarantee policies, after deducting the total amount of premiums actually paid by the Company in the same year in respect of the re-insurance of any risk covered by the said policies. Premiums received from life policies are exempt. The rate of tax to be imposed upon the assessment thus arrived at is fixed by the Property Tax Act at thirty shillings per cent.

## **FOREIGN LOAN COMPANIES ASSESSED. *Sections 15 and 34.***

The assessment of foreign loan companies is thus dealt with by Clause 15:—"Any company carrying on the business of advancing money on loan within the colony, but the principal office whereof is beyond the same, shall upon proof given to the satisfaction of the Commissioner of the actual amount of its paid-up capital and of the amount of its accumulated undivided profits employed within the colony, be assessed thereon, instead of being assessed on the balance of its assets over liabilities."

Clause 34 provides an escape from a sort of deadlock that might arise in assessing a foreign Company. It enacts that "Where it shall appear to the Commissioner that any company carrying on business within the colony, but the principal office whereof is beyond the same, cannot, at the time of making an assessment, furnish an accurate statement of the actual amount of the capital of such company employed within the colony, he may agree with the Public Officer of the company what shall be the capital upon which such company shall be liable to taxation in respect of such assessment."

## **PARTNERSHIPS. *Section 21.***

Under this head come associations, usually styled companies, that have not been incorporated, and in their case all partners are responsible for making proper returns, or seeing that they are made. For these exactly the same forms will be used as for individuals, but the assessment will be in the name of the association, and not in that of any shareholder or officer. They and ordinary partnerships are provided for in Clause 21. "Partners in any branch of commerce, trade, manufacture, adventure, or concern carried on by two or more persons jointly, shall be assessed jointly in the trading name of the firm in respect of the property belonging to the firm jointly, and shall be chargeable jointly with the tax payable in respect thereof; and such assessment shall be kept separate and distinct from the individual assessment of any such partner, and shall be subject to the ordinary deductions."

Each firm, partnership, or association will be entitled to one deduction of £500, even if each member has received that allowance in the assessment of his individual property, but only one deduction will be granted to a

firm, no matter how many members there may be, or how valuable the property.

## **AGENTS AND TRUSTEES. Sections 19, 20, and 89,**

Clauses 19 and 20 deal with agents and trustees. The first part of 19 says:—"Every agent for any person permanently or temporarily absent from the colony, and every trustee, shall be assessed separately in respect of every property or trust which he represents, and shall be chargeable with the tax payable in respect thereof in the same manner as if such property were his own."

The assessment should, in order to prevent confusion, be in the name of the owner, and not in that of the trustee or agent, whose address, however, should be carefully stated. Each trustee or joint agent is answerable for doing everything required by the Act for the assessment of the property, which he represents, and for payment of the tax in respect thereof, and he is subject to penalties in the same manner as if acting on his own behalf. He is authorised to recover the amount of tax paid from his principal or estate, as the case may be, or to retain it out of money held by him in his representative character. Sub-section 4 of the clause says:—"But such agent or trustee shall not be personally liable for any tax imposed upon him under this section to any further or greater extent than the value of the property remaining in his hands or of which he shall have the controlling power after receiving notice of such assessment."

This affords ample protection to an agent or trustee, and saves him from the chance of having to find money out of his own funds to pay the tax on property in which he has no direct interest.

Clause 89, which deals with trusts of persons under legal disability, and of persons who have died, does not contain a proviso to this effect.

## **REGULATIONS. Section 11.**

It would of course be impossible to draft Bills so perfect that they would meet all contingencies that might arise in inaugurating and carrying out an entirely new system of taxation, and therefore it has been provided that the Governor in Council shall have power to make regulations for various things. Clause 11.—"The Governor in Council may from time to time make, alter, and revoke regulations not inconsistent with this Act, for the following purposes or any of them, that is to say:—(1.) Prescribing the duties of the Commissioner, Deputy-Commissioners, Assessors, and other officers engaged or employed in the administration of this Act; (2.) Regulating the forms and times of giving notices of objection; (3.) Regulating the manner of proceeding to hear and determine such objections, and for the allowance of claims to exemption or deduction; (4.) Prescribing the forms of statements of property, assessment rolls, notices, and other instruments mentioned in this Act or necessary to give effect thereto; (5.) Imposing a penalty, not exceeding fifty pounds, for any breach of any such regulations. And the Governor in Council, from time to time, may make all such other regulations, either applicable generally or to meet particular cases, which may be necessary to carry out the administration of this Act. All such regulations shall be gazetted, and, when so gazetted, shall have the force of law."

These orders in Council will enable difficulties, that were not foreseen when the Bill was framed and passed through the Legislature, to be met, and it may fairly be expected that without such a means of removing obstacles the work of assessing real and personal property and collecting the tax would be impossible to accomplish. The Regulations will have to be read with the Act, and all who are likely to be connected in any way with giving effect to it should see that they have a copy of all orders in Council which may be issued from time to time. People who read the penal clauses ought to remember that by regulation a fine not exceeding £50 may be imposed for a breach of any regulation. Thus an offence not set out in the Act may be punishable as effectually, except as regards the amount of fine, as though it had been specially legislated for. Of course no power is granted to alter in anyway the real meaning and scope of the Act; and due notice must be given to the public by gazetting.

## **SECRECY OF ASSESSMENTS. Sections 8, 9, 42, 44, 46.**

In addition to assessors and officers being sworn to secrecy (clauses 8 & 9), other precautions are taken to prevent the taxable value of a man's property becoming known. It is provided by Clause 46 that notice of assessment shall be sent in a sealed envelope to each person whose name appears on an assessment roll as liable to taxation, and the envelope will have printed on it "Sealed Notice under the Property Assessment Act." This will prevent any being opened in the ordinary course of business by clerks or others who may be in the habit of dealing with correspondence, and persons will not be able to say that they opened one without knowing what it was. The sending of these notices is intended to afford people an opportunity for objecting to an assessment, but the omission to give a notice will not invalidate an assessment (clause 46). Any person therefore who knows that he is liable to taxation, but does not receive a notice, should write to the Deputy-Commissioner for

the district, and ascertain at what rate his property has been valued; otherwise he would lose his opportunity for appealing.

The Deputy-Commissioner will publicly notify that a copy of the rolls relating to his district is lying at his office (section 42), but he is not to suffer them to be inspected by any one, though he may answer enquiries made by persons in relation to property for which they are assessed (section 44).

## **OBJECTIONS. Sections 43 and 47 to 55.**

Clauses 43 and 47 to 55 treat of objecting to assessments.

It is provided that any person who considers himself aggrieved by an assessment in which he is personally interested may object to it, and the Commissioner or a Deputy-Commissioner may object to any assessment, but in such case the officer objecting shall send notice to the person affected thereby. A day is to be appointed, on or before which objections by property owners must be lodged, and none will be entertained afterwards. This should be kept in mind, for it is provided by Clause 50 that if any person who may be assessed for property that does not belong to him omits to make and sustain an objection he will be liable for the tax upon it. Thus if a man should receive a notice stating that he has been assessed for land which belongs to another, of the same name, or, indeed, to anyone else, he must not, as some did when they received a Land Tax notice, tear it up and neglect to have the error corrected, for if he should he will have to pay the tax on somebody else's property. Forms of objection, which will be prescribed, must be used. Each Deputy-Commissioner has to forward a list of objections to the Commissioner, who will consider them. The Commissioner may make enquiries, and may allow any objection, and alter or amend an assessment roll, but if he should refuse to grant an objection it would go before the Board of Reviewers. The times and places at which these Boards will sit must be publicly notified by the Commissioner not less than fourteen days before they meet.

## **BOARDS OF REVIEWERS. Sections 56 to 69.**

Boards of Reviewers will take the duties performed by Assessment Courts for local bodies, and in connection with the Land Tax. The Commissioner may be a Reviewer, but no other person holding office under the Act is capable of being appointed. There may be one or more Boards for each district, but to each Board shall be assigned a district or a division or divisions of a district. By a division is meant a borough, road, local board, or town board district, or an outlying district. Very extensive powers are granted to a Board, which will consist of three members, two of whom form a quorum. They appoint times and places of meeting, and may adjourn in respect of time and place. Their meetings shall not be deemed to be public, and any person or persons may be excluded or required to withdraw. Ample authority is bestowed to summon, and compel the attendance of, witnesses, and to order the production of books and papers. Boards have "full power of hearing and determining all objections to the assessment rolls of the district or division which is assigned to them." It is evidently intended that there shall not be any appeal from a decision, for Clause 69 states:—"The decision of the Board of Reviewers on all objections coming before it, and on all other matters coming within its cognizance relating to the assessment rolls, shall be final and conclusive."

Anyone who has objected may appear personally, by an agent, or by counsel; and the Commissioner, Deputy-Commissioner, Assessor, or other officer, may appear on the other side. Cases will be heard in the order in which they stand on a list made by the Deputy-Commissioner, and when two or more objections relate to the same matter they will be heard together. The Board may alter the assessment rolls so as to give effect to their decisions, and may amend the description of any property to make the identification of it more clear. All alterations, insertions, and erasures are to be initialled by the chairman, and the assessment roll so signed and corrected, will remain in force until a "fresh roll is made." If there are no objections to a roll it does not go before a Board of Reviewers, but is endorsed by the Deputy-Commissioner as not being objected to, and is countersigned by him. From the foregoing it will be gathered that should a Deputy-Commissioner object to any assessment of personal property and the owner should not amend his return, his case would go before a Board of Reviewers, who, if they deemed it fit, could compel the attendance of himself and his clerks and require the production of books and papers. Should the evidence given disclose an endeavor to evade taxation, or to commit a fraud upon the revenue, the person offending could be proceeded against for a penalty of £100, and be assessed in treble the amount of duty he ought to pay. Further, if he should have made a false declaration he would be liable, under Clause 95, to a prosecution for perjury.

## **POWER OF COMMISSIONER TO ALTER ROLLS. Sections 70, 71, 72.**

As the Act provides that assessment rolls shall remain in force for three years the Commissioner is authorised to make alterations under certain conditions. Some such power is necessary in order to prevent cases

of great hardship arising. For instance, a person worth £20,000 clear in March, 1880, might by March, 1881, have suffered such serious reverses as to be the possessor of property to but a very limited amount, and it would be manifestly unjust to tax a ruined man on the fortune he had lost. Should his wealth have consisted of land, the tax on that would be transferred with the land, but in the case of money or other personal property he would not obtain relief unless special provision were made to meet such a case. On the other hand the Commissioner may place on the roll any property acquired by a person since the making of the assessment. Clause 70.—"During the time wherein any assessment roll is in force the Commissioner may, from time to time, in respect of any roll—(1.) Place thereon the name of any person of whose liability to taxation he is satisfied, and erase therefrom the name of any person not so liable; (2.) Place thereon any property acquired by any person since the making of the last assessment which he is satisfied is liable to taxation, and erase therefrom any property no longer so liable. The Commissioner, in his discretion, may decrease any assessment, but nothing herein contained shall authorize him to increase any assessment already appearing on the roll."

The Commissioner must give one month's notice to the persons to be affected by any addition, of his intention to add property to a roll. Provision is made for these alterations, being subject to objections, to be heard before a Resident Magistrate, who, for the purpose, would have all the powers of a Board of Reviewers.

## **EVIDENCE OF ASSESSMENTS. Section 74.**

Clause 74.—"Assessment rolls, and all entries made therein in the manner by this Act directed, by the production thereof alone and without any further evidence, shall be received as *prima facie* evidence of the facts therein mentioned.

The validity of any assessment shall not be affected by reason that any of the provisions of this Act have not been complied with."

This is a section that will probably be amended before any proceedings for the recovery of the tax are taken, and it may be expected that the production of an extract from an assessment roll, certified as correct, will be accepted as evidence. If an assessment roll had to be produced to prove one case it would be impossible to keep its contents secret in Court, and thus the amounts at which persons, other than the defendant, had been assessed would become known to some who had no right to get such an insight into the state of affairs of other people.

The second part of the clause will prevent the successful setting up of anything like a quibbling defence on the ground that some matter of petty detail had not been strictly carried out. Generally, it may be taken to mean that on the production of an assessment roll, properly certified, it shall not be competent for anyone to raise questions as to procedure antecedent to the signing of the roll by the chairman of the Board of Reviewers.

## **COLLECTION OF TAX. Sections 75, 76, 77.**

Receivers or collectors of the tax may be appointed. Fourteen days' notice by advertisement in newspapers published in the various districts must be given of the day on which the tax is payable, and the places of receipt. In the case of a person owning property in various parts of the Colony, the Commissioner may appoint one place at which such person's tax shall be paid. An inducement to people to pay punctually is afforded by the imposition of a penalty of ten per cent, on the amount of the tax due in cases where it remains unpaid fourteen days after demand. Clause 77.—"If the person liable to pay the tax fails to pay the amount thereof for the space of fourteen days after demand by a notice in writing by the Deputy-Commissioner, ten per centum on the amount unpaid shall be added thereto. And such tax, together with such addition, shall be recoverable in any Court of competent jurisdiction by the Deputy-Commissioner, on behalf of the Crown, by suit in his own name."

Possibly this will be pronounced too stringent, and so it would be if fair protection were not afforded by giving ample warning. Notice of the due date of the tax has to be published fourteen days beforehand, and then there will be fourteen days grace. Tax-payers will take very good care not to be mulcted in a fine of ten per cent., and will be punctual

## **SALE OF LAND IN PAYMENT OF TAXES. Sections 78 to 84.**

Clauses 78 to 84 deal with the sale of land for unpaid taxes. It is enacted that if no goods and chattels, or none sufficient, can be found belonging to or in the possession of a person liable to pay any tax imposed upon his property, whereon the same may be levied, and the tax or any part is in arrear for three months or upwards, and the person is possessed of any land, it may be sold by the Commissioner after six months' notice has been given of his intention to sell. The proceeds of a sale are to be appropriated to the payment of the tax and expenses, and any balance is to be paid to the Public Trustee, who may, upon the order of the Supreme Court,

pay it to such persons as may be entitled to receive it, together with reasonable interest, not exceeding five per cent, per annum. Clause 81 provides for giving a title to land so sold. If the Commissioner should not deem it desirable to proceed to a sale he may cause a notice of lien in the prescribed form to be registered in the Registry of Deeds, or filed in the office of the District Land Registrar in the district where such lands are situated.

## **UNKNOWN OR ABSENTEE OWNER. *Sections 85 and 86.***

Clause 85 provides that if an owner has no known agent in the Colony, or cannot, after due enquiry, be found, posting a summons on a conspicuous part of the land shall be a sufficient service. 86 states that judgment may be given under the designation of "the owner," against an unknown owner, or one who is absent or cannot be found.

## **REMEDIES AGAINST TENANT. *Section 87.***

By Clause 87 any tenant, mediate or immediate of an owner, who neglects to pay the tax is made liable for the tax on the land he occupies, and the Deputy-Commissioner has the like remedies against the tenant as he would have against the owner.

## **RECOVERY OF TAX PAID ON ACCOUNT OF ANOTHER. *Section 88.***

In Clause 88 provision is made for enabling a person, who has been compelled to pay tax on account of any other person, or in respect of property of which he has ceased to be owner, to recover from the actual owner of the property the amount so paid, together with the costs of proceedings attending its recovery.

## **TAX DUE BY PERSONS UNDER DISABILITY. *Section 89.***

Clause 89.—"Where any person chargeable with tax is under any legal disability, or where any person so chargeable dies, in every such case the trustee of such person, upon default of payment by him, shall be and is hereby made liable to and charged with the payments which the said person under disability ought to have made, or the person so dying was chargeable with. And if such trustee neglect or refuse to pay as aforesaid, it shall be lawful to proceed against him in like manner, as against any other person making default of payment of the said tax; and all trustees making payment as aforesaid shall be allowed every sum paid for such persons under disability in their accounts, and shall be allowed to deduct all such payments out of the assets of the persons so dying. In this section the word 'trustee' shall be deemed to include the parents of an infant."

## **WRONG AMOUNT OF TAX PAID. *Sections 90 and 91.***

Clauses 90 and 91 meet cases in which the amount of tax paid by any person is too little or too much. In the latter case the Commissioner shall order a refund of the amount overpaid, and in the former the person liable shall, upon its being discovered that too little has been paid, forthwith pay the additional amount.

## **POWER TO EXTEND TIMES AND DATES. *Section 92.***

Clause 92 is beyond doubt necessary to enable an Act imposing a system of taxation of this kind to be efficiently administered. It would not be possible to gauge correctly the time making the assessments or serving notices would take, and complications and deadlocks would arise if a means of avoiding them were not supplied by some such clause as the following:—"If any act, matter, or thing required by this Act to be made, performed, or done at or within a fixed time is not so made, performed, or done, the Governor in Council may appoint a further or other time for making, performing, or doing the same, although the time within which the same ought to have been done has elapsed or expired. Any act, matter, or thing made, performed, or done within the time prescribed by such Order in Council shall be as valid as if it had been made, performed, or done within the time fixed by or under this Act."

## **PENALTIES. *Sections 10, 93 to 96.***

Clause 10. "Every person who wilfully acts in contravention of the true intent of the oath which he has taken under this Act shall be liable, on summary conviction before a Resident Magistrate, if he shall elect to be tried before him, or, if he shall not so elect, then upon conviction before the Supreme Court or District Court, to imprisonment for any term not exceeding twelve months, with or without hard labour. If any person acts under

this Act, before he has taken the oath required to be taken by such person respectively, he shall, on conviction, be liable to forfeit the sum of not less than ten nor more than one hundred pounds."

Clause 93. "If any person liable to taxation under this Act does any of the following things:—

- Wilfully fails or neglects to furnish any statement of property within the prescribed time;
- Knowingly and wilfully makes or delivers any false statement of property, or makes any false answer in relation to his property, for the purpose of evading assessment thereof; or
- By any falsehood, wilful neglect, fraud, art, or contrivance whatsoever used or practised evades or attempts to evade assessment of his property:

Every such person shall, on proof thereof before any two Justices of the Peace, be assessed and charged treble the amount of the tax of which such person has sought to evade the payment, in addition to any tax for which such person would have been otherwise liable; and every such person shall also be liable to forfeit and pay a penalty of not less than five pounds nor more than one hundred pounds. Any person aiding and assisting in any manner whatsoever to commit any act contrary to this section shall, upon conviction, be liable to forfeit and pay a penalty of not less than five pounds nor more than fifty pounds.

Clause 94. If any person, by obstructing any officer acting in the discharge of his duties under this Act, or by refusing or neglecting to answer questions put by any such officer relating to any property belonging to such person, or gives any false or evasive answer, he shall be liable to a penalty not exceeding fifty pounds.

Clause 95. If any person, in any declaration authorized by this Act, knowingly and wilfully declares to any matter or thing which is false or untrue, every such person so offending shall be deemed guilty of perjury, and liable to be dealt with accordingly.

Clause 96. All penalties imposed under this Act shall be recoverable only by persons appointed by the Governor to sue for the same, and when recovered shall be paid into the Consolidated Fund. The Governor may, at his discretion, mitigate or stay or compound proceedings for any penalty, and may reward any person who informs of any offence against this Act or assists in the recovery of any penalty."

## **NOTICE REQUIRING STATEMENTS TO BE FURNISHED. *Section 30.***

Clause 30. The commissioner shall give not less than one month's public notice in every district of the time and place at which all persons shall be required to furnish statements of all real and personal property belonging to them.

## **PERSONS TO OBTAIN FORMS. *Section 31.***

Clause 31. Every person owning any property shall apply for the forms prescribed for furnishing accurate statements of his property required by this Act; and any person failing to furnish such statements shall not be exempted from any penalty he may have incurred thereby, by reason only that he received no personal notice to furnish the same, or that proper forms of returns were not delivered to him.

## **PERSONS TO FURNISH STATEMENTS OF ALL PROPERTY. *Section 32.***

Clause 32. Every person owning any property, whether entitled to exemption or not, shall, when required so to do by a public notice given as prescribed, prepare and deliver, within the period to be mentioned in such notice, to the assessor or other person appointed to receive the same, and to whom the same ought to be delivered, statements in writing, in such form as may be prescribed, and signed by the person making the same,—

- Of the description, situation, and value of the real and personal property belonging to such person of every kind; and
- Of all mortgages, encumbrances, and charges secured thereon respectively, and of all debts owing by such person for which he claims a deduction;

to which statements shall be added a declaration that the same is true and accurate in all particulars; and the estimated value of all property or interests in property included in such statements shall be the sum it might be expected to bring if offered at public auction for cash.

## **MAKING RETURNS.**

One word of advice to persons as to filling up their forms. If any should feel disposed to refuse let them think of the penalty; if any should be inclined to allow the time for sending in their schedules to pass without doing so let them have a care lest they should suffer the punishment for wilful neglect; if any should be inclined to fill up the schedules carelessly, as a matter of no great consequence, they would do well to bear in mind that

omissions will have to be supplied, and possibly the non-insertion of some assets, through sheer want of thought, might appear to be the result of an attempt to wilfully evade assessment of property. The easiest and safest course will be to take trouble in writing in the schedules all particulars required, being careful to give names, addresses, and description of land fully and correctly. The directions on each form should be read and attended to, and those who do this will not find anything very puzzling in compiling a full and true return of their property, whether personal or real, although possibly at first sight a schedule may appear a rather formidable document to complete.

## **SCHEDULES No. 2 AND No. 3.**

Form No. 2 for real property will be left with every owner of land, and he who has no more than one quarter-acre section in what is called a "paper township," must enter it in his return. It is beyond doubt that many people will be able to say that they do not know the particulars of all the land they possess, they cannot remember the numbers of sections, they have forgotten the area, and have no idea of the value. This will be no excuse, and they must obtain these particulars. It will be borne in mind that if an owner should omit to return his interest in any land the omission will be discovered at some future time. The assessors, while affording every assistance, have the right to demand that all information required by the Act should be imparted to them, so that they should be able to make a proper assessment. Landowner and assessor can mutually assist each other, and they will find it greatly to their advantage to do so. It will be well for people to anticipate the visit of the assessor by getting the data he will require.

In that part of the form headed "Owner's Return" will be inserted the particulars of all properties to which the person making the return is entitled. In the case of land only part paid for, the value of the property, must be set down in full, and the amount owing on it, whether secured by mortgage or not, inserted in the proper column so that a deduction may be made. If a property be let the annual rent must be stated, with the date and term of lease. The rent, multiplied by fourteen, gives the owners interest if the tenancy be for more than one year; however, a reference to the form printed at pages 24 and 25 will be a better guide than any written directions.

In the leaseholders return very nearly the same particulars have to be supplied, but the value of the tenant's interest has to be set out. This is to be taken at the goodwill of the lease; that is what it would sell for.

Forms No. 2 and No. 3 have been prepared on a plan that will enable a check to be applied to the returns made by mortgagors and mortgagees, landlords and tenants, vendors and purchasers of land on time, and with respect to bills of sale. As the discovery of an error might lead to unpleasant consequences, it will be well to bestow no little pains in attaining completeness and accuracy.

It will be the duty of an assessor to leave at each house at least one form, No. 3, for a return of personal property, taking care that in the case of an hotel, a boarding house, or a club, that a form is left for each person who possibly may have property that would render him or her liable to taxation. The assessor will give any instructions that may be required as to the way of filling up this form, but as it is simple, and is accompanied by full directions, people should not find any difficulty in completing it for themselves.

Shares in banks, insurance companies, and other incorporated companies, must not be included in personal property (clause 17) as the public officers of companies have to make returns and pay the tax direct.

In valuing produce and live stock the owner should see that he does not omit any that may not be at the time in his actual possession. A runholder should return the value of his wool if it be on the way to a shipping port, or in the hands of an agent. The grazier must return the value of his cattle or sheep, &c., that may be on the road to market, or in the hands of an agent for sale. The farmer must return that of his grain at the mill, his wheat or oats stored at the railway station, or consigned to an agent, as well as his growing crop, or stacks, and produce in his barn. Saw millers must not omit loads of timber going forward by road, rail, or vessel.

The merchant, storekeeper, or shopkeeper in estimating his stock should take it at trade rates; that is the prices ruling in the market, and retailers should be guided by wholesale prices just as merchants; but a merchant should not set down his stock at the home cost. The fair value to sell must be his guide.

Perhaps to make an estimate of the value of furniture, household effects, plate, jewellery, library, &c., will be the most perplexing part of the assessment to many persons. A man who has lived some ten, twenty, or thirty years in the same town, or perhaps in the same house, would be surprised, at all events in many instances, to find what a high value the contents of his dwelling had reached, for year by year he had been adding to his household goods without noticing the increase in value.

Opposite the entry "Money owing to me secured on Mortgage" will be inserted only sums owing on mortgage. Opposite "Money owing to me secured on Bills of Sale, or other instrument of a like nature," will be set down debts secured by bills of sale, or lien on personal property. In "Other debts owing to me" must be included sums owing on account of land sold on time or deferred payments, that is, where a conveyance has not

been granted and a mortgage taken; also, ordinary debts. Very great caution should be exercised in estimating the value of debts due to a person. He should not omit any excepting those actually bad, but a fair deduction on account of doubtful debts would be allowable. Two lines will represent the deductions claimed for debts owing. One will record the amount of debts secured by bill of sale or similar instruments, and the next will give all other debts owing. The total of these two subtracted from the total of property gives the nett value of personal property.

*No entry of the £500 exemption allowed by law must be made on either No. 2 or No. 3. This will be deducted by the department from the total obtained by adding together the nett value of each person's real and personal property.*

The object of the tenant's return on No. 3 form is to provide a check; to enable it to be ascertained whether the owner of a property has made a full and correct statement with respect to it. It will not be used for purposes of assessment, for in many cases the tenant will not have a yearly tenancy, and in many others he will pay such a rent that there is no goodwill of his lease. Thus in the column "Value of tenant's interest," the word *nil* or a dash will often be found.

A specimen of form No. 3 is given at pages 26 and 27.

## **THE LAND TAX. Sections 97 and 98.**

As a somewhat general belief was held that the Land Tax Act, 1878, was repealed by the Property Assessment Act, and therefore only the Land Tax for 1879 would be collected, it is advisable to point out how the matter stands. Clause 97 deals with the repeal of the Land Tax, but that section, it is enacted, "shall come into operation on such day after the 31st March, 1880, as the Governor shall by proclamation in the New Zealand Gazette declare." Therefore the Land Tax Act cannot be repealed until the 1st April, and it is not intended that it shall be repealed on that day. The Land Tax for the first half of the current year is payable on the 1st of April, and land owners may rest assured that it will be collected. Even after the repeal of the Land Tax Act the right of recovering amounts which remain unpaid will survive, and so will the power to institute and prosecute proceedings for punishing an offence or enforcing a penalty. This makes it clear that the Land Tax for the first six months of 1880 will have to be paid. However, the Property Tax will be levied for the year ending 31st March, 1881, and consequently, for the three months, from the 1st April to the 30th June, 1880, both taxes will be collected. This overlapping arose, probably, from the change of the termination of the financial year from 30th June to 31st March. It is not expected that the Property Tax will be collected before the 1st September or 1st October, so the payments will not follow closely on those under the Act which is to be repealed.

## **General.**

Perhaps "discursive" would be a better heading for this chapter, which contains a good deal that does not directly relate to either the Property Assessment or Tax Act, but it all has a connection, more or less, with the taxation of property. Many among those who will complain at having to pay this direct tax to the Government will be inclined to protest that it is not needed, and they will speak of the necessity for retrenchment. That retrenchment is necessary will be on all hands admitted, but that retrenchment could possibly be effected to so large an extent as to afford an immediate important reduction in taxation cannot be shown. The interest on borrowed money is one great cause of heavy taxation, and on our national debt the interest is £1,380,000. All the principal, or nearly all, has been expended, and people cannot object to pay the interest. This comes to over £3 per head for each man, woman and child; but the payment of course falls on the men, or a portion of them, and on those in an unequal ratio. Some pay but little; others a great deal. The burden of interest, heavy as it is, must be borne, the money to pay it must be found year by year, and taxation must be imposed to find the money. Gradual retrenchment will have to be resorted to, for until the population of the Colony has increased very largely it will not be able to bear any heavier strain than that now placed upon it.

Our debt has grown rapidly. In 1870 the population of the Colony was 242,800, and the colonial debt, less accrued sinking fund, £7,268,461, or nearly £30 a head. In 1880 the colonial debt, less accrued sinking fund, is £27,113,304, or nearly £60 a head, for a population of about 455,000. In considering these figures it must not be forgotten that railways, roads, and other public works represent a highly important asset as against the increased liability.

Reports of officials of the State of New York, although dealing with a condition of things not parallel to that which exists in this Colony, contain passages bearing so strongly on the questions of public borrowing and the taxing of property, that they should give food for reflection to those who thoughtfully consider our position and prospects as a very young nation. The Comptroller of the State of New York, in a report dated January,

1879, after stating the taxes paid by, and the public debt of, that State, including that of local bodies in it, says, "It is preposterous to hope that a community staggering under such an overwhelming burden can be prosperous. No schemes of finance looking to relief from further issues of irredeemable paper are to be tolerated. Too many of the evils of the hour are due to this financial heresy to permit an increase of them. The older nations of the world are suffering even more severely than are we. The countries who use the gold standard, the countries who use the double standard—gold and silver, and the countries who use the paper standard, are all suffering alike. An evil existing in a locality is attributable to local causes; but world-wide evils must be the result of world-wide causes. The world-wide evils of the nations to-day are debt and taxation. To no other causes can the universal distress be laid. Capital and labour suffer alike and from the same cause. The only relief to either must come from a rigid economy in public expenditure." And further, "No system of taxation, however perfect in itself, will accomplish the results hoped for if the officers chosen to perform the necessary work fall short of their full duty. Every dollar of property subject to taxation should be upon the assessors' rolls, and full power should be given them to secure this result; and they should be subject to severe penalties for failure to perform a plain duty. The efforts that are now making to ameliorate the condition of mankind in its present state of dire distress are numerous. The inhabitants of the nations, the world over, are experimenting for relief. There can be no relief unless the burdens weighing down the masses of the people are lightened. There is but one way in which this can be done. 1st. Honesty in administration. 2nd. Economy in expenditures. 3rd. Justice in levying and thoroughness in collecting the revenues." The prescription here given is, beyond dispute, one that would, if faithfully adhered to, relieve the financial difficulties of a country; but it is not, and there cannot be written, one that would bring about a sudden and complete cure. The words "justice in levying and thoroughness in collecting the revenues" have a special meaning as here applied. In New York State there is a property tax, but they do not succeed in getting all the personal property assessed. The Comptroller says, "The returns from the local assessors in our State for the year 1877 place the value of our real property subject to taxation at 2,373,408,540 dollars, and our personal property subject to taxation at 364,960,110 dollars. The assessment of real property may approximate to its real value; but it is plain that the assessment of personal property is far below the true amount."

Another report submitted to the State legislature in 1879 was by the three State assessors. Referring to under-valuing they say, "We regret to see by the assessors' valuations of 1877 and 1878 that some of the counties that largely increased their assessed valuations, and approximated towards full and true value in compliance with the demands of the law, are taking a back track, and assessors are disregarding their oaths and getting again into the old rut of a percentage of full value."

A long and searching supplementary report by James A. Briggs, one of the three assessors (in which his co-assessors were unable to concur), is evidently the result of much study of the question of taxing real and personal property. In many places the language is forcible, and not all of the kind used in an English official document. In its concluding sentences are the following:—"It may be, and is, a difficult matter in times of great business depression to ascertain what is the full and true value of real estate, either in country, city, or village. Assessors must use their best judgment, seek for the best information of men of the best intelligence and common sense, and endeavor to do right; and their assessments, after careful investigation, will generally meet the views of their neighbours. What men want and care for most in matters of taxation is to pay equally. Great care should be taken not to assess poor land and poor buildings at a higher rate than the best land and the best buildings. Make no discriminations in favour of any property, but assess all according to its actual value, then neither blame nor censure can be imputed to the assessors." This is good sound advice; better could not be given to any officers who may be employed under the Property Assessment Department. In this Colony great dissatisfaction has been caused by land-owners in one portion of a county being valued and taxed on a lower scale than those in other parts of it. Valuers and certain local bodies have in some mysterious way agreed that a valuation should be high or low, and low values were the rule in many districts when a county rate was anticipated.

In New York City very many people, for their *credit's* sake, give false returns of personal property. As the city has to make good to the State any uncollected taxes it loses heavily in this way. The uncollected resident taxes for 1872 were 1,515,319 dollars, and in 1877 267,443 dollars, the total from 1860 to 1877, inclusive, being a little over 10,000,000 dollars. The report says, "These taxes show in a very striking manner the hazards of business and commercial life in that great city of concentrated strife and daring adventure, where multitudes cast their all upon the throw of a die, and often allow themselves to be assessed for more personal property than they possess above their just debts, for the sake of appearances."

This State assessor is of opinion that too much property is exempt from taxation. "The real estate in this State now exempt from taxation, including church property, associations of all kinds, healing institutes for the remedy and cure of all the ills flesh and pockets are heir to, amounts to some 200,000,000 of dollars. Is this right, and is it not paying too dearly for the whistle? . . . If a congregation can afford to pay a minister 3000,

5000, or 10,000 dollars a year salary, and for music in proportion, it can well afford to pay taxes on the building used for Divine worship. . . . Is it not time to repeal all exemptions except the property of the State, counties, and cities of a public character? . . . All institutions of a strictly benevolent character should be exempt from taxation. . . . It is not even a question if colleges any longer should be exempt from taxation. . . . Colleges with able, accomplished, and practical teachers, are an untold good, and send out influences that will reach down through generations to enoble and to bless, but a feeble college or institution that only tries to educate young men of indigent talents and piety, takes them from labour and employment in which they might be useful and respected to pass through life at a poor starving rate, in the condition that their alma maters are from year to year—begging for contributions. . . . Not more than one-third of the people who pay for the support of churches are members; this would make the tax per *capita* nine and one-third cents, not the cost of a *drink of poor whiskey* or of *one cigar* to each attendant of a church per annum for taxes."

Some people have made it appear that the assessment of personal property in this Colony would be as obnoxious as the levying of "hearth money" formerly was in England. Speaking of this, Macaulay in his history says, "The most important head of receipt was the excise, which, in the last year of the reign of Charles, produced £585,000 clear of all deductions. The nett proceeds of the Customs amounted in the same year to £530,000. These burdens did not lie very heavy on the nation. The tax on chimneys,

Often spoken of as hearth money.

though less productive, called forth far louder murmurs. The discontent excited by direct imposts is, indeed, always out of proportion to the quantity of money which they bring into the exchequer; and the tax on chimneys was, even among direct imposts, peculiarly odious, for it could be levied only by means of domiciliary visits, and of such visits the English have always been impatient to a degree which the people of other countries can but faintly conceive. . . . The nett annual receipt from this tax was £200,000." These figures cannot fail to suggest comparisons with the revenue of this young Colony. Our Customs receipts are estimated at £1,200,000 for 1879-1880, and Customs and excise in England in 1685 brought in £1,115,000 only Illustrating the feeling against the Chimney Tax, Macaulay gives extracts from old ballads, one of which is as follows:—

*"The good old dames, whenever they the chimney man espied,  
Unto their nooks they haste away, their pots ana pipkins hide,  
There is not one old dame in ten, and search the nation through,  
But, if you talk of chimney men, will spare a curse or two."*

There is no fear of the assessors under the Property Assessment Act being so unpopular. They will not do either of the two things which made the "chimney man" feared and detested. He had to go into a house to count the hearths, and he collected the tax, which, being farmed, was hunted up rigorously, and in the dwellings of the poor, beds and bedding were often seized. The luxury of a £500 exemption had not then been invented.

## **ONE ASSESSMENT FOR COLONIAL AND LOCAL PURPOSES.**

A great and most economical reform would be to have one general assessment by officers of the Property Tax Department for all purposes, whether real property tax, county, borough, road board, river conservators, or other local rate. An important relief to the tax-payer would be at once secured by this, and a uniform system and a standard of value could be laid down for the whole Colony. Really skilled valuers could be engaged for all country districts, and those who know most of such matters will admit that a first-class valuer could go into almost any county and by a careful assessment bring out a higher total and create less dissatisfaction than at present obtain; for discontent, as a rule, is caused by inequalities in assessing and a want of uniformity. This is a reform that is sure to come about, sooner or later.

## **NEW ZEALAND PROPERTY BATE ORDINANCE, 1814.**

It will be news to most people to learn that there once was in this Colony a Property and Income Tax. In 1844 the Legislative Council, then the only chamber, passed the Property Bate Ordinance, which repealed all Customs duties and provided for raising the colonial revenue by direct taxation. A portion of the preamble runs thus:—"And whereas the commerce, agriculture, and general prosperity of New Zealand would be greatly promoted by removing all restrictions on the free intercourse of shipping with its numerous ports and harbours, and to that end it is expedient that all duties imposed upon goods imported into the Colony, and all provisions made for the regulation and protection of the revenue of Customs by the said recited ordinances, should be repealed, and that in lieu of the said duties of Customs a revenue should be raised by rates upon property within

the Colony; be it therefore enacted," &c. The tax was one on property and income, the latter to be the probable *nett* income for the year following the date of the return. Property included both real and personal, and it was to be assessed at its marketable value. When the value of property and the amount of estimated nett income reached £100, the tax was £1 a year, and £1 for each additional £100 up to £1,000. Any person, however, who had more property than this, or who did not wish to make a return, could compound by paying £12 a year, which seems to have been the maximum contribution. There was no secrecy in those days, for the collector had to post in some conspicuous place a statement of all returns made, and a copy was also published in the Gazette. By a special provision the property and incomes of aboriginal natives were exempted from the tax. A very short trial proved that this system did not answer so well as getting a revenue by Customs duties, and the Property Rate Ordinance was repealed in 1845. Probably the revenue derived was below the estimate, and the cherished idea of having all the ports of the Colony free had to be condemned as impracticable. The financial necessities of New Zealand in those days were not large, the appropriations made for 1845 being £25,672, while the then public works policy was thus provided for: "Public Works Establishment, tools and contingencies, £1420."

## **REAL PROPERTY. FORM NO. 2. HECTOR MCPHERSON, SETTLER, WELLINGTON.**

### **Owner's Return.**

This part of the Schedule to be filled up by Persons having a direct interest in the freehold of land.

Patea County. Wellington Dunedin Boro. New Plymouth Hawera Road District, or Borough. 46 & 47. Acres 761 A 76 A 1765 S (1) Number of Section or Allotment. Wel. City Dun. City N.P. Mana (2) Number or Name of Block or Survey District. North Rd. Queen St. Dane St. No. 2 Line (3) Street, or Particular Name of Locality. 2 acres 50×166 75×100 1010 (4) Area. Owner Unoccupied Paul Hogan, Dane Street, N. P. James Dugald, No. 2 Line, Hawera (5) Name, Occupation, and Address of Tenant. —Monthly 10 years, 1 Jan., 1876 Conditions of Tenancy, and if under lease or agreement the date to be stated, and number of years for which the same is granted. Totals—50 600 Amount of Annual Rent. 700 350 45 500 Annual Value at which Property is ass'ed for purposes of Local Taxation. £29,800 10,000 8,000 800 11,000 (6) Value of Property. 27,200 10,000 8,000 800 8,400 Value of Owner's Interest. 11,000 4,000 2,000—5,000 Amount owing on Mortgage or otherwise. N.Z Loan &c Mercantile Agency Co. Bal. of purchase money, Silas Jones, Invercargill—Sarah Grant. Auckland Rd. Christchurch Name and Address of Mortgagee. Totals .. £ 29,800 27,200 11,000 —

### **Leaseholder's Return.**

This part of the Schedule to be filled up by any Person who has an interest as Tenant or Lessee for a term of more than one year.

County. Road, District, or Borough. Number of Section or Allotment. Number or Name of Block or Survey District. Street, or Particular Name of Locality. Area. Name, Occupation, and Address of Owner. Conditions of Tenancy, and if under lease or agreement, the date to be stated, and number of years for which the same is granted. Amount of Annual Rent paid by me. Annual Value at which Property is Assessed for Purposes of Local Taxation Value of Property. Value of Tenant's Interest. Amount owing by me on Mortgage of Lease or otherwise. Name and Address of Mortgagee Wellington 941 A Well. City. London St. 200x66 Wellington City Corporation 21 Years, 1 June, 1874 100 1000 20,000 11,000 — Wellington 764 A Well. City. Patrick St 70x150 Herbert Jones, Masterton 10 Years, 1 May, 1879 150 125 2,000 Nil. — — Totals .. £22,000 11,000 —

### **Incorporated Company's Return.**

Name and Address of the Company; The Penguin Quartz Mining Company (Limited), Thames. Name and Address of the Public Officer: Peter Morrison, High Street, Thames. Place of Principal Operations of the Company: Jonas Reef, Thames. Total Value of Assets of Company .. .. . £12,000 The assets of the Company shall be taken to be the marketable value of the property of the Company, and shall not include unpaid-up capital. Total Liabilities of Company .. .. . £3,000 In estimating the liabilities of a Company, the amounts received in respect of shares issued shall not be reckoned as liabilities. £9,000 Market value of Shares in the said Company at this date, 5,000 shares, at 40s. per share .. .. . £10,000 Note.—The Public Officer of a Company must declare to the truth of this return, and send with it a copy of the last annual balance sheet.

Personal Property. Form No. 3. James Jones, Storekeeper, Cairn Street, Wellington. £ £ Horses, Cattle, Sheep, and other Live Stock .. . . . 150 Produce .. . . . 75 Merchandize .. . . . Stock-in-Trade .. . . .  
 .. . . . 1,200 Furniture and Household Goods, including Jewellery, Plate, Works of Art, Books, and all other  
 Personal Property whatsoever not otherwise described .. . . . 350 Money owing to me secured on Mortgage .. . .  
 .. . . . 3,000 Money owing to me secured on Bills of Sale, or other Instrument of a like nature .. . . . 750  
 Other Debts owing to me .. . . . 900 6,425 Total amount of Debts for which a Deduction is claimed:—  
 Due by me on Bills of Sale or other Instrument of a like nature .. . . . 700 Other Debts .. . . . 240  
 940 Taxable Value of Personal Property .. . . . £5,485

## Personal Property. FORM No. 3..

Schedule 1. PARTICULARS OF MORTGAGES OR BILLS OF SALE SECURING SUMS DUE TO ME (JAMES JONES).

Name, Occupation, and Address in full of Debtor. Description of Property Covered by Mortgage Bill of Sale or other Security. Amount Secured. Amount Owning. £ £ Alexander Williamson, Porirua, Grazier .. 2000 acres, land and improvements, sections 1791 to 1796, Porirua .. . . . 3,000 3,000 Peter Griffin, Masterton, Storekeeper Stock-in-trade of a general storekeeper .. 1,000 750 Schedule 2. Particulars Of Mortgages Or Bills Of Sale Given By Me (James Jones) To Secure Sums Due To Creditors. Name, Occupation, and Address in full of Creditor. Description of Property Covered by Mortgage, Bill of Sale, or other Security. Amount Secured. Amount Owning. £ £ Henry Hornby, Dee Street, Wellington, Merchant .. Stock-in-trade 700 700 Schedule 3. Name Of Owner And Description Of Land In My Occupation. Surname Christian Name. Occupation. Address. Borough or Road District. No. of Section or Allotment. No. or Name of Block or Survey District. Area. Annual Rent. Annual Value at which Property is Assessed for Purposes of Local Taxation. Date and Tenure of Lease. Value of Tenant's Interest. Baird Peter Solicitor Lambton Quay, Wellington Wellington 7162 Aro ¼ Acre £100 £90 1st March, 1875, 10 Years Nil

## Statement of PROPERTIES IN THE VARIOUS LAND TAX DISTRICTS, CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO IMPROVED VALUE.

The following table was compiled in the Land Tax Office from returns made by Valuers, and shows the value of properties as assessed in the beginning of 1879, the improvements being included. These figures give a very large amount of useful statistical information which should prove exceedingly interesting, as indicating the value of the holdings in different parts of the Colony. The number of properties is stated; not the number of owners.

Under £100. £100 and under £200. £200 and under £300. £300 and under £400, £400 and under £500. £500 and under £1,000. £1,000 and under £5,000. Land Tax District. No, of Properties. Improved. Value. £ £ £ £ £ £ £ £ Auckland 8,097 325,718 3,851 526,792 2,274 536,036 1,477 495,813 1,107 480,304 2,332 1,586,400 1,748 3,349,061 Hawke's Bay 952 35,801 557 76,289 445 104,460 335 110,607 266 115,636 510 344,359 587 1,172,545 Wellington 2,394 91,813 1,788 245,786 1,509 356,311 1,172 389,998 974 421,836 2,758 1,892,428 3,042 6,205,824 Nelson 3,759 159,380 1,895 261,848 1,200 281,304 729 244,480 514 222,506 1,208 808,914 906 1,574,591 Canterbury 1,469 75,144 1,905 264,811 1,629 382,614 1,390 464,291 1,089 463,297 3,010 2,097,043 4,033 8,350,002 Otago 4,268 202,189 3,191 436,748 2,287 536,945 1,699 568,435 1,407 617,605 4,045 2,850,046 4,102 8,156,216 Totals 20,939 890,045 13,187 1,812,274 9,344 2,197,670 6,802 2,273,624 5,357 2,321,184 13,863 9,579,190 14,418 28,808,239

£5,000 and under £10,000. £10,000 and under £20,000. £20,000 and under £50,000. £50,000 and under £100,000. £100,000 and under £150,000. £150,000 and under £200,000. £200,000 and over. Totals. Land-Tax District. No, of Properties. Improved. Value. £ £ £ £ £ £ £ £ Auckland 174 1,162,687 66 878,079 26 709,179 4 236,215 1 123,984 1 200,000 21,158 10,610,268 Hawke's Bay 97 669,194 61 897,021 56 1,736,241 17 1,191,969 3 343,625 1 168,000 3,890 6,965,747 Wellington 407 2,598,478 141 1,825,028 54 1,598,524 11 666,092 2 223,755 1 170,591 14,253 16,686,464 Nelson 65 456,657 35 476,923 19 602,220 9 595,001 1 155,550 1 314,780 10,341 6,154,154 Canterbury .. 576 3,942,012 262 3,594,541 143 4,310,176 47 3,125,233 5 637,293 2 332,425 4 1,346,940 15,564 29,385,822 Otago 456 3,122,470 231 3,180,721 152 4,630,546 45 3,074,849 8 935,413 7 1,215,151 1 236,890 21,899 29,764,224 Totals 1,775 11,951,498 799 10,852,313 450 13,586,886 133 8,889,359 19 2,264,070 12 2,041,717 7 2,098,610 87,105 99,566,679

# AN ACT TO IMPOSE A PROPERTY TAX.

[19th December, 1879.]

*Address.*

MOST GRACIOUS SOVEREIGN,—

We, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the House of Representatives of New Zealand, in Parliament assembled, towards raising the necessary supplies to defray your Majesty's public expenses, and making an addition to the public revenue, have freely and voluntarily resolved to give and grant unto your Majesty the duties hereinafter mentioned, and do therefore most humbly beseech your Majesty that it may be enacted: And be it enacted by the Queen's Most Excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the General Assembly of New Zealand in Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, as follows:—

*Short Title.*

1. The Short Title of this Act is "The Property Tax Act, 1879."

*Rate of Property-tax.*

2. For the year commencing on the first day of April, one thousand eight hundred and eighty, there shall be charged, levied, collected, and paid for the use of Her Majesty, the several duties hereinafter mention, that is to say,—

For and in respect of all property: for every twenty shillings of the value thereof, the duty of ... One penny.

For and in respect of all fire, marine, or guarantee policies issued by any insurance company: for every one hundred pounds of premiums received by such company in the said year in respect of such policies, the duty of ... .. Thirty shillings.

*When Tax payable.*

3. The said duties shall be due and payable in two equal instalments on such days as the Governor in Council shall appoint.

*Manner of collection of Tax.*

4. The duties hereby charged shall be levied, collected, and paid under or by virtue of "The Property Assessment Act, 1879," which Act shall be read and construed with this Act.

A Lecture on the Influence of art upon Human Happiness,

Delivered By His Honor Mr. Justice Johnston,

At Napier, New Zealand, on the Evening of Wednesday, 9th October, 1861.

Printed at the Request of Friends.

James Wood, John Varty, Wm. Lyon Napier, Auckland, Wellington 1861.

## Advertisement.

THIS Lecture, in part taken from one given by Mr. JUSTICE JOHNSTON at the recent re-opening of "THE WELLINGTON ATHENÆUM," was delivered by His Honor at the request of The Rev. H. W. ST. HILL and other members of the Church of England at Napier, for the purpose of helping, with the admission money, to procure a BELL for the English Church now in the course of erection here; and is published by permission of the Lecturer.

*Napier,*

*October, 1861.*

## Lecture.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—

Deeply convinced as I am, from experience and reflection, of the importance of the encouragement of intellectual pursuits and the cultivation of the liberal arts, for the promotion of individual happiness, of social

welfare, and of public virtue,—it gives me much satisfaction, when the avocations of my official position afford me leisure and opportunity to meet my fellow-colonists on occasions like the present, and contribute my mite towards their intellectual re-creation.

I have had special pleasure in acceding to the request that I should address you this evening, inasmuch as your attendance would enable me, indirectly, to assist in carrying out an object worthy in itself,—of some interest to a large portion of this community,—and specially interesting to my reverend and much esteemed friend who sits near me.

I doubt not you will pardon me if I do not so deeply enter into the subject I have chosen as I might have done with more leisure for preparation; and if I do not treat it very philosophically or artistically, but content myself with giving you some indication of its extent and interest, and offering you some suggestions respecting the influence which the liberal arts exercise upon the happiness of mankind, and of the manner in which the cultivation of a taste for them increases and multiplies our sources of enjoyment.

There is an old saying, quoted by the eloquent Jeremy Taylor in his greatest work, that to enquire why the beautiful is admired and loved is to ask a blind man's question. It is a necessary result of the constitution of man. To derive pleasure from the contemplation of beauty, both in the animate and in the inanimate creation, is natural to all men; but the degree and the quality of the pleasure, and the extent of the power of enjoyment, depend upon the character, gifts, education, acquirements, and habits of the individual.

But beside this natural beauty, almost all men are sensible of an internal craving after something beyond the mere facts and realities of life which surround them—of a certain admiration and love for 'The beautiful and true and pure,'—apart from any express definite realization of them to the senses; for, prominent among the faculties with which man's complex being has been endowed by a munificent Creator, is that faculty of Imagination, whereby things before unknown are called into existence, and combinations of qualities properties and ideas, not realised in the world of fact, are produced or received into the mind,—appreciated and enjoyed. Each faculty of our nature craves for exercise, for nourishment, for development. The soul, says a distinguished Art-writer, "needs a certain amount of intellectual enjoyment to give it strength for the daily struggles in which it is involved;" and of its several faculties, Imagination is not the least clamorous for its share of gratification.

To create ideal beauty, more pure, more perfect, and more true than any which Nature herself can exhibit—inasmuch as it is the result of the abstraction and recombination of qualities, ideas, and facts, essential and incidental, which are nowhere met in perfect combination in any individual products of nature,—to feel, to understand, to admire and love such creatures, are pleasures as pure and sweet, as intense and satisfying, as the intellectual portion of man's nature can enjoy.

Now Art is the process, method, or system of rules by which complex things, material or intellectual, are brought into existence. The useful and mechanical arts are those which provide for the supply and gratification of the physical or bodily wants of man, while the liberal, polite, or fine arts are those which minister to his intellect and imagination. It is with the latter that we have to deal at present; and when we speak of the influences of Art, we allude to the influences created by the cultivation of those liberal arts themselves, or by their products.

Now it will be found, on reflection, that the ultimate principles' applicable to all those arts—to poetry, music, painting, and sculpture, and to architecture, as far as it partakes of the character of the liberal arts, are essentially the same,—that beauty and sublimity, truth and purity, harmony and fitness, unity and completeness, are the characteristics of all their worthy products, and the sources of the admiration, love, and pleasure which they generate and develop in the cultivated mind.

*Taste*, is the faculty by which we appreciate, in a discriminating manner, (figuratively *taste*), the diversely flavored products of the imagination, and enjoy (or, as one may say figuratively, *relish*) them.

*Criticism* is the science by means of which we learn thus to discriminate, and to test the value of our discrimination, and to give an account to ourselves and others of the fact, the nature, the degree, and the cause of our enjoyment; and by the cultivation of which we educate our minds to a higher power of tasting and enjoying the works of art, and, it may be, to the facility for producing such ourselves.

It is to the cultivation of this taste that I would fain attract those who have hitherto neglected it, especially among the younger members of the Community, and those who have leisure time at their disposal; and as an inducement I would strive to make them feel sure that the results will be pleasant, permanent, and profitable.

Wholesome and agreeable occupation for time which would otherwise hang heavy upon them,—and whose vacancy might tempt them to vicious or imprudent indulgences,—giving fresh zest and interest to life;—producing an increase of modest self respect, with an accompanying abatement of vulgar self sufficiency; inducing gentleness of tone and demeanour towards others; an enlargement of social sympathies, a consciousness of personal resources and of a power to communicate pleasure, (pleasure too, not of a momentary and passing kind, but lasting, easily recalled, germinal and reproductive);—such are some of the most obvious gains to be derived from a cultivation of taste for the liberal arts.

And let not men who are busy and worn with the necessary work of life—absorbed in its anxieties, its hopes, and ambitions, or depressed by its disappointments and sorrows,—rashly deem that they can have no interest in the works of Art or Imagination, and can derive no profit or pleasure from them. Those who are most earnest in the business of life, and those whose spirits are most worn with care, are the very persons to derive the largest amount of refreshment and consolation from this source. Let them but once acquire a wholesome taste, regulated by right principles of criticism, for true and worthy Art, and they will soon find themselves possessed of treasures of which neither "age, ache, penury, nor imprisonment" can deprive them;—they will discover solaces for their griefs, opiates for their pains, distraction from their cares,—not indeed so satisfying and complete as in the resources of religion and in works of charity, but still congenial with their higher nature, full of pleasantness and delight, various and copious, and easy of access.

No doubt, over-indulgence in the pleasures of Art may tend to diminish men's working energy, and to induce a certain amount of effeminacy of character; but unless it be carried almost to the morbid extent to which we have heard of the Stage-struck Apprentice being reduced, and seriously interfere with the business of life, there is not much to be feared from it. In a Society like this, whose Art resources are necessarily limited, it is unnecessary to give any warning against such excess. Should it be my duty to return among you in my official capacity, it will give me great pleasure if I find that the Inhabitants have succeeded in establishing some Literary Institute—so important in the early days of a Settlement;—and I shall be happy if I can offer any assistance to such an Establishment.

In a general and necessarily discursive address like the present, I feel that it would be out of place to enter into any definitions, or to enounce any rules of Art, or maxims of taste, or canons of criticism: or to trace out minutely the boundaries or the alliances of the fine arts. I must be content, on this occasion, to suggest (I fear but vaguely and feebly) the importance and comprehensiveness of the subject,—to invite you to the rich banquet which awaits all who desire and prepare themselves to visit the great Temples of Art; and, by bringing before you a few specimens of artistic productions, to illustrate that well-known line of the poet Keats,—

*"A Thing of Beauty is a Joy Foe Ever."*

In acting as a Cicerone to-night, I cannot display to your eyes any of the glorious creations of the painter's or the sculptor's art; I cannot shew you the Goddess that loves in stone (the Venus of Medicis), or the Lord of the unerring bow (the Apollo Belvedere), which ancient Greece has bequeathed to be the delight and despair of modern ages. I cannot point out to you the glories of form, colour, and composition of any work of Michael Angelo or Raphael, of Titian or Guido, of Rubens or Turner. Nor can I indulge your ears with melody or harmony divine, of voice or instrument; but I *can* bring before you—although I fear I shall be but a poor exhibitor—some gems of the *poetic* art fit to illustrate my theme, and likely to be far more welcome to your taste than any crude lucubrations of my own. And, indeed, Poetry and Art are in one sense synonymous. For the Poet is—as the word etymologically implies—the "Maker." Words, in-articulate sounds, form, and colour may clothe the "Maker's" thoughts, and turn them to poetry, music, sculpture, and pictures; but in the conception lies the poetical essence of the work,—the beauty and truthfulness of the ideas, the fitness and harmony and delight-giving novelty of their combinations, revealing the *essential* art;—while the skill of the poet, musician, sculptor, or painter, gives to them the characteristics of his *special* art. To-night I must confine myself to the poetry of articulate and rhythmical language—that which is, in the narrower and more common sense, called Poetry.

If, in some of the fine arts, England has not yet risen so high as other nations of the world,—our national tastes, our climate and customs, our historical associations and the particular development of the character of our mixed races, and other circumstantial incidents, having tended to restrain us as a people—till quite modern times—from any very general cultivation of painting, sculpture, and music—(in which, nevertheless, we may still be destined to attain great excellence),—there is little doubt that to our body of poets we may look with pride and satisfaction, even when we compare them with those of any other Nation, ancient or modern.

The Italians may well boast of their grand, solemn, majestic, profound, sublime, pure, and mysterious Dante; their melodious, love-stricken, graceful Petrarch; the heroic Tasso; the fanciful Ariosto, and other honored names. The French may be proud of their witty, caustic, brilliant Molière; their critical and epigrammatical Boileau; the well balanced graces and declamations of their Corneilles and Racines; their sentimental Lamartine; and their truly national Lyrist, Beranger. The Germans may with reason challenge attention to the bright ornaments of their comparatively modern literature in Schiller, Goethe, Uhland, and Körner. The Spaniards may vaunt the copiousness, the invention, and the grandeur of their Calderon, the brilliant exhaustlessness of their teeming Lope de Vega. The Portuguese may proudly point to their warrior bard, Camoens. Indeed we may duly esteem the lyric skill, the critical acumen, and the poetical science of the

Roman Horace; the elegant and graceful narrative or the Arcadian beauty and simplicity of Virgil; the fanciful picturesqueness and glowing sweetness of Ovid and Catullus; the satiric vigour of Juvenal, and the humour of Terence. Nay, we may look to those Giants of the still older time—to Homer, the blind old Minstrel, who sang the Gods, the Heroes, and the men of Greece, the great mother of Art,—to the lyric, dramatic, and idyllic poets of that land of song.

And we need feel no blush of shame,—no need of apologies,—no doubt as to the sufficiency of our ground for national self-gratulation, when we compare with any or all of them; the Poets of England.

What thick-coming memories do those words recall! What suggestions of phrases, expressions, thoughts, ideas, feelings, characters, do they not evoke—divers beyond counting, and which have become, as it were, part of our-selves.

Think of Chaucer, Sydney, Spencer; Cowley, Dryden, Milton; Prior, Pope, Goldsmith; Cowper, Crabbe, Rogers; Scott, Campbell, Burns; Wilson, Hogg, Moore; Shelley, Byron, Keats; Southey, Wordsworth, Coleridge; our living illustrious Laureate—all, great and true Artists,—besides the numerous clusters of no inconsiderable lesser lights grouped around them;—and, last of all, but above all, beyond all, paling the comparatively ineffectual fires of all the rest—that great Northern Luminary, specially and belovedly our own, yet not the less catholically the world's and mankind's, immortal Shakespeare; of whom it has been said with such comprehensive truth,—

*Each scene of many coloured life he drew;  
Exhausted worlds;—and then imagined new.*

O! did not time fail me, how gladly would I make an effort to induce any of you who have hitherto been strangers to the great delights which that one consummate Artist has provided for all generations, to come and partake of his munificent gifts. Here can you find fields of gold inexhaustible—treasures which imply neither labour nor jealousy nor strife in the getting; which do not satiate, and do not waste in the enjoyment. When foreign nations present to us the spectacle of their most learned and esteemed men dedicating an unstinted labour to the study and elucidation of the marvellously pregnant works of our great Poet; and, at the same time we know that every man of common understanding who can read English, may, with the slightest care and attention, procure delight and knowledge and refinement from this source,—it seems deplorable that any one should, from want of counsel and suggestion, rest contented in the voluntary deprivation of so much happiness.

But when I approach dear Shakespeare's honoured pages, and think to cull from them some choice flowers of noble eloquence or some sweet posy fresh from Fairy land; or to select some revelations of human passion, some expositions of the subtle workings' of the human heart, some visions of glory or beauty which this Artist, with all the profundity of the most sagacious philosophy and all the luxurious copiousness of boundless Imagination and of unconscious Art, presents to the view;—embarrassed with the wealth of choice, dazzled by the galaxy of various beauties, I wander and wander on—my judgment hesitating and vacillating—and I am constrained to leave the selection to the arbitrament of chance. To appreciate properly such a poet as Shakespeare, the readings should be consecutive and complete and not detached from their bearing. But such readings I cannot give to you.

I have said that unity and completeness, beauty and truth, harmony and fitness, are characteristics of true Art. See now with what apparent effortlessness a great Artist creates a work that is to live as long as his race. The painter with a few touches of his brush can make something of a picture. Hear how with a few simple words, a Poet can create a character and a biography, illustrative of human passion, of human honour and dignity, and of human suffering! Hear the talc of a maiden love, the victim of secrecy, offered up on the altar of Modesty—a life of trial, suffering, and sacrifice,—recorded and embalmed in a few short lines:—

*Duke. And what's her history?  
Viola. A blank, my lord: She never told her love,  
But let concealment, like a worm i'the bud,  
Feed on her damask cheek: she pin'd in thought;  
And, with a green and yellow melancholy,  
She sat like patience on a monument  
Smiling at grief.*

—TWELFTH NIGHT: Act II., Scene 4.

No wonder that such passages become "familiar as Household words." One of the most unerring evidences

of the appreciation of poetical genius by a people, is when its common language adopts proverbially a poet's words. But the familiarity may lead to contempt, unless the mind be applied critically to the appreciation of the expressions. Had I time, I could suggest to you various reflections arising out of a careful perusal of the passage I have cited; but I must not linger by the way.

I would now call your attention to the consideration that the poetical artist does not disdain the regions of fact, but that he has skill and power to illustrate real life and history, and the characteristics of actual individuals—spreading a halo of glory or interest around them, and making a poetic representation, poetically true, and not inconsistent with historical truth, but still a creation of the poet's mind. Look at the characters of King John, Richard the Third, Julius Cæsar, Coriolanus, and many others which our Shakespeare has made far more familiar and intelligible to the great bulk of the people than History has done. In this walk too, the modern Sir Walter Scott, not least a poet in his prose works, has been pre-eminently successful.

But for illustrations, let me take a passage or two from Henry the Eighth, illustrative of the character and fall of the princely, proud, ambitious Wolsey.

The Dukes of Suffolk and Norfolk have just announced to the Cardinal his degradation by his Sovereign, and declared the forfeiture of his vast possessions:—

*Wolsey. So farewell to the little good you bear me.  
Farewell, a long farewell, to all my greatness!  
This is the state of man; To-day he puts forth  
The tender leaves of hope, to-morrow blossoms,  
And bears his blushing honours thick upon him:  
The third day, comes a frost, a killing frost;  
And,—when he thinks, good easy man! full surely  
His greatness is a-ripening,—nips his root,  
And then he falls, as I do. I have ventur'd  
Like little wanton boys that swim on bladders,  
This many summers in a sea of glory;  
But far beyond my depth: my high-blown pride  
At length broke under me; and now has left me,  
Weary, and old with service, to the mercy  
Of a rude stream, that must for ever hide me.  
Vain pomp, and glory of this world, I hate ye;  
I feel my heart new opened: O, how wretched  
Is that poor man, that hangs on Princes' favours!  
There is, betwixt that smile we would aspire to,  
That sweet aspect of princes, and their ruin,  
More pangs and fears than wars or women have;  
And when he falls, he falls like Lucifer,  
Never to hope again.*

Wolsey's faithful servant Cromwell now comes in, and announces the open avowal of the King's marriage with Anne Bullen, and the preparations for her coronation. "Wolsey says—

\* \* \* \* \*

*There was the weight that pulled me down. O Cromwell,  
The king has gone beyond me; all my glories  
In that one woman I have lost for ever:  
No sun shall ever usher forth mine honours,  
Or gild again the noble troops that waited  
Upon my smiles. Go, get thee from me, Cromwell;  
I am a poor fallen man, unworthy now  
To be thy lord and master: Seek the king;  
That sun, I pray, may never set! I have told him  
What, and how true thou art: he will advance thee;  
Some little memory of me will stir him,*

*(I know his noble nature.) not to let  
 Thy hopeful service perish too: Good Cromwell,  
 Neglect him not; make use now, and provide  
 For thine own future safety.  
 Cromwell. O my lord.  
 Must I then leave you? must I needs forego  
 So good, so noble, and so true a master?  
 Bear witness, all that have not hearts of iron,  
 With what a sorrow Cromwell leaves his lord.—  
 The king shall have my service; but my prayers  
 For ever, and for ever, shall be yours.  
 Wol Cromwell! I did not think to shed a tear  
 In all my miseries; but thou hast fore'd me  
 Out of thy honest truth to play the woman.  
 Let's dry our eyes: and thus far hear me, Cromwell;  
 And,—when I am forgotten, as I shall be,  
 And sleep in dull cold marble, where no mention  
 Of me more must be heard of,—say, I taught thee;  
 Say, Wolsey,—that once trod the ways of glory,  
 And sounded all the depths and shoals of honour,—  
 Found thee a way, out of his wreck, to rise in;  
 A sure and safe one, though thy master miss'd it.  
 Mark but my fall, and that that ruined me.  
 Cromwell, I charge thee, fling away ambition;  
 By that sin fell the angels; how can man then.  
 The image of his Maker, hope to win by't?  
 Love thyself last: cherish those hearts that hate thee;  
 Corruption wins not more than honesty.  
 Still in thy right hand carry gentle peace,  
 To silence envious tongues. Be just, and fear not:  
 Let all the ends, thou aim'st at, be thy country's  
 Thy God's, and truth's; then if thou fall'st, O Cromwell.  
 Thou fall'st a blessed martyr. Serve the king;  
 And Pr'ythee, lead me in:  
 There take an inventory of all I have,  
 To the last penny; 'tis the king's: my robe,  
 And my integrity to heaven, is all  
 I dare now call mine own. O Cromwell, Cromwell,  
 Had I but served my God with half the zeal  
 I serv'd my king, he would not in mine ago  
 Have left me naked to mine enemies.  
 Crom. Good sir, have patience.  
 Wol. So I hare. Farewell  
 The hopes of court! my hopes in heaven do dwell.*

I would next call your attention to creations of art illustrative of external nature, whether animate or inanimate.

There is not a flower in the field, a bird of the air, a stream that flows, a cloud that fleets along, but is suggestive to the true poet of new thoughts and ideas, new combinations, resemblances, and illustrations, which he turns into new creatures of the imagination, destined to be imperishable while the World shall last. Think for a moment of the countless creations of fancy and imagination which have, in almost all ages, countries, and languages, illustrated *one* little flower—the Rose, the Queen of the garden. What hours on hours, days and weeks of delight might a cultivated Taste enjoy in the collation, comparison, and admiration, of the tributes paid to the Rose! Then the Lily: consider the dignity with which it has been invested since Our Lord himself chose it to illustrate the munificent providence of the Creator of all things. I shall read you a few stanzas illustrative of flowers, of a true poet.—whose words steal upon the sense like the odour of sweet flowers:—

A Sensitive Plant in a garden grew.  
And the young winds fed it with silver dew,  
And it opened its fan-like leaves to the light.  
And closed them beneath the kisses of night.

And the spring arose on the garden fair,  
Like the Spirit of Love felt everywhere;  
And each flower and herb on Earth's dark breast  
Rose from the dreams of its wintry rest.

But none ever trembled and panted with bliss  
In the garden, the field, or the wilderness,  
Like a Doe in the noon-tide with love's sweet want,  
As the companionless Sensitive Plant.

The snowdrop, and then the violet,  
Arose from the ground with warm rain wet,  
And their breath was mixed with sweet odour, sent  
From the turf, like the voice and the instrument.

Then the pied wind-flowers and the tulip tall,  
And Narcissi, the fairest among them all.  
Who gaze on their eyes in the stream's recess,  
Till they die of their own dear loveliness.

And the Naiad-like lily of the vale,  
Whom youth makes so fair and passion so pale,  
That the light of its tremulous bells is seen  
Through their pavilions of tender green;

And the hyacinth purple, and white, and blue,  
Which flung from its bells a sweet peal anew  
Of music so delicate, soft, and intense,  
It was felt like an odour within the sense;

And the rose like a nymph to the bath addrest,  
Which unveiled the depth of her glowing breast.  
Till, fold after fold, to the fainting air  
The soul of her beauty and love lay bare;

And the wand-like lily, which lifted up,  
As a Mænad, its moonlight-coloured cup,  
Till the fiery star, which is its eye.  
Gazed through the clear dew on the tender sky;

And the jessamine faint, and the sweet tuberose,  
The sweetest flower for scent that blows;  
And all rare blossoms from every clime  
Grew in that garden in perfect prime.

\* \* \* \* \*

I cannot refrain from yielding to the temptation of shewing you how the same poet deals with external animated nature, in strains full of such true poetic fancy and sustained beauty that I should never tire repeating them. I read to you his "Ode to a Skylark":—

HAIL to thee, blythe spirit!  
Bird thou never wert,  
That from heaven, or near it,  
Pourest thy full heart  
In profuse strains of unpremeditated art

Higher Still and higher,  
From the earth thou springest  
Like a cloud of fire;  
The blue deep thou wingest,  
And singing still dost soar, and soaring ever singest.

In the golden lightning  
Of the sunken sun,  
O'er which clouds are brightening,  
Thou dost float and run;  
*Like an unbodied joy whose race is just begun.*

The pale purple even  
Melts around thy flight;  
Like a star of heaven,  
In the broad day-light  
Thou art unseen, but yet I hear thy shrill delight.

Keen as are the arrows  
Of that, silver sphere,  
Whose intense lamp narrows  
In the white dawn clear,  
Until we hardly see, we feel that it is there.

All the earth and air  
With thy voice is loud,  
As, when night is bare,  
*From one lonely cloud*  
*The moon rains out her beams, and heaven is overflowed.*

What thou art we know not;  
What is most like thee?  
From Rainbow clouds there flow not  
Drops so bright to see,  
As from thy presence *showers a rain of melody.*

Like a poet hidden  
In the light of thought,  
Singing hymns unbidden.  
Till the world is wrought  
To sympathy with hopes and fears it heeded not:

Like a high-born maiden  
In a palace tower,  
Soothing her love-laden  
Soul in secret hour  
With music sweet as love, which overflows her bower:

Like a glow worm golden  
In a dell of dew,  
Scattering unbeholden  
Its aerial hue  
Among the flowers and grass which screen it from the view:

Like a rose embowered  
In its own green leaves,  
By warm winds deflowered,  
Till the scent it gives  
*Makes faint with too much sweet these heavy-winged thieves,*

Sound of vernal showers  
On that twinkling grass,  
Rain-awakened flowers,  
All that ever was  
Joyous and clear, and fresh, thy music doth surpass.

Teach us, sprite or bird,  
What sweet thoughts are thine:  
I have never heard  
Praise of love or wine  
That panted forth a flood of rapture so divine,

Chorus hymeneal,  
Or triumphal chaunt,  
Matched with thine would be all  
Hut an empty vaunt—  
A thing wherein we feel there is some hidden want.

What objects are the fountains  
Of thy happy strain?  
What fields, or wave, or mountains?  
What shapes of sky or plain?  
What love of thine own kind? what ignorance of pain?

With thy clear keen joyance  
Languor cannot be:  
Shadow of annoyance  
Never came near thee:  
Thou lovest; but ne'er knew'st love's sad satiety.

Waking or asleep,  
Thou of death must deem  
Things more true and deep  
Than we mortals dream,  
Or how could thy notes flow in such a crystal stream?

*We look before and after,  
And pine for what is not:  
Our sincerest laughter  
With some pain is fraught;  
Our sweetest songs are those that tell of saddest thought.*

Yet, if we could scorn  
Hate, and pride, and fear;  
If we were things born  
Not to shed a tear,  
I know not how thy joy we ever should come near.

Better than all measures  
Of delightful sound,  
Better than all treasures  
That in books are found.  
Thy skill to poet were, thou scorner of the ground!

Teach me half the gladness  
That thy brain must know,—  
Such harmonious madness  
From my lips would flow,  
The world should listen then, as I am listening now.

Aye, poor Poet! The World does listen, and will still listen to thy song, while things of Beauty and of Joy endure in it. The World will ever mourn the sad fate that took thee from it in thy early spring, ere thy spirit had struggled through the dark mysterious clouds of Doubt, with which the All-wise permitted it to be enwrapped, into the clear light of that Truth thou wert not destined to realise on this side the grave; and as we efface with tears of pity and regret, the words of rebellion which darken a few of thy otherwise glorious pages, we thank thee, as remotest posterity will thank thee, for the beautiful things thou hast left behind thee, to be joys for ever.

And now I would take you to another class of subjects—to the illustration of manners, of domestic virtues in a humble sphere, and of true patriotism,—in one of the most genuine poets the world ever saw—the peasant poet of Scotland, Robert Burns. Here you will see a faithful representation of national manners, probity, morality, religion, and love of country; no mere Daguerreotype, but a work of Art, true, beautiful, pure, harmonious, elevating, and new in its combinations,—though a faithful representation in one sense, no less a creation of a true "Maker":—It is the "Cotter's Saturday Night." After a stanza of dedication, the poem goes on,—

\* \* \* \* \*

November chill blows loud wi' angry sugh;  
The short'ning winter day is near a close;  
The miry beasts retreating frae the pleugh,  
The blaek'ning trains o' craws to their repose;  
The toil-worn cotter frae his labour goes.  
This night his weekly moil is at an end,  
Collects his spades, his mattocks, and his hoes,  
Hoping the morn in case and rest to spend,  
And weary, o'er the moor, his course does hameward bend.

At length his lonely cot appears in view,  
*Beneath the shelter of an aged tree;*  
Th' expectant wee things, toddlin' stacher thro'  
To meet their Dad wi' flichterin' noise and glee.  
*His wee bit ingle, blinkin' bonnily,*  
His clean hearthstane, his thrifty wifie's smile,  
The lisping infant prattling on his knee,  
Does a' his weary carking cares beguile,  
An' makes him quite forget his labour an' his toil.

Belyve, the elder bairns come drapping in,

At service out amang the farmers roun':  
Some ca' the pleugh, some herd, some tentie rin  
A cannie errand to a neibor town:  
Their eldest hope, their Jenny, woman grown,  
In youthful bloom, love sparkling in her e'e,  
Comes hame, perhaps, *to show a bravo new gown,*  
*Or deposit her sair-won penny-fee,*  
To help her parents dear, if they in hardship be.

Wi' joy unfeigned, brothers and sisters meet,  
And each for other's welfare kindly spiers:  
The social hours, swift-wing'd, unnotic'd fleet;  
Each tells the uncoss that he sees or hears.  
The parents, partial, eye their hopeful years;  
*Anticipation forward points the view:*  
The mother wi' her needle an' her shears,  
Gars auld claes look amaist as weel's the new;—  
*The father mixes a' wi' admonition due.*

Their master's and their mistress's command,  
The younkers a' are warned to obey;  
An' mind their labours wi' an eydent hand,  
An' ne'er tho' out o' sight to jauk or play:  
"An' oh! be sure to serve the Lord alway!  
An' mind your duty, duly, morn and night  
Lest in temptation's path ye gang astray,  
Implore His counsel and assisting might:  
They never sought in vain that sought the Lord aright

But hark! a rap comes gently to the door;  
Jenny, wha kens the meaning o' the same,  
Tells how a neibor lad cam o'er the moor,  
To do some errands, and convoy her hame.  
The wily mother sees the conscious flame  
Sparkle in Jenny's e'e, an' flush her cheek,  
Wi' heart-felt anxious care, inquires his name,  
While Jenny hafflins is afraid to speak;  
Weel pleased the mother hears it's nae wild worthless rake.

Wi' kindly welcome, Jenny brings him ben;  
A strappin' youth; he taks the mother's eye;  
Blythe Jenny sees the visit's no ill ta'en;  
The father cracks of horses, ploughs, and kye.  
The youngster's artless heart o'erflows wi' joy,  
But blate an' laithfu', scarce can weel behave;  
The mother, wi' a woman's wiles, can spy  
What makes the youth sae bashfu' and sae grave:

Weel pleased to think her bairn's respected like the lave.

*Oh happy love!*—where love like this is found  
Oh heart-felt raptures!—bliss beyond compare  
I've paced much this weary, mortal round.  
And sage experience bids me this declare—  
"If Heaven a draught of heavenly pleasure spare  
One cordial in this melancholy vale,  
'Tis when a youthful, loving, modest pair  
In other's arms breathe out the tender tale.  
Beneath the milk-white thorn that scents the ev'ning gale."

Is there in human form, that bears a heart,  
A wretch ! a villain! lost to love and truth!—  
That can, with studied, sly, ensnaring art,  
Betray sweet Jenny's unsuspecting youth?  
Curse on his perjured arts! dissembling smooth  
Are honour, virtue, conscience, all exil'd?  
Is there no pity, no relenting ruth,  
Points to the parents fondling o'er their child?  
Then paints the ruin'd maid, and their distraction wild?

Then, the simple supper meal is graphically described, and the poet proceeds:—

The cheerfu' supper done, wi' serious face,  
They, round the ingle, form a circle wide  
The sire turns o'er with patriarchal grace,  
The big ha'-bible, ance his father's pride;  
His bonnet rev'rently laid aside,  
His lyart haffets wearing thin and bare;  
Those strains that once did sweet in Zion glide,  
He wales a portion with judicious care;  
And, "Let us worship GOD," he says, with solemn air.

They chant their artless note in simple guise;  
They tune their hearts, by far the noblest aim  
Perhaps *Dundee's* wild-warbling measures rise,  
Or plaintive *Martyrs*, worthy of the name,  
Or noble *Elgin* beets the heaven-ward flame,  
The sweetest far of Scotia's holy lays.  
Compar'd with these, Italian trills are tame;  
The tickl'd ear no heart-felt raptures raise;  
Nae unison ha'e they with our Creator's praise.

The priest-like father reads the sacred page—  
How Abram was the friend of GOD on high

Or Moses bade eternal warfare wage  
With Amalek's ungracious progeny;  
Or how the royal bard did groaning lie  
Beneath the stroke of heaven's avenging ire  
Or Job's pathetic plaint, an' wailin' cry;  
Or rant Isaiah's wild, seraphic fire;  
Or other holy seers that tune the sacred lyre.

Perhaps the Christian volume is the theme—  
How guiltless blood for guilty man was shed;  
How HE, who bore in Heav'n the second name,  
Had not on earth whereon to lay His head;  
How His first followers and servants sped,  
The precepts sage they wrote to many a land  
How he, who lone in Patmos banished,  
Saw in the sun a mighty angel stand;  
And heard great Bab'lon's doom pronounced by Heav'n's command.

Then kneeling down to HEAVEN'S ETERNAL KING,  
The saint, the father, and the husband prays:  
Hope "springs exulting on triumphant wing,"  
That thus they all shall meet in future days:  
There ever bask in uncreated rays,  
No more to sigh or shed the bitter tear,  
Together hymning their Creator's praise,  
In such society, yet still more dear;  
While circling time moves round in an eternal sphere.

\* \* \* \*

Then homeward all take off their sev'ral way;  
The youngling cottagers retire to rest:  
The parent-pair their secret homage pay,  
And proffer up to heaven the warm request,  
That HE who stills the raven's clam'rous nest,  
And decks the lily fair in flow'ry pride,  
Would in the way His wisdom sees the best,  
For them and for their little ones provide;  
But chiefly in their hearts with grace divine preside.

From scenes like these old Scotia's grandeur springs,  
That makes her lov'd at home, revered abroad:  
Princes and lords are but the breath of kings,  
"An honest man's the noblest work of God;"

\* \* \* \*

O THOU! who pour'd the patriotic tide  
That stream'd through Wallace's undaunted heart,  
Who dared to nobly stem tyrannic pride,  
Or nobly die, the second glorious part,  
(The patriot's God, peculiarly Thou art,  
His friend, inspirer, guardian, and reward!)  
Oh never, never, Scotia's realm desert:  
But still the patriot, and the patriot bard,  
In bright succession raise, her ornament and guard

But I ought not to forget a subject particularly connected with our meeting here this evening, which has a very great variety of poetical associations,—I mean the subject of Bells. Had I been aware before coming here, that this topic would have been one of special interest to you, I should have brought with me some books from which I could have selected illustrations of it. I have a very interesting little work called "The Bell" (published by Messrs. Bell and Daldy of Fleet-street) written by an old friend of mine, the Rev. A. Gatty, vicar of Ecclesall, husband of a charming Art-writer whose "Parables from Nature," "Aunt Judy's stories," and other works, are most deservedly popular. From this source I should have been able to give you some of the learning and history of Bells: and I might have looked up the biography of great bells—of Tom of Lincoln, PETER of York, and that Big BEN who gave so much bother—first getting cracked himself, and now, I hear some Doctors say, very apt to make nervous people within his reach cracked also. And besides those Giants, I might have told you all about a very little bell, Benvenuto Cellini's, which I saw at the dispersion of Horace Walpole's collection at Strawberry Hill, and which has made not a little noise in the world for some hundreds of years.

Then I might have enlarged on the associations of Bells with public national, and private individual life,—about Joy-bells for births and anniversaries of Sovereigns and Princes, for military successes, and for the establishment of peace; and solemn knells for departed sovereigns,—about the bells that herald the birth of the rustic heir,—of marriage bells,—of Sabbath bells,—the passing bell—and the funeral bell. Here, surely, there were ample verge and scope enough for discourse.

Somewhere I have read of an old Monk who became a Monomaniac about bells, and wrote a voluminous treatise to prove that the happiness of the Blessed hereafter would consist in an unlimited faculty of bell ringing.

So fertile is the subject.

Then if Memory and Research strayed through the treasures of Bell-poetry, how large and various would the field be found! From the days when, in the nursery, we were invited to proceed, on an animal of questionable species, to witness the equestrian performances of an old lady at Ban-bury Cross, who, it was intimated, would have music wherever she went, because she had "rings on her fingers and bells on her toes," and our juvenile intellect was puzzled about the share the finger rings had in the music,—from those days, all through our reading life, we have been lighting on bell passages in almost every poet of note; and, indeed, it seems, without such elaborate dedication of talent and art as Schiller in his Song of the Bell, or its illustrator Retsch, devoted to the subject, few Poets have neglected to pay their tribute to the Bell.

Properly prepared beforehand, I should have been glad to spend the evening with the Bells, exclusively.

But, to conclude a long parenthesis, let me indulge in a little bit of speculation.

Who shall say but that, in a future age, Lord Macaulay's much renowned New Zealander,—before he sets out from his native land to visit the remains of Old Britain in the North, and sketch the ruins of the great Fane of her Capital, from a crumbling arch of London Bridge—may take a preliminary tour through his own country, and, coming to the populous and wealthy Emporium of trade and Seat of Learning at NAPIER, may be shewn, when he visits its Cathedral towers, among other Campanological curiosities, a curious specimen of remote antiquity—the modest little Bell the early Settlers of the place procured for the first English Church erected in it,—which your attendance here to-night will, I hope, help to bring into existence.

I would now give you a specimen or two of that style of poem which is probably the oldest in the world—the short Narrative or "Ballad," originally no doubt lyrical, and sung by the voice with accompaniment of instrument. The Ballad might be called the narrative song, as distinguished from the mere emotional or sentimental song. Some, nay many, of our old English and Scottish ballads, are real works of art, possessing all the characteristics to which I have more than once alluded. I shall first read you a specimen of the ancient ballad, in "Fair Helen of Kirkconnell"—to my mind, a most poetical, most musical, and most melancholy lay:—

*"I Wish I were where Helen lies—  
Night and day on me she cries;  
O! that I were where Helen lies,  
On fair Kirkconnell lea.*

*O Helen fair, beyond compare,  
I'll make a garland of thy hair,  
Shall bind my heart, for evermair,  
Until the day I die.*

*Curs'd be the heart that thought the thought,  
And curs'd the hand that fir'd the shot,  
When in my arms burd Helen dropt,  
And died for sake o' me.*

*O think na but my heart was sair  
When my love fell and spak nae mair;  
I laid her down wi' meikle care  
On fair Kirkconnell lea,*

*I laid her down; my sword did draw;  
Stern was our strife in Kirtle-shaw—  
I hew'd him down in pieces sma',  
For her that died for me.*

*O that I were where Helen lies,  
Night and day on me she cries,  
Out of my bed she bids me rise,  
'O come, my love, to me!'*

*O Helen fair! O Helen chaste!  
Were I with thee I would be blest,  
Where thou ly'st low, and tak'st thy rest  
On fair Kirkconnell lea.*

*I wish I were where Helen lies,  
Night and day on me she cries;  
I'm sick of all beneath the skies,  
Since my love died for me."*

I shall now read you a modern ballad of great power and beauty, which stands very high in my estimation, every stanza of which contains a picture of the most vivid and forcible kind; and the contrasts, the lights and

shades, and incidents of which are managed with the highest art, while they present the appearance of perfect simplicity, and the language is remarkably pure, simple, uninvolved and vigorous. It is by a Poet who, once known chiefly as a Humourist, was ere his death discovered by his fellow countrymen to possess great powers of art, pathos, beauty, and profundity, and to wrap up in his grotesque fun no small amount of philosophy and feeling—Thomas Hood. I will read his

'Twas in the prime of summer time,  
An evening calm and cool,  
And four-and-twenty happy boys  
Came bounding out of school:  
There were some that ran and some that leapt,  
Like troutlets in a pool.

Away they sped with gamesome minds,  
And souls untouched by sin;  
To a level mead they came, and there  
They drave the wickets in:  
Pleasantly shone the setting sun  
Over the town of Lynn.

Like sportive deer they coursed about,  
And shouted as they ran,—  
*Turning to mirth all things of earthy*  
*As only boyhood, can;*  
But the Usher sat remote from all,  
A melancholy man!

His hat was off, his vest apart,  
To catch heaven's blessed breeze;  
For a burning thought was in his brow,  
And his bosom ill at ease:  
So he lean'd his head on his hands, and read  
The book between his knees.

Leaf after leaf he turn'd it o'er,  
Nor ever glanced aside,  
For the peace of his soul he read that book  
In the golden eventide:  
Much study had made him very lean,  
And pale and leaden-eyed.

At last he shut the ponderous tome,  
With a fast and fervent grasp  
He strain'd the dusky covers close,  
And fix'd the brazen hasp:  
"Oh, God! could I so close my mind,

And clasp it with a clasp!"

Then leaping on his feet upright,  
Some moody turns he took,—  
Now up the mead, then down the mead,  
And past a shady nook,—  
And, lo! he saw a little boy  
That pored upon a book!

"My gentle lad, what is 't you read—  
Romance or fairy fable?  
Or is it some historic page,  
Of kings and crowns unstable?"  
The young boy gave an upward glance,—  
"It is 'The Death of Abel.'"

The Usher took six hasty strides,  
As smit with sudden pain,—  
Six hasty strides beyond the place,  
Then slowly back again;  
And down he sat beside the lad,  
And talk'd to him of Cain;

And, long since, then, of bloody men,  
whose deeds Tradition saves;  
Of lonely folk cut off unseen,  
And hid in sudden graves;  
Of horrid stabs, in groves forlorn,  
And murders done in caves;

And how the sprites of injured men  
Shriek upward from the sod,—  
And how the ghostly hand will point  
To show the burial clod;  
And unknown facts of guilty acts  
Are seen in dreams from God !

He told how murderers walk the earth  
Beneath the curse of Cain,—  
With crimson clouds before their eyes,  
And flames about their brain;  
For blood has left upon their souls  
Its everlasting stain!

"And well," quoth he, "I know, for truth,  
Their pangs must be extreme,—  
Woe, woe, unutterable woe,—  
Who spill life's sacred stream!  
For why? Methought, last night, I wrought  
A murder, in a dream!

*"One that had never done me wrong—  
A feeble man, and old;  
I led him to a lonely field—  
The moon shone clear and cold:  
Now here, said I, this man shall die,  
And I will have his gold!*

"Two sudden blows with a ragged stick,  
And one with a heavy stone,  
One hurried gash with a hasty knife,—  
And then the deed was done:  
There was nothing lying at my feet  
But lifeless flesh and bone!

"Nothing but lifeless flesh and bone,  
*That could not do me ill;*  
And yet I feared him all the more,  
For lying there so still:  
There was a manhood, in his look,  
That murder could not kill!

"And, lo! the universal air  
Seem'd lit with ghastly flame;—  
Ten thousand, thousand, dreadful eyes  
Were looking down in blame:  
I took the dead man by the hand,  
And call'd upon his name !

"Oh, God! it made me quake to see  
Such sense within the slain!  
But when I touch'd the lifeless clay,  
The blood gush'd out amain!  
For every clot, a burning spot  
Was scorching in my brain!

"My head was like an ardent coal,

My heart as solid ice;  
My wretched, wretched soul I knew,  
Was at the Devil's price;  
A dozen times I groan'd; the dead  
Had never groan'd but twice!

"And now, from forth the frowning sky,  
From the Heaven's topmost height,  
I heard a voice—the awful voice  
Of the blood-avenging sprite;—  
'Thou guilty man! take up thy dead  
And hide it from my sight!'

"I took the dreary body up,  
And cast it in a stream,—  
*A sluggish water, black as ink,*  
*The depth was so extreme;—*  
My gentle Boy, remember this  
Is nothing but a dream !

"Down went the corse with a hollow plunge,  
And vanished in the pool;  
Anon I cleansed my bloody hands,  
And washed my forehead cool,  
And sat among the urchins young,  
That evening in the school.

"Oh, Heaven! to think of their white souls,  
And mine so black and grim!  
*I could not share in childish prayer,*  
*Nor join in Evening Hymn:*  
Like a Devil in the Pit I seemed,  
'Mid holy Cherubim!

"And peace went with them, one and all,  
*And each calm pillow spread;*  
But Guilt was my grim Chamberlain  
That lighted me to bed;  
And drew my midnight curtains round,  
With fingers bloody red !

"All night I lay in agony,  
In anguish dark and deep;

My fever'd eyes I dared not close,  
But stared aghast at Sleep,  
For Sin had rendered unto her  
The keys of Hell to keep!

"All night I lay in agony,  
From weary chime to chime,  
With one besetting horrid thirst,  
That rack'd me all the time;  
A mighty yearning like the first  
Fierce impulse unto crime!

"One stem tyrannic thought, that made  
All other thoughts its slave;  
Stronger and stronger every pulse  
Did that temptation crave,—  
Still urging me to go and see  
The Dead Man in his grave!

"Heavily I rose up, as soon  
As light was in the sky,  
And sought the black accursed pool.  
With a wild misgiving eye;  
And I saw the Dead in the river bed,  
*For the faithless stream was dry.*

"*Merrily rose the Lark*, and shook  
The dew-drop from its wing:  
But I never mark'd its morning flight,  
I never heard it sing:  
For I was stooping once again  
Under the *horrid thing*.

"With breathless speed, like a soul in chase,  
I took him up and ran;—  
There was no time to dig a grave  
Before the day began:  
In a lonesome wood, with heaps of leaves,  
I hid the murder'd man!

"And all that day I read in school,  
But my thought was other where;  
As soon as the mid-day task was done,

In secret I was there:—  
And a mighty wind had swept the leaves,  
And still the corse was bare !

"Then down I cast me on my face,  
*And first began to weep,*  
For I knew my secret then was one  
That earth refused to keep:  
*Or land or sea,* though he should be  
Ten thousand fathoms deep.

"So wills the fierce avenging Sprite,  
Till blood for blood atones!  
Ay, though he's buried in a cave,  
And trodden down with stones,  
And years have rotted off his flesh,—  
The world shall see his bones !

"Oh, God ! that horrid, horrid dream  
Besets me now awake!  
Again—again, with dizzy brain,  
The human life I take;  
And my red right hand grows raging hot,  
Like Cranmer's at the stake.

"And still no peace for the restless clay,  
Will wave or mould allow;  
The horrid thing pursues my soul,—  
*It stands before me now!*"—  
The fearful Boy looked up, and saw  
Huge drops upon his brow.

That very night, while gentle sleep  
The urchin eyelids kiss'd,  
Two stern-faced men set out from Lynn,  
Through the cold and heavy mist;  
And Eugene Aram walk'd between,  
With gyves upon his wrist.

I propose to conclude my reading this evening with an extract from the most recent work of the Poet Laureate—Alfred Tennyson. Time was when this office did not necessarily imply any high standard of poetic merit; but, happily, in our present gracious Sovereign's reign, the tastes of the Court and of the People in Art, as well as their opinions and feelings in other things, are in the most auspicious harmony, and will bear the tests of pure criticism. The reputation of the Laureate may not yet have reached its zenith; but unquestionably the publication of his last work has greatly added to his fame: and I cannot help believing that the poem of which I am about to read you a portion will place him, in the estimation of a coming age, among those who occupy the

highest rank of our poets—after the one pre-eminent Shake-speare.

It is from the last of the Idylls I am about to read—from "Guinevere."

This is the argument. King Arthur—the noble, brave, pious, and chivalrous,—after gathering about his Round Table the flower of Christian chivalry, and doing battle effectually against the heathen invaders of his land, sued for the fair Guinevere in marriage, and obtained her hand. But, for his misfortune, Sir Lancelot of the Lake, the foremost and most highly gifted of his knights, acting as his ambassador,—Guinevere and he fell in love with each other, and, permitting their love to master their judgment, concealed it from the King; and, in spite of the promptings of Conscience and their better nature, sinned together after her marriage with the King. Thence followed a long train of misery and suffering to themselves and to their Country. The King's nephew discovered and revealed the fatal secret to him. Sir Lancelot fled to a distant fortress, and the Queen, secretly and in disguise, took refuge in a nunnery at Almesbury. Here, conscience began to do its work,—and her remorse and anguish were heightened by the simple prattle of a little Novice assigned to attend upon her, who sought to distract the melancholy Lady from her griefs, by speaking largely of the misfortunes of the good King, and the wickedness of the Queen, with which the Kingdom was ringing.

Musing sadly on these things, the Queen says to herself:—

But help me, heaven, for surely I repent.  
For what is true repentance but in thought—  
Not ev'n in inmost thought to think again  
The sins that made the past so pleasant to us:  
And I have sworn never to see him more,  
To see him more.

And ev'n in saying this,  
Her memory from old habit of the mind  
Went slipping back upon the golden days  
In which she saw him first, when Lancelot came,  
Reputed the best knight and goodliest man,  
Ambassador, to lead her to his lord  
Arthur, and led her forth, and far ahead  
Of his and her retinue moving, they,  
Rapt in sweet talk or lively, all on love  
And sport and tilts and pleasure, (for the time  
Was maytime, and as yet no sin was dream'd.)  
Rode under groves that look'd a paradise  
Of blossom, over sheets of hyacinth  
That seem'd the heavens upbreking thro' the earth,  
And on from hill to hill, and every day  
Beheld at noon in some delicious dale  
The silk pavilions of King Arthur raised  
For brief repast or afternoon repose  
By couriers gone before; and on again,  
Till yet once more, ere set of sun they saw  
The Dragon of the great Pendragonship.  
That crown'd the state pavilion of the King,  
Blaze by the rushing brook or silent well.

But when the Queen, immersed in such a trance,  
And moving thro' the past unconsciously,  
Came to that point, when first she saw the King  
Ride toward her from the city, sigh'd to find  
Her journey done, glanced at him, thought him cold,

High, self-contain'd, and passionless, not like him,  
'Not like my Lancelot'—while she brooded thus,  
And grew half-guilty in her thoughts again,  
There rode an armed warrior to the door.  
A murmuring whisper thro' the nunnery ran,  
Then on a sudden, a cry, 'the King.' She sat  
Stiff-stricken, listening; but when armed feet  
Thro' the long gallery from the outer doors  
Rang coming, prone from off her seat she fell,  
*And grovell'd with her face against the floor;*  
*There with her milk-white arms and shadowy hair,*  
*She made her face a darkness from the King:*  
*And in the darkness heard his armed feet*  
*Pause by her;* then came silence, then a voice,  
Monotonous and hollow like a Ghost's  
Denouncing judgment, but tho' changed, the King's,

'Liest thou here so low, the child of one  
I honoured, happy, dead before thy shame?  
Well is it that no child is born of thee.  
The children born of thee are sword and fire,  
Red ruin, and the breaking up of laws,  
The craft of kindred and the Godless hosts  
Of heathen swarming o'er the Northern Sea,  
Whom I, while yet Sir Lancelot, my right arm.  
The mightiest of my knights, abode with me,  
Have everywhere about this land of Christ  
In twelve great battles running overthrown.  
And knowest thou now from whence I come—from him  
From waging bitter war with him: and he,  
That did not shun to smite me in worse way,  
Had yet that grace of courtesy in him left—  
He spared to lift his hand against the King,  
Who made him knight: but many a knight was slain;  
And many more, and all his kith and kin  
Clave to him, and abode in his own land.  
And many more when Modred raised revolt,  
Forgetful of their troth and fealty, clave  
To Modred, and a remnant stays with me.  
And of this remnant will I leave a part.  
True men who love me still, for whom I live,  
To guard thee in the wild hour coming on,  
*Lest but a hair of this low head be harm'd.*  
Fear not: thou shalt be guarded till my death.  
Howbeit, I know, if ancient prophecies  
Have err'd not, that I march to meet my doom.  
*Thou hast not made my life so sweet to me,*  
*That I the King should greatly care to live;*  
*For thou hast spoilt the purpose of my life.*  
Bear with me for the last time while I show,  
Ev'n for thy sake, the sin which thou has sinned.  
For when the Roman left us, and their Law  
Relax'd its hold upon us, and the ways

Were fill'd with rapine,—here and there a deed  
Of prowess done redress'd a random wrong.  
But I was first of all the kings who drew  
The knighthood-errant of this realm and all  
The realms together under me, the Head,  
In that fair order of my Table Round,  
*A glorious company, the flower of men.*  
*To serve as model for the mighty world,*  
*And be the fair beginning of a time.*  
I made them lay their hands in mine and swear  
To reverence the King as if he were  
Their Conscience, and their Conscience as their King,  
To break the heathen and uphold the Christ,  
To ride about redressing human wrongs,  
*To speak no slander, no, nor listen to it,*  
To lead sweet lives in purest chastity,  
To love one maiden only, cleave to her,  
And worship her by years of noble deeds  
Until they won her; *for indeed I knew*  
*Of no more subtle master under heaven*  
*Than is the maiden passion for a maid,*  
*Not only to keep down the base in man,*  
*But teach high thought, and amiable words*  
*And courtliness, and the desire of fame,*  
*And love of truth, and all that makes a man.*  
And all this throve until I wedded thee!  
Believing "lo mine helpmate, one to feel  
My purpose and rejoicing in my joy."  
Then came thy shameful sin with Lancelot;  
Then came the sin of Tristram and Isolt;  
Then others, following these my mightiest knights,  
And drawing foul ensample from fair names,  
Sinn'd also, till the loathsome opposite  
Of all my heart had destined did obtain,—  
*And all thro' thee!* so that this life of mine  
I guard as God's high gift from scathe and wrong,  
Not greatly care to lose; but rather think  
How sad it were for Arthur, should he live,  
To sit once more within his lonely hall,  
And miss the wonted number of my knights,  
And miss to hear high talk of noble deeds  
As in the golden days before thy sin.  
For which of us, who might be left, could speak  
Of the pure heart, nor seem to glance at thee?  
And in thy bowers of Camelot or of Usk  
Thy shadow still would glide from room to room,  
And I should evermore be vext with thee  
In hanging robe or vacant ornament,  
Or ghostly footfall echoing on the stair.  
For think not, tho' thou would'st not love thy Lord,  
Thy Lord has wholly lost his love for thee.  
*I am not made of so slight elements.*  
Yet I must leave thee, Woman, to thy shame.  
I hold that man the worst of public foes  
Who either for his own or children's sake,

To save his blood from scandal, lets the wife  
Whom he knows false, abide and rule the house:  
For being thro' his cowardice allow'd  
Her station, taken everywhere for pure,  
She like a new disease, unknown to men,  
Creeps, no precaution used, among the crowd,  
Makes wicked lightnings of her eyes, and saps  
The fealty of our friends, and stirs the pulse  
With devil's leaps, and poisons half the young.  
Worst of the worst were that man he that reigns!  
Better the King's waste hearth and aching heart  
Than thou reseated in thy place of light,  
The mockery of my people, and their bane.'

He paused,—*and in the pause she crept an inch  
Nearer, and laid her hands about his feet.*  
Far off a solitary trumpet blew.  
Then waiting by the doors the warhorse neigh'd  
As at a friend's voice, and he spake again.

'Yet think not that I come to urge thy crimes,  
I did not come to curse thee, Guinevere,  
I, whose vast pity almost makes me die  
To see thee, laying there thy golden head,  
My pride in happier summers, at my feet.  
The wrath that forced my thoughts on that fierce law,  
The doom of treason and the flaming death,  
(When first I learnt thee hidden here) is past.  
The pang—which while I weighed thy heart with one  
Too wholly true to dream untruth in thee,  
Made my tears burn—is also past, in part.  
And all is past, the sin is sinned, and I,  
Lo! I forgive thee as Eternal God  
Forgives: do thou for thine own soul the rest.  
But how to take last leave of all I loved?  
O golden hair with which I used to play  
Not knowing! O imperial-moulded Form,  
And Beauty such as never woman wore,  
Until it came to a kingdom's curse with thee—  
I cannot touch thy lips, they are not mine,  
But Lancelot's: nay, they never were the King's.  
I cannot take thy hand; that too is flesh,  
And in the flesh thou hast sinn'd; and mine own flesh,  
Here looking down on thine polluted, cries  
"I loathe thee:" yet not less, O Guinevere,  
For I was ever virgin save for thee,  
My love thro' flesh hath wrought into my life  
*So far, that my doom is, I love thee still.*  
*Let no man dream but that I love thee still.—*  
Perchance, and so thou purify thy soul,  
And so thou lean on our fair father Christ,

Hereafter in that world where all are pure  
We two may meet before high God, and thou  
Wilt spring to me, and claim me thine, and know  
I am thine Husband—not a smaller soul,  
Nor Lancelot, nor another. Leave me that,  
I charge thee, my last hope. Now must I hence.  
Thro' the thick night I hear the trumpet blow:  
They summon me their King to lead mine hosts  
Far clown to that groat battle in the west,  
Where I must strike against my sister's son.  
Leagued with the lords of the White Horse and knights  
Once mine, and strike him dead, and meet myself  
Death, or I know not what mysterious doom.  
And thou remaining here wilt learn the event;  
But hither shall I never come again,  
Never lie by thy side, see thee no more,  
Farewell!

*And while she grovelling'd at his feet,  
She felt the King's breath wander o'er her neck,  
And in the darkness o'er her fallen head  
Perceived the waving of his hands that blest.*

Then, listening till those armed steps were gone,  
Rose the pale Queen, and in her anguish found  
The casement; 'Peradventure,' so she thought,  
'I might see his face, and not be seen.'  
And lo, he sat on horseback at the door!  
And near him the sad Nuns with each a light  
Stood, and he gave them charge about the Queen,  
To guard and foster her for evermore  
And while he spake to these his helm was lower'd,  
To which for crest the golden dragon clung  
Of Britain; *so she did not see the face,  
Which then was as an Angel's*, but she saw,  
Wet with the mists and smitten by the lights,  
The Dragon of the great Pendragonship  
Blaze, making all the night a steam of fire.  
And even then he turn'd; and more and more  
*The moony vapour rolling round the King,  
Who seem'd the phantom of a Giant in it,  
Unwound him fold by fold, and made him gray  
And grayer, till himself became as mist  
Before her,—moving ghostlike to his doom.*

—Can any one hear, I would ask you,—can any one read or think of such poetry without emotion? What pictures are those—of The guilty conscious Wife grovelling self-abased at the feet of her noble, much-wronged, but forgiving Lord; of that Saint-like Warrior, waving his hands in blessing over the head of the still loved, though forever banished, Form; of the Hero as, gradually magnified into colossal proportions by the evening mist, he vanishes out of sight, to meet a not unwelcome doom. Sorrowful as they are, they are most beautiful—these master works of the art of word painting. And besides the beauties of the pictures, and the sweet unaffected straightforwardness of the melodious language in which they are painted, think of the moral

beauty and grandeur of the character of Arthur—brought out, heightened, tried, and proved by the sin of his unhappy Consort! In truth such a portraiture is a glory to our country, its language and its art, for ever: and generation after generation yet unborn will fondly, admiringly, and gratefully cherish it as a precious treasure; and take occasion, from this as from other creations of our noblest English poets, to express their thankfulness, that in our happy Fatherland, Genius has so often made Art not merely the Minister of Pleasure, but also the Handmaid of Wisdom, of Virtue, and of Piety.

decorative feature

Napier:

Printed at the Havre's Bay Herald Office by James Wood.

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**Co-operation:**

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## Preface.

AS WILL perhaps be surmised from the style in which it is written, it was the intention of the author to offer this essay to some magazine or review, but before it was quite finished it occurred to him that it would be more likely to reach the class for whose benefit it was intended if issued in its present form. When this thought first occurred to him, it also seemed that it would be desirable to re-write it in a style more in character with a popular address, but, on mature consideration, he does not deem it needful to do so, as there is nothing in it that will not come homo to the commonest understanding. For many of the facts, and for some of the ideas, it contains, the author is indebted to Mr. George Jacob Holyoake's *History of Co-operation*; and as Mr. Holyoake is the greatest living authority on the subject, and has been for the last thirty years its chief moving spirit in England, no better source could possibly be found. In offering the essay to the public, the author is actuated by no other desire than to benefit his fellow-creatures by disseminating a knowledge of what he knows to be the most powerful agent yet discovered in softening and alleviating the social grievances and injustices which are now the lot of the poorer classes; and he will be more than rewarded if he is in any way instrumental in the recognition of this fact by some of those in New South Wales whose fate it is to be ranked among those classes.

Sydney,

April, 1880.

## Co-operation.

A STUDENT of contemporary history, with the capacity of understanding the significance of the social movements he sees in operation around him, cannot but be struck with the fast-growing tendency towards amelioration in the position of the labouring classes, and towards equalization in the distribution alike of the good and bad things of this world, which these movements exhibit. Philanthropic schemes are started in every direction, some highly judicious and beneficial, and others well-meant but ill-judged and vicious in their operations; some paternal, and granting as favours what should be conceded as rights, and others recognising these rights, and fostering the principle of self-help. Especially are these efforts directed to-wards the too great accumulation of property in one class, to the detriment of another, and towards the more equitable division of it among all. In days happily gone by for ever, and whose notions are now to be found only among a few worthy, old-fashioned, simple-minded people, and among a few with whom the pernicious occupation of money-grubbing has warped the intellect, all such schemes were stigmatized as Communistic, and Socialistic, and on these grounds, contemptuously put aside, exactly as all conceptions of religion drawn from nature were denounced as atheistic, and likewise contemned. That those who acted thus could neither, if desired, define the

terms of contumely used, nor explain the action of the schemes, or the principle of the doctrines in relation to which they were employed, is a fact now only too well known, but which need not concern us here. In our own day, all things are decided on their own individual merits, and, whether socialistic or atheistic, on these merits they must stand or fall.

Among all splendid contrivances for the more equitable distribution of material wealth, which have emanated from the human intellect, there can be no question that the discovery of the principle of Co-operation holds the first place; and yet, strange to say, it is the one above all others concerning which the greatest amount of ignorance is displayed. Nor is this ignorance confined to Co-operation alone, for all purely social questions appear to be alike unstudied by those who aspire to lead the opinions of the English race—the bookmakers and journalists of England. The one thing deemed to be needful appears to be a knowledge of political economy, and as political economy has, as yet, to a very limited extent, taken cognisance of these questions, they are, in consequence, entirely neglected. And thus Communism, Socialism, Rationalism, Co-operation and Internationalism are confused together and mixed up in the most bewildering and amusing manner. Not only are they thus confused, the one with the other, but the meaning of not one of them seems to be understood. Thus, there are at the present day prominent English statesmen, and writers, and editors of leading London journals, who think that the object of the Paris Communists of 1871, was to obtain community of property, whereas a similarity in the sound of the word is the only connection between them, and they are as distinct as a horserace and the human race. The Commune meant the parish, and the sole object of the Paris Communists was to obtain parochial boards of self-government, such as are enjoyed by England, New Zealand, and Victoria, and their proper name should have been Communards, as was proposed by some of themselves, to avoid the very confusion which has since arisen. Only seven of the seventy Communist leaders had Communistic ideas, such as we understand. That so much confusion should have taken its rise from a similarity in the sound of two words, is only another instance of the truth of the saying of the sage, "With how little wisdom is the world governed!"

But co-operation is so little understood that even those who write upon the subject, with a view of spreading a knowledge of its beneficent principles, nay many of those who take part in practical schemes for its establishment, seldom appear to have mastered the science—for science it is—in its entirety. Thus we see in England numerous establishments like the Civil Service Supply Associations, or like the Civil Service Co-operative Store in Sydney, which call themselves, and are popularly supposed to be, co-operative stores. But as a matter of fact these stores are no more co-operative than are those of Messrs. Shoolbred, or of Farmer and Company. Co-operation is a distinct and well recognised principle, or science, and any establishment professing to be carried on on co-operative lines which does not comply with every particular of the science is trading under false pretences. An establishment is either co-operative or it is not, but the mere fact of having the word "Co-operative" over the doorway is not of itself sufficient compliance with the principles at issue to render it in very truth a co-operative store, and is just as misleading as would be the announcement of a chiropodist that he was Corn Cutter to the Khan of Khiva. And in like manner neither does the partial assent to, or carrying out of, the doctrines of the science, make an establishment truly co-operative; any more than the mere act of signing the pledge would make a man a Good Templar, although he did not leave off his drinking habits. That those establishments are useful in their spheres, and decidedly beneficent in their operations, is readily admitted; but that is not the point, and it is distinctly denied that they are really co-operative.

Co-operation may be divided into two branches, Distributive and Productive; but the principle is precisely the same in both cases. The former branch comprises the stores, by which the produce of the world is distributed among the people; and the latter includes manufacturing, banking, farming, mining and other kinds of business. It is the former which is proposed to be chiefly dealt with, both as being more adaptable to the present stage of progress in the colonies, and as being more widespread in its general influence, and likewise because it should always precede the Productive phase. The one standard principle of co-operation is, that all who participate in the creation of wealth should likewise participate in its profits; or in still plainer language that, all who participate in the creation of wealth should share that wealth among themselves, in exact proportion to their share in its creation. This appears plain enough, and yet few seem able to understand its full meaning. Civil Service Co-operative Stores established to sell things cheap among the proprietors, and afterwards divide the profits among the shareholders; industrial partnerships admitting some of the operatives as limited partners; co-partnership which hires money and labour and divides the profit, and other similar trading societies do NOT comply with this standard principle, and are therefore—however good in themselves—distinctly NOT co-operative. In distributive co-operation all concerned in their creation share the profits—the shopmen, clerks, travellers, buyers, managers, AND ALSO THE PURCHASERS, OR CUSTOMERS, OF THE STORES. Herein lies the one secret in the distribution of wealth. For what profit could a store make if it could find no purchasers? The purchasers are in fact the great power by which all profit is made, and to leave them out of the division of these profits is clearly to violate the principle above enunciated, that, "all who

participate in the creation of wealth should share that wealth among themselves, in exact proportion to their share in its creation." And in like manner in productive co-operation all concerned in their creation share the profits—the managers, clerks, operatives, mechanics, labourers, and the customers, or purchasers. The action of this principle is threefold—it attracts customers to the store, and thereby increases business and profits; it divides the specific profits made in an equitable manner; and it assists the great generalisation of a righteous dissemination of material wealth among the mass of the people.

It will be observed that, in thus laying down the principles of the distribution of profits, no mention is made of capital; and herein does co-operation radically differ from all other trading and industrial societies. IN CO-OPERATION CAPITAL DOES NOT PARTICIPATE IN THE PROFITS. For what is capital? Capital is not a man, it is a thing; and for it to share in the profits would be as equally absurd and illogical as that the house in which the business is carried on should do so, or that the machinery should do so. What could the house, or the machinery, do by itself? And what can capital do by itself? It is the brain and muscle that use these things which make the profit, and without them they would be useless; and therefore it is the brain and muscle to which the profit must go. Capital, therefore, is PAID FOR, and done with. In all co-operative establishments capital is a fixed charge, like salaries, rent, and wages. Five per cent is paid to it, and beyond that it receives nothing whatever, in any shape or way. For it to ask for more is just as absurd as it would be for the landlord to ask for a bonus on his rent, or for the doctor to demand a double payment of his bill; and it is one of the anomalies of the time that this fact is not yet generally recognised, as it soon must be.

This, then, is the fundamental principle of co-operation—that all profits should be equally distributed among all engaged in creating them, or to benefit the capitalist at the expense of the workmen, or to benefit the workmen at the expense of the purchasing public, would be clearly to violate this principle, and therefore any societies that do so are not co-operative.

The benefits claimed to arise from a general adoption of the co-operative principle are so numerous, so wide-spreading, so in accord with, the spirit of the times, and so really surprising in degree—not merely in theory, but actually demonstrated in practice—that the thoughtful mind involuntarily becomes yet more thoughtful in observing how slowly it makes its way among those to whom it would be a real Jacob's ladder, by which they could climb into what would be a comparative heaven. The reason, however, is not far to seek. Like those of Free-trade, the processes of Co-operation are marked by a certain degree of intricacy, which, though simple enough to follow by those who are able to generalise a little, and whose minds are not too much filled up by a single idea, may, nevertheless, be doubtless not quite so apparent to those who have not the ability or the time to study them. Processes that are not immediate in their effects, or whose effects are not directly perceptible, require a certain degree of mental culture for their appreciation, and are often apt to be misunderstood, or undervalued, by the average and uncultivated mind, and by that peculiar, but very largo class of mind which has been termed "gaseous," and in which ideas become so inflated that only one at a time can be contained.

Even to enumerate these benefits would of itself require a volume of respectable dimensions, and nothing more than the indication of a few of them can here be attempted. But before fore doing this it would perhaps be as well to explain the practical working and management of a Co-operative Store, in order that these benefits may be more fully understood and better appreciated.

In the old country, where shops are mostly confined to the sale of a single class of article, a "store," selling everything—from a needle to an anchor, and from a "lolly" to a haystack, was of course a greater anomaly than it would be in colonies, where we have long been used to see such establishments, conducted by private individuals. The celebrated Robert Owen, a philanthropist, with ideas much too large for the days in which he lived, but whose socialistic schemes were strangely mixed up with an amount of High Tory paternalism and Imperialism, which rendered them altogether impracticable, was the first to establish stores on a system of co-partnery, which he did among the operatives employed at his extensive cotton mills. But they were not co-operative, and it was not until 1844, when Mr. Charles Howarth discovered the principio of including the purchasers in the division of profits, that Co-operation became possible. In establishing a co-operative store, small beginnings are best. The great Rochdale store, which is now dividing an income of nearly sixty thousand per annum, and increasing it very largely every year, commenced business thirty-six years ago, with twenty-eight members, paying twopence per week each! and this was all the capital it had! In ten years it had 900 members, and a profit of £1700; in ten more 4750 members, and a profit of £23,000; and in another ten 7650 members, and a profit of £41,000. As a commencement, two or three people, who fully understand what they want to do, and how to do it, and why it should be done, must call a meeting of those likely to be benefitted, and explain the whole matter, keeping the interest alive by active propagandism. Capital is provided by each person putting down his, or her, name for threepence, sixpence, or a shilling a week, or as much as they are able, towards the payment of one five pound share. It is not considered a sound principle for members to be proprietors of smaller interests than five pounds, and of course the more that are able to subscribe it at once the

better the commencement of the business will be. Borrowed money should on no account be resorted to, as all co-operative business is conducted on strict cash principles, and credit of any kind, and in any direction, should be entirely ignored. A secretary and treasurer are, then to be appointed, and two or three collectors to gather in the weekly payments of members. The business may then be commenced, and it is more judicious to begin with a grocery and general provision store, leaving other branches to grow with the extension of trade. Technical knowledge will, of course, be required, but there should be no difficulty about this, though many stores have suffered for want of it.

The available funds are disposed of quarterly in six different directions. First: expenses of management, including all salaries, wages, commission, rent, rates, taxes, insurance, stationery, horse feed, &c., &c. Second: an amount equivalent to ten per cent, per annum on the value of the fixed stock, set apart to cover its annual reduction in worth owing to wear and tear. All fixings and properties other than stock-in-trade are included in this item. Third: dividends on subscribed capital of members. These are always fixed at five per cent., and no further interest or bonus of any kind whatever is awarded to it. Capital is thus a fixed charge in the working expenses, and does not participate in the profits. Fourth: such sum as may be required for the extension of business. As will be shown, the profits of a co-operative store are very much larger than in an ordinary shop, and when once the affair is soundly established, business, with good management, increases rapidly; but it is safer not to launch too fast into extensive operations. Fifth: two and a half per cent, of the remaining profit, after the above items are provided for, to be applied to educational purposes. This is of paramount importance, and should by no means be neglected. By educational purposes is meant the establishment of a reading-room provided with papers, magazines, books of reference, &c.; to be ultimately supplemented by a library, by a few scientific instruments as microscopes, electric apparatus, &c., by scientific classes, lectures, &c., and by the issue of a monthly or weekly journal of propagandism. The Rochdale Store has all these, and much more, its reading-room being equal to that of some of the best London Clubs. Sixth: the residue, and that only, is then divided among all the persons employed, and members of the store, in proportion to the amount of their wages, or of their respective purchases during the quarter, varying usually, from eighteen pence to half-a-crown in the pound. The value of an employé's services, and consequently the share he is supposed to have had in the creation of the profits, is estimated by the amount of his salary, and in this proportion is he awarded his share in these profits. The first part of this principle has by some been objected to as inequitable because a manager in receipt of, say, £1000 a year, would get ten times as much as an assistant in receipt of £100; but it would be very easy to show that the manager, by the exercise of his brain, created ten times more profit than the assistant by his handiwork. A store without good managers would soon come to grief. Its operation, moreover, has been found to have the very best effect, for every one connected is stimulated to his utmost in the creation of profits, having a direct personal interest in their increase, and thus managers draw custom by well-devised schemes, by supplying the very best articles at reasonable rates, by making the premises as attractive as possible to the eye, and by other similar means; while all assistants vie with each other in civility and attention. Thus service is not, as in competition, a menial office; in Co-operation, it is a position of influence, and there is a direct bond of sympathy between the customer and the server, instead of an antagonism, in which each tries to better the other. For it is to the benefit of both that the store should profit by the trade done; therefore the customer is not so much inclined to haggle, knowing that he will get back in dividends what he is unsuccessful in knocking off in price, and the server is all sauvity and alacrity, knowing that the more favorable the impression that he makes, the more will the business increase.

With respect to that portion of the residue which is awarded to the purchasers, the method employed is as follows:—The amounts is not paid in cash, or by a discount on the price of the goods bought, but are retained by the store, and entered in a book, the customer being given a metal or other check. When the accumulated sum due to any customer equals the value of a share, he is at once registered as a proprietor, and receives a dividend of five per cent, besides being admitted to participate in all the privileges of the establishment, whatever they may be. Thus, without any effort of his own, without parting with a single penny, and without becoming the recipient of any bounty, he finds himself part proprietor of a flourishing establishment, and on his way to become a man of capital. For it will undoubtedly appear to him that the more he spends the richer he gets, and though this, of course, is really a fallacy, it is one that the uncultivated mind, would find some difficulty in explaining; and as, unlike most fallacies, it works in the right direction, there need be no extra pains taken to explain it. The effect on the great body of working men of the operations of this principle cannot be over-estimated. Even from a purely material point of view, the gain to them is equal to a rise in their wages of nearly ten per cent., and this without strikes, without disputes with employers, without extra work, and without any difference whatever in their daily routine. For instance, if a skilled labourer, in receipt of £150 a year, spent £100 at the store, he would, at the end of a year, be the owner of two shares and a-half, worth £12 10s.; if a dividend were declared, as it usually is, of two shillings and sixpence in the pound; and he would also receive twelve shillings and sixpence interest on these shares. If they were allowed to capitalize, instead of

being parted with, he would, in ten years, be a shareholder to the extent of £125, and would, besides, have received £34 during that time for interest, thus being £159 richer, which is more than ten per cent on his wages. And the only work he had done for this, was the agreeable one of spending his money! and, of course, the shares being transferable, he could, at any time, realize, and could therefore, with the assistance of a building society, be, in a very short time, the unincumbered owner of a house and garden, and be, as a matter of fact, much better off than many a so-called "gentleman," with three or four hundred a year. These figures are no myths, and their accuracy has been demonstrated in numberless instances in England, some of the working-men proprietors of the Rochdale store holding shares to the amount of between two and three hundred pounds.

Nor is this all. It is a very old saying that the poorest have the most servants, and buy their necessaries in the dearest markets. The man with capital at his command can go straight to the wholesale dealer and lay in a stock of goods of the best quality, at wholesale prices. But before these goods can get to the poor man, who can only afford to buy very small quantities at a time, they go through two or three different establishments to get to the small shopkeepers, from whom the poor man buys, and each establishment has to make a profit, all these three or four separate profits, being drawn from the poor man's money. Besides which they undergo an amount of doctoring in their travels, at which we can do little more than guess. At the time of the outcry against the miserable pittance paid to needle-women in England, it came out that these worst-paid of all working people, had to buy their one luxury—nay, necessity—tea, in half ounces, and were charged at the rate of sixpence an ounce, or more than double what the rich man paid. Co-operative stores do away with all this. Buying in the wholesale market they are enabled to sell the very best unadulterated goods at a fairly reasonable rate. For, as the store avoids all the expenses arising from the necessity of the middle-men making profits, and thus intercepts these profits, and as, owing to the cash system not calling for the employment of so many hands as the credit, the business is conducted with greater economy, they are enabled to sell all quantities, large or small, at similar standard prices. The buyer of an ounce is thus able to purchase at the same rate as the buyer of a hundred weight, or if any difference is made it is only trifling, to pay for the extra labour in making up the orders. The member of a store is, therefore, not only better off in actual cash, but his health must be better, for he uses genuine wholesome tea, coffee, sugar, butter, flour, &c., instead of undergoing a slow process of poisoning by iron-filings, burnt saw-dust, sand, tallow, and ground tomb-stones.

His children also, if earning anything, could likewise become members, and many a young woman has in this way brought quite an acceptable little marriage portion to her husband. Indeed, in some of the manufacturing districts, a young woman, who is not a member of a store, finds difficulty in getting married at all. The advantage to himself and his family which arises from access to a reading-room is also absolutely incalculable, and though of course the room cannot at first be conducted on a very liberal scale, the funds available for the purpose increase annually, and the Rochdale store can afford periodically to spend hundreds of pounds merely in the preparation of a catalogue of books in the library.

But although, the material benefits accruing to the working man from the connection are so great, they are even over-shadowed by those affecting his moral nature. The chronic state of the average workman is one of debt, and debt means a certain degree of self-abasement and want of self-respect. Few men, who are always in debt to the shopkeeper, can walk along the street with chest out and shoulders back, in dignified self-satisfaction and a sense of perfect freedom and ease of mind. They rather slouch and slink along with an air of apology, and never know what it is to be absolutely careless of what people think of them. By buying at a co-operative store all this is escaped, for all co-operative business is strictly ready money. It may be said that if he can pay ready cash to the store, he can also do so at the shop, but there is this fundamental difference—by buying at the store the debt extinguishes itself without any effort; whereas, at the shop, it grows, with interest and other charges, instead of decreasing. A man with an income only sufficient to live on, can rarely catch up a debt. Once contracted it is for ever afterwards an incubus he cannot shake off. But at the store it takes itself off by the simple operation of mere living. The store, by awarding a dividend on every purchase, and then retaining this dividend until it has grown to five pounds, not only teaches him the advantage of saving, but also actually saves for him at the same time. It is very easy to say that the man might save for himself, but that is to show great ignorance of human nature, and in fact to suppose it perfect. An average uncultivated man with half-a-crown in his pocket would not regard this coin with any great degree of veneration. He would not be able to recognise the latent possibilities that lay in it, and would most probably toss it away on the first whim that occurred to him, such as a drink a piece for three or four friends. But if some kind fairy were to transmogrify it to a five pound note he would think twice before he got rid of it; and would most likely take it home to his wife and consult her as to its disposal for mutual benefit. This is exactly what the store does, and thus the man gets a lesson in the advantage of saving and self help that cannot but have the very best effects on his moral character; and what is even yet more important through him on his children. "No homily, no precept, no wise saw or modern instance, no exhortation, or prayer, or entreaty, can inspire strength of will, or wise and lasting purpose in the average mind of any class." But the Co-operative store DOES teach the man this, and that in spite of

himself. The lesson is iterated, and reiterated, to him every day of his life, and even if he is too stupid to learn it he, at all events, reaps the material benefit it would bring if he did. No other human device has ever effected the one thing or the other. Nothing is more calculated to keep a man out of the public house than that sense of increased dignity and social elevation which the assurance of being part proprietor of a flourishing establishment, and of being actually a man of capital, must of necessity give; and this combined with the counter attractions of the reading room must always make a co-operative store one of the most powerful agents of the cause of temperance. These are but a few of the moral benefits which co-operation gives. Others will be gathered in the course of this essay, and without here re-enumerating them it must be admitted that those already pointed out are of the most important character.

The great problem of the day is how equitably to reconcile the conflicting claims of capital and labour, of workmen and employers. Hitherto almost the only elucidation of this problem has been in the direction of making the breach wider, instead of drawing the extremities together. Trades unions have been the instrument of the workmen, and strikes their only offensive weapons; and the masters have retaliated with combinations among themselves to keep down wages. As Mr. Holyoake has pointed out "industrial conspirators have not been very intelligently treated. A combination of workmen to advance their industrial interests is called a conspiracy, and treated as such, while a similar combination of employers passes under the pleasant description of a 'mooting of masters to promote the interests of trade'." But herein the workmen have chiefly themselves to blame, for entering into conflicts that can have no permanently beneficial results, when there are methods of curing the evil without conflicts at all. For although it is readily admitted that trades unions are useful in showing workmen that union is strength, and that by combination they can wield a power completely invulnerable, yet it certainly appears that strikes are in a very great degree suicidal. Whichever way they are looked at it cannot be denied that they entail upon the district in which they occur a great and permanent loss of capital, for both the profits of the employers and the savings of the men are completely dissipated. "A strike is a war, and all war is a waste of the material means of the combatants." Moreover beyond this, and beyond the physical suffering they entail and the consequent lasting injury to health, there is a point in connection with them generally overlooked, but which should be of the first consideration to all workmen of liberal proclivities. To profess liberal principles and then to attempt to limit the freedom of one's fellows by coercion is a very contemptible proceeding, but it is exactly what trades unions do. "Of course, it is necessity of trade war—but, at that point, the union action becomes a tyranny." In the words of Lord Derby: "There is hardly a despotism since the world began that has not founded itself on this plea that it would carry into effect more surely than free citizens the recognised will of the majority. To refuse to recognise the freedom of your neighbours, is the first step towards losing your own." The only strikes at all excusable, and which trades-unions would be justified in supporting, are strikes against the demand of employers that their members should do cheap, bad work, by which both their own characters as workmen and the character of the industry of the country is injured; and strikes for industrial partnerships. As Mr. Holyoake shows, these latter would be fairer to both parties than strikes for higher wages. For all profits must be earned before they are had; whereas, in strikes for wages, the employer is simply plundered, if he is forced to yield where he really cannot afford it. By industrial partnerships is meant that system by which all operatives receive a per centage on the profits over and above their wages. Thus, in good times, when profits are large, the workmen's per centage would be large, and, in bad times, small. But trades unions take no consideration of these things, and often arrange strikes for higher wages in bad times, by which injustice is done to employers.

But Co-operation does away with all necessity for strikes. Instead of quarrelling with the masters for an extra slice of their capital, it quietly and silently goes to work and creates new capital of its own. It does not discuss with them, but it dispenses with them. Co-operators do not petition for an increase of wages, do not send deputations and wait upon the great man's pleasure; they simply increase their own wages, and make themselves masters. They supply their own capital, fix their own wages, and divide the profits among themselves. They rob no one, deprive no one of his wealth, inflict no injury on existing wealth, but simply exercise the right of all to create new wealth. They use no coercive measures, set no bounds to the freedom of their fellows; but, on the contrary, join hand-in-hand, in perfect amity with all, and proclaim and practice the most perfect liberty of individual action. Their system entails no hardships, demands no privations, calls for no half-wages and semi-starvation, initiates no contest in physical endurance; but, quite otherwise, it increases material comforts, and gives repletion of the very best qualities of food. Dr. John Watts, in a lecture delivered in England, nearly twenty years ago, thus puts the two different methods and results of Trades Unions and Cooperation, in connection with the great strike at Colne, in Lancashire, in 1860. by which 4000 looms were kept idle, and the weavers were out for fifty weeks. "If the Colne people, instead of going on strike for fifty weeks, had kept at work, and lived on half-wages, as they had to do during the strike, and saved the other half, and if the East Lancashire people had subscribed £20,000, as they did towards keeping the Colne people on strike, the result, at the end of fifty weeks, would have been £54,000 in hand, and at £15 a loom, that money

would have soted to work in perpetuity, FOR THE HANDS THEMSELVES, 3600 looms out of the 4000 in Colne. The self-same effort which threw them into beggary, would have raised them into independence." Strikes seldom have any real permanent effect that would not have come in the ordinary course of trade competition, though, perhaps, a little more tardily, and what they do effect they effect at the cost of the loss of all previous savings, and of a terrible amount of privation. Co-operation, on the other hand, gives an immediate and permanent, though, at first, not altogether perceptible, rise in wages, without any squabbling, any loss, or any hardship. It is a silent and perpetual strike, having for its object, not the injury of the masters, not the confiscation of his capital, not the seizure or depreciation of the property of others, but an honest effort at creating new wealth, to be enjoyed by those only who create it. Workmen should never demand anything as a "right," any more than employers should insult them by offering them a "bonus," for they have no "right" for more than they contract for. They may prefer a claim, and refuse an agreement to work unless it is conceded. In Co-operation, where capital is only an agent, and all profits belong to the producers, everything is done by mutual agreement. But competition is not mutual agreement, but hostility and war. Outside of pure Co-operation there is no right; it is all claim and contest. The capitalist has no right except to what he can keep, and the workman has no right except to what he can get. It may be urged that as strikes only occur in large industries, these arguments refer to industrial co-operation only, and that a mere co-operative store has little or no bearing on the matter. But this is a mistake, for as I have endeavoured to explain, it is the store that gives the immediate and direct rise in wages. Industrial Co-operation can either be established separately or allowed to grow out of the store. In the colonies it will be found that as the business of a store increases, the addition of corn mills, of bread and biscuit factories, of tinned and preserved provision branches, of sugar refineries, of cloth factories, of candle and soap manufactories, of dairy farms, of market gardens, of tanneries, boot factories, tailoring establishments, printing offices, and many other kinds of businesses, will be both easy and appropriate, and of the greatest possible benefit to all concerned. Industrial Co-operation, established separately, of course requires capital to start it, and as workmen are not often overburdened with this necessary, it is almost impossible, without application to the users, which is at the best but a very bad principle. Nevertheless there are many industries not requiring a very large amount of capital at first, which might, with much advantage, be initiated, prominent among which may be mentioned all classes of mining, taking contracts for road-making, fencing, &c., corn and maize growing, and others. Gold mining is especially adapted to being carried on on co-operative principles, and the miners of Victoria lost a grand chance when they allowed the profits of their mines to pass practically into the hands of Melbourne capitalists. It is, however, not too late to remedy this in New South Wales, for there can be no question that here mining is in its infancy. That a country the size of this colony can be properly prospected for a century to come is one of those things that are manifestly absurd. When a country is limited in extent there may be some sense in saying that its mineral wealth is worked out, but in the present case there can be none. It is an old adage that there are as good fish in the sea as ever came out of it; and when a country has a metaphorical sea to fish in, as New South Wales has, the adage will be found to bear practical fruit; therefore gold miners should band themselves together in Co-operative Societies and extend their operations at every chance as new rushes occur. It is only an extension of the principle of half-a-dozen or so working together as mates. In a Co-operative Gold-mining Society all are mates together, and after all expenses are paid in the manner already pointed out, the residue is divided among all concerned, from the manager to the kitchen man, in proportion to the amount of wages they are in receipt of.

In this way it will be seen that that great curse of all new countries—absenteeism, is completely done away with. All wealth created is divided on the spot among those who create it, and those who have no hand in creating it cannot possibly have any hand in the spending of it, except at second-hand after the original creators have done with it and passed it away. Thus such exhibitions as the Mackays spending millions in Paris, while the miners are making it for them in Nevada, or as colonial grandees cutting a dash in London, with dividends drawn from Ballarat, would be absolute impossibilities. This phase of co-operation is lost sight of even by Mr. Holyoake, but its importance can hardly be exaggerated. Protectionists, and other blind leaders of the blind, may rave about their nostrum for keeping money in the colony, but compared with co-operation it is absolutely non-effective. As it should be a standing rule in all co-operative societies that no individual member should be allowed to hold more than a certain number of shares, after the business is fully established, no important income could possibly be drawn by any not actually engaged on the spot in building up the dividends. The object of this rule is of course to guard against the attempts which are often made to transform the establishment into a common joint stock affair, in which the shareholders divide the whole of the profits and the creators of them get none. This is always a great danger, for it is a melancholy fact that so selfish are the majority of mankind that when once they begin to finger dividends they lust to increase them, even though this can only be effected at the expense of their fellows. The best safeguard against this is in educating the members in the real processes of co-operation by weekly journals and lectures; for when once they have fully mastered these there is little chance of a few selfish dividend hunters talking them out of it.

It has been objected that co-operative stores can only be established at the expense of injury to existing shops, and that thus while they do good in one direction they do harm in another. Nothing can be further from the truth. There is room for both, and when there is a flourishing store in a street all shops in its neighbourhood flourish as well; just as shops in the neighbourhood of Messrs. Shoolbred or Messrs. Marshall in London, or the great Louvre shop in Paris, flourish. This is a well-known fact, and the reason is plain enough. The majority of people can never, in our day, be got to see their own interest properly, and will always continue to buy dear bad things even when they can get cheap good ones, if the cheapness is not a direct cash cheapness. As Mr. Holyoake says, "no fool can be a co-operator," and it is a sad, but undisputable, fact that a good many of our race ARE fools. When it is said, "what the co-operator gains comes out of the shopkeeper's pocket," a misstatement is made—mischievous alike to the shopkeeper and the Co-operator. The profits of a store are four or five times as large as those in a shop, but the extra profit is not made at the expense of the shopkeeper, but is simply consequent on the principles on which the store is carried on. Those principles enable economy to be practised to its very fullest extent. There is economy in buying; for by purchasing direct from the great Co-operative wholesale Society, of Manchester, the very best markets are reached, while at the same time creating a fund by the dividends awarded by that Society to all purchasers. (Of course, it is readily admitted that this could not be done at first, but it is a step that should be taken as soon as practicable). There is economy in management, resulting from the cash system, and the few books therefore required to be kept. And there is economy in distribution, to a very large extent. It is by these means that the extra profit is made, and by keeping faith with customers, and by members giving a discriminating support to capable and business-like managers. As Mr. Holyoake says: "If every shopkeeper was abolished to-morrow, by Act of Parliament, Co-operators would not gain a penny if they relaxed in fidelity, in the principles of concert, of confidence, of mutual trading, of honesty in quality of goods, and equity in distribution of profits, which are the main source of Co-operative profits."

And while Co-operation does not injure the shopkeepers, neither does it attack capital. On the contrary, it gives capital a wide berth, and lets it go its own way; and the more of it there is about, the better for the Co-operator. It stands apart, and creates new capital of its own. Capital already created is sacred in its eyes, and if it requires its assistance, it pays for it honestly, and shakes hands genially at parting. It bears no grudge against capital, and puts no barriers in the way of its employment. All it attempts is, that wealth not yet created, and which every one has a right to scramble for, should be more equitably distributed among a large number, instead of gravitating into the hands of a few lucky ones. It is thus, instead of being like a round game of loo, or *vingt-et-un*, in which one wins at the expense of the rest, rather like a round game in which all receive winnings from a mechanical and exhaustless pool. No doubt there are some, especially among those who are habitually lucky, who would prefer the excitement of the loo, but if the will of the majority were taken, they would choose to sit down to the game in which the winnings were certain, even if small. Every one looks forward to share in the wealth that is yet to be developed in the world, and Co-operation simply aims at giving every one a share. It is true—but sad—that every one also looks forward to getting a larger share than his neighbour, but herein Co-operation does not countenance him. It calls him greedy. It looks upon him as actuated by bad, dishonest, and immoral principles; and awards him just as much as he is worth, and no more. If he works hard, with either brain or hand, and creates a large amount of capital, he gets a large share of it; if he loafs, and shirks his work, he gets a small share, but so long as he is a Co-operator, he gets a share of some sort.

But Co-operation does not encourage idleness and dependence. The loafer will soon get turned out of a co-operative society. "The instinct of Co-operation is self-help; only men of independent spirit are attracted by it." It aims at teaching men to help themselves, and shows them that if, while doing so, they help others also, the benefit to themselves is the greater. Thus the beauties of fraternal justice are inculcated. The man who wants to better himself at the expense of his neighbours can never be a co-operator; but if he is glad to see that while he is bettering himself he is also doing the same to others, then he is a true co-operator. Self-reliance is the foremost characteristic of the co-operator. He sets to and looks after himself, and asks for neither sympathy, charity, pity, nor prayer. Charity is a fine thing in its proper place, but co-operation dispenses with it. It is no doubt very generous, and high-principled, and benevolent, for the grandee, or the wealthy man, to give bonuses in bad times, and "do what lies in his power for the less fortunate," but the co-operator declines to trouble him. He takes off his coat and makes for himself what others are content to receive in charity. Or, rather, he makes it for himself without taking *off* his coat, for the profits of Co-operation are so large that the hours of labour may be materially shortened, if desired, by general consent.

Co-operation is like Free-trade—it benefits the many at the expense of none. Protection and competition benefit the few at the expense of the many. They prey upon the mass of the people in order to holster up a few private diggings.

It is not claimed for Co-operation that it cures all social inequalities, and does away with all social wrongs, and produces a millenium. Every social scheme is effective in its own particular direction, and numberless

agencies are at work with the same end of equalising the burdens of the world, and all that is claimed for Co-operation is that it is by far the most powerful of them. Acting with all the rest, aided by them, and giving aid to them, it transcends the whole of them in the power it is able to wield, and in the energies it is able to bring to bear against social grievances and injustices. It alleviates distress, and accelerates the acquirement of competence, as no other organisation can possibly do, It softens down the differences of classes to a degree that reformers of a few years ago could only dream of as a consummation they yearned for but saw no practical path to; and it does this, not by bringing down the higher to the level of the lower, but by raising the lower gradually from the depths into which they have in former times been forced. Yet in its infancy, it is the great power that will control the future, and those who look with a philosophical eye over the surgings of the society of the world, and dwell thoughtfully on its seemingly aimless movements, see by its light that all these movements have a meaning—a meaning unknown to those who take part in them—that they all tend to one and the same end, and however dangerous they may appear they regard them complacently, for they KNOW that that end is equality for all, and that Co-operation is the most powerful agent by which it will eventually be brought about.

They gave me advice and counsel in store,  
Praised me and honoured me more and more,  
Said that I only should "wait awhile,"  
Offered their patronage, too, with a smile.

But, with all their honour and approbation,  
I should, long ago, have died of starvation,  
Had there not come an excellent man,  
Who bravely to help me along began.

Good fellow, he got me the food I ate,  
His kindness and care I shall never forget;  
Yet I cannot embrace him, though other folks can;  
For I, *myself*, am that excellent man.

LELAND.

decorative feature

Ireland;

A Historical Sketch

Explanatory of the Past & Present Condition of the Country.

By The *Rev. Robert Mckinney*.

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## Prefatory Note.

DR. STOKES, in his "Life of Dr. Petrie," says: "The time for a true, critical history of Ireland has not yet arrived." Though in some respects, strange that it should be so, this statement is doubtless correct. At all events this is the fact, that some of the greatest historians that Britain ever produced have of late years, to a greater or less extent, tried their hands upon Irish history, and have done so with only very questionable success. Their success has discouraged the present writer from attempting to carry out what he has often thought of, and in some measure prepared himself for, namely, trying his own hand upon the history of his unhappy country. Meantime, at the request of friends who heard it, he gives to the public this lecture, which was read in Mahurangi and Matakana, for the benefit of the public libraries belonging to these settlements. It may be of some use, in the present critical posture of Irish affairs, in enabling some people to understand how Ireland is as it is.

ST. COLUMBA'S MANSE, MAHURANGI,

## Ireland.

HUME begins his great work—his "History of England"—with these words: "The curiosity, entertained by all civilized nations, of enquiring into the exploits and adventures of their ancestors, commonly exercise a regret that the history of remote ages should always be so much involved in obscurity, uncertainty, and contradiction. Ingenious men, possessed of leisure, are apt to push their researches beyond the period in which literary monuments are framed or preserved, without reflecting that the history of past events is immediately lost or disfigured when entrusted to memory and oral tradition, and that the adventures of barbarous nations, even if they were recorded, could afford little or no entertainment to men born in a more civilized age." "It is rather fortunate for letters," Hume observes, "that these adventures," as he calls them, "are buried in silence and oblivion." The "fables" regarding prehistoric things, Hume adds: "which are commonly employed to supply the place of true history, ought entirely to be disregarded."

Cæsar tells us that it took twenty years to complete the education of a Druid, and that during all that long course of training he was principally occupied in committing to memory. Now Druidism flourished in Ireland, probably to a greater extent than anywhere else. This is evident, for example, from the Round Towers of Ireland—the grand old monuments that Druidism has left behind it. When we know then that Ireland was a grand centre of Druidism, and when we recollect what Cæsar tells us about the scholastic exercise of the Druidical memory, it must be manifest that what the Druids handed down orally from generation to generation cannot be undeserving of attention. Much of this is still in existence.

So writes Hume, and for the century in which he lived, and in the case of a mind constituted as his was, it could hardly have been expected that he would have written otherwise. Happily, in our day another spirit than that of Hume's prevails in relation to such questions as he refers to in the passage from his history, which I have quoted. The matters which he says ought entirely to be disregarded, are, in our day, the very matters which, perhaps, of all others, are paid the most attention to, and which are found to be possessed of an interest second to no others. The greatest philosophers that the world now possesses have occupied themselves with enquiries about our prehistoric ancestors, and have traced them back, not merely to the times alluded to by Hume, but even to the times when they existed, as it is often now represented, in the form of anthropoid apes; aye, even to the times when the germs of them existed in the nebulae or fire mist of eternity.

The old Celtic historians, in giving us an account of prehistoric Ireland, do not go so far back as the fire mist, but they go for enough. We have all heard of the Grant, who, when some other Highlander was boasting about his ancestors having been in the ark with Noah, was not to be outdone, and who declared that at that time the Grants had a boat of their *ain*. The Irish outstrip the Highlander, for some of them say that Ireland was first peopled by three daughters or granddaughters of Adam, who, with their husbands, wherever they picked them up, came and settled down in that country. This is a part of Irish history, however, that I will not vouch for; and although a patriotic Irishman personally, I have no objection to letting it, as Hume says, be "buried in silence and oblivion."

The first reliable accounts—or, perhaps I should say, semi-reliable accounts—that we have of the peopling of Ireland, are that Ireland was first peopled by the Firbolgs, who came from somewhere in the East, and who are said to have embarked for Ireland in the Euxine. In process of time, the Firbolgs were expelled by a people, who also came from the East, namely, the Tuath de Danaan. These) though an Eastern race, are believed to have come to Ireland by the way of Scandinavia, as the name Tuath de Danaan itself signifies, which simply means the Northern people, or, as the word came afterwards to be used, the Norsemen. The Tuath de Danaan were themselves, in process of time, conquered by another Eastern race, who are said, this time, to have come to Ireland by the way of Spain. They were called Milesians, from Milesius, the King of Spain, and they were sometimes also called Scots, which means the wanderers, from their migratory propensities—propensities which, we all know, are, to this day, inherent in their descendants, and especially in those descendants of them who still bear the original appellation.

Ireland was inhabited before ever the Firbolgs, the Tuath de Danaan, or the Milesians made their appearance, and some relics of this ancient people are now being discovered in burial mounds, and other things; but the Firbolgs, the Tuath de Danaan, and Milesians or Scots are the only people about whose early introduction into Ireland we can ever know much. Indeed, the light that history can throw upon them even is considerably dim. We know that they were of the old Aryan stock, whose original roofter was somewhere in Central Asia; and that their language was Erse or Gaelic. Their language was one which was, at one time,

spoken over the whole of Europe. There are traces of it in all European tongues; it has left its mark in the names of hills and rivers, and in other places and things in all European countries; and it is still spoken in Wales, in the Highlands of Scotland, and in Ireland; and it is preserved in the Sanscrit of India—the language in which the sacred writings of the Hindus are preserved. The language of the Gael or Celt is thus seen to be manifestly a most interesting tongue. However, I shall have time, at present, to say nothing more about it, but that it is, in our day, beginning to receive the attention that its merits warrant—of which the erection of the chair in Edinburgh is an example—and that, now that scholars in Ireland, in Scotland, in England, and in Germany are engaged in its study, we may expect results to arise that will be of the highest consequence, results that will throw light upon the origin of speech, and even upon the origin of humanity itself.

The Tuath de Danaan were either Norsemen themselves, or they acquired, in their Scandinavian sojourn, Norse habits. If they were conquered themselves, they were no doubt not exterminated, and they possessed themselves, and imparted to the surrounding tribes, the old Norse love of fighting, which, indeed, their descendants preserve to the present day. The result of this was that great warriors arose in Ireland, whose achievements the old Irish chroniclers and bards delight in singing. Such was Conn, of the hundred battles; and Fingal, as they call him in Scotland, or Finn MacCumhaill, as he is called in his own country. There was one of these warriors, however, that, above all others, was the terror of Europe. He is said to have carried his victorious arms as far as the Alps, and he was called Niall of the Nine Hostages, from the number of hostages belonging to conquered kingdoms that he kept in captivity. In one of his raids, he took captive a youth called Succoth, who remained in Ireland for many years, in a servile condition. At length he escaped, but was recaptured, and ultimately came to Ireland of his own free will, as a Christian missionary. Succoth's name came afterwards to be changed, and he is now known by the name which he has rendered glorious and immortal—the name of St. Patrick.

St. Patrick resembles Homer in the number of places that contend for the honour of having given him birth. Ireland does so; so do Wales, Scotland, and France. To France, however, as is now all but universally allowed, belongs that honour. In his Confession, which is a sort of autobiography of the saint, he tells us he was born in Britannia; but no part of Scotland was called by that name in St. Patrick's day. A part, however, of Northern Gaul was so called. There are several other evidences that might be brought forward to show that France was St. Patrick's birthplace—evidences that have convinced such men as Dr. Lanigan, Dr. Reid, of the University of Glasgow, Dr. Killen, of Belfast, and Dr. Petrie, the great Irish antiquary. When Dr. Petrie came to the conclusion that France was the country that gave St. Patrick birth, those who know anything about Petrie, know that this of itself is about sufficient to settle the question.

There are many curious and interesting things in the history of St. Patrick. One curious and interesting thing is that people of so many denominations claim him as their own. Roman Catholics assure us that he was a Roman Catholic, Episcopalians of the Anglican Communion assure us that he was an Episcopalian, and Presbyterians most positively affirm that he was a Presbyterian. I would like to push my claim to him, and demonstrate to you that the good old saint belonged to my church.

A great deal of discussion has taken place as to the amount of the population of Ireland in St. Patrick's day—a discussion which has an important bearing upon the point I have referred to above. St. Patrick established some hundreds of bishoprics in Ireland—between three and four hundred. The question then, as to whether these were Episcopal sees or parochial charges, must obviously be affected by the estimate we form of the amount of the population. Dr. Killen in his "Ecclesiastical History of Ireland," makes the population of Ireland in the time of St. Patrick, to have been about half a million, or somewhat less; while Professor Sullivan makes it to have been about three millions.

It seems strange to me that no one has thought of looking for a solution of this question into the "Leabhar na g-Ceart, or Book of Rights." This book is an old bardic relic of the Druids. It was handed down by oral tradition, and was reduced to writing by St. Benian, a disciple of St. Patrick. It was, however, revised by Cormac MacCuileannain, Bishop-King of Caiseal in the ninth century. It gives an account of the rents or dues paid by the people of all Ireland to their chiefs and kings, and is undoubtedly one of the most interesting relics of antiquity anywhere in existence.

I have looked into the "Book of Rights" in reference to the statistics of my own native valley, the Magh Itha of ancient Tyrconnell, or as it is now called, the Finn Valley of Donegal; and, judging of the rest of Ireland by it, I must say that the estimate of the population of Ireland as given by Professor Sullivan is much nearer the truth than that of my own teacher of Church history, Professor Killen. In fact, the "Leabhar na g-Ceart" demonstrates that Ireland, in the time it speaks of, was a populous and prosperous land.

But I have not time to do it at present, and I feel that if I had, to-night is not exactly a suitable occasion. All I will say about the matter just now is, that this desire, manifested by all the denominations, to claim St. Patrick, is the highest testimony that could be borne to his worth.

St. Patrick has been called the Apostle of Ireland, and he deserves the title. He was not the first to preach

the gospel in Ireland. Christianity appears to have reached Ireland in the end of the second, or the beginning of the third century, and St. Patrick's labours were carried on in it in the fifth century. But, although St. Patrick was not the first to introduce Christianity into Ireland, he was the first whose labours were crowned with any great measure of success. Patrick was a most indefatigable worker. The field in which he first worked was the kingdom of the Dalridians, in the North of Ireland; but he went everywhere, and everywhere he went he triumphed. God was with him, and the powers of darkness quailed before him, and Druidism, the ancient religion of the land, became in St. Patrick's day almost extinct.

It is said by some that St. Patrick was successful in accomplishing the conversion of Laoghaire, the son of Niall of the Nine Hostages, and the chief monarch of Ireland. The ancient hymn

This hymn is very interesting. A translation of it, from the original Irish, may be seen in Dr. Todds' admirable "Life of St. Patrick," page 426. Dr. Petrie speaks of it as "the oldest undoubted monument of the Irish language remaining."

is still extant that Patrick is said to have chanted as he went up to Tara to attempt his conversion; but it is more than doubtful whether Laoghaire ever became a Christian. At all events this is certain, that if he lived at all the life of a Christian, he died the death of a Pagan. His last words were that he should be buried on the ramparts of Tara, standing on his feet erect, clad in complete armour, with his sword drawn, and his face towards his enemies, the men of Leinster; and the wish of the grim, old warrior was, we are told, complied with to the letter.

Whether Patrick was successful or not in converting the chief monarch of Ireland, one thing, however, is certain, that his success as a missionary was, perhaps, unparalleled in the history of Christianity. On this point Moore, the Irish historian and poet, says: "While in other countries Christianity has been the slow work of time .... in Ireland, on the contrary, by the influence of one humble, but zealous missionary, and with little previous preparation of the soil by other hands, Christianity burst forth at the first ray of apostolic light; and, with the sudden ripeness of a northern summer, at once covered the whole land. Kings and princes, when not themselves in the ranks of the converted, saw their sons and daughters joining in the train. Chiefs, at variance in all else, agreed in meeting beneath the Christian banner, and the proud Druid and bard laid their superstitions meekly at the foot of the cross."

I believe, myself, that, if there is anyhow connected with Ireland's history "a glorious, pious, and immortal memory," that all Irishmen are bound to cherish, it is the memory of St. Patrick. He gave to Ireland the greatest boon she ever got, the blessings of Christianity; and such was the spirit that he, under God, succeeded in infusing into our holy religion, that, for centuries after his death, the Irish Church became the most missionary Church in Christendom. *Ardens sed Virens*, the motto, in our day, of one Irish Church, might have been, in those days, the motto of Irish Catholic Christianity. There was no corner of Europe, however barbarous or however remote, in which the Irish, or, as they were then called, the Scottish missionaries—men highly educated, and glowing with Christian ardour—were not to be found. The Irish Church, in those days, gave Columba—a royal prince, and a man of like spirit with St. Patrick himself—to Scotland. She gave Columbanus to Gaul; and, not to particularise further, she carried the Gospel even to Iceland. We have the authority of Zeuss, as quoted and confirmed by Matthew Arnold, for saying that, "in the year 870, when the Norwegians came to Iceland, there were Christians there, who departed, and left behind them Irish books, bells, and other things; from whence it may be inferred that these Christians were Irish."

Ireland, it may be safely asserted, became, about the period I am referring to, distinguished, above all the nations of Europe, for its religion and enlightenment. It was called the Isle of Saints, and no seat of learning throughout Europe was considered to be thoroughly equipped until it numbered among its teachers one or more Irishmen. Most European noblemen and monarchs had Irishmen as tutors in their families, and many European princes—among others, Alfred the Great—resorted to Ireland for the completion of their education. Englishmen of all ranks flocked to Ireland, with this end in view; and, as the Venerable Bede tells us: "The Scots willingly received them all, and took care to supply them with food, as also to furnish them with books to read, and tuition, and all gratuitously."

About this time 7,000 students were in one year in attendance at the colleges in Armagh, and 5,000 at Cashel. Dr. Killen, in his "Ecclesiastical History of Ireland," says—"This resort of students to Ireland did not fail to excite jealousy on the part of Anglican Churchmen. Aldhelm, Abbot of Malmesbury, writing about the end of the seventh century, can scarcely express himself with calmness, when adverting to their continued migration. "Why," said he, "should Ireland—whither troops of students are carried in fleets from this country—enjoy any such ineffable distinction; as if here, in the rich soil of England, Greek masters or Roman chiefs cannot be found?" Vet Adhelm was himself educated in Ireland,

Mosheim, the great ecclesiastical historian, in speaking about this period of Irish history, says: "Irishmen, who, in that age, were called Scots,"—he is speaking of the eighth and ninth centuries—"Irishmen, in that age, cultivated and amassed learning, beyond the other nations of Europe. They travelled over various countries of

Europe, for the purpose of learning, but still more for that of teaching. They were to be met with everywhere—in France, Germany, and Italy—discharging the functions of teachers, with applause." "None," he says, again, "but Irish scholars, in that age, employed philosophy (which others detested) in the explanation of religious doctrines." Mosheim winds up his eulogistic account of Ireland by adding that "there were none but Irishmen who, in that age, deserved the name of Philosophers." Indeed, I may add, that there were Irishmen even then, dark as the age was, who, were they living even now, would not be considered undeserving of that appellation. Such was Marianus Scotus, the author of the celebrated "Chronicon"; such was Fergal, abbot of Saltzburgh, surnamed the Geometer, who, in the eighth century, taught the sphericity of the earth and the existence of the antipodes; and such, above all, was Johanes Scotus Erigina, one of the very greatest of the school-men—a man who might contest the palm with the angelic doctor himself, Thomas Aquinas.

There is, I might state here, a story told about Johannes Scotus Erigina, which shows that he was an Irishman in other respects, as well as by reason of his learning and philosophy. He was a friend of Charles the Bald, of France, and was often a guest at the royal table. One day, as Scotus sat after dinner, opposite the monarch, and, as they both sipped their wine, Charles said to him: "Come now, Scotus, tell me, what is the difference between a Scot and a sot?" "Nothing at all but the table, please your majesty," was the reply of the Irishman—a reply which shows, as many a similar thing has done since, in the case of his countrymen, that an Irishman's wits, when the occasion presents itself, are seldom found wool-gathering.

The period that I am now referring to was an era in Irish history, of the greatest national prosperity in every regard. Such was the condition of the country that, according to the statement of a contemporary historian, "a lone woman carried a ring of gold upon a horse pole," and traversed Ireland from north to south, and from east to west, without being in any way molested. This incident may be but a legend, but it indicates, nevertheless, the condition of the country at the time spoken of. It is to it Moore refers so beautifully,—

*"On she went, and her maiden smile  
In safety lighted her round the Green Isle.  
And blest for ever is she, who relied  
Upon Erin's honour, and Erin's pride."*

We need not go to legends, however, for the confirmation of what I am now speaking of. There are plenty of facts, in addition to what I have already referred to, that attest the greatness and prosperity of ancient Ireland. For one thing, I may mention that there is more wrought gold in the British Museum, procured from Ireland, and that belonged to the period of Ireland's ancient history, than there is from England or Scotland, or from any other European country; and, for another thing, I may mention that, at a time when the Scandinavian hordes had conquered a considerable portion of France, and were all but dominant in England, Brian Boru, the chief monarch of Ireland, encountered the Norseman in full force, at Clontarf, overthrew them, and gained such a complete victory over them that they never afterwards presumed to disturb the peace of Ireland.

I have presented you with the bright side of the picture.

This picture it is necessary to have before us when we try to understand Ireland's present condition. The Celtic memory is tenacious of the past, and it causes the Irishman to bear worse his present miseries, when he remembers, as he always does most vividly, the happiness and prosperity his country once possessed.

It has a dark side, however, as you all know, and it I must now proceed to present you with. In the twelfth century, a dark cloud gathered over Ireland, which hung over it for centuries, and which, in our day—if even in our day—is only beginning to be uplifted.

Ireland's decline and fall date from the day when Adrian IV, the only Englishman that ever occupied the Papal chair, in his famous Bull, handed over Ireland to Henry II. But I must hasten on, and not forget that I am only giving a lecture upon Ireland, and not writing the history of the country.

Well, I need not go into all this. You all know what the Normans did. They conquered England, and ground beneath their feet the old English race, and went so far as to attempt even to stamp out of existence our grand old Saxon tongue. They all but conquered Scotland, and would have done so but that Providence raised up for her deliverance William Wallace and Robert Bruce. There was, alas! no Bruce and no Wallace in Ireland when Henry II came, and there was no deliverance for the Scots of Ireland, as there was for their kindred, the Scots of Scotland. It is true that, after the battle of Bannockburn, which liberated Scotland, the Irish appealed for assistance to Robert Bruce, and that he sent to their aid his brother Edward, with an army of six thousand men. Edward, who was closely related to the Royal family of Ireland, was crowned king of that country. The native princes all flocked around his standard, and, for a time, they carried all before them. But fate was against Ireland. Edward, with all his forces, was defeated in a great battle fought near Dandalk, in October, 1328. He was himself killed in the same battle, and the Scottish enterprise came to an end.

Spenser in his "View of the State of Ireland," says:—"The chiefest caveat and provision in reformation of the north of Ireland, must be to keep out those Scottes." The Scots, however, were not to be kept out. The Scots came often, even after Bruce's day, to the assistance of their oppressed kinsmen. In the time of Elizabeth a large force of Scotch, under the command of Donald Gorm MacDonald and McLeod of Ara, arrived in the Foyle. They came as auxiliaries of Hugh O'Neil, Earl of Tyrone.

It would have been well for Ireland had Edward Bruce succeeded in liberating her. When he did not, it would have been well for her even that the Normans had conquered her outright. But they did not. They contented themselves at first with only obtaining a footing in the country, and planting in it a small semi-military colony. Not until four hundred years after their first attacking it could they be said to have subjugated the country. Had the Normans subjugated Ireland at once, as they did England, by a single battle, the Irish would have seen the uselessness of further struggle, and would have settled down in peace, and both races would have joined together, and become, as the Normans and Saxons did in England, a united and contented people.

The conquest of Ireland, as I have said, was long protracted, and hence centuries of struggle and turmoil. Hence centuries of continuous outbreak on the part of the native race, and centuries of continuous effort to put down these outbreaks on the part of the invaders. There was one thing, I may remark, that invariably characterised these efforts of the English to put down these outbreaks of the native race, and that was the most barbarous cruelty. Regarding some of these outbreaks, and the way in which they were attempted to be put down, Mr. Lecky—a most impartial historian,—in his late book, says: "The suppression of the native race, in the wars against Shane O'Neil, Desmond, and Tyrone, were carried on with a ferocity which surpassed that of Alva, in the Netherlands."

That of Mr. Lecky's is a strong statement; for Alva, to my mind, as nearly resembled the devil as almost any man I ever read about; but I do not think, nevertheless, that the statement is too strong. The facts of the case too terribly warrant it, and it is confirmed by another distinguished historian of our own day. Mr. Froude says: "The English nation were shuddering over the atrocities of the Duke of Alva. The children in the nurseries were being inflamed to patriotic rage and madness by tales of Spanish tyranny. Yet Alva's bloody sword never touched the young, the defenceless, or those whose sex even dogs can recognise."

It was a common practice on the part of the English, in suppressing the outbreaks to which I am referring, and especially that of Hugh O'Neil, Earl of Tyrone, in the time of Elizabeth—it was, I say, a common practice with them to take up little children on the points of their spears, and to twirl them aloft in their death agony. Women with child were ripped up, and many others were hung on trees, with the infants who were at their breasts strangled in their hair. That the native race might be utterly exterminated, their harvests were, year after year, systematically burned. The utter extermination of the Gael in Ireland well nigh resulted. Here is Spencer's account of what the country was brought to—a man who, though one of the noblest of our poets, hated the Irish with a savage hatred. He lived in one of the confiscated castles of the land, and was an eye-witness of what he describes, and, strange as it may seem, rejoiced at it:—"Out of every comer of the woods and glynnes they (the Irish) came, creeping forth upon their hands, for their legges could not beare them: they looked like anatomies of death, they spake like ghosts crying out of their graves; they did eat the dead carrions, happy when they could find them, yea, and one another soon after, insomuch as the very carcasses they spared not to scrape out of their graves; and, if they found a plot of water-cresses or shamrocks, there they flocked, as to a feast, for the time, yet not able long to continue therewithal; that in short space there were none almost left, and a most populous and plentiful country suddenly left voyde of man and beast."

This is a picture that it might be supposed could hardly be paralleled, but what in regard to horror could not be paralleled in Ireland's history? This, for example, comes up to it. "A party, in the time of Cromwell, hunting for Tories on a dark night, discovered a light. They thought it was a fire, which the Tories usually made in those waste countries to dress their food and warm themselves. Drawing near, they found a ruined cabin, and, besetting it round, some alighted and peeped in at the window. There they saw a great fire of wood, and, sitting round about it a great company of miserable old women and children, and betwixt them and the fire a dead corpse lay broiling, which, as the fire roasted, they cut off collops and ate."—Pendergast's "Cromwellian Settlement of Ireland," page 150.

I could present you with many more pictures to the like effect as Spencer's, but I must not sicken you too much. The reading of Irish history about this period is like entering a charnel-house or a chamber of horrors.

You have all heard of Glencoe. Have you not? Of course you have,—the Glencoe of Scotland. But many of you, I believe, have never heard of the Glencoes of Ireland; and yet they existed, and existed in no solitary instances. Here is one of them, and I shall tell you of it in the words of an unimpassioned historian, Mr. Lecky: "Essex accepted the hospitality of Sir Brian O'Neil. After a banquet, when the Irish chief had retired unsuspectingly to sleep, the English general surrounded the house with soldiers, captured his host, with his wife and his brother, sent them all to Dublin for execution, and massacred the whole body of his friends and

retainers."

The Irish people, I need not tell you, were sorely persecuted on account of their religion. Some, who have not looked into these matters, fancy that this persecution only commenced with the Protestant Reformation. This, however, is a mistake. The Irish were persecuted on account of their religion from the very day that the Norman invaders set their feet upon the shores of Ireland; and the clergy, whom these invaders brought with them, were as little disposed as the laity were to show mercy to the native race. English monks were known to declare that it was no more harm to kill an Irishman than to kill a dog, and that, if they themselves killed one, they would not, on account of this, refrain, even for a day, from the celebration of mass.

But if the persecution of the Irish did not commence with the introduction of Protestantism, Protestantism, I am sorry to have to acknowledge, did nothing for more than a century after its introduction to mitigate the rigours of that persecution. On the other hand, I am obliged to confess that it aggravated them. The period I am referring to was, as we all know, an era of intolerance in regard to religious opinion, and the Protestantism of Ireland was thoroughly imbued with the spirit of the age.

*"Take care," said Queen Mary, in writing to William III., "of the Church in Ireland. Everybody agrees that it is the worst in Christendom." And everybody agrees now in believing that the vox populi was, in this case, the vox Dei. Dean Swift, himself a dignitary of the Irish Church, had his own way of putting it, as to how the hierarchy of that Church came to be what they were. He says that men, in every way qualified for the hierarchical offices, were appointed to them in England; but, as they set out from London for their fields of labour, they were one and all murdered on Hounslow Heath, and that the highwaymen took possession of their papers, assumed their names, went on to Ireland and occupied their places.*

*Such as this Church was in the days of William III and of Swift, such was it in the time of Spenser. He says, "The most part of such English ministers as come over thither, were either unlearned, or men of some bad note, for which they have forsaken England." He knew them well, and he accused them among other things of "grosse simony, greedy coveteousness, fleshly incontineny, carelesse sloath, and generally all disordered life." These were men that were well fitted to work a reformation in religion ! See a full account of them in Spenser's "View of the State of Ireland (Routledge's Edition," page 530.*

*There were, however, in this church, even from the very outset, some remarkably good men, such as the Apostolic Usher, the sainted Bedell, and the heavenly-minded Jeremy Taylor. The heavenly-mindedness of Taylor, though, did not keep him from being an ardent disciple of Laud, and from persecuting the Presbyterians relentlessly.*

*Yet, because the Irish would not conform to such a Church as this, they suffered a persecution that well nigh equalled the persecution of Nero. A Penal Code was enacted of a most extraordinary nature, in order to oblige the Roman Catholics to apostatise. Regarding this Code, the great Protestant statesman, Edmund Burke, says:—"It was a machine of wise and elaborate contrivance, and as well fitted for the oppression, impoverishment, and degradation of a people, and the debasement in them of human nature itself, as ever proceeded from the perverted ingenuity of man."*

I shall mention to you a few things of what the Roman Catholics in Ireland in those days suffered, and suffered principally on account of their non-conformity to the Protestant religion. First of all, the most extraordinary restrictions were placed upon them as to the holding of property. For example, no Roman Catholic could own a horse worth more than £5; and any Protestant, by tendering to a Roman Catholic five guineas, could take his horse, no matter what its real value. Priests were expelled the country, and severe penalties were inflicted upon the people for giving them shelter. At one time as much as £20 was offered to any informer who would make known to the authorities the whereabouts of a single priest, and death was the penalty denounced against anyone who was found guilty of the crime of harbouring one. A priest caught at Carickmacross was "cut into pieces as small as for a pot." Patrick O'Hely, Bishop of Mayo, and Cornelius O'Rorke, a Roman Catholic priest, were tortured with the rack; their hands and feet were broken with hammers, needles were thrust under their nails, and after being thus tortured they were hanged. I shall only tell you of another case, and, lest you should suspect exaggeration in the account of it, I shall relate it to you, not in the words of any Roman Catholic historian, but in those of Mr. Lecky. He says: "A Catholic archbishop, named Hurly, fell into the hands of the English authorities, and, before they sent him to the gallows, they tortured him, to extort confession of treason, by one of the most horrible tortures human nature can endure—by roasting his feet."

I have designedly given quotations about these matters from Protestant writers. Any one who wishes to see a full account, given by a Roman Catholic historian of the martyrdom of Archbishop Hurley, may see it in O'Sullivan's "Historiae Catholicae Ibernæ Compendium," page 123. This book of O'Sullivan's is very interesting. It was written in Spain, whither the author, who was of an illustrious old Irish family, was driven in the days of Elizabeth.

One does not wonder much, after reading horrors like these, that the Irish should have risen up as they did

in 1641, and massacred multitudes who were engaged in their oppression, or who were even only of the race of their oppressors. As Mr. Lecky again puts it, "The pent up fury of a people, brutalised by long oppression, broke out at last. They fought as men will fight, who had been despoiled of their property, whose religion was under the ban of the law, who expected no quarter from their adversaries, and whose parents had been hunted down like wild beasts."

Some attempt to deny that any such massacre, as that of 1641 is usually regarded as being, ever took place. But some people will attempt to deny anything. There were undoubtedly great cruelties committed by the Irish in this uprising; but there is this to be borne in mind, that these cruelties were committed by a people roused to madness by oppression; while the oppression they suffered was inflicted upon them systematically, and by a powerful government.

Remember, too, that all the time that the Irish were suffering, in the way that I have shown—suffering for their non-conformity to the religion that was being imposed upon them, the very language that they spoke was under a ban. The Bible was not allowed to be translated into Irish, and Elizabeth enacted that the services of the Church, which the Irish were being compelled to join, should, in no case, and under no circumstances, be conducted in the only tongue which the great bulk of the native race understood. Do you wonder that the Irish remained attached to the Romish communion? I do not. The marvel would have been if they had deserted it.

From what I have put before you, you will see that Mr. Froude speaks correctly, when he speaks as he does in the following passage. He is usually no friend of the Celt, but he says: "The Irish were not to be blamed if they looked to the Pope, to Spain, to France; to any friend in earth or heaven to deliver them from a power which discharged no single duty that rulers owe to subjects."

It would have protracted this lecture too much had I gone on, as I intended to do, to speak of what took place in Ireland during the reign of Cromwell. The horrors inflicted upon the Irish during that period perhaps exceeded all others. So deeply has the memory of them impressed itself on the popular mind that, to this day, in many parts of the country, one of the worst things that an Irish peasant can say to another is, "The curse of Cromwell on you." Regarding Cromwell and Ireland, Lord Macaulay, in his history, says: "In a few months Cromwell subjugated Ireland, as Ireland had never been subjugated during the five centuries of slaughter which had elapsed since the landing of the first Norman settlers. He gave the rein to the fierce enthusiasm of his followers, waged war resembling that which Israel waged on the Canaanites, and smote the idolaters with the edge of the sword, so that great cities were left without inhabitants." The reader who wishes to know all about the horrors of this period is referred to Pendergast's "Cromwellian Settlement of Ireland."

The Presbyterians, also, of Ireland, were persecuted for their religion, and persecuted with great severity, although with nothing like the severity of their Roman Catholic fellow-countrymen. One result of it all was that multitudes fled from the country—the Roman Catholics principally to the Continent of Europe (40,000 of them were, at one time, in the service of Spain), and the Presbyterians principally to America. In the lands to which they fled, they showed that the memory of what they endured in their fatherland did not soon die out. The Roman Catholics showed that it did not, as the English learned to their cost in the bloody field of Fontenoy;

It was after Fontenoy that George II said, in reference to the penal laws against the Irish Catholics: "Cursed be the laws that deprive me of such subjects."

and the Presbyterians showed that it did not, by their action in the revolutionary war in America. "America has been lost to England," said Lord Mountjoy, "through the Irish emigrants," and in bringing about that loss none of the Irish, as is well known, contributed so much as the Presbyterians. Several of them sat in the first Parliament of the United States, and some of them had the honour of signing the Declaration of Independence.

But I must pass on to other matters. I remember Sir Hercules Robinson, our late Governor, in a speech he made in New Zealand, referred to some Irish lady, a relative of his, who once visited England, and who returned to her own land fancying that she had found a remedy for the ills of Ireland. Her remedy was this: That the British Government should establish all over Ireland manufactories, such as she had seen in England. Well, I shall tell you something of what the British Government did for Irish manufactures, and I shall tell it to you in the words of Lord Dufferin, the late Governor of Canada, and now British Ambassador in St. Petersburg. Lord Dufferin, in his book on "The State of Ireland," published in 1866, says: "From Queen Elizabeth's reign until a few years of the Union (the Parliamentary Union of Ireland with Great Britain), the various commercial confraternities of Great Britain never for a moment relaxed their relentless grip on the trades of Ireland. One by one, each of our nascent industries was strangled in its birth, until, at last, every fountain of wealth was hermetically sealed, and even the traditions of commercial enterprise have perished through desuetude.

"The owners of England's pastures opened the campaign. As early as the commencement of the sixteenth century the beeves of Ros-common, Tipperary, and Queen's County undersold the produce of the English grass counties, in their own market. By an Act of the 20th of Elizabeth, Irish cattle were declared a 'nuisance,' and their importation was prohibited. Forbidden to send our beasts alive across the Channel, we killed them at home, and began to supply the sister country with cured provisions. A second Act of Parliament imposed

prohibitory duties on salted meats. The hides of the animals still remained, but the same influence soon put a stop to the importation of leather. Our cattle trade abolished, we tried sheep farming. Irish wool was declared contraband by a Parliament of Charles II. Headed in this direction, we tried to work up the raw material at home; but this created the greatest outcry of all. Every maker of fustian, flannel, and broadcloth in the country rose up in arms, and by an Act of William III, the woollen industry of Ireland was extinguished, and 20,000 manufacturers left the Island. The easiness of the Irish labour market and the cheapness of provisions still giving us an advantage, even though we had to import our materials, we next made a dash at the silk business; but the silk manufacturer proved as pitiless as the wool staplers. The cotton manufacturer, the sugar refiner, the soap and candle manufacturer, and any other trade or interest that thought it worth while to petition, was received by Parliament with the same partial cordiality, until the most searching scrutiny failed to detect a single vent through which it was possible for the hated industry of Ireland to respire. But, although excluded from the markets of Great Britain, a hundred harbours gave her access to the universal sea. Alas ! a rival commerce on her own element was still less welcome to England, and, as early as the reign of Charles II, the Levant, the ports of Europe, and the oceans beyond the Cape were forbidden to the flag of Ireland. What has been the consequence of such a system, pursued with relentless pertinacity for 250 years? This: that, debarred from every other trade and industry, the entire nation flung itself back upon *the land*, with as fatal an impulse as when a river, whose course is impeded, rolls back and drowns the valley it once fertilized."

The present excellent Lord Mayor of London, the Right Hon. William McArthur, is the only Irishman who ever was Lord Mayor of that city. When he was in New Zealand, two years ago, he was a London Alderman, and he told myself he was the only Irishman who had ever occupied that position. Ireland has no reason to be ashamed of the position she has occupied in the armies of Britain, in the ranks of British statesmanship, and in the field of British literature. That her sons have not attained to the highest civic dignities of the Empire is, in some measure, the result of accident; wherein it is not, is, I believe, explicable on the grounds stated in the above extract from Lord Dufferin.

What a picture, and a picture drawn with a cool, unimpassioned hand ! It is a picture, however, that might easily be darkened, and darkened at no expense of truth. One does not wonder, on reading of all these prohibitions, that Spenser, in his day, should have gone the length, as he did, of expressing a desire for prohibiting the Irish from wearing their hair after a certain fashion, and from clothing themselves in certain garments. He declared that an Act of Parliament should be passed, enjoining the Irish to wear their hair in a way different from what they were accustomed to, and that they should be bound likewise to abandon the use of the ancient Celtic cloak or plaid. Neither does one wonder that a law was actually passed by England against the extravagant amount of material used by the Irish ladies in the construction of a certain garment, which, I suppose, I ought not to name, and which I would not name, did not the requirements of history demand it,—I mean the chemise. Fearful penalties, according to this law, were to be inflicted on any Irish lady who was caught clad as to her inner garment in the least amount of linen beyond the prescribed number of yards and of inches.

It was actually made one of the conditions upon which a peace was patched up between Hugh O'Neill and Queen Elizabeth, that O'Neill should oblige his people to abandon the use of the cloak or plaid, and cause them to cut their hair in the new fashion. For an account of the laws passed in the reign of Henry VIII, regarding the ladies' garment—the most extraordinary sumptuary law, I believe, ever passed—see "Encyclopaedia Britannica," second edition—article, Ireland.

From the "North British Review," for 1868, I quote the following passage:—"We alienated the hearts of our fellow citizens, by iniquity and oppression, generations ago, and now it is too late for either repentance or reform to win them back. The mischief is done, and we are forced, like so many other offenders, to sit down in the midst of our new-born virtue, and our sincere aspirations after a better life, and mourn over the irreparable." There is much truth in that, but I do not believe that it is too late to amend, or that things, in this case, are irreparable. The condition into which Ireland, through ages of misgovernment, has been brought, is bad; but I do not believe that there is no remedy for it.

But what is the remedy? Here the doctors, in countless numbers, rush forward, and each has his own diagnosis of the case, and each prescribes his own nostrum.

This is the remedy prescribed by the *Toronto Weekly Mail* of October last: "Perhaps the only cure for the ills which afflict this unhappy land is in emigration. Let the tenant follow the landlord's example, and become an absentee. In this country Irishmen, no matter what their creed, prosper—which is pretty good proof that their failure at home is not altogether their own fault." This is a remedy, but it is obviously only a partial one. The whole Irish nation cannot emigrate.

A great many Irish doctors are of opinion that there is no remedy for Ireland but amputation—entire separation from England. It is not to be wondered at, looking, as we have done to-night, at the past history of Ireland and her connection with England, that many should be of this opinion. But it is an opinion, nevertheless,

that I, for my part, do not entertain. England, in her day, used Ireland horribly ill, but I believe that the destinies of Ireland are now inseparably connected with Great Britain; and I believe, moreover, that British statesmen are now just as much disposed to do justice to Ireland as to any other portion of the Empire.

The following sentence, taken from Mr. Matthew Arnold's work upon "The Study of Celtic Literature," bears upon what is stated above, and is, I make no doubt, quite correct: "The sense of antipathy to the Irish people, of radical estrangement from them, has visibly abated among all the better part of us (Englishmen); the remorse for past ill treatment of them, the wish to make amends, to do them justice, to fairly unite, if possible, in one people with them, has visibly increased; hardly a book on Ireland is now published, hardly a debate on Ireland now passes in Parliament without this appearing."

Bishop Selwyn, in his speech in the House of Lords, on the Irish Church Bill, said: "The real difficulty in Ireland is the land and anyone, who knows anything about the subject, knows that this is the case. The great remedy that Ireland needs she needs to have applied to her in this direction.

It is somewhat difficult for anyone but an Irishman to understand the Irish land question. First of all—in regard to it, there is this to be borne in mind—that an ancient Celtic landlord was not a landlord in the modern sense of the term. He was not the absolute owner of the land; he only had what the Maories call a *mana* over it. The absolute ownership of the land among the ancient Celts—as, indeed, I believe, among all primitive people—was vested in the tribe and in the occupier of the soil, as much as in the chieftain. The feudal system of land tenure, which is the modern English system, was introduced into Ireland by its conquerors; but, as the conquest of Ireland took centuries to be completed, and, as the feudal system, during all these centuries, was never universally established in Ireland, the consequence was that the old Celtic idea of land tenure kept, and still keeps fast hold upon the popular mind.

Then again, the land in the North of Ireland is nearly all land that, in the reign of Elizabeth and her immediate successors, was confiscated. The confiscated land was given to scions of noble English and Scottish families, and other needy adventurers; but the ownership of it was not vested in them absolutely. They were bound by the charters, by which they held their estates, to exact from their tenants only a certain amount of dues or rent, usually to the value of a penny or twopence an acre. The confiscated properties are held still on these conditions, and, though these conditions are now disregarded by the landlords, it is the opinion of many, even of those who are best qualified to give an opinion, that the principle of them could still be enforced.

This was the opinion of the late Dr. McKnight, editor of the *Londonderry Standard*, the ablest advocate of Tenant Right that Ireland ever produced. For his book upon this subject he received the degree of L.L.D. from one of the Scottish Universities.

All trace of the rights of the people to the land in the confiscated estates is, however, not altogether obliterated. It exists in what is called the Ulster Custom—the custom of the occupier when he gives up his farm, selling often at as much as £10 an acre, and sometimes at as much as £20 or more even, his tenant right or goodwill of it.

Then, still further, we are to remember that, while in England and Scotland the permanent improvements upon the land and upon the farm buildings are effected by the landlord, these are, in Ireland, invariably effected by the tenant. The landlord in that unhappy country simply receives his rents, and, with the receipt of them, his duties towards the land, and towards the occupiers of it, terminate.

Then there is another peculiarity of land tenure which exists in Ireland, and which Spenser tells us existed in his day. Spenser says:—"There is one general inconvenience which reigneth almost throughout all Ireland: that is, the lords of land and freeholders, doe not there use to set out their land in farme, or for terme of years, to their tenants, but onely from yeare to yeare, and some during pleasure." This custom still prevails in Ireland, and in my day in it—a quarter of a century ago—the great bulk of the tenants were annually served with notices of ejectment. This, of course, gave the landlords the power over their wretched tenantry of almost instantaneous eviction, and was altogether supposed to keep them in a wholesome state of subjection and terrorism. Spenser makes a remark in regard to this, which is still deserving of attention. He says:—"This inconvenience (of tenancy at will) may be reason enough to ground any ordinance for the good of the common-wealth, against the private behoofe or will of any landlord that shall refuse to graunt any such terme or estate, unto his tenant, as may tend to the good of the whole realme."

The above statement of Spenser's is not unlike that lately made by Mr. Foster, Chief Secretary for Ireland. He said "There are some circumstances in Ireland, as affecting landlords and tenants, which put them in such difficulty that the rules of political economy, as between buyer and seller, do not apply."

This, then, is how the country, in regard to landlord and tenant, is situated, and this is how the relations that exist between them have come about. The relations, I need not tell you, are not happy. No doubt it would have been different had the landlords been different; but the landlords of Ireland, I have no hesitation in saying, are, as a class, the worst in Europe. The great bulk of them are absentees,

Sir George Grey, in his pamphlet upon the "Irish Land Question," gives an account of one particular case of

absentee landlordism. The case he speaks of is that of the descendants of the Earl of Essex, who, although Ireland has hardly ever been visited by any of them, receive from that county an enormous rental. Perhaps, however, the most extraordinary instance of this absenteeism exists in connection with the London companies. When the lands of the North of Ireland were confiscated, great estates were handed over to these companies—the Mercers, Drapers, Goldsmiths, Fishmongers, Ironmongers, Vintners, Clothworkers, Merchant Tailors, Haberdashers, Skinners, and Salters. The revenues from these vast estates, as MacNevin, in his book on "The Confiscation of Ulster," remarks, are taken from the poorest country in Europe to be spent in its richest city: and they are spent in the most extraordinary manner, very much in great feasts, and in tours to Ireland, and in other ways after this fashion. Yet, when a friend of mine, the late Professor Smith, moved, in the House of Commons, for an enquiry into the way in which these estates are managed—they are supposed to be managed simply for the benefit of the occupiers of the soil—that enquiry was refused ! When one of these Merchant Tailors, or Fishmongers, or Skinners fails to get on in business in London, he is sometimes sent over to Ireland, to manage an estate, and I must say, from my own knowledge of them, that these "beggars on horseback" are about the most arbitrary landlords in Ireland.

Why could not these estates be taken from the London companies—who have so abused their trust—and be handed over to some local Irish body, and their revenues devoted to some object for the advancement of the welfare of the Irish people—education, for example?

and, as a rule, they have no regard for their tenantry. As they were in the days of Dean Swift, so are they still. Swift said of them:—"Another cause of Ireland's misery is, that Egyptian bondage of cruel, oppressing, and covetous landlords, expecting all who live under them should make bricks without straw; who grieve and envy when they see a tenant of their own in a whole coat, or able to afford one comfortable meal in a month, by which the spirits of the people are broken and made fit for slavery. These cruel landlords are every day unpeopling the Kingdom."

Looking at this subject then, as I have thus briefly explained it to you, is it, I ask, to be wondered at that agrarian disturbances exist in Ireland? Is it to be wondered at that the too-impassioned Celt, ground down and oppressed, and having no legal redress for the ills that he endures, and with the recollection of his ancient wrongs still fresh in his memory, and kept green there by what he still suffers,—is it to be wondered at, I say, that he sometimes takes the law into his own hands, and, by the commission of a crime—which, however, I need not tell you I have no desire to excuse—occasionally checks, even by the shedding of blood, a career of tyranny?

It is not through any peculiar inherent depravity in the Irish people that the murders that are now taking place in Ireland are committed. The Irish possess no such inherent depravity beyond what other nations possess. For one thing, as statistics show, and as Mr. Froude declares, in regard to morals, "Ireland, in proportion to its population, is the purest country in the world;" and, for another thing, no people possess such affection for their kindred as the Irish possess. We have a wonderful example of this in what poor Irish emigrants do for their poorer kindred at home. As Sir George Grey says, in the pamphlet already referred to, "To enable poor relations to escape from their wretchedness, the amount known to have been remitted (from the United States) from 1848 to 1868, not including the large amounts which cannot be traced, is about £14,000,000 sterling," which shows, as Sir George adds, "an affection and faithfulness, which would ennoble any race."

It is, of course, the peculiarity of the murders that are committed in Ireland that causes them to attract so much attention. They are nearly all of an agrarian character. Murders of any other kind are extremely rare in Ireland, and, indeed, murders of all kinds are much rarer in Ireland than in England, or in most European countries.

In fact, as is well known, these agrarian murders are not—by those who commit them, and by the great bulk of the Irish people—accounted murders at all. They take place in this way: When a landlord is supposed to be guilty of what is considered a capital crime, he is tried by a secret tribunal, and if he is found guilty, one or more men are appointed to execute him. This is what gives to these murders their extraordinary peculiarity, and renders them so difficult to be detected and dealt with by the authorities.

His cooler Saxon brethren, in their time, did the same. In Prussia, previous to the establishment of its present land laws, the murder of landlords was not uncommon, and the same thing was done even by the English tenantry, as Giraldus Cambrensis, and other old historians, tell us, when the Roman barons first took possession of the country. Regarding this, Macaulay, in his history, says:—"Assassination was an event of daily occurrence. Many Normans suddenly disappeared, leaving no trace. The corpses of many were found, bearing the marks of violence. Death by torture was denounced against the murderers, and strict search was made for them, but generally in vain, for the whole nation was in a conspiracy to screen them."

How like this to what takes place in Ireland even now. See the account of it in Macaulay's History of England, vol. I., page 13.

Ireland can never have peace, then, and can never be prosperous until her land laws are regulated by wise

legislative enactment. The power of arbitrary eviction, without compensation for improvements, must be done away with, and fixity of tenure, somehow or other, secured to the people. We may be told, and are told, that this will be interfering with the rights of property. But the principle of interference, in the direction I am speaking of, has already been established by the Irish Land Bill, passed by Mr. Gladstone in a former Parliament;

The Compensation Bill of Mr. Gladstone, passed by the House of Commons during its last session, would have gone far to have settled the Irish land difficulty, if indeed, it would not have settled it altogether. This Bill, of course, was rejected by the House of Lords, and its rejection was the principal cause of that strong feeling against this House which the Empire has lately witnessed. It is hardly to be wondered at that the rejection of this Bill, in the present state of Ireland, should have caused an Irish member of Parliament, and those who supported him, to enquire, by a motion in the Commons, whether a House "hereditary and irresponsible" is an institution of the country that merits continuance. At all events, from the action taken by the Lords lately, and especially when a Liberal Government like the present one is in power, many will feel disposed to say of them as Edmund Burke, who was no Radical, said "I hold them to be of an absolute necessity in the Constitution; but I think they are only good when kept within their proper bounds."

and I suppose that it is an axiom of political economy that all property, and especially all landed property, can only be held by individuals subject to the necessities of the State and the well being of the community.

There never will, then, I say, be peace in Ireland till this question is settled, and I may add, before concluding this lecture, that that peace never will be perfected till the secret societies of the Irish, Protestant and ante-Protestant, and their party hatreds and party processions are terminated. This latter, however, is a reform that I fear is not likely to be very soon effected. It is not, if we may judge, for example by what we see in New Zealand. It is sad to see this old, senseless party business introduced into this land, and fostered, as it often is, by men who ought to know better. I could say much upon this subject, but I shall say nothing more about it at present but this,—that if this party ism goes on, we in New Zealand shall reap the bitter fruits of it, as people have reaped them in all lands where it has prevailed.

Ireland was once, as we saw to-night, an enlightened, a prosperous, and happy Christian land—a land that well merited the title she received—the Isle of Saints. Our prayer is that she may soon again become what she was before: enlightened, prosperous, and happy—an Isle of Saints. Man has kept her long from being what God and Nature intended she should be, and what I pray she may soon become,—

*"Great glorious and free,  
First flower of the earth  
And first gem of the sea."*

*I insert here a statement of Dr. Drew's, in reference to Irish landlordism. I may say that I knew Dr. Drew very well myself, and no man who knew him would ever suspect him of anything but fairness and honesty in the statement of anything. The extract that I give here is from a letter of Dr. Drew's, dated "Dundrum, County Down, 7th September, 1868." The letter was addressed to Isaac Butt, and, at the time Dr. Drew wrote it, he was Dean of Clonfert, Grand Chaplain to the Orange Society, and, about the same time, was Chaplain to the Lord Lieutenant. Dr. Drew says:—"I wish my lot had never been cast in rural places. I see the depression of the people; their sighs and groans are before me. They are brought so low as often to praise and glorify those who, in their secret hearts, are objects of abhorrence. All this came out gradually before me. Nor did I feel as I ought to feel in their behalf until, in my own person and purse, I became the victim of a system of tyranny which cries from earth to heaven for relief. There are good landlords—never a better than the late Lord Downshire, and beloved Lord Roden. But there are too many of another stale of feeling and action. There are estates in the North where the screw is never withdrawn from its circuitous and oppressive work. Here we have an election in prospect, and, in many counties, no farmer will be permitted to think or act for himself. What right any one man has to demand the surrender of another's vote I never could see. It is an act of sheer felony—a perfect 'stand and deliver' affair. To hear a man slavishly and timorously say, 'I must give my votes as the landlord wishes,' is an admission that the Legislature, which bestowed the right of voting on the tenant, should not see him robbed of his right, or subsequently scourged and banished from house and land because he disregarded a landlord's nod, or the menace of a land agent. At no little hazard of losing the friendship of some who are high, and good, and kind, I write as I now do."*

Shall anything like Irish landlordism ever arise in New Zealand? God forbid; and yet, perhaps, it may. At all events, this is certain, that the people of this country, who have still the matter, in a great measure, in their own hands, are giving facilities to those, who wish them, for the development of something of this kind such as are possessed by no other colony of the British Empire. Perhaps, and I hope before it is too late, Sir George Grey's warnings about this may be more heeded by the people of New Zealand, than they appear to be at

present.

Ireland

By John Boyd Kinnear

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## Ireland.

THE state of Ireland at the present moment presents a double problem. One branch is to establish the future government of Ireland on a basis that shall remove discontent, the other is to deal with the Land Question. Although the latter is the most urgent at the moment, it is to a great extent involved in the former; and a few words on the more general question may, therefore, not be out of place.

I. The formula of policy in relation to Ireland adopted by the Liberal party is that we should govern Ireland according to Irish ideas. The expression is of value, as marking an anxiety to approach the question in a spirit of fairness, and with a desire to understand it. Yet it would be difficult to compress into so few words two errors more serious. The truth which we ought to grasp is that it is our duty not to govern Ireland at all, but to let Irishmen govern themselves. And if ever we must interfere, it ought not to be to indulge 'Irish ideas,' but rather, when it may be necessary, to oppose Irish ideas, if at any time party spirit, prejudice, or misconception, should lead Irishmen to adopt a course at variance with principles of justice.

The maxim that Irishmen ought to be allowed to govern themselves does not, however, in the smallest degree involve the doctrine of Home Rule. So far as we have been given to understand what that proposition means, it is that there should be a House of Commons—I do not know if also a House of Lords—sitting in Dublin, to deal with exclusively Irish questions. The scheme involves a double, and therefore a conflicting, jurisdiction; the division of authority is on its face impracticable, and it is confessed to be impracticable by the fact that its supporters have never presented—because, it may be presumed, they cannot frame—a Bill for carrying it into effect. But, without this form of Home Rule, self-government is very practicable. It is the government actually in force in England and in Scotland. It is compatible with our present joint Legislature, and it needs no Act of Parliament to create it. Like the rest of our Constitution, it works by understandings and by common sense. There is not the smallest reason why the like understanding should not apply to Ireland; and why, if applied, it should not produce the like result of prevailing contentment.

Let us consider the working of the Union as it exists between England and Scotland. England is five or six

times the larger, in inhabited area, in population, and in wealth. England might, if she chose, 'govern' Scotland. She could, by an overwhelming majority in both Houses of Parliament sitting at Westminster, establish in Scotland Episcopacy, disendow Presbytery, repeal the Scottish land laws, assimilate the marriage laws, appoint English barristers to be judges, and send an English Viceroy to represent England at Edinburgh. In point of fact, England did at one time, in something of this fashion, attempt to thus 'govern' Scotland; and when she did Scotland was as disloyal, turbulent, and rebellious as Ireland has ever been. But supposing that England had advanced in Liberalism so far as to grasp the principle, 'We must govern Scotland according to Scottish ideas,' what should we have seen? Still we should have seen an English Viceroy sent down, with the concession that, if procurable, an absentee Scottish peer should be sometimes selected; still we should have committees of English members sitting to inquire whether Scotsmen really cared for extempore prayers, and whether nineteen years' leases were good for them; still we should have English ministers bringing in measures for remodelling Scottish institutions; and still we should have Scotsmen obliged to put themselves under the protection of some English political party when they wanted a change in the law of corporations, or of hypothec, or of bankruptcy. Would Scotland be contented with such a system? Assuredly not. Before ten years were out there would be a smouldering rebellion from one end of the country to the other, and an English official's life would not be safe beyond the radius of a policeman's baton.

But, as matters stand, every point is different. Scotland keeps her own laws, her own courts, her own institutions, her own administrators, her own systems of religion, education, land law, family law, and mercantile law. If in any point Englishmen think her wrong (as of course they do upon a good many), they leave her in her blunders. If in anything Scotsmen want a change, they ascertain among themselves on what side the majority lies; that majority proposes the change, the minority submits, and English members simply look on. Sometimes English votes may delay or hasten a measure for a few sessions (as in the case of the recent Hypothec Abolition Act), but at most they only turn a wavering scale, and Scottish desire, when clearly manifested, is never resisted. Therefore, Scotland is contented. She has self-government, though she has no Home Rule.

The method by which this system is practically worked out is extremely simple. The Home Secretary is the Parliamentary and responsible head of the government of Scotland, as of the rest of the island, and he is probably (I do not remember any exception) an Englishman. But as he fortunately does not profess to understand Scottish law, his subordinate, the Lord Advocate, is really the Home Secretary for Scotland, alike in respect of administration (including the preservation of order) and of legislation. Now the Lord Advocate is invariably a Scotsman, and a member of the Scottish bar. It is to him that Scottish members apply for whatever they want; it is he who consults Scottish members to know what Scotland requires. The Home Secretary does, indeed, exercise a final discretion in accepting or refusing what the Lord Advocate suggests. But he is generally wise enough to meddle as little as possible. When he attempts to interfere actively with Scottish business, as Mr. Cross did, the result is, as we lately saw, a rapid approach to revolt among Scottish members. They will submit to the exigencies of Parliamentary struggle, they will bear for a time that general party tactics, or even English prejudices, should be an obstacle to the attainment of their objects, but they will not bear that any English party or any English Home Secretary should attempt to introduce any changes which they do not want. Any tendency in this direction would at once unite Scottish Whigs and Scottish Tories in a solid opposition to the Ministry, no matter of what party.

Under this understanding, therefore, the government of Scotland is government by Scotsmen. None but Scotsmen are appointed to Scottish offices. When inquiries are called for they are made by Scotsmen. If a Royal Commission or a Parliamentary Committee is appointed to examine any question, it is composed of Scotsmen, with at most, and not always, a single Englishman or Irishman upon it to suggest outside ideas. When a question is ripe for decision a Bill is prepared by a Scottish member of Parliament, whether it be a Ministerial or a private measure. In either case, the Lord Advocate probably calls a meeting of the Scottish members to talk it over, to suggest amendments, to come, if possible, to an agreement. If tolerable unanimity is arrived at, the Imperial Legislature sooner or later gives its formal sanction. If a distinct majority cannot be secured, the question merely stands over till Scotsmen have made up their own minds. Englishmen and Irishmen do not attempt to force their own ideas on Scotland, nor even do they trouble themselves to find out what Scottish ideas are until Scotsmen present them in a shape for adoption.

How utterly unlike this rational system is that pursued in regard to Ireland! First, we send over a Viceroy—an institution popular, no doubt, among Dublin shopkeepers, and a section of local society, but yet a distinct mark that Ireland is not directly under the Sovereign of Great Britain, but rather a dependency like India or the Isle of Man. Next, we do not make the Home Secretary even nominally Secretary for Ireland, but we appoint a special Irish Secretary. But what is most serious is that these functionaries are not invariably, not even frequently, but only rarely and exceptionally, Irishmen. Whatever ill they do is therefore a fresh example of English tyranny; whatever good they do is not welcome, because it comes from English hands. To the Irish

Church it was our custom to appoint an English Archbishop; to the Irish Bench we sent, when convenient, an English Chancellor. When Parliament has to intervene, we do not ask Irishmen to state what they want, and to bring in Bills to enact it; but it is the English Government that makes all proposals, and leaves to the Irish members the privilege of finding fault. Almost invariably the Bills of merely Irish members are rejected. When inquiries are to precede action, the Committees and Commissions generally contain a majority of English members. When, therefore, a measure is finally passed, it is the expression of English will: and whether that will be more or less benevolent, whether it be more or less an endeavour to govern Ireland according to Irish ideas, it fails to conciliate, because it is the will of foreign rulers, not the development of native wishes.

But is there any reason why we should follow this system in regard to Ireland, instead of adopting that which we pursue in regard to Scotland? Is there, in short, any reason why we cannot let the Irish govern themselves by the action of their own representatives in the Imperial Parliament? I know of none. If it be said that race incapacitates them, the answer is that they are of the same race as the Welsh, the same race as Scotsmen; and that if the Celtic element in Scotland is dashed with Saxon and Norwegian blood, so is it in Ireland also. If it be said that it is religion, the answer is that the same religion prevails in France and Italy, in Swiss cantons and in Belgium, all of which are self-governing, and some of which are Celtic peoples. If it be said that it is disaffection and lawlessness, the answer is that Scotland was as disaffected, and ten times more savagely lawless, when she was governed as Ireland now is. If it be said that it is because Irishmen are divided into such bitterly hostile parties, once again the answer is—Scotland. The last Scottish rebellion was only half a century before the last Irish rebellion. At that date, Scotland was separated into two camps, the Jacobites and the Hanoverians, the Episcopalians and the Presbyterians. The Highlands followed one king, the Lowlands another, but even in the Lowlands one district was at war with another, and all over Scotland, as a general rule, the owners of the soil were of a religious creed that was detested by the tillers of the soil. What has made the difference that now exists between the two countries is neither race nor religion, neither temperament nor institutions, but simply the men who governed. Scotland had not till 1832 any popular representation in Parliament. She was, in point of fact, ruled by a small oligarchy of place-holders. But from the time of the last rebellion, her administrators were wholly Scotsmen. In Ireland, from the same date, they have been almost wholly English. Hence the difference in history, aggravated at this moment by the difference in Parliamentary management.

The first reform, then, needed in Ireland is to abolish the office of Viceroy, but at the same time to appoint to every Irish post only Irish functionaries. Very likely they will be unpopular with half the country, but their unpopularity will not be reflected on England. It is not difficult to see that if an Irish Secretary is to earn the name of 'Buckshot,' it would be more agreeable all round to hear of Buckshot O'Patrick than of Buckshot Forster. The second reform is to invite the Irish members to bring in their own Bills. It will be much more satisfactory to criticise them than to bring in English Bills for the Irish members to criticise. If they cannot agree, there is evidence that the question is not ripe. If they do fairly agree there will probably be no particular reason why we should dissent. The third reform, therefore, is that Irish Bills, supported by a great majority of Irish members, should be passed in general as matter of course. If a majority proposes something plainly opposed to reason or fair dealing, there is a proper opportunity for the interposition of English ideas in opposition to Irish. But at least it would seem the obviously natural preliminary that we should ask Irishmen to show us what they do want, and what is the proportion in which the country is divided on propositions brought forward by themselves. The act of self-government of itself engenders a sense of responsibility, and many a wild scheme which sounds like a promise of universal felicity sinks into the limbo of confessed impracticability when its author is invited to present it in the form of an Act of Parliament.

If these were adopted as the standard rules of administration and of legislation in regard to Ireland, as they have been in regard to Scotland, there is every reason to suppose that in as short a time they would produce the same effect, by simply gratifying the same sentiments. Ireland would feel that she was really self-governed, and having attained this reality it may be believed that she would be indifferent whether the seat of government were Dublin or Westminster.

The policy here advocated was urged in several letters printed in the *Daily News* in December 1868 and January 1868-December 1869-January 1869.

II. If, then, the questions relating to Irish land were now to be dealt with permanently, the only rational course would be to invite the Irish members to prepare their Bill. But there are certain circumstances that make it necessary in the present case for Englishmen to do something. For the Irish Land Question is to a great extent of English making, and England must do something now to repair her own past faults. Happily, that which she ought to do is rather in the way of temporary aid than of a permanent settlement. But further, in leaving to the Irish nation to propose its own permanent settlement, we may properly indicate within what bounds we conceive justice to the minority should confine the action of the majority.

In saying that England is responsible for the present state of Ireland, I do not merely mean that she has

imposed her own laws on Ireland. If at the period of the conquest she overturned tribalism and introduced feudalism, it was only a step towards that development of property which it would appear the growth of civilization makes necessary, that all nations should at some period reach. Nor is it possible to give credence to those who imagine that the Irishman of the present day traces back his rights in a farm which has passed through a hundred hands to the period when some one who was not his ancestor held it as common land. Neither, again, can we reckon among the chief factors of Irish distress the subtleties of conveyancing which English lawyers have imported. The fictions of settlement and mortgage (very real in their mischief, however absurd in their explanation) would not have been worse in the case of Ireland than of England had there not been other evils at work. It may also be remembered that if we carried these infections into Ireland, we have also given already an antidote, in the shape of Incumbered Estates Courts, which the land of England is still denied.

But our cruelty to Ireland was deeper and more permanent. It was that when Ireland began to have agriculture and manufactures we deliberately, and for our own selfish profit, stamped them out. It was that when Ireland began to export her own productions, we passed Acts of Parliament to prevent her having a market for them. Agriculturists and manufacturers in England combined together for a whole century to extinguish prosperity in Ireland lest it might hurt their own. There is no blacker record in all history than this. No tyrants have ever done a more cruel wrong, because no act of any tyrant has ever had such a lasting influence on the fate of their subjects. This is the cause that has brought starvation to millions of Irish men, women, and children—not solely in the periods of famine, but by lifelong inanition, by lack of food and clothing from birth to death. This is the cause that has made the Irish peasant hold to the land as the sole means of scanty subsistence. This has impoverished the landlords, and has been one main cause why, unable to do any good, so many have been reckless and negligent; and it is only fair to remember this when we charge them with being mere bloodsuckers of their tenants. This, too, has created that glut of useless hands which has made the Irishman in his own country the type of all that is reckless and idle—that same Irishman who in other lands does with vigour and steadiness all the hardest work which the world has to do.

This, I repeat, we did for our own profit. And therefore if money can in any degree now aid in remedying the mischief, we are bound to spend it without hesitation, not as a gift, but as a debt and a restoration.

Not that money of itself can undo the evil that is done. It cannot give life to the dead, it cannot even restore the means of livelihood which, had we not destroyed them, might be now nourishing an industrious and contented people. Unwisely spent it might even aggravate and perpetuate existing evils. But what I mean is that if in the process of helping Irishmen to reach a healthier economic position it is necessary to violate any laws of sound investment, if it is necessary to spend without expectation of repayment—that is a burden which we are bound to take upon ourselves. It may be presumed that this much was what was pointed at by Mr. Bright in his speech at Manchester in November last.

In a recent work ('Principles of Property in Land' p. 111) I have argued that interposition by the State to become either the landlord, or the means of transferring the land from one set of landlords to another, cannot in ordinary cases, and certainly would not in England, be economically sound. But in Ireland it may be wise, and just, and necessary, once for all, to violate the maxims of political economy, within certain definite limits, for the sake of social advantages. If we find that the State can achieve any good end by interposing its purse, we are bound not to haggle in this instance over the cost. The abnormal condition of Ireland may also be found to render the transactions less wasteful than they might be elsewhere.

With this general idea in our minds let us now rapidly glance at the leading circumstances involved in the present emergency.

First of all we must recognise that the misery is not universal, is not even geographically local, but is found on isolated patches. There are many districts of Ireland where agriculture is flourishing, and where the inhabitants are comfortable, orderly, and honest. There are even in the bad districts many estates which are well and liberally managed. It is evident that we must not confound together all landlords in one common condemnation, nor all tenants in indiscriminate commiseration. It is also most vital to remember that we must not apply any remedy which shall counteract the efforts of individuals, and drive the good landlords away by conditions which are necessary only in the case of the bad. And lastly, in endeavouring to improve the position of the tenantry we must not lose sight of the teaching of reason and experience, nor think that we can set aside laws of nature by Acts of Parliament.

There is, however, in the public mind at the present moment a strong tendency to apply to all Ireland one cast-iron remedy. The simplicity of the 'three Fs'—fixity of tenure, fair rents, and freedom of sale of the tenant's interest—has caught the public ear, and for various reasons has seemed to be a panacea for all evils. Let us rapidly glance at the situation to see if this is really the case.

When, ten years ago, legislation was seriously directed to the Irish land question, there was indeed an opportunity for general remedies. The one great mischief at that time was insecurity of tenure, involving

uncertainty of return for outlay or for labour. This had been partly remedied in Ulster by the custom under which the tenant might obtain (not from the landlord, but from a purchaser recognised by the landlord) the value of his interest. If in this situation the law had stepped in, not merely to legalise, but to define these tacit equities and contracts, it would have done infinite good. It might have done this by declaring that a tenant should be a creditor of his landlord for his outlay in purchase of the right of entry, made with the landlord's cognisance. So also tenants might justly have been declared entitled to the value of all improvements, executed as they were with the landlord's acquiescence. The law might have gone still further, and declared that in all cases where there was not a written lease extant the tenant should be presumed to hold for twenty or thirty years on the same conditions as he had hitherto held. Rents were at that date, in general, moderate, and such a provision as this would have conferred a quite sufficient fixity of tenure, especially when coupled with the right to compensation for improvements, to induce a tenant to spend money and exertion in farming to the best of his power. It would have been no hardship on any landlord, for it would have only presumed each to do what his own true interest required. It would have created no conflicting interests between landlord and tenant, and would have permitted and encouraged both to bargain for the profitable employment of their whole capital on the land. In short, it would have given to Ireland the same rules which, when voluntarily entered into, have made Scotland and Norfolk the best farmed districts in Great Britain. Even over-population would have been indirectly met by the creation of a demand for profitable labour. So when these legal leases ran out all parties would have gained, and there would have been a new Ireland, able henceforth to regulate its transactions by ordinary economic laws.

Unfortunately Government took a different course. They also applied three remedies, but they all had the common vice that they were indefinite and imperfect. The Ulster customs were legalised, but were not defined. Landlords elsewhere were not forbidden to evict, but were put under a variable penalty if they did, unless it was for non-payment of rent. Compensation was allowed for improvements, but the principle was stated without being explained. Everything, therefore, was left to be settled by litigation in order to ascertain what the statute intended. But chiefly it erred in creating rights that depended absolutely on the amount of rent, while failing to provide any means for fixing the rent. For the tenant's rights, whether under the Ulster customs, or under the new penalties on 'disturbance,' were liable to be diminished or entirely extinguished if the landlord raised the rent. To raise the rent in Ulster makes a purchaser give a smaller price for the tenancy. To raise it elsewhere makes a tenant subject to be evicted for nonpayment, in which case his claim for compensation vanishes. Yet the power of fixing the rent was left in the landlord's sole option. Good landlords have recognised the tenant's equity, but bad ones have not, and have been even stimulated by the statute of 1870 to use the means which that statute provided to oust the tenant of the rights which it conferred.

It has been lately stated that this result was not foreseen, and that the defects of the Act in this respect were due to the House of Lords. But this is incorrect. The defects of the Bill in this very point, and the consequences certain to follow were pointed out while it was still in the House of Commons by myself (among others), in several articles in the *Pall Mall Gazette* in April 1870.

That statute, then, has complicated the situation by giving to the tenantry a right in the land, amounting to a variable number of years' purchase of the rent; and this right they now feel to be a property as good in equity as the landlord's right to the fee simple. But at the same time it is subject to destruction at the landlord's arbitrary will. The law giving them no redress, they have resorted to the bullet, and hence has grown up the state of anarchy and violence now prevalent where the letter of the law has been used by the landlords to defeat its spirit.

In this situation it is natural that the remedy sought should be that the law shall fix the rent as between the two parties. Griffith's valuation is claimed as being a just estimate, and if this is objected to, a new valuation by Government authority is demanded. Some few would be content to let the Act of 1870 remain in force with this addition. But many go further and demand that a tenant shall be absolutely free from disturbance so long as he pays the rent fixed by the Government valuer. Among these there is a further division, some consenting that the Government valuation shall be revised from time to time, others insisting that it shall, when once made, be final.

It is proper, however, to notice a suggestion for a self-regulating valuation, without Government interference, has been made by the high authority of Judge Longfield in the 'Fortnightly Review' for August last. His proposal is that all tenants shall be declared to be entitled to seven years' rent on the cessation of the tenancy. If the cessation is by the act of the tenant, the sum he is to receive is to be computed at the rent which he has paid, or offered to pay, so that if that has been too low he gets the less. If the cessation is by act of the landlord the sum he is to pay is to be computed at the rent he has demanded, so that if that has been too high he pays the more. This is exceedingly ingenious, but there are one or two palpable objections to it. It must apply to all landlords and to all tenants, without reference to their previous conduct or character, and it operates as a universal transfer of one-third of the value of the estate (taking the full value at twenty-one years' rent) to the

existing tenants. Now, if a landlord has fairly and diligently performed his own duties, if he has provided proper buildings, drains, fences, roads, by which at his sole cost the value of the estate has been augmented, it is contrary to all justice that he should be mulcted of one-third of his outlay in favour of the very men whom such outlay has already made prosperous. Again, if a tenant has been worthless and idle, there is no fairness in giving to him exactly the same benefit as to one who has been diligent and enterprising. Nor is it reasonable that a tenant who may have entered last year on a farm should receive precisely the same gift as one who has occupied his farm all his life. Lastly, in all bad seasons (or in cases of individual loss) it would tend to drive the tenantry into the hands of money-lenders—a far harder bondage than that of landlords. For the tenant could not venture to ask or even to accept an abatement of his rent, since that would be a virtual destruction of so much of his own interest, which is reckoned at seven years' rent. He would therefore struggle to pay, and if he had not the means he would borrow, but when he once began to borrow his seven years' interest would be quickly swallowed up. It cannot be deemed a boon to tenantry to place them in a position in which a landlord's kindness will do them mischief, and in which self-interest dictates that rather than pay at a lower rate they must run into debt when times are bad.

But beyond all minor objections there is the great, inherent evil in every scheme (including that of the Act of 1870) for giving a permanently divided interest in land, that it is hostile to good cultivation. Improvement requires outlay, and neither party will spend if the land and any capital invested in it is to be shared with the other in proportions prescribed by law, instead of by mutual agreement. This is so obvious that in every scheme for securing fixity of tenure there is always added the proviso that in calculating rent the value of tenants' improvements are to be excluded from the computation. Such a condition is just. But it involves the very serious consequence that a permanent tenant will neither ask nor permit his landlord to effect improvements, since he will prefer that they should be executed by himself alone, and thus yield to himself the whole profit. Therefore, neither by law nor by agreement will there for the future be any inducement, or indeed possibility, for a landlord to employ his capital in the improvement of his own estates. He will henceforth be a mere incumbrancer, drawing his quota of income, whether fixed in perpetuity, or liable to a rise or fall according to the change of prices, but not capable of being increased by any act or exertion of his own. Even if resident, he will have no motive to lay out a single farthing of this income for the benefit of the estate, the tenants, or the labourers. He will be as an alien, though he may be at home; but in all probability he will soon become a permanent absentee from the property, and from Ireland, investing his capital and spending his rental in other countries.

Now it is unhappily the case that in Ireland, even more than in England, most landlords have done far too little for their land. But what is wanted in Ireland even more than in England is the investment of capital in permanent improvements, as the necessary preliminary to good farming. Can it, then, be for the advantage of Ireland to thrust away from the land the whole fund of landlords' capital? If it be too true that there are many landlords who do not improve their estates, shall we benefit the country by prohibiting all landlords from improving? Shall we help production by driving away a vast fund of capital from the spot where, above all things, capital is needed? Shall we help progress by driving away all the persons who are most capable of aiding progress? Every good landlord—and even in Ireland there are many—is a centre of progress to his neighbourhood. By teaching, by example, by aid, by kindly interest, he helps his tenants and his neighbours to advance in sound knowledge, morality, comfort, independence, prosperity. Is it well to extinguish every light of this sort, and to leave the darkness to grope helplessly for its own illumination with no other help than 'fixity of tenure' and 'free sale'?

There is in history no precedent or parallel for such an operation as this. Metairie, to which the proposed system has been likened, differs fundamentally, in the fact that it is generally not the metayer but the proprietor of the land who furnishes the capital, often even the seed and the stocking, and that he consequently closely superintends the working of the farm and the division of the produce of each crop. The Stein and Hardenberg legislation in Prussia assigned to the tenant two-thirds of the lord's land in perpetuity, but restored to the lord in absolute ownership a third of what the tenant had hitherto held. Copyholders in England were created out of the surplus of the lord's estates, and when their title became permanent the lord still retained the unconditional fee-simple of the great bulk of his land. There is no example yet of the whole owners of land being by a stroke divested of every interest in it except that of drawing a fixed rent-charge. We may well pause before we institute so novel and gigantic an experiment, and ask whether we are sure there is a gain to balance so prodigious a loss.

The consequences to the rest of the community arising out of this encouragement to absenteeism must also not be overlooked. It is no doubt an error to state the whole rental of absentee landlords as a loss to the country. Whatever portion would in any case be spent on imported products does not constitute a loss to the country. Nor does that portion which would be spent in products that are exported constitute a loss if the export price is as high as would be paid at home. It matters nothing to a farmer whether his landlord buys his beef and butter in

London or in Cork, if in either case the price is the same. But the local shopkeepers lose their profits on the local expenditure, not only of landlords but of their servants, when they leave the country, and though this forms only a small fraction of the total rental, yet if all the rental of Ireland is to become payable to absentees, it must have a considerable effect on the general prosperity.

Observe, again, how little it is proposed really to give to the tenants. By bestowing 'fixity of tenure' at full rents you do not give them the capital which you make the landlords withdraw. Whether they held hitherto under a good or bad landlord, they are henceforth thrown on their own resources. The poorest among them are thus put in possession of land as yet unfitted for cultivation, land in a far worse state than if it were in the uncleared wilds of America. But while an emigrant never goes out without some little capital to buy stock, implements, food, and clothing, for at least a year in advance, the poverty-stricken Irish tenant has none. While the emigrant gets his land as a free grant, the Irish tenant is to pay a 'fixed rent' calculated at the full value, and exigible no matter how bad the crops or seasons. Having therefore left to them only the barest possibility of a subsistence from crop to crop, how are they to get means to improve their position? They have their own labour, but nothing more, and labour alone without proper implements, without manure, without buildings, cannot make land produce its fair returns; least of all, when by bad culture it is already worn out. Land reformers who know only political economy or legal rules are apt to forget the inexorable laws of nature. Every farmer, great or small, must nowadays compete with all the world. His competitors have the aid of scientific knowledge, and of outlay of capital in draining, building, machinery, improved stock, imported manures, and feeding stuffs. To meet the competition the like helps are necessary even in the smallest scale of culture. If a peasant proprietor is so poor that he can only buy a lame horse, a misshapen ox, a starved cow or pig, all the industry in the world will not make him prosper. Or if, buying better animals, he has not fit food to give them, fit sheds to keep them in, fit implements to cultivate with, or means sufficient to enable him to hold his produce till markets are good, ruin is the inevitable consequence. How much the more if all the time he is mortgaged up to the ears, by being bound to pay a rent which expresses the full value of the land!

Such is the effect of perpetuity of tenure, with nothing more, on the poorer cultivators. As to the large cultivators, they may be supposed to possess capital for proper farming. But what particular social gain is there in turning the tenant of a large farm into its owner, subject to a perpetual rent? He only becomes one more landlord, and an encumbered one. But he may now sublet to anyone who will offer him a higher rate; he may become an absentee in his turn, and employ an agent, and evict his tenants at will, and call for troops to protect his bailiffs. The sum total of the change, therefore, would be that there would be very many more landlords than now drawing everything from the land and putting nothing into it.

There are two facts which it is of the utmost importance to keep in mind in connection with this matter. The first is that one of the causes of the present disorder is that the actual tenants are at war, not with the landlords only, but also with all who wish to be tenants. They complain of high rents, but they also complain of the competition for land which causes high rents. The action of the Land League, and the outrages of cowardly assassins who shoot unarmed men from behind walls, are directed equally against the landlord who evicts and against the new tenant, who is always eager to take the place of the evicted one. Now, to bestow perpetuity of tenure upon all present tenants will do nothing for those who wish to become tenants. That vast army of competitors for the land will still be as eager as hitherto to obtain land. Therefore every mischief which now flows from the excessive competition will continue in full operation. The present tenants, acquiring power to sublet, will be able to screw increased rents out of the labourers who will become their subtenants, because the social conditions which make the land the sole resource of a (locally) redundant population will remain absolutely unaffected. So the last state will be worse than the first.

The second consideration to be remembered is that 'free sale' of a tenant's interest means a constant process of abstraction of tenant's capital from cultivation, just as 'fixity of tenure' implies the permanent abstraction of the landlord's capital. Every time that a tenant sells his interest, he will take out, not only all the capital he brought, but a large proportion of the succeeding tenant's capital. Competition here also is proposed to be allowed full swing, and as the retiring tenant will have no further interest in the land or its improvement, he will naturally sell to the person who offers him most cash down. Thus the new tenant enters under the penalty of losing a large proportion of that capital which is absolutely essential to good culture and improvement. Sometimes it is argued that this is an advantage, as excluding all who have not capital; but the advantage vanishes when the very process involves its loss. No doubt the system has hitherto worked well, by comparison, in Ulster. But it has been under the check of the landlord's approval of the new tenant, and of his power to limit the price to be paid, both of which it is now proposed to remove. And let it be remembered that the Ulster system, though popular with tenants because it gives them a species of security, and with landlords because it is a lazy way of evading obligations and escaping risks, is one that grows in mischief with every succeeding year, because each step in progress augments the amount which a new tenant must pay before he can begin to farm.

For myself, I have elsewhere argued strongly in favour of subdivision of property down to peasant

holdings, wherever natural laws of profit can bring it to pass. I have seen in many different countries peasant owners and peasant farmers prosperous and progressive. But I have never seen an instance in which, either as tenant or as owner, a man has been prosperous if he began farming without a capital proportionate to his acreage, and without knowledge of modern conditions of farming. And unfortunately the Irish cottiers who most need our sympathy have neither, nor would get either by mere fixity of tenure. Nor, again, in the case of the more wealthy can I say that I have known more than some rare and exceptional instances where owners have redeemed themselves from a load of debt, of which the interest represents the fee-simple value of the land, which is the case of tenants holding at fixed rents. Sooner or later comes the bad season, which a landlord enables a tenant to tide over by remitting his rent or giving him time—but which if he must pay a fixed sum, be it called interest or rent, crushes him. He is sold up and disappears.

Lastly, when we speak of encouraging the conversion of tenancy into ownership, let us beware lest we bring a worse thing than tenancy to take its place—I mean indebtedness. The Bright clauses have already shown us how near this danger lies. They require that a tenant who wishes to purchase shall deposit one-third of the price. That is very well if he has it. But if he has not, and borrows on the security of his purchase, he puts the money-lender in the position of being his actual landlord, and then he holds at will under the hardest of possible landlords. Mr. Tuke, in his article in the 'Nineteenth Century' for August last, has mentioned several cases among those he inquired into in which this has occurred, and in which, in consequence, the tenant was in process of being ruined.

The miserable state of those peasant proprietors in France and Germany, whose eagerness to acquire land has led them to borrow for the purpose, and the fruitless struggles of even the American farmer of 100 or 200 acres when he has once begun to get into like difficulties, give us a serious warning that to encourage purchase with borrowed money is a fatal gift to the most industrious cultivator.

Let it be also kept in mind that a rent fixed by Government, or by its Courts, will be deemed on both sides a Government guarantee. When the bad seasons come, as come they will, the tenant will say: 'You have fixed on me a burden which I cannot pay; you must not suffer me to be turned out for not doing impossibilities.' The landlord will say: 'You have taken every power to help myself out of my hands; you must pay me what I have been forced to accept at your hands.' No professions in advance that Government is not to be responsible will prevent the real responsibility it has assumed from being felt. Interference with free contract involves guarantee of compulsory contracts.

These considerations, which here I can only roughly indicate, lead us to some clear conclusions. The chief is that there is no simple principle or method which can with advantage be applied to solve the Irish problem. It is not desirable to oust good landlords, for they are the invaluable guides of progress, wherever their sphere of influence extends. It is not desirable to impede the investment of landlords' capital, for capital is indispensable, and the tenants have it not. It is not desirable to extend further a system which divides the ownership into shares. It is not desirable to create peasant proprietors under circumstances which would involve their starvation. Therefore, it follows that neither the Ulster custom, nor the extension of protection against 'disturbance by the landlord,' nor the Bright clauses of the Act of 1870, however amended, can furnish the remedy. Every one of these would, if carried out, further intensify the mischief which, in some respects, they have already caused.

But if we can limit our gaze to the actual needs of the present hour we may be able to see what would be practically useful.

First of all, we have a certain number of estates in different districts, in which rents have been forced up to a point that makes existence impossible. Some of these estates are large, some small, some belong to absentees, some (and these among the worst) to native owners and recent purchasers. It is these estates that have given just rise to a discontent which has reached almost to rebellion, and which has unfortunately, but naturally, spread its influence to those districts where there is no substantial grievance.

Secondly, there are certain localities where there may be (but not always) an exorbitant rent exacted, but in which, at all events, the holdings are too small to permit a subsistence to be obtained; where, in short, the population is too dense for the means of its maintenance.

These are the plague-spots which must be eradicated by swift, sharp cut, if we would not have the poison they generate infect the whole social body,

I propose, then, that a Royal Commission, composed almost entirely of Irishmen of all parties, should be created to take charge of the work. That wherever there is distress or disaffection it should send valuers to ascertain the fair worth of the land as it stands, the rentals exacted, and the extent of the holdings. That where the rents are exorbitant, or the holdings too minute, the Government should take possession of the estates, paying to the dispossessed owner the value at the rate of twenty-five years' purchase, not of the nominal rents, but of the fair annual worth as estimated by the valuers.

The average rate of purchase in Ireland having been (previous to the late disorders) twenty-one to

twenty-two year's rental, it is evident that the proposal would involve a gift to the dispossessed landlords of three or four years' rent, by way of compensation for enforced sale. But it should be most clearly understood that the estimate would be based, not on what the rents nominally are, or even on what have been paid, but strictly on what they ought to be, considering the state of the land, the outlay upon it by the landlord alone, and all other circumstances affecting the fair value.

There is no hardship to anyone in giving him the full worth of his mismanaged property, even if it is his own neglect that has made the worth small.

But because these terms would be to many owners an actual boon, and it would not be just to give a boon only to the negligent, the Royal Commission should be empowered to take all estates that are offered to them on such terms, provided that there are no arrears of rent due upon them. This condition will prevent tenants from withholding rent for the purpose of forcing the landlord to sell to Government.

Lastly, it should be declared that mortgages shall not be valid as against other creditors after a certain number of years. This will compel encumbered owners to sell enough to clear their debts. For such portions of their estates they will get what price they can; if they can do no better they will get the Government valuation and price. Also it will prevent persons from purchasing by means of borrowed money.

By these processes large tracts of land and many thousands of tenants will come under control of the Royal Commission. These tracts will include much that is poor, much that is uncultivated—many occupants that are poverty-stricken, and many whose holdings are too small for a livelihood. What to do with the land and with the people?

First of all, let each district of convenient size be put under charge of a manager, whom we may call the collector, who shall both collect rents and superintend improvements, who shall, in fact, be acting landlord, subject to supervision by the Royal Commission.

Secondly, let every tenant continue to hold his present holding at the fair valuation that was made on occasion of its purchase. Let there, therefore, be no compulsory eviction or even transplantation.

Thirdly, to provide the tenants with a means of acquiring capital, and to *suggest* renunciation of unprofitable holdings, let all improvable lands now uncultivated, and all works of main drainage, road-making, &c., in both cultivated and uncultivated districts, be set about by Government to the extent to which they will evidently be remunerative, paying for the labour the wages an Irish navvy would make in England, and giving the preference of employment to the tenants of holdings and labourers under the Royal Commission. Let the cost be defrayed by a rate on the holdings benefited, so far as, but not beyond, the actual benefit.

Fourthly, let all lands thus reclaimed from waste be divided into proper holdings at fair rents, and offered firstly to those tenants of too small holdings elsewhere who have been employed in the execution of the works, thus enabling the minute holdings to be consolidated.

Fifthly, to enable the Royal Commission to work itself gradually clear, by transferring the ownership, let it act as the banker of its tenants, receiving from each such deposits as he may from time to time be able to make towards the ultimate payment of the full price, valued at twenty-five years' rent, after which he will receive a conveyance in fee-simple. The deposits meantime to bear interest.

Sixthly, to encourage this process, let every tenant be at once credited in the books of the Commission (acting through its collectors) with an instalment equal to five years' rent, or one-fifth of the purchase money, but not bearing interest. But let this, as well as all further deposits he may himself make, be deemed a guarantee fund of his future rents, so that if in any year he makes default the amount will be taken from the fund standing at his credit. On such conditions there will be every motive to pay rents punctually.

Sevently. As it is desirable to consolidate small holdings, or rearrange them in some cases, do not let them be assignable to a stranger, but let the tenant be entitled at any time to surrender them to the Royal Commission, receiving the value standing at his credit in the books, and also the value of any permanent improvement executed by himself. This will be a fund to help him in emigration or otherwise.

A measure embracing the provisions thus generally sketched would at once meet and relieve the most pressing cases of suffering, by a process essentially recuperatory. It would gradually embrace in its operation a considerable portion of other districts. Wherever it took effect it would gradually convert the tenantry into unencumbered owners. But it would do this only where the landlords had either failed in their duty or desired to sell. It would neither cripple an energetic and generous owner nor evict a single tenant.

No fixing of rent over Ireland generally, nor any interference whatever with actual contracts, would be involved. The check on excessive rents would consist in the liability that any estate which, on application to the Royal Commission, was found to be overrented should be taken possession of by it. This liability would be abundantly sufficient to prevent either a large or small landowner from demanding more than the Government valuer would be likely to approve, since the consequence of excess would be loss of the property. But within this limit the utmost latitude would be allowed for freedom of contract, for healthy competition (and within just limits competition is healthy), and for every variety of arrangement by which landlords' capital may be

invested, and tenants' industry may be fostered.

Fixity of tenure there would not be. But security of tenure would come by the gradual recognition of the fact that the more secure the tenure, the better rent can be paid. Further, a Government valuer would estimate at a higher rate the fair rental under a lease than under a tenancy-at-will, and thus a landlord who desired to retain his estate would have a motive to grant leases.

At this stage the action of Government may for the present well stop. Undoubtedly other reforms in the land laws are necessary in Ireland as in England. But the proposal for these should come from the Irish people, and should be debated among them and reduced to a distinct proposal by them before the Imperial Government has anything to do with it. Let us leave, at last, Irishmen to manage their own affairs. Our concern is not to do anything for them, but only to undo what mischief we ourselves have done.

It cannot be denied that what has here been proposed involves cost, labour, and risk. But the cost is within limits; for it is, firstly, restricted to the purchase of land at what it is now worth, and, secondly, to the giving the tenants a credit for one-fifth of the sum so paid. Moreover, this would to a great extent be recouped by the higher value accruing from the works of reclamation and improvement. The labour would be that of anxious and careful organization and superintendence. The risk would be that of jobbery. But surely at the present day, with our Indian experience, with the light of the Press, with the use of Irish knowledge, the benefit of wholesome British criticism, it must be deemed not beyond possibility to carry out a great social redemption without inordinate jobbery.

To the present panic in Ireland I do not here refer. It is largely fictitious; manufactured for the purpose of forcing from Government a transfer of property from one class to another. What in it has a basis of real grievance would be appeased by the measures above indicated; what is artificial would at once collapse on the firm declaration that violence will procure nothing more. A people who demand self-government ought to be able of themselves to deal with any disorders which may then survive.

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## ***Trial of the Land Leaguers.***

### **Splendid Speech**

For the Defence by

Mr. A. M. Sullivan, M.P.

Mr. SULLIVAN appeared as counsel for Mr. Patrick Egan, treasurer of the land league. The speech was delivered on Thursday, January 27th, and is thus reported in *The Nation* of the following Saturday:—

May it please your lordships—Gentlemen of the jury—On me it devolves to speak the last words in this defence; and, with my gifted and learned friend Mr. Adams, I can truly say I rise to occupy a brief portion of your time, not with, but against, my personal choice; yielding only to the call of duty pressed on me by client and colleagues. I appeared for Mr. Patrick Egan; and for him I can but feel that he stands before you at some disadvantage, in that he has confided the justification of his conduct, the vindication of his aims, his objects, his principles, to an advocate but poorly endowed for so serious a responsibility. I therefore ask for him some measure of your kind consideration, I ask for myself your kindly indulgence, rising at this exhausted and critical stage of the defence, all unaccustomed to address you—now almost a stranger here. Speaking in this court to-day I exercise for the first time, and in all human probability for the last time in my life the privilege, which I proudly prize, of belonging to the bar of my own country. That kindly indulgence, I feel, gentlemen, I shall receive not only from you, but from their lordships. I so presume, for I know that of one of them it is true to say that with him generosity to those who need it has become a proverb in the profession; and of the other, the distinguished president of this court, I can never forget that I have ere now received at his hands, in a supreme moment of my life, fairness and courtesy as a judge, magnanimity as a man. Gentlemen, there has arisen to many a lip, as there recurs to every mind a memorable parallel for the eventful drama of which this court for weeks past has, been the theatre. Our thoughts instinctively go back to that episode of nearly forty years ago which fixed upon our city the gaze of empires, the anxieties of Christendom. In one sense it may be said that the cause and the issues are still the same—nought but the *personnel* is *changed*. To-day, as then, the Irish people, represented by their most trusted leaders, stand at the bar. Once more the law officers of the Crown are the accusers. Again the charge is conspiracy. New faces are on the bench and in the jury box; but in the theories of our law the tribunal is the same. For in their lordships we are presumed to see the Queen in person presiding in this court, and in you, gentleman, the country; mark you well, the country is supposed to be

present listening to the evidence, and by that evidence to declare the issues of innocence or guilt. But there is another sense, and a very real and important sense, in which I see not parallel, but contrast—a striking contrast—between the spectacle of 1843 and the scene of 1881. Gentlemen when I come to point that contrast I have a complaint to make, and it is this: that what I would say in all sincerity and truth of the tribunal to-day is robbed of half its force by the language of insincerity and complaisance paraded in that time. Yielding to considerations of policy or propriety—perhaps I ought more justly to say, deferring considerations of what was due to the dignity of a public court of justice in the abstract—men spoke of and to the jurors of that time as if any man believed them to be unprejudiced, and of the president of that court as if he was regarded as a miracle of impartiality. We know the truth now! The inexorable judgments of history have long since passed upon those men, one and all. We know to-day what the highest legal and constitutional authority pronounced upon the rulings and the charges of that time. We know what universal history declares of the animus of that prosecution, of the verdict of that jury. In all, or nearly all, of these respects, I say, in the sincerity of my soul, that I believe the State trials of to-day are destined to present a luminous contrast to that miserable exhibition of partisanship, passion and subserviency. Gentlemen of the jury, I said that you sat in the box as the country. I believe it was the learned Attorney-General who remarked that my distinguished leader in this case went back as far as Magna Charta—the barons and King John. That is one of the artifices of debate and contention in a case like this; yet most relevant most necessary, may be to connect the past often with the present, and to show how down through the stream of history great rights have come and duties have accrued to men like you. He referred to a clause in the great Charter, not for the purpose of distracting your mind by retrospect of history, but of enforcing the constitutional argument that to jurors belong rights, privileges, duties, which no power in the land, no judge however illustrious, no monarch however powerful, can ever take away—the right to judge of the innocence or guilt in criminal cases, but especially between the subject and the Crown. Gentlemen, this is a composite tribunal. You sit in that box, their lordships preside upon the bench; and yet if any man were asked in all broad Britain, or here in Ireland, by an inquiring foreigner, in what consisted the pre-eminent glory of our jurisprudence, he would be answered, "Trial by jury." The man would be laughed to scorn who called it trial by judge; and yet the judge is a necessary part of the tribunal. Why has national history and political instinct in a free people fastened upon the phrase "trial by jury" rather than "trial by judge," or "trial by judge and jury"? Gentlemen, it is because in the experience which has shaped the development of legal institutions in these countries it has been found not only most wise but most necessary to commit to the twelve men in the box rather than the twelve judges on the bench issues that require a breadth of view and a comprehension of popular instinct. In other words, the English people know that although many a glory surrounds the names of their judges, and will ever attach to the bench of justice, yet bitterly they have been made to feel that in the hour of their struggle against oppression from the Crown they leaned upon a broken reed when they depended for the protection of liberty upon judges. Not in judges, however learned, able, or distinguished, but in men like you, in the juries in the box, whether in the reign of the Stuarts or of the Hanoverian line—yes, even since the Revolution—liberty has found its truest bulwark. Gentlemen, I speak not thus to disparage the rights, the functions, that are committed to the bench; and in the day when juries attempt to invade the domain that belongs to judges justice will be wrecked, though passion or faction may triumph for an hour. It is in the fair and due observance by each portion of this tribunal of its own just rights that the ends of equity as well as the law and public justice can best be attained. But, gentlemen, there are two subjects pre-eminent of all that devolve upon jurors—that need their special vigilance and care; pre-eminently two in which it behoves twelve jurors to grasp firmly their rights, and part with them only with their life. Those two questions are political sedition, political conspiracy. Gentlemen, there are reasons why these should belong specially to the jealous care of jurors. Firstly, because these matters of political sedition, these charges of political conspiracy, arise in conflict between the Crown and the people. Secondly, because they are questions touching matters vague, indefinite—matters of opinion; because they require to be viewed in conjunction with the surrounding circumstances of the times. You cannot draw the line, it has never yet been drawn, it can be drawn by no hard rule, it must always depend upon the elastic judgment of a jury to draw the line between the patriot's duty and the language of sedition. There have been moments in the history of this empire when that which technically might be ruled seditions, saved the commonwealth and protected the rights and liberties of the people. The third reason why you need to keep within your own powers these great issues in cases of political conspiracy is because these conflicts and these accusations are often the resorts of Governments whose own conduct, whose misfeasance of all duty may have promoted the act which they seek to fasten on the men they charge. Sedition! Why there exists not to-day in our land, or in Great Britain, a public man of any eminence who, when denouncing some public indignity or wrong—I speak in the broadest spirit of all public men, whatever party they may belong to—not one of them all against whom an indictment for sedition might not be made; and if juries were to apply the law in all its rigid technicality they would be bound to convict for such a crime. As for conspiracy—conspiracy! the last miserable resort of imbecile power! When no jurors can be trusted to

pronounce a verdict in sedition, you will always find some feeble hand weaving the net of conspiracy. There is this distinction between conspiracy and sedition, that in a charge of sedition the men who have used seditious language must each one answer for himself; but in conspiracy the messenger of God's goodness 4,000 miles away beyond the ocean may be held accountable for the honest ravings of some village patriot at home. So odious to all honorable minds is this miserable resort of conspiracy that the military law—in many respects more severe than the civil law—has repudiated it and condemned it. Lord Woodhouselee, in his text-book on military law, quotes a remarkable letter from the King, through his Secretary of State, reproving, in angry language from the royal lips, officers of a court-martial in Edinburgh who stored up offences against men, not dealing with them as they arose, but kept them up for eight long months, and at last brought the culprit to the bar. The King, through his Secretary of State, declared that this was an outrage on justice; that the Ministers or officials who saw the crime—if it was crime—passing before their eyes, and stored it up for some future use, deserved the censure of the Crown. Yet that is the resort of the Irish Government to-day in this indictment for conspiracy! Gentlemen, you know what evil it has already done in this fair land of ours; you know, gentlemen, that it was found potential to convict as a criminal a man who was held up to us as an example of legality and respect for law, in the opening speech for the Crown. All men knew that if ever there arose a public character in Ireland whose whole purpose, whose set purpose and endeavour it was to keep the people within the law, it was O'Connell. He carried the language of scrupulous reverence for the Crown and the tribunals of justice to exaggeration. Sleeping and waking his anxiety was to teach the people that within the law, and within reverence for law, right might be done. Yet even then this miserable resort of conspiracy was potential, and the co-operation of jurors was obtained—of jurors who had been seduced from a sense of duty in response to appeals that never should have been made to them. Gentlemen, it is agitation—strong, stormy, often violent agitation—that has protected your interests and industries, and secured such franchise of freemen as you now enjoy. I see before me merchants of this city of high position—you have not a right, you have not a possession of property or of political endowment that has not been won for you by agitations that might have been crushed by prosecutions for conspiracy. But you may be told when I have done that it is right to agitate, but you must agitate with propriety and decorum—your language must be within certain bounds, and your conduct should be regulated by drill. Yes, gentlemen of the jury—yes, that is true, and that is right that you should be so told by whosoever will state to you the strict letter of the law; but while we know the jurors are bound to take into their minds this constitutional truth, that it is impossible in a free country to conduct the agitations that are directed to save a nation's life by the prim and strict rules of drawing room decorum or the proprieties of language that ought to prevail in a court of justice. No. You, gentlemen, would have no rights if these cast-iron rules of prim propriety of act and language were to be held against the Hampdens of two hundred years ago, or against the Parnells, Egans, and Sheridans of to-day. I care not how humble the man, I care not how lofty the man, a lord in his castle, a workman in a village, or a peasant on the hill—such men have been the benefactors of public liberty. Now, gentlemen, the English people possess many inestimable blessings of liberty—they have the reality of a free constitution, the envy of the world. Its miserable parody is sometimes seen on the Irish shore. Gentlemen, you have been referred to the great Reform movement some forty or fifty years ago. Was language of prim propriety, was conduct of decorous legality, pursued by Lord John Russell and the other leaders of that agitation? No. Were acts of violence resorted to? Why, never in Ireland, not even in the tithe war, much less in this moderate and restricted agitation of to-day, has there been anything to equal the records of the Reform agitation in 1831. Ducal palaces blazed; the king was hooted in the streets; resolutions were passed which not even Mr. Nally's extravagant language could approach. Yes, resolutions were passed as extravagant as this—that for those who denied them justice they would prepare their powder and melt their lead. The Common Council of the City of London—the municipal parliament of the British metropolis—passed resolutions calling on the people to give the king no supply till the Reform Bill was carried. Think of these things, and what do they mean? The struggle then was not to keep the wolf of hunger from their doors—it was not to save life; no, it was for a very different object. Measure, I adjure you, the motives of that agitation, when they almost combined in civil war, with this land agitation, and say if in the eyes of man or God these two can compare for a moment. And yet no officer of the Crown attempted to prosecute Lord John Russell, or Lord Grey, or Brougham, or Villiers, or any of the other leaders of that movement. And why? I say fearlessly here, in the responsibility of an humble member of the bar, that by a strict and technical holding of these hateful doctrines of conspiracy Lord John Russell would have been convicted on the decision of the judges. But he was not tried, and I will tell you why. Because right well the Attorney-General of that day knew that twelve honest Englishmen, no matter how strongly they differed in politics—in religion they were undivided—no twelve honest men could be got to find a verdict of guilty. No matter how tumultuous the assemblies, no matter how wild or desperate the expressions and exhortations, English jurors would, as the Crown well knew, take the sound constitutional view that, measured by the circumstances and the necessities of national safety and liberty, such violent effort was called for. And so from the jury box would thunder forth verdicts the meaning of which would be, "Though these men

have erred in the heat of language, the true culprits were really in the cabinets of the king." And such the answer is here to-day. Gentlemen, there is a violence that all jurors must honestly be ever ready to discriminate, the passion of faction, and the movements of a nation. If you have travelled, as I have done, the forests of America, or even passed through the indigenous woods of our own beautiful Killarney and Glengarriff, there you may see many a vast mass of rock which has been rent asunder by the development of a single slender root, a little seedling that fell into a fissure of that rock. You might have crushed it with your finger as it grew, yet by the development of nature it rent asunder the mass that a giant could not move. That was the force of physical law, it was the law of nature, and so the violence of some of these movements has rent apart some wrong that has attempted to cramp the progress and development of a nation. Now, what has incited these men to the course which has brought them before this court to-day? I assert that the objects they had in view were just and legal. I say they are the wrong men at the bar. The true culprits sit round the Council board in Downing-street. Governments have their duties as well as their rights, and although no Cabinet, no Government in its individuality, can be held accountable for the wrongs of past years, yet the Government as a continuous body fail in their first great duty to the people if dangers that threaten the public safety are idly allowed to grow, if evils that load the people with misery, that render life unendurable, are allowed to continue in horrible apathy from year to year and generation to generation. If these evils can be traced from year to year, and if the Government, not, as I said, in an individual sense, but in its continuity—is fixed with knowledge, official knowledge, of the necessity for measures needed to cure the wrongs, and have the power within their reach to apply them—the Government which fails to do so has, I assert, committed the direst, the deepest, and the darkest and bloodiest crime that any Government can commit. During sixty-eight miserable years I will fasten on the Government official knowledge of this state of things; and I shall ask your verdict—whatever its technical effect may be—your verdict of acquittal of my clients in the condemnation of the Government. Gentlemen, what is it these men are engaged in? A land agitation—a land war. In all countries this land question has been the cause of embitterment and strife between classes. I shall not go back upon Irish history. I can imagine you shudder at it. I shall only ask you to take note of an historical fact—that the land system against which these men have agitated was established in the last century. There have been conquests and confiscations in other countries; there have been conquests and confiscations here; and heaven knows, criminal should I be if I were to rake up history to embitter feeling because there have been conquest and confiscation in Ireland as there have been in England—in every country in Christendom. But gentlemen, there is great distinction between the cases of Ireland and any other country in Europe as regards confiscation and as regards conquest. In all other countries the conqueror and conquered learned to forget. In all these countries what was done by the confiscation was soon obliterated in the memory of the people, because the new owners of the land assimilated with the population. In fact, gentlemen, it seems to be a natural law that if men come upon a land and confiscate it they shall at all events assimilate in process of time with the people round about them. If any such class, from the Vistula to the Tiber, from the Danube to the Shannon, sullenly isolate themselves, and never fuse in national feeling, in common safety, with the population in the midst of which they are set, their position is simply that of an arrowhead buried in the human flesh, the hateful source of a festering sore and a fatal wound in an otherwise wholesome body. Gentlemen, I only refer to the conquests and the laws as regards property in Ireland in the last century to establish this fact, that the land system under which we now live, established in the last century has ever since kept alive wounds, has never allowed them to heal, so faithfully has the landlord class hugged the traditions of those who were the early settlers here, so continuously have they kept their feet upon the conquered and prostrate race. It is the simple truth to say that Cromwell lives to day in the land system of the Irish people, with the result to them of miseries unutterable, of suffering unknown in any other country of Christian Europe. What effort did our landlords ever make to benefit the population? They might have moulded the nation as the potter does the plastic clay. The landlords made the laws. Alone they sat on the grand juries. Alone they sat on the bench, and administered laws which they alone had made. Whatever Ireland is to-day, culpable or liable to accusation, I lay it at the door of the long dominant and ruling class; whatever of virtue, of humanity, remains in our poor people, God bless them, is in despite of the rule of those men. Gentlemen, no people have a right to conspire against their Government if they have not afforded that Government a fair and honest chance of doing their duty by them. Let us see how that is. The condition of the Irish people from 1701 to 1800, the unutterable horror of their sufferings and oppressions, is now conceded. What is the record since then? In 1819 a select committee of the House of Commons was appointed to enquire into the condition of Ireland. That committee took official evidence and reported to the House—"That the state of things was calamitous to the last degree, and called for immediate legislation." What was done? Nothing. Four years passed by. In 1823—I seek by these facts to fasten knowledge, and official knowledge, on the Government of a state of the country which in any other country would have led to a revolution—in 1823 another committee was appointed and it said—"The condition of the people is wretched and calamitous in the last degree. The people live in a state of the utmost destitution, with scarcely an article of furniture in their

miserable cabins, using as bedclothes a little flannel and a quantity of straw thrown over it." In 1870 Mr. Gladstone, the Minister of to-day, stated that such a state of things as that was enough to forfeit the right of the Turk to govern Bulgaria. Gentlemen, nothing was done on the report of 1825. A few years more passed, and in 1829 another crisis arose, and another committee was appointed. Mark you, it is always a committee, never redress. The committee reported that the state of the country called for immediate legislation; yet, owing to the state of business in the House, there was no chance of getting a bill passed through. During all these years it was not for votes or franchises that the Irish people were waiting (as the reformers of 1831); it was for leave to live in the ordinary condition of human existence. In 1830 another committee makes its report on the 18th July. The report was laid on the table, but the people were left in their misery and distress, as if to tempt them to the last resort of rebellion, well knowing that the strong armed power of England could trample out the revolt in blood. Gentlemen, I ask you, is there not in all this a criminal neglect, an utter abandonment of duty by the Government? Mr. Stanley, afterwards Lord Derby, stating a plaint from the people of Connemara, as it comes to-day, said, "Severe as are the sufferings of the people in the extremity of their distress, they do not give utterance to one syllable of insubordination, or even of discontent;" and that was one of the reasons why he thought their condition deserved the attention of Parliament. Not a syllable of insubordination! Did they fare the better for it? I believe in my soul if, instead of lying down under the tyranny that oppressed them, they took a very different course they would not have been left to linger in their wretchedness and subjection. Well, in 1834 another is made, but in vain, and shortly afterwards Sharman Crawford, a name of honor, appeared on the scene. He was a Protestant gentleman, of the North of Ireland. Perhaps I may be excused if here I repeat what has been often said by me elsewhere. I often think that Almighty God has given it as a ray of sunshine illuminating our gloom that whenever Ireland was down and prostrate there is always found a Protestant patriot to arouse her spirit and lead her on. Sharman Crawford was the man at this time. From 1834 to 1847 he strove for some justice to the people. Not less than six times he brought measures into Parliament; and, mark you, what were they? They were measures falling very far short of what even the landlords of to-day would gladly accept. But here beneath my hand are the results of the division lists upon these measures, and what do they tell? They tell that, as every effort, however small, to obtain justice for the people was made, the Irish landlords and their representatives sprang forward to arrest the blessed effort of the kindly, honest Protestant gentleman. The division lists, I repeat, show how persistently the Irish landlords resisted justice, that they resisted it from day to day. I pass on. Soon came the dark shadow of a terrible calamity. In 1846, in the midst of these vain pleadings, in the midst of this long-continued story of the utter failure of the Parliament and Government to do their duty, the gloom of a deeper shadow fell on our land. In other countries—would it were so in our own! the gentry class discharge noble functions in social and public life. They are the natural leaders of the people, qualified by education, fortune, position, and opportunity. They might have been so here. They would have found a kindly, warmhearted, grateful people, ever disposed to render the tribute justly due to social position when allied to personal virtue and public worth. All the world over such men are the first to scent danger to the people, the first to meet it. When the gloom of a terrible famine fell upon our shores, what did the landlords do? Many of them, no doubt, nobly did their duty when the distress was in its full force. But what was the conduct of the landlord class at this time? There were patriotic men who, like the popular leaders of 1879, cried out that the famine cloud was over the land. How were they met? They were met by incredulity. They were charged with exaggeration. A member of Parliament, who lives still, and who is every day attacking the Land League, made a public speech in 1847 in which he described the warnings of famines as the language of "panic-mongers"; there was no famine coming! Oh, gentlemen, famine *was* coming. We read that by a sort of instinct, such as that by which even the lower animals feel that the hunter's foot is on their track, the peasantry of our Western counties felt that the hour of their doom was near. Oh, it was only when almost the last meal of food was gone from them the Government stirred, and then! they appointed inspectors to inquire! Ah! when their report came in it was too late; the measures that were taken in precipitancy to mitigate that which all men worthy of being of a Government should have known was coming only plunged our country into the demoralisation of a profligate expenditure without result. Oh, the scenes of that time! I feel I must pass rapidly over this portion of my statement. They said the destitution could not be extreme because the workhouses had room for more, and workhouses were built while the people were dying. Yes; that was true; but *why* were the workhouses not full? Let the Pashas of Turkey study the story, which will show that even kindly hearted landlords when they come to act as members of a system will fall into conduct of a murderous result. In the Irish Poor-law, modelled, and framed, and passed by the Irish landlords, there was an infamous clause called the "Quarter Acre Clause," by which no man who held more than quarter of an acre of land could receive relief. Our people did not fill the workhouses, God bless them for it. They did not fill the workhouses for reasons every man of humanity and light feeling will sympathise with, because going into the workhouse meant destruction of the little home, the destruction of all future industry and effort. Once a man who held an acre of land left his cabin door and came to the portals of the workhouse he might read overhead the words of the great

Italian poet

*"Abandon hope, all who enter here."*

Gentlemen, of the conduct of the landlord class at this time of awful calamity we could have given, and were prepared to give ample, yea, shocking, startling, terrible evidence, but the Crown fled the field! His lordship kindly told us, to facilitate fair defence that he would take judicial notice of the dreadful fact, for fact it is, that public statutes had to be passed to restrain the fell work of the landlords even in that time of awful calamity! No sooner was the faint and exhausted farmer obliged to seek the relieving officer at the gate of the work-house, than came the landlord with the crowbar to level his home, that home he would never see again. And thus were thousands and tens of thousands lost to home, shut out from all resource in future, and made a perpetual charge upon those who survive them. A perpetual charge! Oh, no. The Angel of Death was doing his work. In the crowded fever-sheds of these workhouses, as well as at the gates, hundreds of families were broken up, never to meet again! O, gentlemen, those parting scenes! Each father knew that when by the rules and discipline of the establishment the little family group were torn asunder, they had seen their last of one another in this world. He knew that his wife some day, perhaps a fortnight hence, would be carried off in the midst of the last cartload of unpainted coffins that left the workhouse gate. He knew that perhaps in that load one day would be carried away to a pauper's grave his little idol, Aileen, or Mary, the fair-haired child of his heart, the light of his once happy home. [Here Mr. Sullivan, struggling with emotion, had to pause awhile.] I must pass from all this; I cannot face the ordeal; for with my own eyes I saw these things. I, in my own parish, when a boy, stood at the workhouse gate and saw the heap of dead humanity go by, and I paid my penny to the bearer of the trap-bottom coffin whereby I had seen put into one vast charnel-pit 200 human bodies. Oh, gentlemen of the jury, it was at a moment as terrible as this that even the Parliament of England had stepped in to arrest the hand of brutal landlordism that came to evict the starving tenantry when the sun had set and the moon was in the sky. That Parliament, you may trust it well, was not too ready to interfere, as the record I have quoted will tell you, yet it had to interfere and to enact that the anniversary of the birth of our Saviour at Bethlehem should, at all events, be sacred from the rapaciousness of Irish landlordism; that Good Friday, a day made holy for ever by the death and agony of the Redeemer, should not be made a day, as it had been made, for carrying out this foul work, but that upon that day the spoiler should hold his hand. If Irish landlordism had only that record against it, no blacker record could be found against it than that the Parliament of England, in the midst of the scenes I have described, passed that statute to put an end to the acts which in the face of humanity had brought disgrace upon this land. The famine was pronounced by landlords a blessing sent by God. Oh, blasphemy! Sent by heaven to clear off a redundant population. And now Ireland was to be turned into a great grazing tract; the fruitful mother of flocks and herds. In that year arose an effort, one of the noblest our country ever saw, when Ulster joined with Munster, when Protestant and Catholic, priest and minister, joined in the Tenant League, and thought to renew that appeal to Parliament; thought that that Parliament which had been deaf as stone for years before would have done its duty as a Government, without which I deny its right to govern the people, How was that appeal received? Where is that Tenant League now? It was broken up and scattered. Some have passed away, some with sorrow, disheartened, withdrew from the movement and were seen no more. Some went to foreign lands and showed that there the genius of an Irishman on a fair field could make itself a road to future fame. Then the *Saturday Review*, and that press of London which has hounded on this prosecution, screamed aloud, and said at last Ireland is our own. Soon the Celt will be as rare on the banks of the Shannon as the wigwam of the Red Indian on the banks of the Hudson. And as each emigrant ship left this land laden with its cargo of human beings flying from misery, seeking a happier home on other shores there arose a cry of exultation and execration and the shout of derision and laughter from those who exulted in their fall, and there was gladness and peace in the country—they had made a desolate solitude and called it "peace"—such peace as would gladden the heart of an Irish Attorney-General. We had a "peace" which showed that honest, open, constitutional, political agitation like this was absent but other work was going on. The people, driven from the public arena of agitation, took to what I then called, even at the risk of misunderstanding from countrymen, whom I love, the politics of despair. They conspired, not in the technical language of the law, but in the daring of men who were ready to spend their lives to have an end to this dreadful system. Again we saw the terrible panorama of Irish misery history before us at Green-street, the convict dock and the cell chokeful again with men whom I fearlessly say, whatever their guilt before the law, showed themselves in that terrible hour animated by feelings and aspirations as noble as ever animated the human heart. Did these things arouse the generous impulses of English statesmen? What aroused them? I stake upon this fact the justification of the Land League. What awakened, what stirred, what moved the fatal torpor of England, that requires not only the ordered movement of theoretical public life, but something like a public convulsion? Before Catholic Emancipation, Wellington said we were on the verge of a civil war, and so it is the time of dissatisfaction and insurrection that awakened the English public to the conviction that there was something wrong. Something was wrong. Why, all society needed to be constructed in this desolate island! And so Mr.

Gladstone at last passed a Land Bill as good as public opinion at the moment, in my belief, warranted him in attempting to pass, yet ineffectual, too crude for the magnitude of the evil it sought to remedy. The people who trusted to it, when it passed, found themselves leaning on a treacherous reed. It did not arrest the landlord's cupidity, and it gave the tenant what? the right to a lawsuit! It benefited those who lived by litigation, but it was in the end for the tenant a delusion, a mockery, and a snare. That was the scope of the protection the Land Act gave. Yet it was gratefully received by the people, and not one word shall fall from my lips disparaging the effort, even in the measure of its accomplishment; but no sooner did it pass than the tenants found it was insufficient. It failed to give security, yet the people tolerated it. But how did the landlords receive it? If even in 1870 Irish landlordism had said, "Come, let the dead past bury its dead," there might have been an end to this contention. The ingenuity of the lawyers was set to work by the Lord Leitrim and Dukes of Leinster of the day to devise leases that might cheat the tenants out of the beneficence intended for them by the Government of England. Not even at the twelfth hour would these men swear to bury in kindness and good will, with a grasp of the hand, this long record of strife and contention. From 1870 to 1880 there were introduced into the House of Commons eight-and-twenty public measures for the reform and amendment of the insufficient though well-intended Land Act of 1870. Who introduced them? Were they all wild Home Rulers? Oh, no. Were they all Liberals? No. I will not make a speech here of a party man; the subject is too solemn for that. I cannot forget that Conservatives as well as Liberals in the House of Commons did their share in these efforts in the last few years. But how were these efforts received? Let the Order Book of the House of Commons tell us how. Shall I say they were spurned? I should be within the truth if I said they were answered with scoff and jeer and taunt. And what was the taunt? The taunt was this: That there was no demand in Ireland, no public exigency, because there was no public agitation. Spurned from the door of the legislature because we were too calm in Ireland; prosecuted in the Queen's Bench to-day because we are not tranquil! Yes, spurned again were the efforts of good men of all parties and all creeds, and so in 1880 history repeats itself. The short gleam of agricultural prosperity from 1870 to 1876 again had faded into gloom, and men could see, if they wished to see, that the wolf was on the path as in 1847. Was it from Irish landlordism that the shout of danger and warning came forth? No. The instinct of selfishness at the very moment of public calamity made them not reach out the hand to God's poor, but to clutch their pockets, and say like Shylock, "It is in my bond; it is in my bond." Who sounded the alarm? Who shouted in the legislature? Charles Stewart Parnell and the men who are dragged here to day to be sacrificed for a public virtue. It is a matter of public notoriety, these men implored the Government to be awakened, that famine was at hand. How were they received? Again laughed to scorn; and again they were charged with exaggeration for the purpose of putting her Majesty's Government into embarrassment. They had not read history in vain, and well they knew that unless they did more than in 1847 the fate of 1847 was upon us again to desolate the land. It was in that hour these men sprang to action. What was their first act? They formed the Land League, and they set to work to see how best they could save the people. Yet what was the language which, in the jargon of that legal document, the indictment, was applied to them? They were "evil disposed persons;" that with mind of guilt, with purpose of guilt, with intent of guilt, they went into some conspirator's meeting-place and combined. What did they meet to do? They saw what was at hand. Some of them charged here, forsooth, were too young to have seen the scenes of 1847. Oh, these things could not have animated them because they were not born! Do the prosecutors here not know that the memory of wrong and suffering, of vengeance, if you will, that may be handed down from father to child accumulates rather than loses by time? And the greatest dread that England has to fear to-day is not from the Irish emigrant himself whom misgovernment swept across the sea, but from the second generation, born on a foreign soil, who have learned from their fathers the story of Ireland's wrong; and so my young friend Mr. Brennan, and so all his compatriots, who if too young to have seen the famine scenes, well knew the famine story, and the first act of the Land League was to determine that human life must be preserved. They looked abroad and they saw in no other country the husbandman slaughtered by these oft-recurring famines. They could no longer see in the fair land of the Rhine or in gallant Franco that feudal land system which, though it might have been admirable in its day, was unsuited to the present age. They saw that in these lands the tiller of the soil was the lord of his little patrimony, and they set about winning for the Connemara peasantry that system which had made frugal and loyal and happy and contented the Frenchman and the German. Was it for the purpose of guilt, for hateful greed, or as a hateful slaughter, as the London press would have it? Behold the grandson of the illustrious Irish Protestant patriot—a youth bearing honours from the halls of an English university, the proud young man takes literally, not figuratively, his hat in his hand, and marches through the tens of thousands of American assemblies and begs alms for the suffering Irish people. Boused by the example of the Land League, other noble, kindly hearted organisations arose, one of them headed by a noble woman, I bless it all the more because it was the act of a woman, the Duchess of Marlborough. She did nobly and well. Better still your own chief magistrate, and you the citizens of Dublin. There was seen at that board that revered and distinguished prelate of the Protestant Church, the Most Rev. Dr. Trench, a man of European fame as a scholar. He sat at that board and

did his share of the toil and labour with the Catholic Lord Mayor of the City. And never absent when good was to be done in Ireland—God bless them!—were the society of friends! I saw the fruits of their charity and munificence in 1847. It was ready to well up in 1847, and it was ready to well up then. Home came Parnell from America, a victor in the cause of charity, and now what was the task before them? Was this visit to the nations of the world to become periodic? The Turk had given us his charity gift, the Indian Prince, the Mahommedan, and the Hindoo dropped a munificent contribution into the alms-box of Ireland. But had we no pride, no pride of manhood, to make us recoil from this thing becoming perpetual? Was it not the most supreme act of benevolence to try to arrest the system which made these things periodical visitations in Ireland, and in Ireland alone? So they said, "We shall make an end of Irish landlordism." No, "Irish landlords," said the Attorney-General, as if when he and his political chief were a few years ago conspiring, confederating, and combining to make an end of Irish Churchism they intended to destroy and massacre all Irish Churchmen. They pretended to see no difference here: but he knows the difference very well. The difference is between assailing a system and the individuals who compose it. So the defendants girded themselves up for this struggle. Who were they? Here they stand to-day, brought to trial in an atmosphere,—I had almost said of calumny—no, not of calumny, for the shafts that have been aimed at them have (alien short; but you know, gentlemen of the jury, that the Crown lay by for months, while public journals in this city and elsewhere, as they thought, educated the juror class to a proper pitch of prejudice and passion. And for that purpose this trial was delayed until the moment had come to strike; when the beastly caricatures of the London press had made the name of Irishmen sufficiently odious and detestable, and the broadsheets of prejudice had gone to every home, it was thought to poison the minds of the men who might sit in that box. What was the picture drawn of these men? They were wicked conspirators and Communists. Even in this court a prosecutor to whom I pay the homage of my respect—I cannot praise, but I know the contrast this prosecution presents to others that went before—but still he made these charges. Look at the men. Is Charles Stewart Parnell the venal agitator living on agitation as his means of bread? What have these men put in their pockets? Look at the humblest of them all, who is sneered at because he plied his honest trade in a Western town. It came out in the evidence that he pays out of his too slender purse his travelling expenses, being no paid agent, and not even, I believe, a member of the Land League at all—a charge, and I hope the Attorney-General, who has left it rankling, perhaps, in some minds, will have the honesty to withdraw. He was unable to prove, because it was false, that either Nally or this man were members of the Land League at all, much less that they were paid agents. And my client, Patrick Egan, in whom I not only see a client but proudly claim a friend of many a long year, that friend for whom I would cross not merely sixty miles of sea, but speed from the utter ends of the world were he in peril, to give him my advocacy and aid. I have known him long; is he a venal agitator? What has he given up—what has he done in this noble work of benevolence and patriotism? Providence has given to him all that makes life happy at this side of the grave—a stainless reputation, a happy home, a wife whom he loves, children who wait his footfall in the hall. I have known him long; but little as he moved in the outer circle of public life he is well known in every organisation in this city, whether at Christmas or Winter's depth, for the alleviation of the suffering of the poor. Knowing my friend as I do, I should have called him false to all his career, false to the principles of his blameless life, if the efforts of the Land League found him absent from its ranks. These are the men whom you are asked to convict as criminals to-day. They have gathered the alms of the world: and now, were these alms to pass into the landlords' pockets as rent? It is no imaginative case, it is a public fact well known, that in many cases the alms given from the charities of these societies in Dublin were appropriated or donated as rent. Long, long had those impossible rents been paid by nothing that the landlord had a moral right to tax, but by the remittances of the child, the son or the daughter in America. Long had these impossible rents beyond the Shannon been paid by the supreme industry of these Western harvestmen who have been libelled as indolent and lazy. And, oh! gentlemen, at what a price, how often, was that rent won by them! Not a coasting steamer crossing to Liverpool from Sligo, Cork, Drogheda, or Dublin, comes to disaster in the Summer time that some of these poor harvestmen are not sent to their doom in their efforts to wring from a foreign land the impossible rent for the little plot at home. No, not a railway disaster in the sister isle at some seasons of the year, with its tales of suffering and death, in which some frieze-coated Irish peasant does not perish, a victim to landlord greed and heartlessness. I cannot present to you as the absolute fact, though fact it be, one story out of many which I myself have read or known, and which comes at this moment to my mind. Lest I should transgress a ruling of the bench, I can only present it as an illustration of my argument of the fate of some of these poor harvestmen in these English railway slaughters. I ask you to picture one of them, lifted from the wreck of the train, mangled and bleeding, while in his pocket is found the letter that tells the story of his life, that he had left in Mayo a wife and four little children, and came, the second time that year, to England to earn another £12, an additional call by the landlord, because the noble lord was spending munificently in garden parties in the West End. And as the kindly hearted English station-master lifted him up and saw the life-blood welling from his heart, he heard the dying peasant murmur of the children and wife at home in distant Connemara. Gentlemen,

you remember the lines in which Byron describes for us the gladiator dying in the Roman arena while the shout of exultation was in his ears,

*"He heard it but he heeded not. His eyes  
Were with his heart, and that was far away;  
He recked not of the life he lost, nor prize;  
But where his rude hut by the Danube lay,  
There were his young barbarians all at play;  
There was their Dacian mother—he, their sire,  
Butchered to make a Roman holiday."*

Ah, yes! Charles Stewart Parnell, John Dillon, Patrick Egan, not in this court, where you now appear arraigned as criminals, but before that dread bar where all must one day stand, should you account for it if amidst gathering perils like these you felt not for your own countrymen, if hardening your heart and closing your ears to the plaints of misery, you wrapped yourselves in sordid selfishness of profit, pleasure, or ambition, and, like so many others, stifled conscience by murmuring, "Am I my brother's keeper." And in that you passed not by the wounded on the wayside, but sought to lift him up and staunch his wounds, in that you have pleaded, and begged, and striven, and fought, and suffered for the lowly and the desolate, you shall have your reward from Him who has promised that the lightning of His just wrath shall strike the oppressors of the poor. Nor shall this band of aspiring Samaritans wait for vindication even here. The world often stones its prophets, and the track of the philanthropist and the patriot is often but the road to martyrdom; yet kind Heaven often gives it to some to see the fruition of their hopes even at this side of the grave. Living witnesses shall behold the accomplishment of the blessings those men will have won for us all. Yes, it must be so. There will be an end of this horrid phantasmagoria of history, The temple of Janus must be closed. Peace and good-will, concord and kindly feeling, between class and class, and creed and creed, must have their home in this isle of ours, long wasted by the demoniac passions of this cruel land war. Rich and poor we may have still, but no longer tyrant and slave. No eternal spectre of despair shall darken for ever the peasant's home. The Irish farmer shall lie down at night beneath his humble roof to start no more in dreams of terror of the crowbar and the bailiff at the door. And, think you, gentlemen of the jury, that the Irish people, made free, and happy, and secure, will fail hereafter in their blessings and their prayers to remember the men who have worked out their liberation.

*"If they value the blessings that shine on each hearth—  
The wife's loving welcome, the children's sweet mirth—  
When they taste them at eve they will think upon those  
Who have purchased for them their domestic repose;  
And give honour to him, who, when danger afar  
Had lighted for ruin its ominous star,  
Left pleasures, and country, and kindred behind.  
And sped to the shock on the wings of the wind!"*

And you, gentlemen—you, too, mean to bear a part in the great events that are at hand—you will have a share of the gratitude and glory which history will accord to the benefactors of their country. You well know what great changes are drawing near—you well know what important measures the Minister of England is even now preparing. Yes, at the very moment he asks you to link your names with a proceeding which he knows posterity will execrate, he is about to win for himself fresh glory and power by overthrowing the very system he asks you to endeavour to sustain—your share to be all the obloquy—his all the fame! No, no; you will answer him back that, howsoever you may be in religious or political belief, you are twelve Irishmen resolved to leave upon record a nobler part in this moment of your country's fate, I told you you were there as the country. Speak with the voice of Ireland for justice and for right. And if you hear, as doubtless you shall when I am done, an adjuration addressed to you "to vindicate the majesty of the law"—that ancient formula so oft evoked to lure twelve honest men into complicity with the darkest crimes of oppression!—answer through your verdict that law derives no majesty from its vindictive power of terror or punishment—none when divorced from the sacred principles it is presumed and bound to mirror forth—the eternal equities of God. Speak! Speak the words that shall be hailed as a message of mercy in the peasant home—that shall resound as an evangel of peace and liberty throughout this long-distracted land, and be yours the hands to close for ever this record of a nation's suffering, all stained and blotted by blood and tears.

decorative feature  
Edwards and Green, Printers, Featherston Street, Wellington.

TEMPLE,

*June 15th, 1880.*

The following "Extract," though strictly accurate, scarcely expresses—for no statement could fully express—the audacity with which the House of Commons, as a deliberative assembly, can be obstructed and defeated by a mere handful of its members, when it proposes to discuss a question of great public interest, on which an overwhelming majority of its members are known to have formed a decided opinion, by a flagrant abuse of that liberty of speech—hitherto the glory of the House, but now threatening to become its shame—which for five years past has defeated, and may for fifty years to come continue to defeat, the discussion and progress of a question which has been already seven times emphatically approved by the House. Driven from the field of argument, the opponents of the Deceased Wife's Sister Bill have taken refuge in the tactics of obstruction, and the friends of the measure are entitled to appeal, and do now appeal, even to its opponents, for that fairness and justice to which in the House of Commons the promoters of any measure are entitled, and which, if denied, is denied at the sacrifice of the character of that assembly in the midst of which every proposal is assumed to be subject to the chances of debate—not wilfully excluded altogether from discussion.

Thomas Chambers.

## **Extract From "*The Graphic*."**

May 29th, 1880.

Now Members, whose presence in the House is so demonstrative, and in respect to whose welfare so much solicitude is expressed, had an opportunity on Tuesday night of studying one of the more elaborate forms of Parliamentary procedure. There were not many Bills on the Orders; but to some two or three hundred gentlemen the interest of the evening was centred on the fact that the first place in the Orders was obtained for the Bill Legalizing Marriage with a Deceased Wife's Sister.

The engagement of Tuesday commenced very quietly, and for some hours the unsophisticated New Member would have no suspicion of what was in the wind. There had been an important speech made by Mr. Gladstone on the question of policy in South Africa, and then Mr. Gregory had introduced the question of Land Reform, moving the Government to give effect by legislation to the recommendation of the Committee on Land Tithes and Transfers.

Here, it is true, the well-informed student of Parliamentary affairs must suspect that in the curious anxiety for debate there was something more than met the eye. Two days earlier Mr. Gladstone, replying to a question, had shown how impossible it was to deal with the Land Question in what was left of the Session. But he undertook that the attention of the Cabinet should be devoted to it during the Recess, and that a comprehensive Bill should be introduced at the earliest possible date. was manifestly a waste of time to discuss the question in these circumstances.

Mr. Gregory in a very thin house, and in a drowsy undertone, was understood for the space of nearly an hour to be discoursing on the subject. Nobody listened for several reasons, the first being that there was hardly anybody present to hear. If there had been, neither the subject nor the orator was calculated to attract the giddy mind, or enchain the sober imagination.

When Mr. Gregory sat down, two or three Members made speeches, and then Mr. Osborne Morgan, the Judge Advocate-General, who in an especial manner has made this question his own, offered a few observations, chiefly directed to showing what everybody felt, that to make speeches on this matter now was sheer waste of time. It did not come within the practical purview of the Session., and might well be left over until the floodgates of talk were formally and legally opened by the introduction of a Bill. Mr. Gregory (having made his own speech) cordially assented to this view, and proposed to withdraw his resolution. It was scarcely eight o'clock, and had this course been adopted, sufficient time was left for disposing of the whole business on the paper including the Deceased Wife's Sister Bill. Just as the Speaker was putting the question, Colonel Makins rose and proposed to offer a few observations. The gallant Colonel is well known to the supporters of the Marriage Bill as an ally of Mr. Beresford Hope in the assaults upon the measure, and the curious coincidence of his interposition on the land question at a time when the debate had naturally exhausted itself and the audience, caused them to regard him with suspicion.

Before he had been on his legs a quarter of an hour suspicion became a certainty, and certainly found expression in indignant murmurs from Mr. Hopwood, Mr. Macdonald, and other champions of the purity of Parliamentary tactics. Like Mr. Gregory, Colonel Makins is not an orator, though he has had one memorable success, and enjoys the rare distinction of adding a phrase to the popular vocabulary. It was to him that was addressed that famous petition, praying for the release of "that unhappy nobleman now languishing in Her Majesty's prison at Dartmoor." Colonel Makins introduced that petition with a dry humour that added greatly to its point, and secured for him a distinct success.

His speech on Tuesday night was not lacking in manifestations of this same humour, though to those compelled to sit and listen for upwards of an hour, the final impression was somewhat depressing. It being the gallant Colonel's scarcely concealed intention to occupy the time of the House with the object of preventing its reaching another Bill, he could not afford to keep himself very closely to his text.

In similar circumstances Mr. Biggar had produced a Blue Book, out of which he culled choice passages, and read them for the space of four hours. Colonel Makins disdained this example, and preferred rather to consider the question of land tenure in a survey extending from China to Peru. When he had got as far as Algeria.—as nearly as possible midway on the journey—Mr. Macdonald interposed, and asked the Speaker whether he was in order in alluding to the affairs in Algeria?

The Speaker ruled that reference to the land system in Algeria was not strictly irrelevant to the question. "That being your ruling, Sir," said Colonel Makins on rising again; "let us now return to Algeria." And back he went, keeping hon, members under its arid sky, fuming and fretting, for an additional quarter of an hour.

When Colonel Makins sat down, Mr. Beresford Hope, the great leader of the Opposition to the Marriage Bill, rose, and was greeted with a despairing groan. Mr. Hope, like Colonel Makins, affected foreign parts, and in the course of his essay on the system of Land Titles Transfers throughout the civilized world, interposed a graphic and amusing description of the *notaire* as presented on the English stage in *opera comique*. This, like Algeria, proved the last straw to break the back of the friends of the Bill. Mr. Hopwood rose, and in a solemn manner appealed to the Speaker whether the *notaire* was relevant to the matter. This time the Speaker ruled Mr. Hope out of order. "Then," said the right hon, gentleman, rising again, and waving his hand with Batavian grace in the direction of the discomfited party, "I will leave hon, gentlemen to find out for themselves what is the meaning of the word *notaire*."

All things must come to an end, and after many hours this episode closed. Then came Earl Percy with a motion for a Select Committee on the subject of Ancient Monuments. This being a new question it was open to the opponents of the Marriage Bill to commence *de novo*, and they did. Mr Beresford Hope gallantly made another *reconnaissance*, and several new battalions were brought into action.

The excitement grew in force as Mr. Mark Stewart smilingly discussing Ancient Monuments with one eye on that already antique monument of Parliamentary perseverance, the Deceased Wife's Sister Bill. All reserve was now broken down, and the triumphantly elected Member for Wigtown spoke amid an incessant roar. But he smiled his way through the hubbub, even thankful for it as assisting him to fill up the time. Then the adjournment of the debate was moved, whereupon, with some such whoop as Red Indians were accustomed to emit on the unexpected discovery of an enemy, Mr. Beresford Hope rose for the third time. Other speeches and the division took up some time, then there was a conversation on the appointment of the Committee on the Members' Refreshment Rooms. Finally half-past twelve chimed and in accordance with the Rule that prohibits opposed business being taken after that hour the Marriage with a Deceased Wife's Sister Bill was shelved.

Marriage With a Deceased Wife's Sister.  
Speech of the Late

*Right Hon. Sir Alexander James Edmund Cockburn, BART., G.C.B.,*  
Lord Chief Justice of England,

DELIVERED

In the House of Commons,

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 6, 1850,

On the Second Reading of the Bill

For Legalizing Marriage with a Deceased Wife's Sister.

## Speech.

MR. Cockburn said, the line of argument taken on the present occasion by hon. Gentlemen who opposed this Bill differed so much from that adopted by them on former ones, that he trusted that the House would excuse him in making a few observations in answer to the arguments he alluded to. He was happy that the matter had been discussed without reference to the divine law. That line of opposition appeared to be

abandoned. [Mr. ROUNDELL PALMER: No, no!] At least virtually abandoned, unless, indeed, by his hon. and learned Friend the Member for Plymouth, who seemed still to be disposed to adhere to it. His hon. and learned Friend the Member for Abingdon had in the outset of his argument admitted that the religious part of the question was involved in so much doubt and difficulty, that he was led to wish it might be settled by the authority of the Church itself. This, however, was impossible, as he (Mr. Cockburn) thought, seeing that the members of the Church differed amongst themselves on this subject. It was well known that the bishops themselves were not unanimous on the point, and the body of the clergy differed to a very considerable extent; besides, as had been well observed by his hon. and learned Friend the Member for the city of Oxford, how could the clergy settle this matter, even supposing the Church to be unanimous, while the Dissenters were also unanimous on the opposite side of the question? What right also had the Church to interfere in this matter, which was purely, as far as the religious part of the question was concerned, one for men to settle with their own consciences. His hon. and learned Friend the Member for the city of Oxford had gone even farther than his hon. and learned Friend the Member for Abingdon. He had admitted that the text upon which the opponents of the Bill had so much relied was against them. Nor could there be a doubt that such was the fact; for the text only prohibited a man's marrying his wife's sister during the lifetime of the former; how could this be made to apply to a marriage after her death? It was a sound and established canon of construction that that which was not prohibited by the express terms of a prohibitory law was tacitly admitted; therefore the text was in favour of the case. Moreover, his hon. and learned Friend the Member for Oxford had admitted that, instead of being against, the Hebrew Church had at all times been in favour of such marriages. His hon. and learned Friend had indeed discovered that there had existed an obscure sect of the Hebrew Church, which differed from the established church of the Jews on this point. Of this sect, however, he would undertake to say not twelve men in that House had ever heard; was their dissent to weigh against the opinion of the Jewish Church in all ages? It was impossible, therefore, for the opponents of the Bill to take their stand on the divine law, as it was termed. His hon. and learned Friend the Member for the city of Oxford, however, while conceding that the text of the Hebrew law was against him, had argued that the authority of the Jewish religion was not binding on them, because they were Christians. And his hon. and learned Friend had referred to the Sermon on the Mount as showing how great a modification of the old law had been effected by the Christian dispensation. He (Mr. Cockburn) fully admitted it; but he defied his learned Friend to show, from one end of the New Testament to the other, a single word prohibiting these marriages. And this was the more striking, because the subject of marriages immediately analogous to these had been brought under the attention of the Divine Author of Christianity, and not one word of prohibition had been uttered by him against them. Considering the religious objection as disposed of, he would now come to the social and moral grounds that had been brought forward against the measure. It had been alleged that the legalising such marriages would disturb the sanctity of domestic life. It had been said that a wife's sister might become an inmate in the family, and in consequence of the familiarity with which she was treated, might be exposed to the danger of seduction by the husband, and that from an apprehension of such a connection the wife might be vexed with jealous feelings, and the peace of the domestic hearth thus be fatally disturbed. His hon. and learned Friend had spoken in terms of glowing eulogy of the morality of this country, and had asserted that England in that respect stood higher than other countries; and yet at the same time they were told that there was such an utter absence of all principle on the part of husbands—that they were so lost to every principle of morality, to every feeling of honour—that they would seek to seduce their own wives' sisters; and that the young unmarried women were so destitute of all sense of shame, so innately corrupt and profligate, that they would betray their own sisters and sacrifice their own honour by an adulterous intercourse with their sisters' husbands. Then, as regarded the wife's apprehensions: if the wife felt any pang of jealousy, they might depend upon it she would soon get rid of her sister. But the unerring proof that such consequences would not result from such marriages, was to be found in the fact that they were sanctioned throughout nearly every civilised country in the world. They were permitted in nearly every State of the continent of Europe and in America, yet complaints of this kind had never been heard of in any one of them. The hon. and learned Members for Plymouth and Oxford said that the examples of other countries were not binding on us; but these examples had not been adduced by way of authority, but for the purpose of showing that such marriages had existed for a long period in many moral and civilised nations, and that none of the evils had arisen which it had been predicted would arise if this Bill was passed. It might be very well for us to arrogate to ourselves a higher degree of morality for this over other countries; and he admitted there were some countries in Europe where the same feeling as to chastity after marriage did not exist as in this nation; but there were other countries where these marriages were allowed, such as the north of Germany, Holland, and Switzerland, where the standard of morality was as high as it was in this country. Would any one get up in that House and say that the standard of morality and chastity was not as high among the Anglo-Saxon race in the United States of America as in England? If the consequences and effects of these marriages were destructive of domestic peace, would any civilised nation have endured their continuance for

any length of time? He thought, therefore, that these grounds of opposition might be put aside as purely imaginary. Having disposed of these objections, he contended that such marriages should be allowed, on account of the real good that would result from them. There could be no doubt that the greatest advantage and benefit would accrue to the children from such a marriage where the mother died early in life. Every one admitted that the fittest person to supply the place of a deceased mother towards her children was her sister. Put the case of a mother about to die—whom would she select, on her death-bed, as a second mother for her young children? There could be no doubt that it would be her sister. They had been told, however, that if this Bill became law, they would prevent the possibility of the aunt taking the place of guardian of the children, where no marriage took place between her and the father, whereby the children would lose the benefit of her protection. His answer was that she could not do it now, if the parties were of an age when mutual passion might be likely to spring up. He did not believe that a young unmarried woman could live in a house with a young widower where there were no ties of blood to revolt against any feeling of attachment, without being open to a certain amount of observation. Would any hon. Member, as a father or a brother, wish his daughter or sister to live with her widowed brother-in-law in such a state of domestic intimacy, or expect that it would pass without notice from persons who might be disposed to make censorious or malicious observations? His hon. and learned Friend the Member for Sheffield said that nothing could be more delightful than the relation of brother and sister; but they could not, when this tie did not exist, create it by artificial means or by legal enactment, nor prevent by such means mutual feelings of attachment from springing up between man and woman. The practical result of all experience on this subject showed that when feelings of this kind grew up between a man and his wife's sister, you could not by prohibitory laws prevent their marrying. Mankind were so accustomed to look upon marriage as a matter of religious sanction, that when they were satisfied that the divine law did not prevent a particular marriage, they would seek to evade the law which prohibited it: their consciences would be satisfied, nor would their friends and relations blame them, or look upon them as dishonoured. From the time of passing this law, in 1835, he found that in a very limited district 1,500 marriages of this kind had taken place. It was notorious that a vast number of persons wishing to marry under these circumstances went abroad for that purpose. The children of those married in this country, unless the marriages should be legalised, would be bastardised. If such marriages took place abroad, their legality would probably hereafter be disputed. This would give rise to endless litigation, and to the distress of those innocent parties who having believed that their parents were legally married, might one day find that they were illegitimate. If the evils which might thus arise respected those only who contracted such marriages in spite of the law, little sympathy might be felt for them; but in these cases the interests of the innocent were involved. It appeared to him that they had no right to place a check on acts which involved human happiness, unless it could be shown that it was necessary to do so to prevent a greater amount of evil. The hon. and learned Member for the city of Oxford argued that it was not necessary the divine law should forbid such marriages, if there were reasons of public policy which rendered them improper. To show this, he stated that some of the nations of antiquity prohibited marriages within certain degrees of affinity. No one disputed this, for it was for the common interests of mankind that marriages of persons closely allied in blood should not be allowed. If such unions were allowed, not only would mankind become demoralised, but also the human race itself would be deteriorated. Of course under such circumstances the common experience of mankind demanded restrictions, but there was nothing of this kind involved in the sanctioning such marriages as were referred to in the Bill before the House. It appeared to him, then, that there was no ground, religious, moral, or social, for opposing this measure; while there were the strongest reasons of justice and policy for passing it: he should, therefore, give it his cordial support.

London: Cornelius Buck, 22, Paternoster Row. E.C.  
An Historical View of the Restrictions Upon Marriage,  
Especially in Relation to England.  
With the True Reasons Why Marriage with the Sister of a Deceased Wife was Prohibited.  
BY AN ANTIQUARY.  
London: S. Golbourn, 66, Whitcomb Street, Leicester Square, W.C. 1880.

## Historical View, etc.

THE prohibition of marriage with the sister of a deceased wife now occupies a considerable share of public attention in consequence of the late decision against the validity in England of such marriages, whether contracted in Protestant states, where they are lawful, or in Roman Catholic countries, where dispensations are readily granted.

Cardinal Wiseman, in his evidence before the Commissioners of the House of Commons, was asked the

following question:—"With reference to Scripture, is such a marriage [as that with a sister of a deceased wife] held by your church as prohibited?" He answered, "Certainly not; it is considered a matter of ecclesiastical regulation" (*Report*, p. 104). Afterwards he said, "I have had a great many cases of the sort, and have never refused a dispensation. The children are attached to their aunt, and it appears altogether the most natural arrangement for their happiness" (p. 105).

The rule of international law, that "a marriage, valid by the laws of the country in which it is contracted, is valid everywhere," is decided to be subservient to "the law of the country in which the matrimonial residence is contemplated."

In this respect our law differs from that of the United States of America. The celebrated American jurist, Judge Story, says,—"If a foreign state allows of marriages contrary to the *law of nature*, as between parent and child, such marriage would not be allowed to have any validity here; but marriages, not naturally unlawful but prohibited by the law of one State and not of another, if celebrated where they are not prohibited, would be holden valid in a State where they are not allowed." (*Conflict of the Laws*, p. 107.)

When Judge Story wrote this book (little more than thirty years ago), there were some States of America, and some cantons of Switzerland, in which marriage with the sister of a deceased wife was still prohibited. The last of these prohibitions was repealed in America in 1850, and (except in the thinly populated canton of Vaud, where the old law has not yet been disturbed) the last in Switzerland in 1853. So that, at the present time, our own country, and a twenty-second part of Switzerland, are not merely the only parts of Europe, but *the sole remaining portions of the globe in which such a marriage may not be legally celebrated*.

Even Russia is a pattern of liberality to England in this respect, for although the Greek Church maintains such singular prohibitions as "spiritual affinity," to members of her own creed, she does not impose them upon others.

It is, therefore, worthy of inquiry—Upon what foundation was this restriction originally laid? Why was the prohibition of marriage with the sister of a deceased wife retained in England, when so many others, equally unsupported by Scripture, were swept away? The answer is easily given, and it is desirable that the facts should be more generally known.

As to the Theological Part of the Inquiry, no such prohibition is to be found in any part of the Old or New Testament. On the contrary, the case of marriage with two sisters is included in the very chapter from which all our prohibitions are derived, and the only limitation being to the lifetime of the first sister,

"Neither shalt thou take a wife to her sister, to vex *her*, to uncover her nakedness, beside the other in her life *time*" (Levit. xviii. 18).

seems to preclude the possibility of misconstruction on this point. It is not a case overlooked, undetermined, or left to conjecture.

The arguments for the prohibition which lay claim to any authority from Scripture, are therefore derived from inferential reasoning. The first inference is, that such a marriage must be forbidden under the words, "None of you shall approach to any that is *near of kin* to him" (v. 6). But in the first place, this, the preliminary verse, is immediately followed by a specification of the nearness of kin prohibited. Secondly, even if the sister of a deceased wife were not excepted, as she is, from those prohibitions, she could not be included in this, being neither *akin* to the man in the Hebrew nor in the English sense. "Consanguinity, or kindred," says Blackstone, "is defined by writers on those subjects to be '*vinculum personarum ab eodem stipite descendentium*,' the connexion or relation of persons descended from the same stock or common ancestor" (*Commentaries*, bk. ii. c. 14). The meaning of the Hebrew words, "*col shear besaro*," which we translate "any that is near of kin," is literally "any remnant of his flesh." No one contends for any further variation than to make it "flesh of his flesh," or, "relations of his flesh," in any case *blood* relations.

The second inference is drawn from the prohibition in the sixteenth verse against marrying a brother's wife.

The only way in which such an inference can *touch* the question is to take it as a parallel degree, and then to suppose it to overrule the subsequent exception made in the case of a wife's sister.

Against the parallel it has been argued, that a married woman becomes a member of her husband's family, and that he does not of the wife's.

The Rev. Dr. M'Caul says:—"The inference from brother's wife to wife's sister has been conceded *for the sake of argument*; but according to the principles of the Mosaic law and of the New Testament, this inference is invalid. The ground of the inference is supposed to be the union of man and wife into one flesh; whence it is argued, that the *relations* of the one become the relations of the other, and in the same degree. The fallacy of this argument has already been pointed out by others, by showing how many marriages, now allowed by the Church and civil law of England, would thus become incestuous and unlawful. I therefore confine myself to Scripture, and observe that, according to the Mosaic law, the wife becomes incorporated into the family of the husband as long as the husband lives, and after his death, so long as she remains a widow; but the husband is not incorporated into the family of the wife. His relations become her relations, but her relations do not become

his relations. In the first place, the wife loses her family name, and obtains of right that of her husband. In the next, she is so entirely reckoned as part of her husband's family, that she is entitled to all the privileges to which birth in that family would have entitled her. Thus Ruth, the Moabitess, became by marriage a member of the tribe of Judah, and when a widow, entitled to all the privileges of the law of the Levirate, just as much as if she had been descended from Judah himself, but her husband did not become a Moabite." This argument is further supported by quotations from the law of Moses, etc., etc. (see *The Ancient Interpretation of Levit.* xviii. 18, as received in the church for more than 1500 years, by the Rev. A. M'Caul, D.D., Prebendary of St. Paul's, etc., 8vo. pamphlet, 1859, p. 36).

But the broad ground is, that this case, so far from condemning is wholly confirmatory of the other. Although forbidden to marry his brother's wife, yet, if the husband left no child, his brother was not merely permitted, but commanded to marry the widow,

Deuteronomy xxv. 5: "If brethren dwell together, and one of them die, and have no child, the wife of the dead shall not marry without unto a stranger: her husband's brother shall go in unto her, and take her to him to wife, and perform the duty of an husband's brother unto her."

—a clear proof that there was nothing of a moral nature involved in the prohibition. If it had been otherwise, Moses would have ordered a more remote kinsman of the husband, and not the brother, to marry the widow. Saint Augustin, "comparing the prohibition with the command," admits that "it is no little question" whether the former may not have been intended for the wife of a living and not of a dead brother; adding, that a prohibition was necessary in the case of a living brother among the Jews, because Moses suffered them "for the hardness of their hearts to put away their wives."

The necessity cannot be more clearly shown than in the case of Josephus, the Jewish historian, who tells us in his *Life*, "About this time I put away my wife, who had borne me three children, not being pleased with her manners."

The New Testament affords instances both of the Mosaic prohibition and of the command. First, Herod reproved by John the Baptist for putting away his wife to marry Herodias, his brother Philip's wife, while Philip was living. Secondly, the case submitted to our Lord in the 22nd chapter of St. Matthew, of seven brothers who had married one woman in compliance with the command. Now, our Saviour overruled the decision of the old law with regard to polygamy, by teaching us that it is contrary to the purpose of the Creator. He again overruled the law as to the putting away of wives; but as He neither reproved, nor in any way altered this law, though brought immediately before Him, who shall say that it ought to be overruled?

Some have argued for extending prohibitions, by asserting that Moses has forbidden marriage with the mother, but has not forbidden marriage with the daughter. Yet, in the seventeenth verse he forbids a man to take to wife "a woman and her daughter," and surely one who should marry his own daughter would violate this law in its most execrable form.

It is not then on scriptural grounds that this prohibition can be defended; its origin is wholly derivable from RULES AND ORDINANCES OF THE MONASTIC AGES, which we will now consider.

When the Hindoo widow prepares to sacrifice herself upon the funeral pyre of her husband, it is because she has been taught that his death is but an interruption to the conjugal union, and that the contract will be revived in its full vigour upon her own decease. The same belief was imported from Heathenism into Christianity by some of the early converts. Upon this Elysian-Fields-principle they raised the long favourite doctrine of *Monogamia*—that a man or woman should marry but once, because the rights of the deceased would be violated by any fresh contract into which the survivor might enter.

*"Sic nos consociabimur sepulti  
Et vivis erimus beatiores."*

Hence all second marriages were branded as improper and unbecoming in Christians.

After this doctrine had full and uninterrupted sway for one hundred and fifty years, it was first discovered that marriage with the sister of a deceased wife should be especially prohibited.

The following authorities were first adduced by the Rev. Dr. M'Caul in *A Letter to Vice-Chancellor Sir W. Page Wood*, and are here cited after due reference to the originals.

Athenagoras, who wrote between A.D. 160 and 170, says that "*second marriage is a sort of decent adultery*," and boasts that the practice of Christians was to remain unmarried, or to marry but once. Theophilus of Antioch, who wrote about the same time, also affirms that Christians married but once; and Tertullian, another contemporary, wrote two books to his wife to warn her against second marriage as contrary to the original institution in the time of Adam and Eve.

In the middle of the next century, Origen not only declared that a second marriage excludes him that is

guilty from being bishop, priest, or deacon; but also that "*second, third, and fourth marriages exclude from any part of the kingdom of heaven.*"

Fifty years after this came the first prohibition against second marriage with the sister of a deceased wife. It was from a small provincial council of Spanish bishops held at Eliberis in A.D. 305. This council enjoys also the distinction of having been the first to prohibit absolutely the marriage of the clergy.

Nine years later followed the first prohibition against marriage with a brother's widow. This came from the council of Neocæsarea (a city of Pontus, in Asia Minor), in A.D. 314. Marriage with a wife's sister was not there prohibited, but *all* who married a second time were to undergo penance, and priests were forbidden to be present at the marriage feast. It also commanded the degradation of those who married after ordination.

A somewhat similar law is found in the so-called "Apostolic Canons," which are equally of the beginning of the fourth century. By these, any man who married a widow, a servant-maid, two sisters in succession, or contracted *any* second marriage, was not to be admitted into holy orders. It is now confessed that these Canons have no claim to their "Apostolic" title.

The first check to these doctrines proceeded from the General Council of the Eastern and Western Churches, assembled at Nice in A.D. 325. By its eighth Canon it was made a primary condition, upon receiving the *Katharoi*, or Purists, into the Catholic and Apostolic Church, that they should hold communion with those who had contracted second marriages, and with those who had only lapsed from the faith through persecution. This *general* Council did not prohibit second marriage with a wife's sister or brother's widow, neither did it enforce celibacy upon the clergy.

So far it was a church question only; but in A.D. 355 Constantius altered the law of the Roman Empire. Some, not liking to owe the first prohibition of marriage with the sister of a deceased wife to an Arian, have quoted this law as of Constantius *and Constans*, although history says that Constans was killed five years before. It may also be remarked, that the greatest restrictions upon marriage (such as prohibitions of "spiritual affinity"), and the most cruel laws (such as burning to death cousins who intermarried), proceeded not from the most moral, but from some of the very worst of Roman Emperors.

Nearly twenty years after its thus passing into a law, St. Basil wrote the answer to Diodorus which has been so much quoted as an authority for continuing the prohibition. Some are disinclined to admit that Basil's correspondent was "the learned Diodorus," Bishop of Tarsus, and previously a presbyter of Antioch; but as the writer who called forth this reply was considered "an authority"—one whose "letter was carried about as a *trophy* against Basil,"—as he named other parts in which such marriages were permitted—and as we further know Basil to have been in correspondence with this Diodorus, and have no proof even of the existence of any other, it would be reasonable to assume the identity, if we had not also the corroborative evidence of a later Greek writer. In one of Basil's letters he thanks Diodorus for two books that he had written, praises them, and hopes he will write more.

Diodorus had been appealed to on the subject of second marriage with the sister of a deceased wife. He did not consider it unlawful, and addressed himself to Basil, who had forbidden it, defending such marriages from Scripture. Basil replied indignantly, affecting to believe that Diodorus could not have written such a letter, and answered it three ways.

"The first argument," says St. Basil, "and *the strongest in all such questions, is our custom*, which has the force of law, inasmuch as our rules were handed down to us by holy men." His second argument is, that Christians are not under the law, and that "if we find anything in the law favourable to our pleasures, we are not on that account to put ourselves under the yoke of the law." In the third, he endeavours to prove a prohibition from the Old Testament, by bringing in the wife's relations under the head of kindred to the husband, because the wife and he were "one flesh." According to this argument, if two brothers married two sisters, the second marriage would be of brother and sister, and must therefore be forbidden. How very unlike this is to the teaching of the Old Testament will be best shown by the following extract from the book of Numbers xxxvi. 10. "Even as the Lord commanded Moses, so did the daughters of Zelophehad: 11. For Mahlah, Tirzah, and Hoglah, and Milcah, and Noah, the daughters of Zelophehad, were married unto their father's brothers' sons."

Neither the church nor the civil law of England agrees with the second and third of St. Basil's propositions. We retain the moral law of the Jews, unless modified by the New Testament. We do not treat affinity as consanguinity, or else many marriages now lawful would be forbidden.

Let us examine the first, the "customs which had the force of law" with St. Basil. These will be best exemplified by extracts from his own Canons, which he recommends to Amphilocheus, Bishop of Iconium.

Canon 4 treats all second marriages as so sinful as to subject the offender to a year's excommunication, and by Canon 12 he is excluded ever after from holy orders. By Canons 4 and 50, third marriages are denounced as "*filthy, worse than habitual fornication*," and entail *five years excommunication*. This he justifies wholly by "custom;" for although they had a canon against second, there was none against third marriages. By Canon 26, if persons live together as husband and wife, but refuse to marry, they are not to be separated, "lest worse

should come of it." By Canons 9 and 21, he considers that a married man living in lewdness with an unmarried woman *is not an adulterer*. "We have indeed," says he, "no Canon to subject him to the accusation of adultery, if the sin be committed with an unmarried woman." "But he who committeth fornication *shall not be excluded from cohabitation with his wife, so that the woman shall receive her husband when he comes back from fornication.*" He tells us that "the reason of these things is not easy, but so the *custom* has prevailed."

The reason is not indeed easy; and we doubt if Englishwomen would approve the *custom*, or consent to be guided by such authority.

St. Basil was Bishop of Cæsarea, and corresponded with the Bishop and others of the neighbouring province of Neocæsarea, where Origen had taught. He was evidently not a submissive churchman, for he maintained their doctrine of *Monogamia* after it had been condemned by a general council.

From the time of St. Basil restrictions went rolling on, with occasional fluctuations, until they rested at seven degrees of consanguinity, seven of affinity, and seven of spiritual affinity.

Some reader may ask the meaning of the last. It was a supposed spiritual relationship created by baptism; so that if a young man and a young woman, of different families, stood godfather and godmother to the child of a third family, the godfather could not marry the godmother or goddaughter, and the *three families could not intermarry* within seven degrees. Coke instances as a case, that a marriage would have been declared null, and the issue illegitimate, if the husband had been godfather to the wife's cousin.

In England, the canon law was not fully enforced for some centuries after our conversion to Christianity. Pope Gregory I dispensed with all restrictions of consanguinity beyond that of first cousins, to the Anglo-Saxons, in 597, and it appears from canons of the tenth century that our prohibitions did not then exceed four degrees; but from a period long anterior to the Reformation, the laws of marriage were wholly subject to the canons of the Church of Rome. The restrictions of consanguinity and affinity had been generally reduced from seven to four degrees by the fourth Council of Lateran in 1215; and the reason assigned for this relaxation was "that there are but *four* humours in the body, which number is proved by the *four* elements." For such forcible reasons, perhaps, no subsequent increase was attempted; but still the canon law contained so many meshes in which families might unknowingly be caught; such as precontracts on either side, *spiritual* affinity, adoption, etc., any of which would have the effect of annulling the marriage and bastardizing the children, that the only safe way of escape was by dispensation. Some flaw might be detected in any title where the lineage and intermarriages could be thoroughly traced, if this precaution had been neglected. It was not the policy of the Popes to simplify the canon law, because dispensation had become a great source of revenue; and for the same reason the Church of England retains a dispensing power, reserved to the Archbishop of Canterbury in all statutes, and profitably exercised in the granting of ordinary and special marriage-licences.

Dispensations were sought as a means of gaining favour with the all-powerful Church, where impediments could scarcely have existed. In the case of Henry VII and Elizabeth of York, no common ancestor could be traced until upon the verge of a hundred and fifty years, and for more than half that time the two branches of York and Lancaster had been at deadly feud. Yet these two were married by dispensation; and so tender did Henry report his conscience to be, that, not satisfied with one dispensation from the Legate, he obtained a second from the Pope, clearly that it might include a recognition of his title.

THE HISTORY OF OUR PRESENT PROHIBITION of marriage with the sister of a deceased wife, hangs upon another dispensation granted in this reign. Not that it was immediately in question, but imported into the case as a parallel degree to brother's widow.

Prince Arthur, Henry VII's eldest son, was married to Catherine of Arragon, at the old Cathedral of St. Paul, when he was little more than fifteen years of age, and the bride twenty. Prince Arthur died at Ludlow, only five months after the marriage. In the following year, after dispensation from the Pope, a new contract was made for the marriage of Catherine with Prince Henry (Arthur's younger brother), who subsequently came to the throne as Henry VIII. Henry was then only in his thirteenth year, and the marriage took place in his nineteenth, after he had become king.

The character of the Pope who granted the dispensation has been recently held up to obloquy, as a ground for attacking this particular act, but, in the first place, no Pope had the power of dispensing within degrees prohibited in the Old Testament, and in the second, he had here the authority of St. Augustin, who discusses the question, as to whether such a marriage was forbidden, and *decides that it was not*. Again, the translation of the Scriptures by St. Jerome, the Latin Vulgate, had been the authorized version of the Church for then about eight hundred years, and the interpretation of these passages agrees entirely with that of St. Augustin, and with our own.

Marriage with a brother's widow, or with the sister of a deceased wife, was not prohibited by any of the (Ecumenical Councils which alone does the Church of England acknowledge as of any authority.

Henry was perfectly willing to marry Catherine when he became king, and although far from proving a faithful husband, yet, for seventeen years, he treated her with every outward mark of respect. At the expiration

of that time, all chance of Catherine bearing him a son (which he ardently desired) seemed to have passed away, and Henry had become enamoured of Anne Boleyn, then in her twentieth year. Catherine was in her forty-third, and retained little of her former beauty—still she might live many years! *Then* his conscience began to prick him for having married his brother's widow. He applied to the Pope to declare the marriage contrary to the law of God, and therefore one for which his predecessor in the chair of St. Peter had no power to grant dispensation. The difficulties in which the Pope was involved seemed to promise well for Henry's suit, but after long negotiations and delays, it was finally refused, and the refusal led to the overthrow of the Papal power in England.

Henry became to a limited extent a reformer. He approved of the Reformation so far as becoming his own Pope, and replenishing his coffers from the wealth of the clergy; but on other points his views were far less decided. After taking the lion's share of the plunder, he distributed abbeys, monasteries, and the great tithes of parishes, among his courtiers, who highly approved such a head of the church. The less pliable were less fortunate—their share was fire and faggot, the rope, and the block; and these royal favours were distributed to the zealous of both creeds with the strictest impartiality.

Henry waited for no decree to annul his marriage with Catherine before he contracted a new one with Anne Boleyn. Queen Elizabeth, the child of the second marriage, was born on the 7th September, 1533, only *three months and a half after the sentence of divorce* pronounced by Cranmer. The Parliament which passed the statute forbidding appeals to Rome (24 Henry VIII, cap. 12) met in February, 1532-3; the court over which Cranmer presided, derived its authority from that Statute, and Cranmer pronounced the sentence of divorce between Henry and Catherine, on the 23rd of May, 1533.

In the following session of parliament an attempt was made to repair the defect in this marriage, by an act for settling the succession to the throne (25 Henry VIII, cap. 22). By this, the issue of Anne Boleyn was declared to be *lawfully* begotten, and Catherine was no longer to be called Queen, but "Dowager of Prince Arthur." A marriage with a brother's wife, or wife's sister, was now declared to be void as within the prohibited degrees—"according to the just judgment of Thomas, Archbishop of Canterbury." The "grounds" of Cranmer's judgment are said to have been confirmed by the convocations of the clergy, by the two universities, and some foreign universities. Every one knows how those confirmations were extorted. The mixture of fraud and threat by which thirty-seven votes were obtained against twenty-five in the university of Oxford, is best detailed by John Longland, Bishop of Lincoln, one of Henry's three Commissioners.

This letter is among the State Papers, and reprinted in the *Pictorial History of England*, vol. ii. p. 376. It was unknown to our earlier historians, but fully bears out the contemporary account of Lord Herbert, and that of Anthony a Wood. Among other things, Wood says, "That when at last the judgment was obtained, it was extorted by a violent interference with the constitution of the university, and passed surreptitiously at night, amidst open and fearless remonstrances."

Yet, these sixty-two had been "*chosen* to decide the King's cause," and were to be taken as the "definition" and determination of the whole university.

Henry had no great regard for his daughters. By this act he bastardized Mary, and three years later, Elizabeth shared her fate. The king had then married Jane Seymour, and an act was passed declaring the issue of *both* the preceding marriages illegitimate. (28 Henry VIII, cap. 7.)

When Mary came to the throne all was reversed. Henry's marriage with Catherine was solemnly pronounced by Parliament to have been from the beginning "a most true, just, lawful and perfect marriage, having its beginning of God, and by Him continued" (1 Mary, 2 Ses., cap. 1). This statute has never been repealed.

That *either* Queen Mary or Queen Elizabeth must be illegitimate was manifest to all. If the marriage with Catherine was good, then the stigma must rest upon Elizabeth, and if bad, upon Mary. Still, when Elizabeth came to the throne she did not revive the act in which marriage with a brother's wife or wife's sister had been expressly declared within the prohibited degrees. She selected a later statute (32 Henry VIII, cap. 38), which enacts "that all persons are lawful to marry that be not prohibited, by God's law; and that no reservation or prohibition (God's law except), shall trouble or impeach any marriage without the Levitical degrees." This was the first act of Parliament in her reign, and there was no subsequent one upon the subject until the year 1835. It left the question of what is and what is not contrary to God's law undefined, and at the time of its passing, there was a reason why this course should be preferred. Philip of Spain had offered his hand to Elizabeth, upon her accession to the throne, and she stood to him in the degree of sister to a deceased wife. Elizabeth affected no pious horror at such a proposal, but gave him the same hopes as to her subsequent suitors, without any intention of realizing them.

So again with Mary Queen of Scots. Her French relations proposed to her to marry the Duke of Anjou, one of the brothers of her late husband, and it was not from religious scruples, but from purely political motives, that she declined the match.

In truth, religion had very little to do with the matter. It was the interest of princes by which these laws were guided.

Elizabeth's definition of Levitical degrees was kept back for more than four years after the passing of the act. There could be no doubt as to *one* degree that must be prohibited, since her own legitimacy, and consequent right to the throne, rested *entirely* upon the marriage with a brother's widow being void. There was not the same necessity for prohibiting marriage with a wife's sister, but as Philip had re-married, and there was no longer anything to be gained through him, it seemed desirable to follow the example by which her own birth had been declared legitimate; so the act which was passed for the purpose of degrading Queen Catherine, and legalizing Henry's marriage with Anne Boleyn, was implicitly followed.

The table of prohibited degrees was published by *authority* in 1563, and ordered to be placed in churches. It has sometimes been called Archbishop Parker's table, because he was then primate; but its *proper* name is the table of Henry VIII, since he was the sole author.

We may judge a little of Archbishop Parker's feeling on the subject, by the following extract from a letter addressed to him by Bishop Jewell, in the month of June, 1563. (*Works of John Jewell, Parker Soc. Edit.*, p. 1262.) "Chafin, that hath married two sisters, upon his appeal from your Grace and me, hangeth still before the delegates, and, as much as I can perceive, is not likely to take any great hurt at their hands. I would they would decree it was lawful to marry two sisters, so should the world be out of doubt, as now it is passed away in a mockery."

This passage would not have been written by Bishop Jewell if he conscientiously believed such a marriage contrary to the *law of God*; and while he had the best means of knowing the Archbishop's sentiments, he must equally have believed them to coincide with his own; for, if otherwise, it would have been the duty of both to resist, and the mere suggestion of submission became an insult.

Archbishop Parker has sometimes been charged with too great submission to the will of Elizabeth; but it should be borne in mind that no limit had been imposed to the royal prerogative in ecclesiastical affairs. He had witnessed the despotic exercise of ecclesiastical supremacy from the time it was first assumed by Henry VIII, and Elizabeth was certainly not one to be content with the shadow, and refrain from the exercise of power. History proves that, during her entire reign, she was not merely the nominal, but also the real head of the church.

When James I came to the throne, this table of prohibited degrees was accepted in No. 99 of *Constitutions and Canons Ecclesiasticall, agreed upon in the year 1603*; and although this was a convocation of clergy without laity, it has since been treated as Canon law. The Canons were never confirmed by act of parliament. They are a hundred and forty-one in number; but a clergyman, upon ordination, is *now* required to subscribe one only (No. 36). The first twelve excommunicate *ipso facto* (*i.e.*, from the very moment), all who deny the king's spiritual supremacy; all Roman Catholics, Puritans, Dissenters, Maintainers of Conventicles, or any who affirm *one* of the 39 articles to be erroneous. Hallam speaks of them as "obligatory perhaps upon the clergy, but tending to set up an unwarrantable authority over the whole nation." Nonconformists are by these Canons excluded from claiming their debts, from appearing as witnesses, and from all civil rights.

The courts of civil law disregarded the *ipso facto* excommunications, and in the case of marriage with the sister of a deceased wife, they interfered to prevent the institution of suits after the death of either of the contracting parties. If *one* suit was commenced in their lifetime, although a friendly suit which would never be carried through, it precluded all others, and the marriage became unimpeachable. So until 1835 Canon No. 99 remained virtually a dead letter. Few lay-members of the Church of England chose to accept a definition of prohibited degrees from a convocation at which they were unrepresented, especially as that definition is unwarranted by Scripture; and neither Roman Catholics nor Dissenters could entertain any scruple at evading the Canons of a church to which they disclaimed allegiance.

The real pressure, the real restriction upon all, came after the act of Parliament passed in 1835. Although known as Lord Lyndhurst's act, the restrictive clause was added against the wish and intention of its framer. A late bishop bargained for the *future* prohibition of such marriages as the price of his influence to the legalizing of all that *preceded* the passing of the bill. In spite of the seeming in-consistency of this proposal, the terms were accepted, because the immediate object of the act was to remove all question as to the marriage of a late amiable duke with the half-sister of his deceased wife.

Any one who will now turn back to the debate on that bill, will find, that while the part by which such marriages were legalized, met with general assent in the House of Commons, the prohibitory clause nearly caused it to be rejected. It was only permitted, because the legalizing up to that date seemed the greater good, and the bill could not otherwise have passed in that session of parliament. The House of Commons has since affirmed its decision by majorities for the repeal of the restriction in thirty-one divisions out of thirty-three.

After the passing of the act, many believed that their marriages could not be called in question if celebrated abroad, but recent decisions prove that there is no escape. Although the social position of the parents has in no

way been affected, the children have in many cases paid the penalty, and until the act shall be repealed, every year will add to the number.

In those states of America where no prohibition existed, the testimony to the good effect of such marriages were *universal*—not one to the reverse. Hence the removal of their last prohibition.

Where there are young children, no second marriage can be so likely to restore the happiness of families as that of the husband with the sister of the deceased wife. In any other marriage the children become so many incumbrances to the stepmother, and the feeling between them is rather one of duty than affection. Affection may grow up, but experience shows that more frequently discord takes its place, especially where there are children by the second wife.

If good and conscientious people differ in opinion upon this point, a removal of the restriction will *compel* no one to marry his wife's sister. Surely, then, the restrictionists may have toleration for the opinion of many of the best among their own countrymen, backed as it is by Protestant and Roman Catholic countries all over the world.

Weakness of argument has tempted some to use harsh words—words that create prejudice among the unthinking, and so supply the place of argument. The favourite cry for this purpose has been "incest," as having the most hateful sound. It has been used in the form of quotation, where no equivalent exists in the original. They who adopt it should bear in mind that they accuse Moses of commanding the Jews to commit "incest," for the mere purpose of keeping up the families of Israel; that they accuse our Saviour of countenancing the continuation of this "incest" when the occasion had passed away; and that they charge every other country, Protestant or Roman Catholic, with permitting and practising "incest" at the present time. Indeed, they convict themselves; for the same persons would permit two brothers to marry two sisters, and yet, upon their St. Basil theory, the second marriage is clearly as much one of brother and sister as when a man marries the sister of his former wife. Indeed, the first has a double link, the second but a single. So the harsh words recoil only upon their authors. May we all live to see this intolerant spirit die away!

May it not be truly said, that the prohibition had its origin in a heresy? that it was first made law by a heretic? and that it was imposed upon his subjects by Henry VIII, not from any real scruples of conscience, but for the purpose of getting rid of an old wife, and making room for a young one?

There are many who readily admit that marriage with the sister of a deceased wife is not prohibited in Scripture, yet desire to maintain the present prohibition as a social protection. This objection is by far the most generally adopted, and yet no position can be more untenable. The experience of every other country has *proved* the fear of ill consequences from the absence of such "social protection" to be groundless. In the meantime the prohibition is productive of a real social *evil*. While it acts as a harsh restriction upon some, it leads others to contract marriages which are not recognized by the laws of their country, and, with the poorer classes, too often induces a disregard of all ceremony, if not a false oath to a registrar, when they are refused marriage by the clergy. Among the very poor, a wife's sister is generally the most fitting, and not unfrequently the only person who will take charge of her sister's children.

There is surely more reason for extending "social protection" to the female servants of a household than to a wife's sister, a member of another family, brought up under another roof.

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Annual Report of the Dunedin Chamber of Commerce.

August, 1880.

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### Vice-Chairman:

- Robert Wilson.

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- J. Roberts
- G. L. Denniston
- James Ashcroft
- G. Bell
- W. Guthrie
- J. M. Ritchie
- J. Hogg
- Robert Gillies.

## **Secretary:**

- H. Houghton.

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- Aldrich, G. M.
- Austin, Thomas.
- Bastings, H.
- Blyth, George.
- Bathgate, A.
- Begg, A. C.
- Blakeley, John.
- Brown, Thomas.
- Banks, R.
- Beal, L. O.
- Burt, A.
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- Curie, J.
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- Day, Edward.
- Denniston, G. L.
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- Esther, George.
- Ewing, R.
- Edmond, John.
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- Fenwick, George.

- Farquhar, G. P.
- Findlay, J.
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- Gilchrist, William.
- Glendining, R.
- Guthrie, H.
- Gregg, William.
- Guthrie, W.
- Heeles, M. G.
- Hepburn, W.
- Hodgkins, W. M.
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- Hay man, M.
- Haynes, D.
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- McQueen, C.
- McKenzie, R.
- McFarlane, A.
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- North, Henry.

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- Wilson, James.
- Wilson, James.
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- Wright, J. T.
- Wilkinson, T. M.
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- Ziele, C.

## Dunedin Chamber of Commerce.

*Report of the Committee of the Dunedin Chamber of Commerce for the year ending 30th June, 1880, presented at the Annual Meeting held on the 8th September, 1880,—the President, Mr. E. B. CARQILL, in the Chair.*

THE retiring Committee have now to present the usual Annual Report of their proceedings for the past year.

During this period the Committee have held 27 meetings, besides eight General and Special Meetings of the Chamber.

The Committee deeply regret having to record the loss of two members of the Chamber by death during the past year—Mr. H. Tewsley, and Mr. James A. Walcott, both for many years associated with this Chamber, and successively the Chamber's representatives on the Harbour Board at the time of their decease. The vacancy on

the Harbour Board thus caused has been filled by the appointment of Mr. G. C. Matheson.

The commencement of the period covered by this Report found our commercial interests in a state of extreme trial and depression, caused in great measure by the reaction of the monetary crisis in the Home country which followed the failure of the City of Glasgow Bank. Our staple Wool fell to a very low range of value, trade was impeded by dear money and by the extremely stringent policy which the Banks and other monetary institutions were compelled for the time to adopt, and the resulting depression was all the more severely felt in that it followed closely upon a period of very free money facilities and an undue inflation of values, accompanied by much speculation, especially in landed property. It is surely no small testimony to the general soundness of our trade and the prudence of our traders, as well as to the substantial character of our resources, that this time of trial has been passed through without serious disaster, and that in the Otago district comparatively few commercial failures and none of importance have occurred. There is good ground for believing that the bad times are passing away, and that we are now entering upon a period of renewed prosperity. Nothing is lacking in the resources of the country—abundance of fertile soil for agriculture, excellent pastures, an unrivalled climate, facility of communication by rail and ready means of shipment of produce with a short land carriage,—these are advantages which united compare favorably with those of any country in the world, and should enable us to hold our own in the race of competition. The time of trial through which we have passed ought not to be without its uses in enforcing the lessons of prudence and economy and the application of diligent and persevering effort to the development of these resources.

The harvest of grain in this and the Canterbury districts although it has not come up to what was at one time expected, is nevertheless the largest crop ever produced in New Zealand. A large quantity of Wheat is being exported at a value which gives a fair return to the farmer. A new point of much importance, particularly to the southern districts, has also been established in finding a market in Europe for our surplus produce of Oats at prices for the better qualities which, with moderate rates of freight, will pay the producer. Happily, also, a great improvement has occurred in the value of wool, and there appears to be a marked revival of mining enterprise throughout the mining districts.

The Committee therefore consider that they have good grounds for congratulating the Chamber upon the hopeful outlook for the future.

The annexed statements of Imports and Exports exhibit a marked decrease of the former from all countries, with the single exception of Mauritius, for the year ending 30th June, 1880, as compared with the year preceding, which may be taken as indicative of the prudent action of importers in the curtailment of their operations during the period of depression. The total decrease amounts to no less than £653,000. The value of exports shows also a decrease, but to the much smaller extent of £112,000. A separate return shews that the export of Wool for 1879-80 exhibits an increase of 2,251,305lbs. on that of the previous year.

Through the courtesy of the Commissioner of Railways, returns are furnished giving summary of traffic on the Middle Island Railways for the years ending 26th June, 1880 and 1879; also for the four-weekly period ending 24th July for each year.

A point of much importance in connection with the Railway Returns is the increased consumption of native Coal for railway purposes. The use hitherto almost exclusively of imported Coals over certain portions of the line has been a needless extravagance of the administration of a very hurtful character, involving not only a serious loss to the public of the very considerable difference of cost, but, the payment out of the Colony of a large sum which would otherwise be applied in the prosecution of an important local industry. It is to be hoped that the Government will issue peremptory instructions for the use of local the coal in neighbourhood of its production, wherever its use can be shown to be possible at a cost not greater than that of imported coal.

The following subjects have been brought by the Committee under the consideration of the Chamber at large, which, after discussion, expressed its views by resolutions which were dealt with in accordance with its instructions:—Property Tax, Alteration of Tariff, Otago Central Railway, Harbour Board's Borrowing Powers Bill.

## **PROPERTY TAX.**

Resolutions were passed condemnatory of the tax, and proposing alterations.

## **ALTERATION OF TARIFF.**

Resolutions at first meeting (24th November) accepted Government's proposals, with the exception of the excessive rates on green fruit, and preserved fruits, and suggested the re-imposition of the tea and sugar duties. At the second meeting (June 1st, 1880) a duty of sixpence per gallon on beer was recommended. The re-imposition of school fees and the land tax were also recommended as alternatives to the property tax.

## **OTAGO CENTRAL RAILWAY.**

Resolutions were adopted recommending its construction as far as Sutton Stream.

## **HARBOUR BOARD BORROWING POWERS BILL.**

Resolutions were carried approving of the borrowing powers being granted to the extent of £250,000. The Committee has also had under its consideration from time to time the following subjects:—

## **BANKRUPTCY LAW.**

This subject, which seems to be without finality, has been frequently under discussion. Communications have been received from other Chambers urging joint action in the alterations then before Parliament. On the return of Mr. W. D. Stewart to Dunedin, the amendments were discussed with that gentleman, and after deliberation thereon, the Committee were unable to suggest further alterations to those embodied in the Bill then under discussion, in which were embraced in the majority of their previous recommendations. Legislation has been postponed till next session.

## **GREAT BRITAIN AND HER COLONIES.**

A second circular bearing on this subject has been received by this Chamber from the Board of Trade of Montreal, in which the Chamber is again invited to co-operate by nominating a delegate to the proposed Convention in London for consideration of a Colonial Federation of the Colonies with the Mother Country, to be held next month. It was suggested to other Chambers that Sir Julius Vogel represent them at any meeting of delegates to be then held in London in pursuance of the suggestion of the Canadian Board of Trade.

## **Melbourne Exhibition.**

At a meeting held April 20th, the following gentlemen were nominated as the Melbourne Exhibition Committee, viz.:—W. H. Reynolds, L. O. Beal, W. N. Blair, A. Burt, E. B. Cargill, R. Gillies, W. M. Hodgkins, J. Roberts, J. B. Mudie, Professor Ulrich, G. M'Lean, and J. S. Webb, with power to add to their number.

It is expected that numerous exhibits of local manufactures and of general interest will be sent to Melbourne.

## **FIRE AND MARINE INSURANCE COMPANIES' BILL.**

This measure, which took the public by surprise, was fully discussed at a meeting of Committee last month, when the Committee expressed themselves as being entirely opposed to the provisions of the Bill prescribing that Foreign Insurance Companies should deposit securities with the Public Trustee. Further, that inasmuch as the nature of the Bill had otherwise not been considered by the public generally, the Committee were of opinion that it should be withdrawn for the present session. Intelligence has since come to hand that the Bill is withdrawn.

## **AMERICAN DUTIES ON WOOL.**

On the invitation of the Committee of the Auckland Chamber, the Committee joined with other Chambers in the Colony in a memorial to the President of the United States, urging that the interests of both countries would be best advanced by a 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 would call attention to the table of imports and exports, by which it will be seen that whilst Otago imports American manufactures to the extent of £93,430, America on the other hand takes nothing whatever in return from Otago. And for the whole of New Zealand the figures are as follows for 1879: Imports, £438,399; Exports, £59,679

In conclusion, your Committee would point out that several subjects suggested by the previous Committee remain over for their successors. Amongst these may be mentioned a Weekly Market Day, the formation of an Exchange, the experiment of a Change Hour—all of which your Committee believe will greatly facilitate increased intercourse between those engaged in the commerce of this Port and the agricultural, pastoral and other interests of Otago.

The accounts of the Chamber for the past year have been duly audited and are appended

E. B. Cargill, *Chairman*.

The CHAIRMAN, in moving the adoption of the report, said: Gentlemen, having laid before you the report, I will move the adoption of it by the Chamber. In doing so I shall not venture to detain you by making many remarks. We have to regret that during the past year we have lost two very valuable members of the Chamber, whom I am sure we are all sorry to miss on the present occasion. Our old friend, Mr Walcott, was always a very active member of the Chamber, and he has rendered excellent services in connection with the Committee; and Mr Tewsley always took a very active part in everything affecting the commercial interests of the port. Both these gentlemen were our representatives at the Harbour Board at the time of their decease, and the vacancy has been filled up, as mentioned in the report, by the nomination of Mr Matheson. I trust the members of the Chamber will be satisfied with the services rendered by the Committee during the past year. You are aware that it has always been a somewhat difficult thing to keep the Committee of the Chamber actively working, and it has been the fashion in time past to grumble a good deal at the inactivity of the Chamber as represented by its Committee. But, gentlemen, you must consider that work of this sort falls upon a somewhat limited number. I am sure I can say for the members of the Committee that they have given very active and hearty service whenever it has been called for from them, and I trust that their labours on behalf of the commercial community have not been altogether without benefit. I do not quite take the same view of the purpose of a Chamber of Commerce which seems to be entertained by many of the commercial community, who look upon it as a sort of independent machine, which is to keep a close watch over all mercantile interests and continually busy itself by looking into and raising questions bearing upon those interests. I look upon it more as an organisation to be used by the mercantile community, and its efficiency will very largely depend upon what that community make it. Of course its efficiency depends in some measure upon your appointing good members on the Committee to do your work, but it must chiefly and mainly depend upon the interest taken by the mercantile people generally in what concerns them, and it is for the mercantile men to use the Chamber of Commerce, and to set it in motion in respect of matters they look upon as important. The Committee have, I think with good reason, to congratulate the Chamber at the present meeting upon the very much more cheerful prospect of affairs generally, as compared with what they were this time last year. We were then suffering from great depression, both from scarcity of money and the low price of produce, and although we have not quite got into the position we should like to occupy, still in many respects there has been improvement, and I think we may take credit in any case as a mercantile people for the manner in which a very severe crisis has been passed through without anything like a serious disaster or breakdown in trade generally. There have been fewer failures of any consequence, in Otago, and particularly in Dunedin, than in any other part of the Colony, and I think we must show to the world at large as a very prudent and careful commercial people. This view is further borne out by the great restriction in transactions, which is apparent in the diminution of imports to the extent of £653,000. I may say that that is not due to any want of enterprise, or any disinclination to take the fullest benefit of the markets, but is simply the result of prudence, suited to meet the stringency of the times. A number of subjects have been under consideration during the year, which have been referred to the Chamber from time to time, and upon which opinions have been expressed and given effect to. In fact, it has been the practice of the Committee to seek the opinion of the Chamber at large in all matters of serious importance. One or two matters have been dealt with by the Committee of the Chamber, the most important perhaps of which is the one upon which we agreed to join in a petition to America for some remission of the very heavy—the prohibitive duties upon wool going into the United States. I do not know that in the present state of the political world there, this representation is likely to be at all successful, but it is very much to be desired that we should have something like reciprocity of action on the part of our American friends, and that while we continue to take a large portion of their manufactures, they should be content to admit upon something like reasonable terms a produce like wool, which is a first necessity for their manufactures. I will not detain you with further remarks, gentlemen, but simply move the adoption of the report, and express the hope that if members have any matters to bring forward they will do so.

Mr R. STOUT had much pleasure in seconding the adoption of the report. He thought the statistics given in the report were very credit- able to Otago, especially those that had been given by the Commissioner of Railways, which showed that notwithstanding the depression the traffic had gradually and surely increased. As to the imports falling off, no doubt one of the reasons for that was that merchants had been more careful in sending orders Home; but he believed there was another reason, viz., that our local manufactures were gradually increasing, so that the imports, unless our population increased, could not be expected to keep up to their old level. It was not necessary to comment on the report, for it seemed very full and able, and he felt sure that members of the Chamber would be thankful to the Committee for the exertions and care they had exercised in looking after commercial matters during the past year. He could only say that he hardly agreed with the Chairman as to the functions of a Chamber of Commerce. He looked upon it that the Chamber ought to be a

body appointed strictly to watch over the commercial interests of Dunedin and neighbourhood—at any rate, of Otago; because, if this were not done, there was such a thing as competition in trade, and the result might be that other ports would gain advantages which Dunedin did not share. In other ports the Chambers of Commerce strictly looked after their own commercial interests, and he thought Dunedin should have an institution for the same purpose.

The adoption of the report was put and carried unanimously.

## Dunedin Chamber of Commerce.

*Receipts and Expenditure from 30th April, 1879, to 1st June, 1880.*

DR. LIABILITIES. ASSETS. CR. £ s. d. £ s. d. J. S. Webb ... .. 37 4 0 Outstanding Subscriptions 27 6 0  
 Rent to 30th June ... 75 0 0 Furniture Account ... 54 0 0 Sundry Accounts ... 10 14 6 Balance ... .. 41 12 6 £122  
 18 6 £122 18 6 July 1st, 1880 To Balance £41 12 6 Examined and found correct,  
 John Davie, *Auditor*.

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

COUNTRIES. From 30th June, 1878, to 30th June, 1879. From 30th June, 1879, to 30th June, 1880.  
 Imports. Exports. Imports. Exports. United Kingdom ... £1,956,956 £1,314,523 £1,421,887 £1,224,807  
 Australia ... .. 449,309 341,028 419,657 315,037 India ... .. 53,114 ... 33,200 ... China ... .. 60,331  
 10,640 52,257 10,644 Mauritius ... .. 78,461 ... 108,732 ... United States ... .. 168,081 ... 93,430 ... Canada ... ..  
 ... 2,644 ... .. Other Countries ... .. 20,532 ... 6,956 4,202 £2,789,428 £1,666,191 £2,136,119 £1,554,690  
 Showing decrease on Imports for past year ... .. £653,309 Showing decrease on Exports for past year ... ..  
 111,501

### ***List of Ships and Exports from Dunedin and Invercargill to Great Britain during the 12 months ending 30th June, 1880.***

Ships. Registered Tonnage Date of Sailing. Bales Wool. Sacks Wheat. Sacks Oats. Cases Meats. Casks  
 Tallow. Hides and Leather. 1879 Westland .. .. 1186 July 19 895 6620 .. 4471 760 412 Hudson .. .. 848 Sep. 13  
 1236 3031 112 5437 149 Benares .. .. 1721 Oct. 2 1522 19542 Otago .. .. 1048 Nov. 14 1356 4010 700 5766  
 134 1797 Invercargill .. .. 1310 Dec. 16 4611 1974 1283 .. 8 Mataura .. .. 898 Dec. 19 2438 3960 .. .. 160 1880  
 Timaru .. .. 1365 Jan. 6 5444 1875 .. .. 97 Waipa .. .. 1057 Jan. 19 3591 2141 Calypso .. .. 1334 Jan. 20 4403  
 2658 Hermione .. .. 1176 Feb. 4 4387 2597 Wanganui .. .. 1136 Feb. 14 5025 350 .. .. 72 Auckland .. .. 1308  
 Feb. 15 6202 Marlborough .. .. 1191 Mar. 15 4964 1665 .. .. 47 Otaki .. .. 1053 Mar. 28 3125 3366 ... .. 100  
 Canterbury .. .. 1308 Ap. 8 2202 9827 754 10 Leather, 7 tons Kermaria .. .. 443 Ap. 26 133 4515 Wellington ..  
 .. 1309 May 1 1478 10277 .. 1958 191 3 tons Coromandel ... .. 875 May 6 1723 7895 .. .. 9 Oamaru ... .. 1364  
 May 31 894 9267 2177 2079 842 Araby Maid .. .. 863 Ju. 12 479 9737 .. .. 27 William Davie .. .. 841 Ju. 23  
 516 3752 761 4396 248 BLUFF. ... .. 56,634 Waitara ... .. 883 4121 Jessie Headman .. .. 1013 4035 Hurunui .. ..  
 1054 4467 26,582 69,257 109,659 5633 24,862 2354 Totals-£1,299,577 £98,693 £2,816 £49,726 £30,602  
 £2,509 Grand Total—£1,483,921.

James U. Russell,  
*Secretary.*

## Shipping—COMPARATIVE STATEMENT OF.

### ***Arrivals and Departures at Port Chalmers, as furnished by Captain Thomson, Harbour Master, Dunedin, for the years ending July 31 st, 1879 and 1880, respectively.***

ARRIVALS. DEPARTURES. 1880. 1879. 1880. 1879. Foreign ... .. 53,876 tons 67,473 tons 38,200  
 tons 42,894 tons Intercolonial ... .. 96,543 " 99,209 " 96,913 " 119,894 " Coastwise ... .. 101,316 " 121,439 "

121,103 " 132,680 " 251,735 tons 288,121 tons 256,216 tons 295,468 " Inwards decrease, 1880 ... .. 36,386 tons Outwards decrease, 1860 ... .. 39,252 "

Wool Shipments, 1880—

3 615.360lbs., value ... .. £180,171 873,924 " " ... .. 48,219 2,548,377 " " ... .. 118,914 12,131,427 " " ... .. 572,807 19,169,088 £920,111 1879—16,918,783 2,251,305lbs. increase.

## New Zealand Railways.

### Amberley-Kingston Section.

#### **Comparative Statement of Earnings, Twelve Months ending 26th June, 1880.**

June 30th, 1878-79. Miles Open. PASSENGERS. MERCHANDISE 1st & 2nd Class Passengers. Season Tickets. Total Passengers. X's Luggage and Parcels. Total Coaching. Rents and Commissions. Miscellaneous Goods. Total Merchandise. Recoveries. Gross Total. 736 Totals. 241,756 7 9 5494 16 9 247,251 4 6 17,511 9 2 264,762 13 8 5231 13 8 11,588 18 1 295,518 1 3 312,338 13 0 259 2 6 577,360 9 2 1879-80. Miles Open. PASSENGERS. MERCHANDISE. 1st & 2nd Class Passengers. Season Tickets. Total Passengers. X's Luggage and Parcels. Total Coaching. Rents and Commissions. Miscellaneous Goods. Total Merchandise. Recoveries. Gross Total. 755 Totals. 245,153 14 8 6006 6 2 251,160 0 10 21,567 12 7 272,727 13 5 5990 12 3 14,858 2 10 304,162 15 5 325,011 10 6 1165 14 9 598,904 18 8

#### **Comparative Return of Passenger and Traffic, Twelve Months ending 26th June 1880.**

June 30th, 1878-79. 464,583 Number. 1st Class. PASSENGERS. 1,583,415 Number. 2nd Class. 2,047,998 Number. Total. 5016 Number. Season Tickets. 186,709 Number. Parcels and Dogs. 1360 Number. Carriages. 5987 Number. Horses. 6822 Number. Cattle. 175,768 Number. Sheep. 12,379 Number. Pigs. 236,754 Tons. Minerals. 32,305 Tons. Firewood. 95,349 Tons of 500 sup-feet. Timber. 303,410 Tons. Grain. 34,713 Tons. Wool. 213,463 Tons. General Merchandise. 1879-80. 460,241 Number. 1st Class. PASSENGERS. 1,418,076 Number. 2nd Class. 1,878,317 Number. Total. 4450 Number. Season Tickets. .. Number. Parcels and Dogs. 1691 Number. Carriages. 6711 Number. Horses. 6154 Number. Cattle. 162,520 Number. Sheep. 14,846 0 Number. Pigs. 206,661 Tons. Minerals. 29,979 Tons. Firewood. 129,834 Tons of 500 sup-feet. Timber. 229,885 Tons. Grain. 35,670 Tons. Wool. 258,374 Tons. General Merchandise.

Commissioner of Railways Office, M.I., Dunedin,

20th August, 1880.

*The Chairman, Chamber of Commerce, Dunedin.*

SIR,—I have the honor to supplement the statements I have already furnished you as to the traffic on the Middle Island Railways of New Zealand with the following figures collated from the Dunedin Traffic Manager's Report, for four-weekly period ending 24th July last.

On the Dunedin Section, extending, as you are doubtless aware, from Clinton to Palmerston, inclusive, and dealing with the Lawrence Outram and Walton Park Branches, increases are shown in the values of the traffic both outwards and inwards for the period in question, as compared with the corresponding period of last year, as follows, viz.:—

This increase in values may be considered a very gratifying one, as it results not less from longer distances over which goods are carried than from greater quantities forwarded, and this, I take it, can be looked upon as an indication of reviving trade. The most notable of the increases in the inwards traffic are in grain and general merchandise. The latter item shows a large increase both outwards and inwards, as you will see from the figures annexed.

A slight decrease took place in outwards timber traffic.

A decrease of 767 tons took place in coal inwards.

The quantity of native coal forwarded on the Section during the period was as follows:—

And for corresponding period last year as follows:— being an increase of 1537 tons.

The traffic at Port Chalmers for the period and for corresponding period of last year is stated below. You will observe a very considerable increase in the quantities. There is, however, a notable decrease in the quantity of imported coal—500 tons—which, taken in conjunction with the large increase in native coal stated above, clearly indicates a growing preference for the native article; and that this preference is not entirely a local one may be gathered from the fact of the decrease of 733 tons in coal inwards on the Section, thus showing that the extra quantity forwarded has been to stations north of Palmerston and south of Clinton.

## **Port Chalmers.**

being an increase of 1375 tons, wholly in minerals and general merchandise.

being an increase of 964 tons, wholly in grain and general merchandise.

These increases for the Dunedin Section are of more value when I state that they are a continuation of similar increases in the previous period, as compared with corresponding period of last year, and give me considerable encouragement in looking forward to the probable result of the working for the year, which I feel almost assured will be very much more favorable than any of its predecessors.

I have the honor to be, Sir,  
Your obedient Servant,  
Wm. Conyers,

*Commissioner of Railways, M.I.*

Annual Report and Balance Sheet of the Caledonian Society of Otago coat of arms  
1878-79.

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

Dunedin: A. Sligo, Bookseller and Stationer. 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.**

Rebvenue. £ 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' Subscript ions... .. 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 Expenditure. £ s. d. £ s. d. Education Account, 1877-8 ... 124 18 6 " 1878-9 ... 224 11 0 349 9 6 Donations ... .. 108 2 0 Prizes ... .. 448 6 0 Moneytakers, Checktakers, and Groundsmen ... .. 101 14 6 Band ... .. 48 18 0 Printing, Stationery, and Advertising, 1877-8... .. 105 9 0 Printing, Stationery, and Advertising, 1878-9... .. 93 4 9 198 13 9 Grounds Improvement Account 105 1 11 Grand Stand Repairs 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 2 9

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... .. 4395 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. M'Lean, 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 64.

## 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 Mauley, 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, (fee. 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 Fitzgera ld, 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 clone 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 leading 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 provision for all industries and all trades which exist in this City, and therefore 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 degree 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 appropriately 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.

# Caledonian Society of Otago

Established 1862.

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- Thomson,—
- Tyson, W.
- Telfer, J. T.
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- Wilson, G.
- Watson, W. P.
- Winton, J.
- Westland, L.
- Wilson, Jas.
- Walkem, M.
- Wybar, G.
- Winton, D.
- Worth, S. C.
- Wilson, Ed.
- Zurbano, B.
- and 4 others.

Are we to Stay Here? A Paper on the New Zealand Public Works Policy of 1870,  
 Considered Specially with Reference to the Question of  
 The Settlement of the Crown Lands, and the Incidence of Taxation  
 By a Colonist of 22 Years' Standing.

## Preface.

THE Title-page of this Pamphlet gives some idea of its general drift. It was originally written for, and read to the members of the Timaru Debating Society. The paper having attracted some attention in Timaru, as bearing upon a subject of great interest to every colonist of New Zealand, especially in view of the depression which at present prevails throughout the colony, I have been asked to publish it for general dissemination, After

some hesitation I have been induced to adopt this course, believing as I do, that the people of New Zealand generally, and more particularly those dwelling in the large towns, have paid far less attention to the settlement of the land than the importance of that question to the welfare of the colony deserves. In the Paper, I have attempted to prove to my readers the following propositions, viz.—

1st.—That the Public Works Scheme of 1870, known as Sir Julius Vogel's Policy, contained in its original form all the elements of success, if only it had been carried out in its integrity.

2nd.—That in the original scheme, the *bonâ fide* settlement of the land by farmers on small blocks, was one of the essential features.

3rd.—That such settlement was frustrated, owing to the prior occupation of the country by the runholders, and the great power possessed by them as a class.

4th.—That the comparative failure of the Public Works Policy, and the present stagnation of the colony, are due in a great measure to the monopoly of so much of the best land in large estates.

5th.—That no permanent improvement in the affairs of the colony can be looked for until the majority of the large estates are broken up and settled upon by a numerous population.

6th.—That in order to hasten the above process it is desirable to abolish the Property Tax, and impose in place of it, a Land Tax on a sliding scale, increasing the amount per acre in proportion to the extent of the estate.

7th.—That no reforms in the taxation or system of land tenure can be expected, unless the Hall Ministry, representing as they do the large landed proprietors, are supplanted in office by a Liberal Ministry, representing the interests of the people at large.

8th.—That unless reforms of the above nature are speedily carried out, the colony will retrograde by reason of large numbers of those who have immigrated here, having to leave again in consequence of being unable to obtain a live lihood—this process has already commenced, to the serious detriment both of the Customs Revenue, and of the Railway Traffic Returns. Hence the title I have chosen for this Pamphlet, "Are we to stay here?" Of course, I am fully aware that the discussion of these subjects is likely to excite some degree of indignation and opposition on the part of vested interests; but I believe, that a disinterested outsider calmly reviewing the position, could come to no other conclusion than that some radical change in the land system of the colony is absolutely necessary, and must be made, in the true interests of all classes of colonists alike, as it is impossible that one class can continue to prosper for any length of time in a country so heavily burdened with debt as this is, when all other classes of the community are in a condition the very reverse of prosperous.

H. J. Sealy.

TIMARU,

February, 1881.

## Are We to Stay Here?

# A Paper on the New Zealand Public Works Policy of 1870.

Written for, and read to the Members of the Timaru Debating Society, December 20th, 1880.

MR. CHAIRMAN AND GENTLEMEN—

I have been requested to read a paper to the members of our Society upon the "Immigration and Public Works Policy of 1870;" and I believe there is no subject of inquiry in which every member of our society, as a colonist of New Zealand, is more vitally interested; as it is upon the success or failure of that policy that the progress and prosperity of the colony have principally depended; in fact, I may go further, and affirm that the success or failure in life of every person here present depends more directly than he has probably ever thought to be the case, upon the success or failure of the policy of 1870, now known as Sir Julius Vogel's Public Works Policy. That the policy has been to a great extent a failure, and is now proving disastrous to the colony, most people are inclined to admit; but it will be my endeavour to prove to you this evening, that the failure of the scheme is not due to any radical want of judgment on the part of the original promoters, but to the fact of the

scheme not having been carried out in its integrity, and that it is chiefly in consequence of one of the cardinal points of the policy—viz., the settlement of the people on the Crown lands—having been ignored, that we now have to deplore a state of stagnation and depression almost throughout the colony, instead of a continuance of progress and prosperity.

To go into the whole question of the way in which the Public Works Policy has been carried out would take far more time than is at my disposal to write or yours to listen to; for instance, there are engineering questions as to whether certain lines could not have been more cheaply constructed if other routes than those adopted had been taken; and there are disputed points on all sides as to the utility of certain lines of railway which have not proved of a paying character, and which have since become known as "political railways," which would give rise to endless discussion, and into which I cannot now enter. Doubtless arguments could be found in favour of, and, on the other hand, objections urged against, nearly every section of railway that has been constructed in either island; but these questions would prove to be too wide for our society, and would involve too much loss of time in the discussion. I shall therefore confine my paper mainly to one single point—viz., "the settlement of the people on the lands of the colony," with which the system known as "squatting" is so inseparably hound up that I have found it impossible to go into one question without the other—in fact, "settlement" has so hinged upon "squatting" from the first history of New Zealand that I have had to treat it as one subject. This question of the settlement or non-settlement of the people on the lands is, I consider, the one of all others of the most vital importance to every colonist, of whatever rank or station in life; for it is obvious, that without the settlement of the lands, the present population of the towns cannot long be supported; and I maintain that it is owing to the fact of the country not having been actually and indeed "settled" in the proper sense of the term, that we now see the anomalous spectacle of hundreds of thousands of acres of fine land remaining almost uninhabited, whilst industrious men are daily leaving the colony because they cannot find homes for themselves and their families here; and every winter, crowds of the unemployed wander hopelessly about the country looking in vain for work, until the distress becomes so apparent that the Government have to find work for them, whether such work is required in the interest of the colony or not. To the same circumstance of non-settlement we can trace in a great measure the present lack of prosperity in the towns, the constant complaint of "business being dull," the overcrowding of the professions, and the eager competition for any "billet" which may become vacant, however trifling the emoluments attached thereto may be. There is great reason to fear that the colony has at present not only ceased to progress, but that it has actually entered on a period of retrogression, which may prove disastrous to all classes of the community, unless it can be speedily arrested; and for this reason, an inquiry into the causes of the want of progress is, or ought to be, of equal interest to all, whether the newly arrived immigrant who seeks to found a home in the colony, the tradesman hoping to establish a prosperous business, the labourer looking for permanent employment at fair wages, or the professional man seeking clients; but more especially to those of us who have sons growing up for whom we shall presently have to seek openings in which they can make their own way in the world, or daughters, whom we hope to see in the future wives and mothers in happy homes of their own.

As it may seem somewhat presumptuous on my part, as a private individual, to go into these questions or to set forth any opinion I may have formed on the subject, I may explain to those of you with whom I am personally unacquainted that I have been resident in New Zealand for some twenty-two years, having arrived in January, 1859; that I spent four years in Hawkes Bay Province—viz., one year on a sheep run, in which I possessed an interest, and three years engaged on the Government Survey Department; that I was some months on the Otago diggings, during the palmy days of Gabriel's Gully (1861), and that I have resided in this district of South Canterbury since June, 1863, having been for twelve years engaged in surveying for the Provincial Government, and for the last five years farming and grain-growing on a somewhat extensive scale, so that I have had some insight into most phases of colonial life; and as a surveyor, have had special knowledge on the subject of the land laws and regulations, both here and in the North Island, and unusual opportunities of observing the tendencies of those laws and regulations with regard to their facilitating or obstructing the *bonâ fide* settlement of the country. But, to return to the Public Works Policy, I shall endeavour to prove to you that it ought to have been a success, whilst admitting that, as carried out, it has turned out a comparative failure. It is desirable, therefore, for every one of us to study the subject earnestly, and if we wish to render New Zealand a country for our children and their posterity to live prosperously in, to endeavour to arrive at a just perception of the causes which have led to the present unfortunate condition of our adopted country, and each to contribute his share in the effort to arouse public opinion on the subject, with a view to remedy the errors of the past, and to ameliorate the present position of affairs.

It has been the custom during the last year or two for the Conservative papers to anathematize Sir Julius Vogel as the author of all our disasters, so I shall be at some pains to show you, not only that his original scheme was never carried out in its entirety, but also that the said scheme was warmly supported and strenuously advocated, not only by the public at large, but also by the great majority of the members of both

Houses of the Legislature, including the most prominent members and supporters of the present Government, the division in the Lower House having recorded forty-five votes for, and only seven against the Bill; and in the Upper House twenty-five for, and only seven against it; whilst we find amongst the names of those supporting Sir Julius Vogel, the names of the Hon. John Hall, Messrs. Rolleston, Stevens, Studholme, M'Lean, Driver, Ormond, and Tancred, which facts prove conclusively that it is grossly unfair to turn round now and blame Sir Julius Vogel in the terms of unmeasured abuse which such papers as the *Christchurch Press* and the *Timaru Herald* delight to heap upon him.

Upon going carefully through the debates on the subject as given in the pages of *Hansard*, I find that the main point impressed upon members by many of the most able speakers was the paramount importance of "settling the people upon the land." It was upon this point that the success or failure of the whole scheme turned, and the evil effects of introducing large numbers of immigrants into the colony, without securing their permanent settlement upon the land, was over and over again reiterated.

As I am firmly convinced that the principal cause of the failure of the scheme of 1870 has been the monopoly of the land of the colony by the holders of large estates, I must ask your forbearance whilst I quote somewhat largely from some of the speeches on the subject made during the lengthened debates which terminated in the inauguration of the Public Works Policy, all advocating the actual settlement of the country; and I shall then proceed to show you that the country was not actually settled in the way which had been intended, and to point out to you some of the causes which frustrated that essential part of the scheme, so that the blame of the failure of the policy may rest on the proper shoulders—viz., on the Conservative or squatting element in the colony, and not as some newspapers would falsely have you believe, on the progressive or Liberal party. I shall commence by giving you a few extracts from the speech of Sir Julius (then Mr.) Vogel, sketching out the salient points of his policy; these and other extracts being quoted literally from the pages of *Hansard*; but, before giving these, it would be well to explain, for the benefit of those who were not then in the colony, that for two or three years previous to this memorable session of 1870, the colony had been in a state of complete stagnation and depression; immigration had almost entirely ceased; the revenue had fallen off from £1,862,000 in 1866 to £1,287,000 in 1870; all enterprise was checked, and a spirit of doubt as to the future had fallen like a dark shadow over all classes of the community—in short, all the conditions existed under which we are now again suffering after eight or nine years of prosperity.

Well, then, Mr. VOGEL said:—

*"Last year we had in this Assembly many evidences that the colonising spirit was re-awakening. During the recess, from all parts of the country those evidences have been repeated in the anxious desires expressed for a renewal of Immigration and Public Works. I now ask you to recognise that the time has arrived when we must set ourselves afresh to the task of actively promoting the settlement of the country. We recognise that the great wants of the colony are public works in the shape of roads, and railways, and immigration. I do not pretend to decide which is the more important, because the two are, or ought to be, inseparably united. \* \* \* Now, as to the mode of payment for these railways: it is essential, in order that we shall not proceed too fast and undertake more than our means will justify, that we should fix a very effectual limit to the liabilities to be incurred. Speaking broadly, I contend that during the next ten years the colony will run no risk if it commit itself to an expenditure (or a proportional liability for guarantee of interest) of ten millions for railways and other purposes comprised in these proposals. \* \* \* \* \* But there is another source from which to anticipate a reduction in the money cost—the land should be made to bear a considerable portion of the burden. We propose that authority should be given to contract for the railways by borrowing money, by guaranteeing a minimum rate of profit or interest, by payments in land, by subsidies, or by a union of any two or more of these plans. The contractors may want some money, but they should be glad to receive some land to yield them a profit consequent upon the effects of the railway; and similarly, if the routes be judiciously selected, the contractors should be glad to keep the railways with the security of a minimum guarantee. \* \* \* \* \* In some cases the Government might take as collateral security the results of a special tax, or a mortgage over particular properties, such as railways in course of progress, or over rents and tolls. \* \* \* \* \* I want to trace aggregate results. I suppose that some 1,500 or 1,600 miles of railway will require to be constructed, and that this can be effected at a cost of £7,500,000, together with two and a half million acres of land, and that, in addition, about a million will be required to carry out the other proposals I am making. I leave on one side the cost of immigration, because, as I have before remarked, that expenditure will be essentially and immediately reproductive. Suppose that this money is expended at the rate of £850,000 a year for ten years. It matters not for the purpose of our inquiry whether the money is procured by direct borrowing, by the security of a guarantee, or by the aid of payments in land in excess of two and a half millions of acres, which I have assumed to be part of the construction money. So confident are we that a great deal of the work comprised in these proposals can be effected by guarantees or subsidies, and by land payments, that we seek authority to directly borrow only six millions to carry out our proposals, including immigration. For the first three years the*

*payments will be so inconsiderable as to leave little room for apprehension of difficulty in finding the money. After three years, supposing that extraordinary sums are required, will it be a great hardship to increase the stamp duties, or to have a house tax, or an income tax, or some tax which will touch that lucky class, the absentees, who enjoy all the advantages, whilst they share not the burden of the hard colonising labours, without which the most favoured country on the globe's surface could not attain permanent prosperity? \* \* \* \* might detain you for hours discussing the question of immigration in its various aspects. It is essentially one of the greatest questions of the day, a question of transferring to lands sparsely populated portions of the excessive populations of old countries. From whatever point of view you regard it, whether from the highest social, or the narrowest pecuniary view, immigration is a profit to the State, if the immigrants can settle down and support themselves. If many thousands of immigrants introduced at once could earn a livelihood in the colony, I would not hesitate to ask you to vote the money to pay for their passages. Long before the money would have to be paid, supposing it to be borrowed, the immigrants would recoup the amount by contributions to the revenue. But it would be cruel to bring out immigrants if you do not see the way to their finding the means of self-support. As every immigrant who becomes a settler will be a profit, so every immigrant who leaves the colony, or is unable to procure, a livelihood in it, will be a loss. We therefore say, that we will introduce immigrants only to those parts of the colony which are prepared to receive them. What the nature of the preparation may be it would be impossible now to define. It might be land for settlement, it might be employment of an ordinary nature, or on public works, it might be that facilities for establishing manufactories or aiding special or co-operative settlements were offered. What cultivation is to the farmer, what sheep breeding to the runholder, what an increase of clients to the professional man, are immigrants, if they become settlers, to the State."*

From these extracts from Mr. Vogel's speech you will see that, whilst expatiating on the value and advantages of immigration, he laid special stress on the absolute necessity of retaining those immigrants, who were to be introduced permanently in the colony *by settling them on the land*; though, I must admit, he did not dwell nearly so strongly on this point as did subsequent speakers. You will also observe that the original scheme embraced the principle of paying in part for the railways by means of large grants of land, being an adoption of the plan so extensively resorted to in the United States of America, and which has been found to answer admirably there. This part of the programme was afterwards dropped altogether, owing no doubt to the fact of vested interests being powerful enough to prevent the granting of land to contractors or other outsiders, which was occupied under depasturing licenses, and *all land in the colony worth anything at all* came under that category. Of course these grants of land would only have been made to companies constructing the railways, whose interest it would then have been to sell the land at such a reasonable price to *bonâ fide* settlers as would have ensured villages and hamlets springing up alongside the lines, thus maintaining a paying amount of traffic; whereas, in too many cases, it has since been sold in large blocks to the runholders, whose object was to frustrate settlement instead of encouraging it, the railways consequently running for many miles at a stretch through rich land without any population upon it, and the passenger traffic consequently restricted principally to dwellers in the large towns.

I will now pass on to the speech of Mr. RICHMOND, who seems to have been impressed with the idea of the enormous possibilities of New Zealand under a proper system of settlement, thus speaking of the West Coast of the North Island, he says:—

*"My conviction is, that the carrying capacity of the West Coast is enormous, I believe that the whole district from Manawatu to the White Cliffs, is capable of supporting a family for every 50 acres. There is a point of great importance that should be considered in our Immigration scheme, it is one thing to bring immigrants to a colony, but it is another thing to keep them there. I think that we shall fail if we neglect to provide that great attraction which all unaccustomed to rural life look forward to when coming to a strange land, I mean a footing on the soil. My belief is, that an essential condition of permanent settlement in this country is a liberal land law for immigrants."*

Mr. Richmond appears to have had a dread that the whole scheme would be thwarted by the opposition of the runholders, and showed a desire to make concessions to them, not because he thought they were equitably entitled to any concessions, but simply in order to conciliate them, through fear of their great power in the Assembly. He says:—"For the present at all events I have not the boldness to propose that we in this House should undertake in any serious degree to modify the local land laws, *which are the abomination of the country*. I think it would be quite possible \* \* \* \* without bringing on my back the squatting interests of New Zealand, it appears to me that I could conceive of some regulations running parallel with the whole of the land regulations, with the single view to the settlement of immigrants. The men who have most certainly improved their condition in this country are the labourers *who have got on to their own land* and worked it for themselves. I would not throw any difficulties in the way of their occupying the land, but would facilitate it by every means."

Mr. Richmond, however, voted against the Policy, apparently foreseeing what has actually happened, viz.,

that the immigrants would be introduced, and the Railways made, not for the benefit of the people at large, but for that of the runholders, who in the mean time would find means to secure nearly all the cream of the country for themselves.

Mr. TRAVERS (the next speaker) seems to have had similar misgivings, though according to the Policy his support to some extent, he says:—

*"He quite concurred in the spirit of the proposals which had been made, and that the Colony could not be raised from its present difficulties, otherwise than by increasing the population of the country, by devoting all its energies to opening up its resources, so as to make it more attractive and available to those who are in it, and more attractive to those whom they sought to bring to it, and he could not conceive any proposal which would commend itself more completely to the sense of the people of the colony, than one which provided for an extensive and well considered system of Immigration and Public Works. He thought the Colonial Treasurer's proposals in the Financial Statement were based upon a general cry throughout the country for increasing the population by means of immigration. It was not an original proposition at all of the Honourable Members, but was forced upon them by the expressed opinion of the people of the Colony throughout its length and breadth, and it was to the fact of the Government seeing the necessity and knowing better than he (Mr. Travers) did, that it was impossible that the colony could be recovered from the state of depression into which circumstances had plunged it, without increasing its population, that they owed the propositions of the Colonial Treasurer—propositions which he was prepared to endorse to a certain extent \* \* \* A well considered scheme of Immigration would be of enormous value to the country. It was patent to all that what was wanted was population, and that without it all the interests of the colony were seriously suffering."*

Mr. JOLLIE, then member for Gladstone (South Canterbury), was with the exception of Sir Cracroft Wilson, the most unhesitating and bitter of all the opponents of the Policy: he was one of the old school of squatters, who appeared to think that New Zealand had been created expressly for pastoral purposes, and looked upon it as little better than sacrilege to talk of settling people on the land; yet, even he admitted that something in the way of immigration was required, and would consent to borrow even as large a sum as £2,000,000 as a sort of compromise with the popular outcry for a large loan. Mr. Jollie said:—"Certainly we want additional immigration not only for the prosecution of Public Works, but for increasing the population of the country. I should myself not be opposed to a reasonable sum of money being voted for Immigration and other public purposes. I should not be opposed to the borrowing of so large a sum as £1,500,000, I should perhaps be prepared, reluctantly prepared, to authorise under proper safeguards the raising of £2,000,000, beyond that I would not

Sir Cracroft WILSON, whilst violently denouncing the scheme, yet admitted, like Mr. Jollie, that something might be done for the colony by Public Works and Immigration, he said:—"Sir, the Financial Statement of the present Finance Minister, is based upon two things, Immigration and Public Works, and we all know that by properly carrying out Immigration and Public Works, this colony would in a short time rise to a high pitch of eminence—that we all recognise."

Mr. ROLLESTON, as usual, advocated extreme caution, he said:—"The colony as a whole approves thoroughly the principle that is involved in a proposal of this kind, and recognises that our duty as colonists has in a great measure been neglected for some time past \* \* \* \* Do we think we are going to settle the country by initiating large works, and bringing people to carry them out? The object of the Government is not to put itself in the position of an employer of labour, nor to bring people here, and then have to find them work for a year or six months afterwards. So surely as we enter upon the work with that object, so surely will the scheme fail. We have had notable examples of that. "We brought in some 3000 or 4000 people to Auckland, and we expended £100,000 or more in finding employment for these people, and I venture to say there is not a tithe of them in the country at the present time."

Mr. Rolleston, as you are aware, was then Superintendent of the Province of Canterbury, and in that capacity had the reputation of being the friend of the farmer, and was in consequence nicknamed by the squatters "The People's William." Many of the runholders had a violent antipathy against him for advocating more liberality in the Land Regulations, and also because he had proclaimed sundry reserves for Educational and other purposes on their runs, and it was in a great measure owing to the strong feeling they had against Mr. Rolleston, that the squatters of Canterbury as a class eagerly supported the movement for the Abolition of the Provinces, hoping no doubt to be able to carry things with a high hand in the Assembly, now that their privileges were getting somewhat curtailed by Mr. Rolleston and his adherents in the Provincial Council.

Now, when it is too late, even the most violent opponents of Provincialism in Canterbury admit that they made a great mistake in procuring the downfall of the Province, and have detrimentally affected their own interests, and those of all other Canterbury men in every way; whilst the squatters themselves find that they by no means have everything their own way in the Assembly, as they used to for so many years in the Provincial Councils. Bearing these facts in mind, I have been astonished at Mr. Rolleston's alliance, during the last year or

two, with the very party of whom he was formerly the veritable *bête noir*, and am unable to account for it in my own mind, except on the supposition that his personal dislike to, and fear of Sir George Grey, may have induced him to cast all his former professions to the winds, if by so doing he could help to keep the Grey party out of office; or else, that having been disappointed in the expectation of getting a portfolio in Sir George Grey's Cabinet, he made sure of one as the price of joining the Conservative Ministry. You may remember that for several years he and Mr. Montgomery were in close alliance, and that their every act was warmly supported by the *Lyttelton Times*, and as violently opposed by the *Press*; whilst, now he finds himself ranged with the Hon. John Hall and the *Press*, and opposed by Mr. Montgomery and the *Lyttelton Times*, his conduct must appear inconsistent to nine-tenths of his former supporters, though he might attempt to explain away the inconsistency.

Mr. Bunny and Mr. H. S. Harrison both supported the Government proposals.

I now come to one of the most important speeches of the whole debate, that of Mr. STAFFORD, who was at that time member for our own town of Timaru. He approved generally of the scheme, and he spoke strongly, fearlessly, and uncompromisingly of the dangers of the land monopoly, pointing out the evils of the system of large estates, and instancing those of Nelson and Marlborough Provinces, where nearly the whole country was occupied by freehold sheep runs in large blocks to the total exclusion of small settlers. The same state of things existed almost throughout the Provinces of Wellington and Hawkes Bay. I know, from personal experience, that so long ago as 1859, all the best land in Hawkes Bay had been bought up in large blocks at the price of five shillings per acre, and most of it has been locked up from settlement to this very day. So many obstacles were thrown by the land regulations and survey system in the way of farm settlement, that it was almost an impossibility for an outsider to get hold of any piece of land for farming at all; and if some newcomer persevered until he did manage to get a piece, he quickly found out that he had practically outlawed himself, and was considered more out of the pale of society than if he had been convicted of horse-stealing. The very same state of things existed here in South Canterbury until comparatively recent times, as any of those who have been long in the district could testify. And, whilst touching on this subject, I may mention that I was in this district when the first number of the *Timaru Herald* appeared, and from that time to this I cannot recollect a single article having ever appeared in that journal which has advocated the *bonâ fide* settlement of the country, or raised even the most feeble protest against the way in which the country was monopolised by the squatters, and practically, almost entirely closed (at least to the southward and westward of Timaru) against real settlement. This, though the *Herald* professed to represent an agricultural district, though its growth depended in a great measure upon the increase in the number of small farmers, and though Mr. Stafford, our late member, who is continually held up by the *Herald* as a model for our admiration, spoke so strongly as he did in 1870 against this *most pernicious system of land laws*, and even went so far as to suggest that *the Government should resume some portion of those large estates* in the interest of the community at large. Contrast the conduct of the *Herald* on this question of settlement with that of the *Lyttelton Times*, which journal has for the last fifteen years consistently and fearlessly written against the monopoly of the land, though by so doing it earned the hatred of the most powerful class in the country, who made every effort to crush it; but its present success, and the great circulation both of itself and its weekly edition, the *Canterbury Times*, prove the truth of the old adage, that right will in the end prevail over might. I have said fifteen years, but even longer ago than that, the *Times* was the advocate of the small farmers. I will read you some extracts from one of "The Canterbury Rhymes," composed so long ago as February, 1858, by the late Crosbie Ward, who was then Editor of that journal, showing that even then he foresaw the ill effects of, and protested against, the monopoly of the land by the squatters:—

\* \* \* \* \*

When he stopped, rose Jonniol-tok,  
Shrewd and subtle Jonniol-tok!  
He the double-barrelled justice  
Ever brought to give opinions;  
And at once he shoved his oar in  
In his customary manner:—  
"I assent to these proposals  
With a trifling reservation,  
Ye will sweep away conditions  
Which tie up the land so closely,  
Only ye'll except the squatter—

Will not touch the rights of squatters,  
Of the shepherds and the stockmen.  
Ye shall take the rights of farmers,  
Of the millers, bakers, butchers,  
Tailors, drapers, clothiers, hatters,  
Soldiers, doctors, undertakers,  
Of storekeepers and bootmakers,  
Of all trades and occupations,  
Of all persons in the province,  
But the shepherds, the runholders;  
Them ye shall not touch nor injure."  
Thus he spake and gave no reason,  
Shrewd and subtle Jonniol-tok!

\* \* \* \* \*

Then spoke rugged Bobirodi,  
The hard-headed one from Yorkshire;  
He the prince of all the squatters,  
Largest holder of runholders—  
"Ye remember old Suellis,  
Councillor with us of old time:  
Crafty statesman, cunning prophet,  
Who taught all of us our wisdom,  
He arranged the matter for us,  
And he said it should not alter,  
Should remain as he had left it,  
As he prophesied, so be it."

And the very big man, Stunnem,  
Moving only eyes and shoulders,  
Mutely making demonstrations;  
Saying nought was most impressive;  
Then the shepherds in a chorus,  
Squatters and the friends of squatters,  
Begged, implored, and prayed the Council  
To consider all their hardships;  
How their rents were so oppressive,  
How their wool was sold for nothing,  
How they could not sell their wethers  
For the paltry price of mutton,  
How the market rate of stations  
Showed it was a loosing business,  
And they begged and prayed the Council  
To maintain the old conditions  
That had tied the land so closely,  
Only on behalf of squatters  
Sweeping quite away the others.

\* \* \* \* \*

Few were bold enough to argue  
In reply to Bobirodi  
To the very big man Stunnem  
To the subtle Jonniol-tok  
And the few that stood their ground there—  
Stood their ground, and asked for justice,  
Simple justice to all classes—  
They were bullied and brow-beaten,  
Called to order, reprimanded  
By the big men, the stock-owners,  
Squatters, and the friends of squatters,  
And the timid ones around them,  
Who would fain be friends of squatters,  
So the fluent Secretary,  
Oloware, the rapid speaker,  
With his colleague sitting by him,  
Tomicas, the Chief Surveyor,  
Trembled on the crimson cushions,  
Gave them all that they demanded,  
Granted all the boon they asked for,  
Never dared to ask objections,  
For they feared the mighty squatters.

\* \* \* \* \*

And they kicked the farmer backward  
From the fertile spots of country  
In the region of the Westward,—  
Never thinking of hereafter.

Well, to return to Mr. Stafford, he said:—"Sir, this scheme to which our attention has been invited, proposed by the Government though it be, is one for which no Government, or no party within or without the wall of this House can claim the sole paternity. It is one to which the mind of the country generally has been for some time directed with an ever ripening conviction that it was necessary ere long to take some steps in the direction in which we are now invited to consider the propriety of moving. I should desire to see immigrants carefully selected from the agricultural counties, from the south and west of England, from the Lothians of Scotland, and from the north of Ireland, where the inhabitants are well skilled in every sort of agriculture. I would make provisions for settling these immigrants throughout the length and breadth of the country, especially upon the arterial lines of communication which it is proposed to construct, and in order to do so *I should be prepared to walk over the heads of the whole existing land laws* of New Zealand. Sir, there is a large part of the Middle Island of New Zealand familiar to me, where at the present time it is almost impossible for working men to obtain a place for the sole of their feet. *Where whole districts have been carved out into large estates by the operation of a most pernicious system of land laws*, a system adopted in 1853, and against which, at the time, I emphatically protested. Large estates have been allowed to accumulate, upon which nothing but sheep are allowed to run, while large portions of them are fit to maintain industrious settlers. It behoves us in connection with such a great scheme as that now initiated, to consider seriously *whether we should not take power to resume portions of those large estates*, giving, of course, a fair compensation for the lands taken back from those who are now for the most part in profitless occupation of them. I would settle along the line of arterial communication throughout the country, at intervals of not more than 8 or 10 miles, village communities, giving them, not a quarter or half-acre section, as may be sufficient for a village blacksmith, or a village publican, but village lots of some three acres, and suburban lots of 8 or 10 acres each, upon certain conditions of proprietorship and residence. I would attach to these communities considerable commons, not for the purpose of establishing a pastoral proprietary, but for the purpose of giving to each inhabitant of the village community, the means of maintaining a few cows."

Mr. Stafford speaking at a later stage of the Debate, was still more emphatic in pointing out the absolute

necessity of throwing open the lands for settlement, and foretold in most prophetic terms the occurrence of our present difficulties, if that were neglected, he said:—"I have from the first believed that this scheme cannot work out eventually to a successful issue without an entire review of the existing land laws of the colony, and it was to me a very great source of pleasure that the suggestions I offered during the debate upon the resolutions (which appeared to me at the time to be treated if not with contempt at least with indifference by the House), viz., as to the *absolute necessity* now that we are going to largely increase the population of the colony by a system of State Immigration, for *making some provision for settling the people on the land* of the colony, have at last seemed to honourable gentlemen, to have some weight, and to be worthy of serious consideration. I firmly believe that if we are going to land a large number of people upon the shores of this country without offering them facilities for settling in the interior, away from the sea-ports, we shall have nothing but a *hungry, discontented, semi-pauperised people* \* \* \* \* That instead of having a healthy stream of immigrants coming into the country to reclaim its waste lands, we shall have a *peripatetic, unsettled, and discontented population*, who instead of being a source of wealth, will be a great source of injury and injustice to those already in the country."

How truly this prediction has been verified we can all see for ourselves—but we cannot say it was for want of due warning.

With regard to payment for Railways being made in land, Mr. Stafford said:—"He confessed that if he thought the land was going to be alienated in large blocks, he should altogether object to it. It would prevent the settlement of a large population in the country, and the carrying out of a scheme of colonisation, which after all was the main object they had in view. One effect of this Bill would be to do away with all the existing Provincial Land Laws, and assimilate them into one system, and in that direction he should like to see Legislation going."

Speaking of the monopoly of the land, I must tell you that at that time (1870), comparatively little harm had been done in South Canterbury, only a few thousands of acres each having been bought by some of the more wealthy squatters; yet, no sooner was the money borrowed and the railways commenced, than they rushed in, and swept up nearly all the good agricultural land in enormous blocks; the Government in the meanwhile looking calmly on, without endeavouring to interpose to save the country for actual settlement. In deploring this state of things one is met by the argument, "the land was open to all, why did not the public buy it?" In answer to this I shall have more to say presently. You will observe that Mr. Stafford advocated a system of village settlements, which has now, after 10 years fatal delay, and when too late to be of much practical use, been adopted, as explained in the last report of the Secretary for Crown Lands, extracts from which I shall read you presently.

Mr. MACANDREW in supporting the Government scheme, brought forward a new argument in their favour, viz., that railways would cost very little more in the long run than metalled roads, which all admitted to be a necessity—Loan or no Loan.

Mr. MCGILLIWAY'S views were in entire accord with those of Mr. Stafford, as to the necessity of settling people on the land, he said:—"What was the use of railways or the development of any industry without population? Instead of asking the people to come out and labour on the Public Works, he would ask them to come out and settle upon the land at once, under such land regulations as would enable them to do so. He greatly doubted if the yeomanry and industrious tenantry would come out to work on the roads. The great summit of their ambition was *to be landowners* on easy and desirable terms. Instead of asking the immigrants £100 for 100 acres, it would be much better to acquire it at the rate of 2s. an acre, for 10 years. He admired very much what had fallen from Mr. Stafford, his scheme of colonisation appeared to him truly excellent. He would prefer seeing *men, women, and children upon the land, instead of sheep and cattle.*"

Mr. GILLIES, in the course of a speech, strongly against the Government, expressed similar views as to settlement. He said:—"I believe in immigration that attaches men to the soil, and I believe in providing for them out of the soil—that is true colonisation, if we can introduce such colonists. I say if there is one legitimate object for which the colony should borrow money, this is the object; and I say if we are in a position to borrow at all, let us borrow for immigration purposes to settle the people upon the soil, and *make them, owners of the soil.*"

Mr. FOX, who was then Premier, spoke, of course, strongly in favour of the proposals, but time will only permit of a short extract. He said:—"what we want is roads, railways, and public works, and we must have as much money as will make them. My deep conviction is, that the time has come when we should again recommence the great work of colonising New Zealand; and the object of the Government proposals is, if possible, to re-illuminate that sacred fire. I may not live to see it fully done, but it will be my greatest happiness if I may be permitted still to wear my harness; and if in my latter days I shall not be able to take an active part in the work, still I shall be able to cheer on and to encourage that younger generation into whose hands the work will pass."

Mr. STEVENS, one of the members for Christchurch, also expressed himself in favour of settlement. He said:—"I believe the way to carry on immigration is to give people regular employment at a fair rate of wages—at a rate that will enable them to live through the whole of the year comfortably, and save some money, and to *give them abundant facilities for choosing Crown lands at a reasonable rate*. I may say, from my own experience, which among the farming class is very extensive, that there is no man who does so well in settling in the country as the man who has got a little money and buys his own land."

Mr. FITZHERBERT, of Wellington, who was even at that time a very old colonist, made a most forcible speech. He seems, like Mr. Richmond, to have foreseen the danger of the land being bought up before the immigrants could be settled on it, and in the strongest possible terms protested against such a catastrophe being permitted to happen; yet, that is precisely what has happened, and the disastrous results of which we cannot yet see the end of. As Mr. Fitzherbert's speech bears directly on the point I wish most strongly to bring out before you, I give you somewhat long extracts from it. He said:—

*"It is well known that it has been a deep and growing conviction on my mind for the last two or three years that we were stagnating in this country, and that we were absolutely failing to perform our duty; that, from whatever cause, Provincial Governments and General Government alike seem to have got into a dreamy and dormant state; that they seemed to have become almost lifeless; that we had over-looked too much the great work of colonisation, which we ought to have considered as those who had to found a new country; that we had altogether forgotten our raison d'etre in this part of the world. I felt that we were false to our great interests, and that we were no longer the men who ought to parade the pretensions which we were constantly doing of being the great builders up of a country. With respect to this question of immigration, I do not hesitate to say that it is one of the greatest problems of the present day, than which there is no question of peace or war, starvation or plenty, civilisation or barbarism, of larger or more profound interest; and we form in New Zealand no small item in that problem, and, for this reason, that we are nearly about the last country within the Temperate Zone which remains yet uninhabited—I say uninhabited, for how else can it be regarded, seeing that we have only a population of a quarter of a million, including the infant born yesterday, to make up the number. To call this an inhabited country is simply trifling with terms. It is not enough to bring people out here and to drop them down anywhere in the country; they must be established and settled. If I thought that a system would be devised of a grand scheme of Public Works for the sake of finding employment for a number of strangers who would be brought here, I would oppose it. I say that the idea of bringing out people as immigrants with the view of obtaining employment upon Public Works in the colony is the most preposterous idea that was ever entertained. It would be a blot upon our administration if we permitted any such scheme to be carried out, which could have no other effect than that of utterly demoralising and corrupting the whole population. It would be monstrous that in a country like this, the immigrant should look to employment on Public Works for a permanent livelihood Panem et circenses. The pages of the past tell us that that was the ruin of one empire. But if such a system be a disease incidental to the mature age of nations, nothing could produce such a state of things in a young country but culpable incapacity of administration. What do we mean by settlement? I come here to a question of vital importance. The land question is the great theme. I admit the problem is not an easy one to solve. The problem in New Zealand has generally been complicated by many difficulties. It is no use to quarrel with that, but we must, by intelligence and discrimination, try to solve that problem. The land must be opened for the people."*

Mr. M'INDOE, in speaking next, corroborated Mr. Macandrew as to the great cost of metalled roads in Otago.

M. PEACOCK, of Canterbury, supported the Government scheme.

Mr. BRANDON spoke in favour of settlement. He said:—

*"He had hoped that a scheme would be put before the House for inland settlement, somewhat on the plan of the old original settlements. That would have been the means of introducing not only labour, but capital also at the same time. It would have formed a settled population, instead of (as now seemed to be the great idea) introducing people to carry on works without thinking what was to become of them when the works were finished. There was plenty of land both in the North and the Middle Island ready and available for such a purpose. Instead of borrowing for railways upon any such scheme as had been proposed, it would have been better to have said to Provinces which had land available for such a purpose, or for the construction of roads—'We will assist you by legislation in the Assembly to offer to contractors payment either in land or in the form of a guarantee, you taking care that when the contractors have such land they shall settle it or sell it for settlement within a specified time.'"*

Mr. KELLY spoke strongly in favour of encouraging small settlers, and also in favour of establishing local industries, which, in my opinion, can never be successfully introduced in any town except where the country districts around it are thickly settled by a fixed population. Mr. Kelly said:—

*"The men they wanted were small holders of land—men who came from parts of the old country where*

industry and frugality were habits of second nature. \* \* \* \* \* The class of men which they required were those who in settling down relied upon their own exertions, and who would not, in times of temporary depression, go clamouring to the Government for work. The only way to secure such people was to insure them liberal land laws, by which they could obtain holdings at a cheap rate, to be paid for in a reasonable time, and make them accessible by good roads. There was one point which he had overlooked, and that was to impress upon the Government the necessity of encouraging new industries. It was a most important consideration, and one which could not fail to strike any one on looking over the customs returns, finding as they did there, articles of food, clothing, boots, shoes, cordage, leather, and other articles of manufacture, which might be just as well produced in this country. He found that the value of these necessaries imported into the colony, and which might be produced within its boundaries, amounted to two millions sterling."

Mr. HOWORTH reiterated Mr. Fitzherbert's views. He said:—

*"It would not be wise to introduce immigrants to compete with the labour we have already here. The great inducement to the people in the old country (and in all countries, in fact) to come to the colony was, that they might become proprietors of the soil; that they might have land on which to settle and call their own. He did not think it would be any inducement to ask labouring men in England to come out to this country merely to accept employment on Public Works; they might be giving up a certainty for an uncertainty, and they might not like colonial life when they came here. The great inducement to persons leaving the home country was the prospect of making a new home for themselves and families, and releasing themselves from a position out of which they can have little hope of gaining an independence. He believed that if this colony were to take its place among the nations of the earth, it was the duty of its inhabitants to make themselves a nation, and to do that they must have population, which is the greatest source of wealth any country can have, and the means of developing large resources."*

MR. MERVYN spoke in favour of altering the land regulations, and showed that even so long ago as 1867, suitable settlers had left Otago, owing to the difficulty of finding land to settle on. He said:—

*"The colony must ere-long take up the question of liberalising the land laws generally \* \* \* he could speak with greater certainty with respect to the province of Otago (than Canterbury), and he could say that he had known hundreds of people compelled to leave Otago in consequence of land not having been thrown open to them on which they could settle. He had presented a petition to the House to that effect in 1867, and since he came to Wellington this session, he had met men who were on their way to California, for the simple reason that there were not facilities given them to enable them to settle in Otago. These men to whom he referred, he knew had £200 to £300 a-piece in their pockets, and it could not be denied they were a most desirable class of settlers, men who by frugal habits had saved what little they possessed, and so long as such a state of thing existed respecting the land laws, people might be brought into the country, but they would not settle."*

MR. POTTS (of Canterbury) advocated opening up the country by branch lines to encourage settlement.

MR. ORMOND, then Superintendent of Hawkes Bay, also supported the Government proposals. He was subsequently instrumental in starting the Scandinavian settlements in the Ninety Mile Bush, which have proved what patient industry can accomplish in the face of great difficulties. He said:—

*"It must be apparent to all that the country is starving for want of population to develop its resources. I have not those fears which some honourable members appear to entertain, that we shall not be able to borrow this money to advantage. I think we may with safety incur expenditure on productive works to any amount that we may be able to get, and I firmly believe that those works will be eventually remunerative."*

MR. CREIGHTON supported the scheme generally, but pointed out that *the land of the Colony should be made security for the loan.* He said:—

*"He believed \* \* \* \* that the resources of the colony fully warranted going into the market to borrow ten millions, but he also believed that what was called the Consolidated Revenue was not at present sufficiently elastic to justify such borrowing on the security of that revenue alone. Let the Government come down with a proposal to resume the landed estate of the colony, let them propose to pledge that estate to the Public Creditor, and then he would support the Government in borrowing ten millions. In Victoria the land was pledged to the Public Creditor, and the land fund was appropriated by a vote of the Legislature. In New South Wales the practice was the same, and so it was substantially in regard to Canada and California. If New Zealand was to go into the English market for a large loan, the English capitalist would require that the whole of the public estate of the colony should be pledged as his security. It would be unfair to New Zealand, to its credit, and to its good name generally, as well as to the capitalist, if the colony went into the market for such a loan, and offered any less satisfactory security."*

MR. W. H. HARRISON in the course of his speech corroborated Mr. Macandrew's and Mr. McIndoe's statements as to the great cost of metalled roads in New Zealand; this is a fact often lost sight of by those who declaim against the Railways, as having entailed so much expenditure, as in all fairness, from their cost ought to be deducted the cost of the metalled roads which would have been necessary if no Railways had been made.

MR. O'NEILL went pretty deeply into the land question, and spoke of the lands of the colony, as being the birthright of the children born in the Colony. He said, speaking of Railways:—

*"In 40 years England constructed about 14,000 miles of railways, at a cost of about £500,000,000 \* \* \* At the commencement of the present year (1870), America had 48,869 miles of railways constructed, at a cost of 2,212,000,000 dollars. Speaking of land, he thought that in this country immigrants had been enticed to come out on representations that land was so easily obtainable, and that grants (free grants) could be got. Now 50 or 100 acres sounded large and comfortable in the old country, quite an estate, but little did the immigrant know that he might get almost barren rocks, or some wild secluded spot in the bush, far away from civilisation, on which he would have to make a livelihood for himself and his children. He believed that many immigrants were consequently disgusted with the country, and the representations which had gone home, had to a large extent stopped the tide of immigration. As there was plenty of land in the colony, he would give as a birthright forty acres of land to every child rocked for the first time in the colonial cradle, and he would have this arrangement in force until the end of the time estimated for completing the scheme proposed by the Government."*

MR. CURTIS, then Superintendent of Nelson, supported the scheme.

Sir DONALD MCLEAN, Native Minister, also spoke, of course in support of the Government proposals. He said:—

*"I will only add that, from the time the Government first took office, we felt that a policy for the country was wanted. We felt that firstly, the restoration of peace was necessary, and to that end we have worked constantly and earnestly, with what results the House and the country can judge. We also felt that when peace was restored, colonising operations were absolutely necessary for the progress of the country. We recognised that the country is one abounding in great auriferous wealth, rich in varied resources, but requiring a system of colonisation that should have continuity, that should not be spasmodic, or liable to break down suddenly—a system extending over a series of years, and which should be the means of bringing population, not only from Great Britain, but from Germany, Norway, Denmark, Switzerland, and other parts of the Continent, which population should be able to make for themselves a future, and comfortable homes, in a land which needs but labour to make it, in fact what it has long been regarded as certain to become, 'The Briton of the Southern Seas.'"*

Mr. WILLIAMSON, of Auckland, was also a strong supporter of the scheme, especially wishing to see the Maori lands settled. He said:—

*"I ask myself, as I did in 1860—Are railways and great trunk roads required for opening up the country? and I cannot but see with more force than I ever did before, that such works are required, and should now be undertaken. But those works must go hand in hand with colonisation. Of what use will it be to open the country by roads unless we have traffic upon those roads? Sir, there is at the present time unoccupied land in the Province of Auckland to the extent of about 14,000,000 acres, and I ask, are we who are here now to retain the monopoly of those lands? The honourable member Tareha has told us to-night that the Natives are willing to dispose of their lands to the Government. I trust, sir, soon to see that land occupied and cultivated, and to see upon it the homes of our countrymen, and its 'wilderness made to blossom as a rose.'"*

Mr. DRIVER, of Otago, spoke in support of the scheme, deploring the state of stagnation into which the colony had fallen at the time, thus, he said:—

*"In fact, he thought the whole country was drifting into a state of utter stagnation and ruin. In every part of New Zealand, and amongst every class, the feeling was in favour of new blood and new capital. \* \* \* \* \* Unless some new life and new blood was introduced into the country, which could only be done by a reasonable and proper system of Public Works and immigration, he thought they would die an ignominious, and what might be termed a dried up sort of death."*

Mr. EYES, of Nelson, in supporting the scheme, said:—

*"On behalf of his constituents, he desired to return his sincere thanks to the Government for having initiated the only scheme of colonisation worthy of the name, which had been undertaken by any Government who had held office in the country."*

Having now gone through the list of speakers, I next come to Mr. VOGEL'S speech in reply, in which he said:—

*"The ruling idea of the Government proposals is, that the few colonists of New Zealand have a great problem to solve—viz., how to improve the very magnificent estate which Providence has given into their hands; that it is the duty of those colonists not selfishly to endeavour to keep that estate for themselves alone \* \* \* \* \* but to set to work to open and improve it, and really to populate it" Speaking of the Land Laws, Mr. Vogel showed that he was afraid to have that subject ventilated, lest the squatters should combine to defeat his proposals altogether, thus he says—"The honourable member for Grey and Bell (Mr. Richmond) endeavoured once more to obtrude that irritating question, the alteration of the Land Laws. If the honourable member were sincere in desiring to see our measures passed, he would not endeavour to obstruct their passage by obtruding*

questions which he knows are of a nature likely to divert honourable members' minds from the consideration of those measures. He is sufficiently familiar with the interest which in this House centres in all questions relating to the Land Laws of the colony, to know, that if the question of a radical alteration in the Land Laws is raised, it will supersede the consideration of the Government proposals." Speaking of the Canterbury railways, he said—"The figures given by the honourable member (Mr. Rolleston) were very instructive. They showed us the astounding progress which Canterbury has made, and it seemed to me that it was in the mind of the honourable member to shut out the rest of the colony from the prospect of such improvement as has taken place in Canterbury, rather than to say to the other Provinces—'Go and do likewise.' We say only, we will construct such railways as may from time to time be found to be desirable and payable; but Canterbury entered upon railway construction with a population of some 12,000, and with that great tunnel difficulty before it. And what has been the result? One which the honourable member for Avon describes as eminently satisfactory." Speaking of the proposed railways, he said—"The Government shall understand it to be its duty, before the new House can be called together, to ascertain the opinions and wishes of the different Provinces, to enter with them just as is proposed by the Bill, into a discussion as to what railways they desire, what conditions they are willing to submit to in order to get such railways, what are the conditions of the country through which the proposed lines will pass, what will probably be the traffic, and to what extent the lines are likely to pay."

Mr. RICHMOND followed in a short speech, from which I take one extract:—

"We are providing means for bringing people here, but we are not providing attractions for the purpose of retaining them here. There is no attraction to the rural settler which will compare with the attraction of settlement upon the land; and there is nothing on the American Continent which presents so powerful an attraction to emigrants as the facilities which are afforded them of settling down upon their own land."

Mr. VOGEL, in winding up the debate, said:—

"During the last few days of this Parliament, let us think of the people, not of ourselves, not of parties. Let us forget all differences, and give to the country the future which this Bill promises."

Then came the division, which disclosed an overwhelming majority for the Government—viz., ayes 45, noes 7, the only members voting against the Public Works Policy being Colonel Haultain, Sir C. Wilson, Sir D. Munro, and Messrs. Jollie, Richmond, Reader Wood, and Collins; yet the organs of the present Government would have you: believe that Sir Julius Vogel is responsible for the debt, and that they had nothing to do with it!"

I have now gone through the debate, and given you quotations from most of the speakers in order to prove to you that the great majority of the House of Representatives supported Sir Julius Vogel's policy; and further, that nearly all the most prominent men concurred as to the *absolute necessity of settling people on the lands of the colony on favourable terms*, if that policy was to turn out a success, and that in the absence of such settlement nothing but a disastrous failure of the whole scheme could be expected.

In going into committee on the Bill, on August 9th, Mr. FITZHERBERT said:—

"For the first time in our history I may say this colony as a colony is going in for Public Works, it is going to resume that great duty which has been so long neglected, that of colonisation. There is no doubt that in according the vote for that purpose there has been a unanimity such as has been rarely accorded upon any question in this House. Having in view that which must be faced by the Government, the actual settlement of the people, he would gladly have seen the Government propose, instead of a wholesale indiscriminate and promiscuous kind of proposal for taking land, that it should be limited in the direction of granting alternate sections, limiting the depth from the frontage. Colonisation in the North Island henceforward had become almost impossible, unless some change was introduced. He meant colonisation upon any concerted or large scale. The very eyes of the country were being picked out every day, and it was impossible to form anything like systematic settlements."

Mr. RICHMOND in opposing the proposal to pay for some of the railways in land, said:—

"Land is not only bad coin because of the uncertainty of its value, it is not only subject to discount, but it is also bad because we want to settle a population upon it, not to sell it in lots to suit the convenience of contractors and speculators, but to settle every part of the country with a population that will remain upon it. We do not want large farms, but we want the smallest farms that men can settle down upon and cultivate profitably, because then we get population settled in the country, and with population we get revenue. Unless those who think with me exert themselves to the very utmost, and make up their minds to sit here for the next three months, if necessary, to perfect these Bills, we are about to launch measures which will bring shame upon every one of us, who have so grossly failed in our duty, to protect the interests of the people of this country."

Mr. CARLETON speaking of the proposed immigration, said:—

"Let me assure the House from the experience I have had among immigrants, that no man settling down upon a piece of ground in this country need expect a return under eighteen months or two years, and unless he has the means to sustain himself during that time, he sinks down at once into the position of a day labourer. I

*for one am not prepared to flood the country with mere day labourers, and to bring down the rate of wages to such as will not support a working man. I am one of those who ask a fair day's wage for a fair day's work, and I also ask a fair day's work for a fair day's wage. Some successes there have been, I know, and the greatest success has been in the importation of immigrants from Canada, and Nova Scotia. They are the best settlers I have seen, the hardest working, perfectly sober, and able to turn to in this country at a day's warning, without loitering about the town after disembarkation, and wasting what little means they have brought out with them. I have said this much concerning immigration, not by the way of discouraging it, for I myself most heartily desire to see it entered on; but to show the necessity of caution, of beginning quietly and steadily, and of feeling our way, and not bringing out crowds at once, but by degrees."*

Mr. DRIVER said with regard to the Land Laws:—

*"There was another great element which ought properly to come on now for discussion, and that was in reference to the lands of the colony. This he considered the backbone of the whole undertaking, and unless coupled with this in a proper way, it was impossible to think that the scheme could be carried out properly. He believed, more particularly with regard to immigration, that it was impossible it could be carried on under the existing system of Land Laws."*

Mr. ROLLESTON in his speech showed that he was quite aware of the evils of large holdings. He said:—

*"He was glad to hear what the honourable member for Timaru had just said, that he objected to the payment for these Public Works being made in land, because it showed that the honourable member was in earnest in his views with respect to the settlement of the country by people instead of sheep; but at the same time he did not think any great good would be obtained by doing away with the existing Provincial Land Laws. In Canterbury the Government had the land to dispose of for the purpose of making roads and other public works; but the moment they dropped the price of land it would be bought up by large speculators, who did not care about opening up roads, and in fact would rather be without them. The settlement of the country would be obstructed by the land getting into the possession of large holders. No one, he felt assured, would accuse him of a desire to interfere with enabling people to settle on the land, or desiring to see large tracts of country occupied by sheep to the obstruction of colonisation \* \* \* he would oppose the system of payment in land, because it would ultimately tend to prevent colonisation."*

Mr. WILLIAMSON, speaking as to land in Auckland Province, said "that there was plenty of land to the north of Auckland which might be rendered available for settlement if in the hands of the Government, but which would be quite useless for that purpose if allowed to pass into the possession of private individuals. It was well known that wherever lands were thus acquired they were left to remain as they were before—a perfect wilderness. Colonisation was wanted in the North Island."

Speaking with regard to the taking of private land for railway purposes, Mr. VOGEL said "it was the very bane of a new country, that greediness for compensation when any new work was to be carried out. The strong way in which it had been put down in America enabled important works to be carried out for the benefit of the public. There, private individuals were not allowed to interfere with the carrying out of great public undertakings. In this country we should also discountenance the organised greediness of persons who would prevent Public Works being carried out unless they could obtain extraordinary compensation from the Government."

Mr. GILLIES said, on the same subject:—

*"The honourable member for the Hutt was right in saying that the speculator would be in advance of them. Orders had gone from this city, since this Bill had been placed in the hands of honourable members, to purchase lands wherever the railway would pass through. He would suggest to the Colonial Treasurer, that unless some mode of valuing the land before and after occupation were adopted, it would be ruinous to attempt to make a railway under the provisions of that clause."*

Mr. MOORHOUSE, speaking on this subject, said:—

*"His experience was, that the sympathies of that part of the public who were called upon to judge in such matters as this, were not with the Government, but with the unfortunate people who acquired four, five, or even ten times as much for their land as it was worth. In the Province of Canterbury, twenty times the actual value of an estate had been given for it for this purpose."*

With regard to this plundering of the Government under the form of demands for compensation, you may remember a charge of this kind was brought against the present Premier by the *Lyttelton Times*, on the occasion of his last candidature for Selwyn, at Leeston.

The Public Works Bill was read a third time, and passed on August 18th, 1870.

In the Legislative Council the debate was opened by Mr. GISBORNE, who said in the course of his speech:—

*"Immigration is unquestionably a reproductive work. Every immigrant whom we can bring into the colony, looking at the question in its lowest light, represents so much of revenue-producing power. But when we think*

*of the importance of increasing our population, we must consider that immigration is the most essential of our requirements."*

Colonel WHITMORE, speaking in reference to the assumption that customs revenue would increase in proportion to the increase of population, said:—

*"Neither the ordinary revenue nor the customs revenue shows any proportionate increase to the increase of population. There is nothing of the kind. I would further say, that a large immigration means a very considerable fall in wages, and it is the excess in wages which is spent in luxuries upon which our customs are levied; and if the wages of the people are reduced, the customs revenue of the country must suffer fully to the extent of the larger number of people. \* \* \* We shall be leaning on a rotten reed if we think that immigration will so increase the revenue as to keep down that taxation, and to meet it we must trust to our own industry alone."*

The Hon. MATTHEW HOLMES, a thoroughly practical colonist, made a long speech, from which I will read you some extracts bearing on the question of settlement by small farmers. He said:—

*"I think therefore that the time has arrived when we should entertain the question of the settlement of the country, and introduce as large a number of immigrants into it as our means will permit. And, sir, I cannot but pause to think how wanting in our duty we should be to our fellow-countrymen at home, who are, many of them, living in what we should consider abject poverty, and not a few in a state of complete destitution, were we not to make an effort to enable them to join us here, especially when we consider that there would be a double benefit to them, in placing within their reach liberal wages, plenty of good food, and the certainty of their becoming independent in a few years, as the result of sustained industry and sobriety. The profits of an ordinary labourer for one year would enable him to buy the fee simple of at least thirty acres of agricultural land, such as he never could have dreamt of possessing in the mother country; and to us there would be the great benefit of settling an industrious population on our waste lands, which only require a very moderate amount of labour expended upon them to make them productive. Sir, in thinking of these things, the mind is lost in the grandeur of the future of these islands, their insular position, fine temperate climate for Europeans, prolific soil, capable of growing all the productions of Britain, and most of those of the Continent, and mineral productions only waiting for a large population to develop them. Another argument in favour of immigration is, that so long as it continues, the prosperity of all classes is sustained, while a stoppage invariably produces depression amongst all the members of the community, For a colony to remain stationary means physical, mental, and moral decadence. America is a notable proof of this. There is no doubt that its continued extension and prosperity is promoted by the constant influx of people. All classes there (unlike the working classes of these colonies) welcome the new-comers as their best friends. \* \* \* \* \* Another question of vital importance is, what class of persons are we to introduce? My own experience as an employer of labour would lead me to prefer the small farmers from the Lowlands of Scotland, the north of Ireland, and the best agricultural counties of England, farm labourers from the same districts, shepherds from both sides of the Borders, the Lothians, Perth, and Sterling shires. Other classes worthy of consideration for settling on the West Coast of the Middle and Stewart's Island are Norwegians, Nova Scotians, and people from the north of Scotland and the Orkney and Shetland Islands. There they would have fine harbours, splendid timber for shipbuilding, and the sea teeming with valuable fish for curing. But, before entering on their introduction, the question arises, how are they to be settled, and what attractions can we place before them to induce them to select this colony for their future home? The first requisite is constant employment at a fair rate of wages. This can be secured for them only by commencing Public Works, such as are proposed by this Bill, in different parts of the colony. But the greatest attraction is the certainty of their being able to purchase upon easy terms lands upon which to settle permanently. I never met with a man of any grade who did not desire to possess a piece of mother earth. It is the one dream of the life of agricultural labourers especially, which can never be realised in old countries. Hence the large number of the best of that class who emigrate. It will, therefore, be necessary to have a good supply of land in the market ready for settlement. Our land system in Otago is very defective in that respect. The regulations are so complex that only bush lawyers can understand and take advantage of them. The difficulties thrown in the way of purchasers would lead one to believe that the Government was conferring a special favour in allowing people to purchase, whereas the obligation is all on the other side."*

The Hon. Mr. SEWELL said, on the subject of immigration:—

*"I now come to the question of immigration. I entirely agree with the honourable members who have spoken of that as the cardinal point in any plan of colonisation; because, to my mind, everything revolves around this central point—the bringing of people into the country. It is in the people of a country that its strength and its wealth resides."*

The Hon. Mr. CAMPBELL said, in relation to the same subject:—

*"I am sure that all those who have been in the country for the last few years must recognise that the utter cessation of immigration which has taken place, has been the one thing more than anything else, which has*

*produced the present stagnation of trade in the country. When I consider that the total amount to be expended is £1,000,000, only sufficient to bring out 70,000 people, I do not think the proposal is too large for the country to undertake. I believe that a healthy scheme of immigration to the extent of seven, eight, or ten thousand people a year would not be too much for the colony to absorb. Unless we have a large immigration into this country we shall never be able to undertake manufacturing industries, or to cultivate the country, and we shall not enable the colony to meet the burdens which will necessarily be imposed upon it by the present scheme."*

Mr. Campbell was then the largest sheep-owner in New Zealand, and is now a very extensive holder of freehold land, so that he looked at the question entirely from the point of view of an employer of labour.

The Hon. Mr. ROBINSON spoke next. He was then, and is still, one of the largest freeholders in the colony, and one who has kept nearly a whole county locked up from settlement to this day. He expressed the most liberal and patriotic sentiments with regard to *other people's runs*. He said:—

*"He had very little hesitation in saying that when the great resources of New Zealand—that is, her mines, those great storehouses of wealth, her native industries, flax, &c.—were developed, and her fertile plains and valleys occupied, as they are sure to be, it would be found that New Zealand was capable of keeping a larger population than the present Australian colonies combined. Indeed, he might say, that he believed that the capabilities of this country were far greater than even its most sanguine colonists imagined. \* \* \* \* \* he saw around him many honourable members who had possessions in the shape of leaseholds, who probably thought they ran no risk, but let them not think they would go scot free. The people—the power of this country—would sweep those leases away, and turn those lands to their proper legitimate account, by converting them into homesteads for families, and populating the country, instead of letting it remain a wilderness in the shape of a sheep-station. \* \* \* \* \* "Whilst money was being expended in conquering a peace and reclaiming land in the North Island, the land in the South Island had been tied up in faster ratio. All the land in Nelson and Marlborough was leased for twenty-eight years, and was much more alienated from purposes of settlement than freehold land. \* \* \* \* \* Those leaseholders were like dogs in the manger; they could not put population on their land, and they would take care that nobody else did. \* \* \* \* \* In the Province of Otago \* \* \* \* \* they might call their land laws legion; and so complicated were those laws that any one arriving with, say £500, would find his money all gone before he could find out the land laws." I quote Mr. Robinson's peroration, which a Yankee would call "high falutin:—"Upon the shape and form that Bill left the Council hung the question, shall this country, great in every sense of the word, take the lead amongst the civilized nations of the Southern Hemisphere? Shall this broad and sparsely populated land, with a climate for salubrity without a parallel, with its broad and verdant plains intersected by rivers, rivulets, and sparkling streams, its rich and fertile valleys, and its magnificent wooded slopes, become densely studded with millions of the happy and luxurious homes of prosperous and contented families, or shall the present and rising generations live a lifetime of poverty and misery?"*

The Hon. Mr. WIGLEY, speaking in favour of making payment for the railways in land, quoted the case of the Albury Estate, taken up in that way by the Hon. E. Richardson, he said:—

*"In Canterbury that principle had worked very successfully. In that province 20,000 acres of land had been taken up by the contractor for the railway, representing a sum of £10,000. The result of that system was, that the contractor had settled in the colony. Instead of taking the money out of the Government chest, the contractor had settled down, selecting his land in blocks of 8,000 or 10,000 acres, which formed nuclei for subsequent selections. \* \* \* \* \* he had no doubt that when the railways were completed the freehold land he had purchased would be settled on by small farmers and, from the way in which he had acted, he (Mr. Wigley) was induced to believe that he would bring other persons out to the colony, and thus do it a good service."*

After Mr. Gisborne's reply, the division was called, and resulted as in the Lower House, in a large majority for the Government—viz., 25 for the Bill, and only 8 against it. Those who voted against it were Colonel Russell, the Hon. Ernest Grey, and Messrs. Kenny, Mantel], Nurse, Robinson, Taylor, and H. R. Russell.

Subsequently, in committee of the Lower House, Mr. WILLIAMSON said:—

*"They should open up the country and render it fit for the reception of people, unless they wanted it all to themselves. Robinson Crusoe occupied a territory and was able to say he was monarch of all he surveyed; but he trusted that the British mind with which they were endowed (his honourable friend, the member for Gladstone, Mr. Jollie, included) would feel that this great country was not given to the present inhabitants to hold for themselves; that it was not for their own particular benefit that the money proposed to be borrowed was to be expended, but for the good of the whole British Empire. They should not forget that there were many others anxious to participate in the benefits which they enjoy. The great resources of this country would never become known or developed if left in the hands of the few who were now in occupation of it, and it was the duty of that House to give the Government the means of bringing out people who would assist in the object of improving the country and developing the vast resources of it. \* \* \* \* \* He trusted that those narrow-minded legislators, who had so long monopolised public places would no longer be tolerated—men who held their*

seats, not to the advantage, but to the great disadvantage, of the colony."

Mr. MERVYN said, by way of a last protest:—

"Under the Immigration Bill which the House had previously passed, no inducement was held out to intending immigrants to come to this country, in the hope that they might be enabled to settle upon the waste lands. He maintained that unless some such inducement were held out to the immigrants who were invited to our shores, the immigration scheme of the Government must prove a failure; because he believed that the proposal to bring people into this country merely to execute public works was based upon a false principle, and could not fail to be productive of disastrous results."

Sir JULIUS VOGEL wound up with the following peroration:—

"The whole case for our measures may be summed up in a few words—Do we or do we not believe in the resources of New Zealand? If not, it is not wise that we should spend money in trying to develop the country. But, if we do believe in the resources of New Zealand, why should we not march with the time, and try to do rapidly that which would otherwise take a very long while to effect? Why should we not do for the country in ten years that which, if the work be not specially and energetically undertaken, will probably not be done in less than one hundred years? The Government believe that there are in this country vast and valuable forests, great and varied mineral wealth, teeming fisheries, pastoral lands, and enormous agricultural capabilities. Why should we not say to the overburdened population of the old country—Here is a land rich in all natural resources; we are willing to develop it to the largest extent if you will come and make it your home. That, Sir, is the policy of the present Government!"

The division followed—ayes 35, noes 6.

And so the great Immigration and Public Works Policy of 1870 was carried triumphantly through both Houses of the Legislature, amid high hopes for its success and for the future prosperity of the colony. I fancy most of you will concur with me in thinking, that if it had been carried out in its integrity, according to the ideas set forth in various speeches I have quoted from, it would indeed have been a success, and have led to great results; and probably, at this moment, all classes of the community would have been rejoicing in a fair measure of prosperity, instead of our being in a position to be held up by the home papers before the British public as a solemn warning and shocking example of spendthrift improvidence. I shall now, in accordance with the plan I sketched out in my opening remarks, proceed to show you that *the colony has not been actually settled*, or the inland district populated to anything like the extent it ought to have been, and which it is generally supposed by the dwellers in the large towns to be. In fact, that, with the exception of a few districts, such, for example, as the Christchurch district, extending, say, from South bridge to Amberley (which, I may remark, was mainly settled prior to the inauguration of the Public Works Policy), and in South Canterbury, the district extending from Temuka to the Waihi Bush (which was also settled prior to 1870), the greater part of Canterbury is held in large blocks to the exclusion of small settlers. And here, it would be as well to remark, that these districts I have alluded to as being properly settled, were so settled, not because there were no runs there, but because the land being all level and nearly all of good quality, the squatters found it impossible to "spot" it so as to prevent farmers buying it up, as was done in the Downs districts, and consequently the only effectual remedy against "cockatoos" would have been to buy up the whole run at one sweep, which few of the runholders were in a position to do, at the Canterbury price of £2 per acre, though the process was easy in Nelson or Hawkes Bay at 5s. per acre. I shall now give you some statistics tending to show what the amount of settlement ought to have been, if the country had been settled on the American system, by small farmers, instead of being carved out into great estates on the Australian system. In order to give you a clear idea of the different results of the two systems, I will first give you a comparative statement of the increase of population during ten years in some of the Western States of the Union, and in some of the Australian Colonies, also some results of the American census of 1880, from the London *Times* of 13th August last.

Here you have four of the newer States of the Union compared with the three most densely populated of the Australian Colonies, and what do we find? that though the area of the four States is somewhat less than that of the three colonies, yet the population in 1870 was over six times as great, and the increase in ten years was nearly six times as great.

During the twelve months ending 30th June, 1880, 457,043 immigrants arrived in the United States, and 49,922 more during the month of July, and this rapid increase of population is reducing the weight of debt per head in a remarkable way. The figures given are:—

Contrast this diminishing scale with the increasing scale of the New Zealand debt, which was:—

Here is a table giving the increase of production and trade which has taken place in the United States in twenty years from 1860 to 1880:—

One remarkable fact disclosed by this table is that, whereas in 1860 the imports exceeded the exports by 20,000,000 dollars, in 1880 the exports exceeded the imports by no less than 165,000,000 dollars, showing an enormous balance of trade in favour of the States. Another still more remarkable fact is the astounding increase

in the exports of wheat, and this is of most vital importance to us in New Zealand. I confess I was surprised to find that the exports of this grain amounted to only the trifling quantity of 4,155,000 bushels so recently as 1860, less than the present export from Lyttelton, and now it has risen to 175,000,000 bushels. What may it not be in another twenty years?

I will next give you a statement of receipts and expenditure in the United States for the years 1879 and 1880, so that their financial system may be compared in one or two particulars with ours:—

You will observe, first, that the expenditure is kept well within the receipts, the last year especially showing a very large surplus, and, secondly, that the revenue from land sales is so insignificant as to have no appreciable result on the state of the finances. In New Zealand, on the other hand, the land revenue has all along been a very large proportion of the whole revenue of the colony, so that its sudden cessation causes a violent disturbance in the financial position. The tables given for a few years past are:—

From this it will be seen that during the seven years 1873 to 1879 the territorial revenue amounted to more than one third of the total revenue of the colony, instead of being, as in the United States, only about the three-hundredth part of the whole. It is well known that in New Zealand, in spite of the large revenue, the expenditure has generally been in excess of the receipts, the deficiency being met out of fresh loans. However, there is one point in favour of New Zealand which ought, in justice to the colony, to be here pointed out, and that is, that here the entire cost of the railways appears as part of the public debt, which is not the case in the States, as there the railways have been constructed by private companies, with the aid of Government grants of land on an enormous scale. There were in the United States at the end of 1879 no less than 89,497 miles of completed railways. These lines cost 4,762,500,000 dollars, and earned during 1879, 529,000,000 dollars, gross receipts, of which, after paying expenses, 219,916,000 dollars remained as nett earnings, which would give a profit of 4.6 per cent on the capital. The figures I have given tend to show that much as we are accustomed to brag of the rapid progress of the colonies and of our colonial cities, their progress is slow compared with the wonderful rapidity of progress in the United States. Let us now inquire into the causes of this difference, and I believe one of the most potent will be found in the difference of the land systems. The more I have studied the subject, the more I feel convinced, that the secret of the unparalleled success of the United States lies in this fact—viz., that from the very first colonisation of America, *both the Government and the people* have used every possible means to attract immigrants and to fix them as *permanent settlers on small freeholds* of their own, instead of, as in these colonies (owing to the occupation of the country under depasturing licenses), throwing every possible obstruction and difficulty in the way of the small farmers. There were in 1870, in the United States, no less than 407,735,000 acres occupied as farms, and the average size of the holdings was only 153 acres, which would give 2,665,000 farmers, most of whom are farming their own freeholds, and consequently have a conservative tendency and a patriotic interest in the welfare of their country. This was out of a population of 38,558,000, giving one farmer for every thirteen of the population. Since that time, the population has increased by thirteen millions; and, if the farmers are relatively as numerous, which there seems no reason to doubt, their number will now be about 3,660,000. It may be argued that 153 acres is too small a holding here; but I say, if it is a sufficiently large area to maintain a family in the States, it surely ought to be so here, with our superior climate and higher average yield of grain per acre. You will remember that Mr. Richmond maintained in a speech I have quoted from, that in parts of the North Island every fifty acres would support a family in comfort. But, to quote a local authority (Mr. John Grigg, of Longbeach), he, in an article in the September number of the *New Zealand Country Journal*, gives the gross product of a 200 acre farm at £743 10s, and the expenses at £250 13s. 4d. After deducting £1 an acre for rent, he leaves a profit of £292 16s. 8d. for the farmer. According to this estimate (which, however, I cannot by any means endorse), a farmer should clear £2 10s an acre, if his land was his own freehold, and he consequently had no rent to pay. The land in America is exceedingly cheap, being frequently *given away* to encourage *bonâ fide* settlement. I will read you an extract from a letter written to the *Times* by the Earl of Dunraven respecting the advantages at present offered by the Canadian Government in the new district known as Manitoba. He says—"A little more than a fortnight's journey from the shores of Ireland is Manitoba and the North West Territory, in the country drained by the Red River, the Assinebonie, and the Saskatchewan, are *hundreds of thousands of acres of most fertile land*. Of this land the Canadian Government will *grant to any emigrant 160 acres for nothing*, on the sole condition that in three years the man shall prove that he intends to dwell on and cultivate the soil. In addition, he has the right of pre-emption over the adjoining quarter section of 160 acres, *at the price of ten shillings per acre*, or £80 for the quarter section. The payment of this sum is spread over a period of ten years, interest being charged at the rate of six per cent, per annum, and *no instalments are required for the first three years*. Considering the fertility of the soil, the rapid development of the country, and the fact that the Canadian Pacific Railway is in course of construction, and affords a good market for labour, there is no doubt that a fairly industrious man could support himself and family, and find himself in possession of the fee simple of a farm of 320 acres long before the limit of time assigned for payment of the land—viz., ten years—had been reached."

I will also read a short extract from a letter appearing in the *Times* of August 5th last, signed "J. Sampson, Iowa," expatiating on the inducements offered to immigrants in that region. He says:—"Having experience here in the States, and having travelled here a good deal, I would say \* \* \* \* \* first, confine your search for a home to the States of Illinois, Wisconsin, Iowa, and Minnesota. In them can be found cheap lands, pure water, a healthy climate, good schools, good roads, good markets, &c. The four States just named are largely settled in many parts by Irish people or people of Irish descent. The time from Ireland out here to Iowa is only thirteen days. Men sent out from Ireland to pioneer, as I suggest, would meet with a hearty welcome everywhere. People here are very friendly and cordial. The stranger and the foreigner are well treated by all classes."

When we consider the accessibility of the States from Europe, and the great advantages and inducements held out to immigrants of humble means, we need no longer be astonished at the vast proportions immigration into the States has assumed, so that last year 457,000 immigrants landed there, a number greater than the entire white population of New Zealand; nor need we be astonished at the correspondingly rapid growth of the cities, for instance, Chicago, a younger city than Melbourne, has now considerably more than double the population of that city.

Now, let us return to the question of the state of settlement in this colony. In New Zealand, according to published returns, there had been sold, up to the 30th of June, 1879, 14,014,000 acres. *If this land had been settled on the American system of small farms*, it would have provided homes for 91,600 farmers, whose holdings would average in size the same as those of the States. This would have meant a rural population of about 733,000, and a correspondingly large increase in the town population, whereas we find from census returns that there were only 13,767 freeholds of over one acre in extent—say, a population of about 110,000 engaged in farming. I shall next read you two remarkable papers of statistics in support of my statement that there is comparatively *little real settlement* in this colony. One is an extract from a table prepared by the late Edward Jerningham Wakefield shortly before his death, containing a list of some of the great estates, and the other consists of portions of the report of Mr. James M'Kerrow, the Surveyor General and Secretary for Crown Lands. Mr. Wakefield's list is:—

From this list you will see that ninety-two estates (all but two of which are in this island) embrace between them no less than 2,398,100 acres of freehold land, or an average of 26,175 acres each. These ninety-two estates, if divided into farms of the average size of those of the United States, *would provide homes for nearly 16,000 farmers*; whilst, if we allow for each farmer a wife, an average of four children, a ploughman, and a servant girl, we should have no less than 128,000 people subsisting on these ninety-two estates alone, which probably do not now average more than 30 souls on each, or about 2700 in all. In contrast to these great estates, let us now turn to the village settlements and deferred payment blocks. You may remember that Mr. Stafford strenuously advocated the formation of village settlements with a system of commonages, in 1870, but many years were allowed to elapse before anything was done. Now, however, that all the good land has been swept up except in parts of the North Island, Mr. Stafford's suggestions are being tried, which is like the proverbial shutting the stable door after the horse is stolen.

Mr. MCKERROW, in his Report dated 24th July, 1880, says:—

*"Weight must also be given to the fact, that the easily accessible and most valuable Crown lands have been generally taken up. In the Canterbury District, for instance, there is very little Crown land remaining that anyone would care to purchase at £2 per acre \* \* \* As we may not expect any great revenue from the sale of land in Canterbury, Otago, or Southland for the next two or three years, and the other land districts having mostly forest lands, are not likely to help very materially, it is evident that the Land Revenue from sales cannot be expected to rise very much above the £150,000 of the year ending 30th of June last.*

"Deferred Payments, Agricultural Lease, Homestead, Village and Small Farm Settlements.

"During the past twelvemonths, under these several clauses of the Land Acts, the great work of settling 718 persons or families on 95,000 acres, has been accomplished. This is a marked increase of 50 per cent., both in settlers and acreage, as compared with the twelve months ended 30th June, 1879. Among the causes contributing to this result may be mentioned the passing of the "Land Act, 1877, Amendment Act, 1879," which by reducing the minimum price at which deferred payment lands may be offered from £3 per acre to £1, set free several blocks, that have since been taken up at 25s., 30s., £2, and higher, per acre. Another cause is the necessity imposed on heads of families to look out for *something independent of employment on wages*, which has become in all branches, public and private, more precarious than formerly. Although the deferred payment system proper was only introduced in 1873, and for a year or two was kept within very narrow limits, it has now assumed very large dimensions. On the 30th of June last, 1862 persons held 238,534 acres on deferred payments, the annual payment of fees due on which, being instalments of price, amounted to £54,100. Up to that date 675 persons, representing 97,113 acres, originally taken up on deferred payments, had fulfilled all conditions and converted the land into freehold. Of this number 115 persons, representing 13,778 acres, have done so during the past twelve months, in the exercise of the option to the deferred payment settler of

discharging in one payment the balance of half yearly payments, if he has held the land 3 years, and fulfilled the improvement conditions.

"THE HOMESTEAD SYSTEM is by the Land Act, 1877, made applicable to the land districts of Auckland and Westland only. In Auckland 50 applicants selected 8816 acres for the twelve months, and since the introduction of the system a total of 260 selectors have taken up 46,271, *or an average of 178 acres each*. But as no one, unless representing a family or household, may select more than 75 or 50 acres, according to quality of land, (and if under 18, from 30 to 20 acres), it is evident that in the high average of 178 acres to each selection, *there is a family represented by each selector*. There is a set towards the system at present, several selectors having gone up lately from Canterbury.

"VILLAGE SETTLEMENTS.—This mode of acquiring Crown Lands only came into operation on the 1st January, 1880. It is essentially a system for the encouragement of thrifty settlers, who begin with a dwelling and gradually create comfort around them. The maximum of land attainable is 50 acres \* \* \* Although, hardly time has been given to get the system fairly into operation, and the time of application for all the 601 sections advertised has not yet arrived, 46 selectors, in Canterbury and Hawkes Bay, have already taken up 249 acres in areas ranging from 1 to 15 acres each—31 of the selections were on deferred payments, and 15 on immediate payments. Agreeably to instructions, village sites of 150 to 300 acres each are now being selected every 3 or 4 miles along the main roads, at convenient well watered spots in the Waimate Plains, and it is worthy of consideration whether this should not be done in all the best blocks of Crown lands, as they are opened up by survey. It is a very small matter apparently, making such reservations when the land is all a wilderness of fern or forest, but the importance and wisdom of it appears as the country gets settled, and sites are wanted for schools, churches, and homesteads for village tradesmen, and others following in the wake of the settlers. The *main object* of all these modes of settlement is not revenue, but *the improvement and occupation of the country*. Then are very expensive to work, and the question arises, Is the object fulfilled and the expense warranted? *The reply must be in the affirmative*. Summarising the results of all the settlement clauses, we had in New Zealand on the 30th June last, 3160 selectors, holding 374,425 acres, and liable for an annual payment of £65,000."

It is worthy of notice that these 3000 odd poor selectors are to pay £65,000 a year into the Colonial Exchequer, which is half as much as the rent paid to the Government for the use of all the 13 millions and a half of acres of land, held under Pastoral Leases by the squatters of the colony, viz., £113,000. From these figures you will see that *these selections only average 112 acres each* or 40 acres less than the average size of American farms, proving the truth of my contention, that 150 acres is sufficient to maintain a family in comfort. Now, with regard to the character of the land still open for selection under these various forms of settlement, I will read what Mr. McKerrow says, which goes to prove *how heavily New Zealand is handicapped in the contest with the States*, as to attractions for immigrants, he says:—"To the north of Auckland there stretches away to the north for 200 miles, a most interesting country of 3,000,000 acres, of which fully 1,000,000 or more than one-third are Crown lands. The soil on the open ridges is generally very clayey, and would require a great deal of pulverising to bring it into cultivation. The bottoms in the valleys are very fertile, as are also the limestone and volcanic ridges which are mostly under forest, and the areas covered with larva overflow \* \* \* \* It is proposed to explore a road line through it, and if funds are available, to open a bridle track. *Until this is done, no settlement can take place*, for in its present state, it will to the settler *for ever remain an impenetrable unknown land*. WELLINGTON COUNTRY DISTRICT.—This is 10,000 acres of hilly bush country. It lies on the ridge west of Hutt Valley \* \* and slopes down to Pahautanui small farm settlements. This is rather a rough piece of country, but being in the heart of a settled district and opened up by these roads, it is likely to be well taken up when offered for application. OTAGO.—Crown Terrace—A dray road was very skilfully selected by Mr. Bews, for the Lake County Council, up the steep side of this Terrace to the flat above. It was formed, and then the land was opened for selection, *five or six families mostly Shetlanders have settled there*, and in February last, within ten months of the date of their applications, they had several fields of well grown oats in crop *at an elevation of 2300 feet above the sea*. This road is part of the line Wakatipu to Cardrona and Wanaka. SOUTHLAND.—Woodend to Seaward Moss.—This is an expanse of fully 40,000 acres of level land, stretching from near Woodend, a station five miles from Invercargill on the Invercargill-Bluff railway, across between the forest and coast line to the Mataura river. It is a swampy, mossy country, with isolated pieces of dry land interspersed. 1044 acres along the road line were surveyed into eleven sections, and offered for sale on deferred payments. It has all been taken up except three sections. By cutting drains to help the natural drainage, and pushing the road forward a mile or two each season, this extensive area, *which is literally a 'howling wilderness'* will eventually become an inhabited settled district."

From these extracts from Mr. McKerrow's report, you will be able to understand the undesirable character of the blocks of land still remaining in the hands of the Government of New Zealand, comprising as they do, only those blocks possessing such insuperable natural drawbacks, as to render them unworthy of the attention of capitalists or speculators, yet you see that in spite of these drawbacks, plenty of industrious thrifty men can

be found to take them up under the deferred payment system, in the hope of making homes for themselves; and moreover, you see from the report, that numbers have succeeded in doing so, notwithstanding the great difficulties they have had to encounter. If, on lands of this character, 3160 selectors can be found to take up 374,425 acres (or 112 acres each on the average), what might not have been done with the land occupied by the 92 large estates before enumerated (with their area of 2,398,000 acres) under a judicious system of small farm settlement. Remember also *that these 92 estates are all picked properties* embracing some of the very best agricultural and pastoral land in New Zealand, whilst the poor selectors have to content themselves with the choice between the heavy bush (inaccessible as it is) north of Auckland, the clay hills near Wellington, the "howling wilderness" of swamp near the Bluff, or the Crown Terrace at Cardrona, 2300 feet above the level of the sea! It is also necessary, in reference to these 92 estates, to point out that they bear a very different proportion to the extent of country available for settlement in New Zealand, to what they would do in the United States; there, a block of land of the extent given, would be only the 185th part of the occupied land, and only about the 1100th part of the whole land of the States; whereas, here it represents more than one-seventh of the whole purchased land in New Zealand, and more than one-thirtieth of the entire area of the colony. In reality, the importance of these 2,398,000 acres to New Zealand is relatively much greater than even the above figures indicate, as in the States there are thousands of square miles of fertile prairie land yet unbought, whereas, here the 14 odd million acres already alienated from the Crown represent almost *the whole of the land in the colony that is really fit for agricultural purposes*. This proves incontestably that *the colony cannot afford to have these large estates locked up from settlement*, and consequently remaining almost entirely unproductive in respect of contributions to the colonial revenue, now that so large a proportion of that revenue has to be devoted to meeting the charges on the Government loans; and more especially as the expenditure of the loans on Public Works has been of such *great and direct benefit* to the owners of those large estates.

But, to come nearer home, I believe that since 1870, for every acre of good land bought in South Canterbury by small farmers, at least five acres have been added to the estates of the runholders. I will give you a rough list of some of the principal estates, with approximate acreages, so that you may judge how this district has been *settled*. They are:—

These sixteen estates contain about 437,000 acres *or an average of over 27,000 each*. This land, if cut up into farms of the average size of those in The States *would provide homes for 2900 farmers*, or with their families and dependents, say 23,200 souls, which is considerably more than the entire population of South Canterbury at the present time. Moreover, these 2,900 farmers would support a small village to, say every 100 farms, or 29 villages in all, each with its church, school, tradesmen's shops, &c. This of course would mean an immense development of the trade and commerce of Timaru, which is now in such a stagnant and depressed condition. Again, take the Oamaru district, there precisely the same state of things exists, and sufficiently accounts for the gloomy state of business affairs there. The Oamaru district is no doubt naturally very rich for its size, though its extent is much smaller than that of the Timaru district. The land is considered the very finest for wheat growing in all New Zealand, but it is principally held in large estates—*viz.*, those of the New Zealand and Australian Land Company, the Hon. Matthew Holmes, the Hon. Robert Campbell, Messrs. John Reid, of Elderslie, Menlove, of Windsor Park, John M'Lean, and Borton and M'Master, which seven estates, I am told, *embrace three-fourths of the best land in the district*. In Otago, the price of land was lower than in Canterbury, and I believe the greater part of these Oamaru estates was purchased from the Provincial Government of Otago at £1 per acre. The land regulations had been frequently changed in that province, but the general system was to keep most of the land shut up from sale, but to throw open certain blocks from time to time in what were called hundreds I find, in a debate on the Otago Hundreds Bill, in 1870, that Mr. Bradshaw said "he had listened with a good deal of attention to the remarks of the honourable member with regard to the action taken by himself and the honourable member for Hampden, in 1866. He recollected very well that he and the honourable member for Hampden had opposed the proposal made at that time—that of free selection by purchase of land throughout the Province of Otago at the upset price of thirty shillings per acre. If that proposal had become law at that time he believed the agricultural land of Otago *would have fall en into the hands of a few people*, as well as the whole of the auriferous land of the country. They had condemned the system, and would do so again. The Colonial Treasurer (Mr. Vogel) would permit the whole territory of Otago, auriferous or otherwise, to fall into the hands of speculators—the whole of the land to fall into the hands of a few private individuals. It would be unwise when they were about to bring in a large number of people, to lock up the land or give one-fourth of the agricultural land in the Province of Otago to a very few people. From a return laid on the table he found that there were only 800,000 acres of agricultural land in the Province of Otago. The present Bill would give 300 squatters 640 acres each, or one-fourth of the whole of the land—that land which ought to be kept for the people coming into the country for settlement. As fast as they brought the people into the country, and as fast as they reduced the rate of wages, *they would go away from the colony*—they would go to the place where they would receive the best wages."

Mr. BRADSHAW, in speaking against the monopoly of the land by the squatters, quoted a remarkable article which had appeared in the London *Times*, in 1866, on the question of leases for terms of years being given to the Runholders in Victoria, the writer says:—"But it had a still worse collateral result, which nobody seems to have foreseen—it entirely altered the position of the tenant. He could not be dispossessed unless the land he occupied was bought over his head for at least £1 an acre, which in the case of inferior land gave a tenure equal to fee simple \* \* \* \* The tenants of the Crown or squatters had been the objects of oppression! A genuine feeling of sympathy was excited on their behalf, and they employed the feeling with much dexterity, not only to protect themselves from the Government, but to strengthen their own tenure *at the expense of their fellow-colonists*. Like the Irish tenants-at-will they raised a cry for fixity of tenure, and compensation for improvements, and the Home Government interfered once more, and gave them leases of their lands, varying in duration according to the nearness or remoteness of the site. Thus did the Home Government by these three ill-advised measures, the compulsory raising of the minimum price of Crown land in obedience to what is now the thoroughly exploded theory of "Wakefield; the attempt to raise a revenue by prerogative, *and the granting of leases to tenants who had no occasion for improvements*, and therefore no intention of making them, *raise up a most formidable interest*, and place the most serious obstacles in the way of good government in Australia. The mismanagement of the Colonial Office raised up in Australia *an Oligarchy of the most irritating and dangerous kind*, possessing neither the distinction of worth, of wealth, nor of public service, and yet endowed with public laud, in many places valuable, well situated, and suitable for colonisation, and this *in a lavish profusion* which no conceivable public services could possibly merit. It is not too much to say that the democratic reaction, which has swept away everything before it, is mainly owing to the inexcusable error of calling into existence a body so peculiarly calculated to excite the envy, and irritate the passion for equality always so powerful in new communities. There is very little doubt that, had the Australian Colonies been independent Republics, instead of dependencies of England, *blood would have flowed* in a quarrel thus wantonly created \* \* \* No country is safe unless its institutions are under the custody of men who have a permanent interest in its prosperity, of a class not living on wages, but bound to the soil by the ties of family and property. It is this essential condition of good government, which a mistaken policy has so long withheld from Australia."

But to return to Timaru. I firmly believe that at some future time, when our Breakwater and other Harbour Works are completed, and the large estates in the neighbourhood thrown open for settlement, Timaru will be one of the largest and most prosperous cities in New Zealand, from the great extent of fine agricultural land of which it is the natural centre and outlet; but in the meantime its development is retarded by reason of so much of the land in its neighbourhood being monopolised in large blocks, which are now lying comparatively waste and uninhabited.

In my opening remarks I undertook to explain some of the causes which have prevented to a great extent the land of South Canterbury being settled by small farmers, which I will now endeavour to do. In the first place, owing to the remoteness of the district from Christchurch, and its difficulty of access on account of the dangerous rivers (Rakaia and Rangitata), which had to be crossed between it and that city, the land was granted under Depasturing Licenses in very much larger blocks than prevailed in other parts of New Zealand, though not so large as in some parts of Australia; thus, The Levels Eun (Messrs. Ehodes) embraced 160,000 acres, the Pareora (Messrs. Harris and Innes) 90,000, the Otaio (Messrs. Thompson Bros.) 70,000, the Waimate (Messrs. Studholme Bros.) 130,000, the Waiho (Messrs. Harris and Innes) 60,000, and Messrs. Parker Bros. 90,000; so that nearly the whole coast country from the Opihi to the Waitaki was occupied by six large stations, containing altogether about 530,000 acres. In the interior districts of Australia, country that will carry a sheep to 10 acres is considered very fair, but in the block contained between the above-mentioned rivers the country was capable of carrying on an average 1 sheep to every 2 acres in its native state; so that the original applicants, having taken up the runs at a merely nominal rent, found themselves in a few years possessors of very large flocks of sheep.

Prior to 1870 there were very few small farmers south of the River Selwyn, except around Temuka and Winchester, but about the year 1872 numbers came down from North Canterbury, looking for land, on which the runholders took the alarm, and at once began taking steps to secure their runs in every possible way. Seeing this, the Government ought (in accordance with the warnings of Mr. Stafford, Mr. Fitzherbert, and the other statesmen from whose speeches I have quoted) to have stepped in and reserved the land from sale to the runholders by such stringent regulations as would have secured *the actual settlement of the country by a farming population*; but unfortunately, the Government acted supinely, and took no steps whatever in that direction, beyond making a few Reserves for Educational purposes, and the consequence was, that within about three years nearly the whole of the 530,000 acres I have mentioned as contained in the six large Coast Runs, passed into private hands, in enormous blocks, and now constitute some of the 16 estates I have enumerated as being amongst the estates of South Canterbury.

This land was *virtually given to the runholders*, having been bought in a great measure out of the profits

made during the previous tenancy at a nominal rent of the land itself, and consequently the holders of the Depasturing Licenses had a great advantage to begin with over any outside buyers. But they had other advantages, viz., that their intimate knowledge of the land and the quality of different parts of it, enabled them to spot it in such a way as to be useless to an outsider; and moreover, the system of Improvement Pre-emptive Eights (which I believe was originally devised by the present Premier *the Hon. John Hall, and no other*), secured enormous areas of land on each run without the owner having to pay anything at all for it. Thus, for putting up each shepherd's hut (of one room), a 50 acre Pre-emptive Eight was granted, besides a 250 acre Homestead Pre-emptive over the head Station; but worst of all was the system of giving Improvement Pre-emptive Rights over wire fences, as 50 acres of Pre-emptive was given over every  $3\frac{3}{4}$  chains of wire fence, these Pre-emptives were  $3\frac{3}{4}$  chains long each, and nearly 13 chains wide, so that by running subdivision fences up all the watered valleys, and across all the open flats nearly the whole of the run could be secured from purchase. In two cases in particular in this District, fences were run along the main roads and then Pre-emptives taken out over them in such a way as to secure all the frontage. These fencing Pre-emptives could be taken *parallel with the roads*, whereas a *bonâ fide* settler wishing to purchase land, *could only front on a road* and run 40 chains back; but more than this, he was not allowed to buy within 40 chains of a road unless he fronted on it; so that, by taking a string of Pre-emptives along parallel to a road, the runholder actually secured from purchase *320 acres of land for every mile of fence* he erected, at a cost of say £00, whereas the farmer *would have to pay £610 in cash* for the same amount of land, and then fence it at his own cost. On the Levels Run, the whole frontage on the west side of the main road from the Levels up to Sutherlands, a distance of about 13 miles, was secured in this way, and again on Messrs. Buckley and McLean's Run the whole frontage on the west side of the Main South Road from the Waihou to the Waitaki, about 12 miles, was secured in the same fashion. On one run at least, huts and wire fences were shifted after Pre-emptives had been granted over them, to fresh sites, and then fresh Pre-emptives taken out for them. The total amount of Pre-emptives actually granted was very large, being over 55,000 acres in South Canterbury alone—8,000 odd acres being thus covered on the Levels Station alone, to say nothing of the much larger extent of country indirectly *secured* by the Pre-emptives as already explained. These 55,000 acres may be said to have been held unbought for 10 years on the average, thus saving the interest on £110,000 annually to the runholders, and losing the same to the Government. *Gridironing* you have probably heard a good deal about, but this I consider to have been comparatively harmless; it consisted in buying a series of 20 acre sections fronting five chains on a road and running 40 chains back, leaving 19 acres between each section unbought, as by the regulations no one could buy less than 20 acres without going to auction; this, however, was not very extensively resorted to, as it required too much cash outlay in proportion to results. *Spotting* however did much more harm, and was resorted to as a matter of course upon every run: this consisted in buying numerous small sections varying from 20 acres to 100 acres or upwards, scattered in such a way as to spoil as much as possible of the country for purchase by a farmer or any outsider; frequently these were taken in such a way as to cover all the small creeks in the valleys, thus leaving the adjacent downs and ridges secure from purchase, owing to the lack of water. Shepherds and other employees had orders to watch strangers seen on the run, and report them at headquarters; and so, many an unfortunate farmer (or would-be farmer), after wasting days in picking out a suitable selection, has found on going to the Land Office that he was too late, and that the piece of land he had chosen had just been secured for the runholder. Altogether, a man wanting a bit of land on which to make his home, had to take as many precautions, and be as much on the alert, as he would in Scotland to stalk a stag in a well preserved deer-forest—so it is no wonder that many abandoned the pursuit in disgust, and left with their little capital for California or some other country, where land was to be more easily obtained. With regard to young men of the higher classes at home coming out with small capitals, they were generally well received and hospitably treated, until they spoke of buying land, when they were quickly made to understand that they would lose caste if they did so; for, *incredible* as it might sound to American ears, or even in England, a public opinion had grown up, led by the runholders and their friends, that it was a mean action to buy land on a run; and, as the whole country was parcelled out into runs, it followed that a man could not buy land anywhere without offending the prejudices of the runholding class. I have said this may sound incredible, seeing that the colony was originally founded for the purpose of settling the land, yet it is not so when you come to consider how easily public opinion is warped, and guided in a wrong direction, to suit the interests of the leading class in any country, of which I might quote numerous examples. Thus, there are districts in England where snaring a hare is punished with greater severity than kicking a wife nearly to death, or where the shooting of a fox would be thought a worse crime than killing a man in a drunken row. Again, in the Southern States of America public opinion ran far stronger against a man who questioned the right to hold slaves than against one who flogged his slaves to death. Another example I might quote is, that in India, amongst the Thugs, a man is held in honour and estimation according to the number of unsuspecting and inoffensive victims he has murdered by garotting, and we are told that the Thugs actually offer up prayers (with all due formalities), for success before setting out on one of their murdering expeditions. In South Canterbury,

as in Hawkes Bay, and doubtless in all other runholding districts of New Zealand and the colonies generally, public opinion had been so warped that the original *end and aim of colonisation—viz., the founding of homes for the people*, was lost sight of; and the runholders and their managers, so far from being ashamed of the means which they resorted to to obstruct settlement, and circumvent the small farmer (the despised "cockatoo"), rather plumed themselves on the discomfiture of the unfortunate men whose only crime consisted in attempting to get what had been the chief bait held out in inducing them to come to the colony—viz., a piece of land of their own on which they could live and bring up their family at peace with their neighbours; and where their own success and advancement in comfort would contribute to the welfare of the colony they had settled in. I have no hesitation in saying that in New Zealand, as in other Australian colonies, hundreds, aye, thousands, of promising young men, who, if they had been encouraged to buy land with a view to farming, would have turned out prosperous and successful colonists, have had their whole lives wasted through the fear of being thought to have acted dishonourably in buying land on a run, and sunk at last out of sight as aimless wanderers or improvident "rouseabouts." Young men without professions and unaccustomed to, and often physically unfit for, hard manual labour, have come out to the colonies by hundreds, some without money, others with a few hundreds, or even a thousand or two; but, unless they had enough to buy a share in a run, there was actually no opening for them in these colonies, and they had either to go as cadets on stations, which seldom led to anything, or take a billet on the roads driving sheep or cattle, or even go a step lower, and ship as cook to a party of shearers or bushmen. Their refinement and self-respect was soon lost, and they often ended by becoming the roughest of the rough, and helping to fill our prisons or lunatic asylums. Who that has lived long in the colonies but has met scores or examples of this class, and many of them might have turned out very differently if they had had a little encouragement at first, and could have seen some prospect ahead of acquiring homes of their own, through facilities being given them for buying land. But, even the bullock-drivers and other men employed on the runs were looked upon with suspicion if they saved up their wages, for fear they should buy land on their employer's run or that of one of his friends. The men were encouraged to "knock down" their earnings periodically, for two reasons—first, to keep them in the condition of willing servants, and, secondly, to avoid any risk of their buying land. Men seen on the runs were contemptuously designated "land sharks" by the runholders; but the day will come when public opinion will acknowledge that the real "land sharks" were the runholders themselves, who bought up enormous blocks, not because they wanted to cultivate them themselves, but solely in order to prevent other men getting footing on the soil on which to make homes and rear their children.

On the great arid plains of Australia the squatting system appears to be the only way in which the country can be utilised; but here, in New Zealand, with its fine climate and abundance of water, there can be no doubt that the settlement of the country would have gone on much more rapidly, and on a sounder system, if Depasturing Licenses had never been granted, except on the mountainous parts which are too rugged for agriculture. I really believe that if none had ever been granted, this Colony would by this time have had at least six times its present population, and there would have been few estates much exceeding 1000 acres in extent: nay, more, I believe that there *would even have been more cattle and sheep* than there are now, as there would have been a rapid increase in the systematic cultivation, and consequently in the carrying capacity of the land from the very first. In America, there were always "squatters" beyond the very verge of settlement (indeed, it was there the word originated), but they were never allowed to obstruct actual settlement, and had always to move further back before the advancing wave of farmers, so that they were a benefit rather than otherwise to the country; besides, they squatted amongst dangers of all kinds at the daily risk of their lives, and formed a sort of fringe of protection against the Indians to the actual cultivators of the soil. I believe that the presence of wandering tribes of warlike and ferocious Indians in all parts of America at the time of the early settlements there has proved to be the root of the prosperity of the United States, inasmuch as it prevented the monopoly of the land in large estates, held for pastoral purposes, and compelled the settlers to advance steadily, wave by wave, cultivating the soil, and building towns and villages as they reclaimed the wilderness; thus building up a nation on the sure foundation of a numerous and prosperous body of small freeholders.

In this country, I believe it would have proved to [*unclear*: advantage] of the State *to have made free grants of land to bonâ fide* farmers and farm labourers in blocks not exceeding 200 acres, with stringent conditions as to residence and improvement, *rather than to have sold the land* to runholders at £2 per acre, to be locked up as sheep runs; in which state it is of very little more use to the community than when in the hands of the Maoris, it was merely a hunting ground for wild pigs. Latterly, the runholders themselves have admitted the desirability of settlement by farmers, as each one would have been glad to see all his neighbours' runs so settled, provided his own particular block was left intact, as each one is quite alive to the enhanced value given to his own land by the fact of settlement going on around him; in short, he would be only too glad to profit by the "unearned increment" in the value of his own land brought about by the labours of other people. Another point to be remembered is, that though in this Island there was no necessity for mutual protection against the Maoris,

owing to the paucity of their numbers, yet the great estates are practically protected against absorption by some foreign Power, not by the expenditure of money or force by their owners, as in feudal times, but by the fact of the Colony having been founded by Great Britain on the assumption that it was to be settled by a numerous population, and therefore that it would be worth her while to take up arms for its protection if necessary. To explain my meaning more clearly, let us suppose that this Island had been sold to three great capitalists, at 1s. per acre, one taking Nelson and Marlborough, another Canterbury, and the third Otago and Southland, and that they used the territories so acquired as sheep runs only, it is obvious they would be quite unable to protect themselves against a single privateer of any foreign Power which could land 100 armed men, and it is equally obvious that they could not expect the British taxpayers to send out a sufficient force to hold the Middle Island for their use and benefit. Bring this illustration down to the holder of 100,000 acres, and you must admit that it is unfair that his property should be protected by the State without receiving a very large contribution from his own resources. But to return to the system of Land Laws and Regulations here: you must remember, that in the early days the Provincial Councils in all the provinces, except Auckland and Taranaki, were composed mainly of runholders and of those merchants and others who depended chiefly on the runholders, and could not afford to quarrel with them; the farmers were mostly unable to spare the time and money required for attendance at the Council, whereas the squatters, with superior wealth and leisure, had no such difficulty, consequently the whole tendency of the Provincial Legislation naturally was still further to increase the privileges of the runholders and obstruct the advance of the small farmers. The fencing Ordinances, the Impounding Ordinances, and other enactments were all devised with this end in view; take any of these and read them over carefully, and you will see they were framed entirely in the interest of the runholder as against the freeholder. Even the Road Boards were so constituted as to be potent engines for preventing the spread of settlement. The Boards were generally composed of runholders and those immediately under their influence, so the working of the Board tended in this direction. The money was all spent along the main roads where the land had been already secured for the run either by purchase or pre-emptive; care was taken not to open any new block or district, by making a road into it, until it had first been "secured" by the runholders interested. If a "cockatoo" bought fronting on a road which had been merely surveyed and not made, it might be years before he could get his applications attended to, and his land remained in the meantime almost useless to him; whereas, on the other hand, large sums were spent in making roads through the extensive blocks bought up by the runholders for their sheep to run on. I know that in South Canterbury alone there are hundreds of miles of roads formed, and in many cases also metalled, through uninhabited estates, where you may travel for 10, 15, or 20 miles at a stretch without seeing a soul or the least sign of human habitation; and in some cases where no traffic has ever gone over the road except the carts used in its construction, until it has been rendered quite useless by the action of the rain cutting into what had been a road, until it became converted into a small gully. The Lincolnshire Delegates, who travelled through this district in February 1880, were struck by nothing that they saw more than by the numerous and expensive roads which they found ramifying in all directions, and which they said were even better than they had been accustomed to see in some parts of England. You can travel here for hours together, without seeing a solitary human form, over infinitely better roads than those which in Wales or Devonshire would lead through a district of small farms, with good sized villages at intervals of every two or three miles. When you consider that these very roads were all made during the height of the good times, when pick and shovel men were getting 10s. to 12s. per day, it is easy to understand what large sums were lavished in their construction, and also that no system of rating will suffice to keep them all in efficient repair in the future unless the rural population should become much more numerous than it now is. Again, the system of rating adopted by the Road Boards told against settlement, as under it good land, if left unfenced and uncultivated, was let off at a very low valuation, whilst similar land under cultivation had to pay on an excessive valuation. The rates on the leaseholds (runs) were most trifling, being based on the rental paid by the runholders; thus leasehold land was charged 1s. in the £ on, say 2d. per acre rental, whilst the same land on being bought would be rated as being worth from 5s. to 11s. per acre. Another anomalous regulation was, that though the runholder's stock could graze with impunity on a man's freehold block until he had ring-fenced it, yet the freeholder's stock could be impounded the moment they trespassed on the leasehold of the runholder, though altogether unfenced.

The numerous Reserves made by the Provincial Government for Educational purposes, and, which from a farmer's point of view might be said to be "saved from the wreck," as giving a chance to outsiders to obtain farms, were frequently let to runholders on whose runs they were, for 14 years at a low rental, thus spoiling the last chance of "settlement" on the run. Again, in a good many cases where small farmers have succeeded in getting footing on the runs and making little homes for their families, the runholders by buying up the mortgages over the farms, or other means, have managed to dispossess them; thus, it is no uncommon sight in riding through the country to see a clump of trees and a ruined garden, marking what had once been the house of a cottager and his family, but which is now absorbed into the great sheep paddocks of his wealthy neighbour.

Of course, no law can prevent any man from buying out his poorer neighbours, but it is, looking at it from the lowest point of view, short-sighted policy on the part of the capitalist, who overlooks the fact that in his greed for more land he is removing the very class of small freeholders who serve, so to speak, as buffers between the great freeholders and the democratic element in the large towns; and there can be no doubt that but for the mistaken support of the small freeholders (who had been deluded into the idea that their interests were identical with those of the great landed proprietors) the Hall Ministry would never have got into Office at all. Again, there can be no doubt that the monopoly of nearly all the land fit for farming in the hands of a few large holders, at the time when, consequent on the influx of enormous sums of Loan-Money, many people were both able and eager to buy land, led to the "land mania" or rush for land at fictitiously high prices, which has proved so disastrous to New Zealand generally, and more especially so in this District of South Canterbury. If the land had been reserved by Government for *bonâ fide* settlement, and taken up by farmers at £2 per acre as they required it for actual use, the great majority of them would have been able to pull through the crisis in spite of low prices of grain; but having bought farms at from £10 to £15 per acre on deferred payments, the greater number have had to throw up their purchases, and sacrifice the instalments already paid. The drain on the resources of the colony by reason of the instalments falling due on such blocks as Kingsdown, Pareora, and The Totara, where sections sold from £15 up to £27 per acre, is now keenly felt, and will continue to be so for several years to come, as the money has to be found and remitted to England, to be distributed there instead of in the Colony.

In order to bring home to you practically the effects of the squatting system on individual interests, and, as a consequence, on the interests of the colony, let me suppose the case of three young men (whom we will call Smith, Brown, and Robinson) arriving in New Zealand, say twenty-five years ago, with equal capital (which we will put at £2000 each) and equal abilities and advantages of education, &c. Let Smith take up a run, Brown buy a farm, and Robinson go into the Government service, and let us sketch, by way of contrast, their subsequent careers. Well then, Smith, soon after his arrival, is advised to take up a run, and manages to secure a block of 50,000 acres of Crown land previously unapplied for, and consisting chiefly of low hills and undulating downs at a nominal rent. He lays out his money in the purchase of a small flock of ewes, a horse or two, and a couple of bullocks for draught purposes. He at once realises that, being a squatter, he is hedged round with privileges, and that the most able men in the Provincial Council, being also squatters, are constantly looking after his interests in common with their own. He puts up a hut, and fences in a small horse paddock, and immediately applies for a homestead pre-emptive right of 250 acres, which is at once granted to him without any payment whatever. As his sheep increase he puts up two or three one-roomed out-huts on different parts of his run, and gets a fifty acre pre-emptive over each of them, also without payment. Next he erects a boundary fence of wire, and applies for a long string of pre-emptives over the same. These he also gets granted him without payment, at the rate of fifty acres for every  $38\frac{3}{4}$  chains of fence. By degrees, as years go on, he erects division fences across his run in various directions, taking care to run the fences as much as possible up his best valleys and through his best flats, and over all these he is granted, still without payment, other strings of pre-emptives. By this time he has secured about 3,000 acres of his run directly by holding pre-emptive rights over that acreage, but indirectly these pre-emptives secure about another 6,000 acres of country from purchase, by spoiling the frontages, taking up the water rights, or in other ways taking advantage of the Land Regulations. His flocks have now become numerous, as his country is naturally splendidly grassed. There is no native population to contend against, and there are no wild animals to molest his sheep. The climate is one of the healthiest in the world, and he has actually no dangers to encounter except the risk of being drowned in some flooded river, and, as he has plenty of good horses, this risk is much less than that incurred by the poor "swagger" tramping wearily in search of employment. Well, at the end of fifteen years Smith's bales of wool are numbered by hundreds, and he begins to think of securing the run effectually against all comers. He accordingly spots it wherever it is likely that farmers would buy, and where it is not already spoiled by his pre-emptive rights. He takes care to buy small sections along all the water-courses on the run in such a way as to prevent any "cockatoo" getting a block with water on it for his cows and horses; and if some hardy farmer manages to get hold of a hundred acres or so on the run, he immediately buys all round him, so as to block him from making further purchases or inducing friends to come and settle beside him. But even while thus blocking the poor "cockey," as he contemptuously calls him, our astute friend is careful to leave a narrow strip of Crown land intervening between his land and the "cockatoo's," so as to shirk having to pay half the cost of the latter's fence, which he would have to do if he actually joined him. But, the railway having been by this, time commenced under Sir Julius Vogel's scheme, Smith finds that, in spite of all his vigilance, two or three small farmers have managed to creep in and get hold of small sections on his run, so he thinks it best to make a clean sweep before the nuisance spreads (on the same principle that he makes strenuous efforts to exterminate rabbits, or eradicate Scotch thistles when first seen on the run), so he proceeds to raise a large loan, which he finds no difficulty in doing on the security of the land itself and his stock, and forthwith his run becomes transformed

into a freehold estate, with the exception of the 3,000 *acres of pre-emptive* previously mentioned, which can still be *held unbought for a few years longer*. Smith has by this time been called to the Upper House as one of the landed aristocracy of the colony, and is accordingly entitled to affix the letters M.L.C. to his signature. He is also a J.P., Chairman of his local Road Board, Licensing Commissioner, &c., &c., &c., and he is held up to the admiring gaze of each newly-arrived "new chum" as an example of the success attending conspicuous merit in the Colonies, though he has never, in the course of the whole twenty-five years he has lived here, made the smallest sacrifice of either time or money for the benefit of his fellow-colonists; and though the service he has rendered his adopted country during that time is confined to his having imported half a dozen Merino rams at £50 each—which, by the bye, turned out a most profitable spec' for him by his yearly sales of young stock from them—and in having succeeded in maintaining as a solitude for his flocks to ramble over, a block of land that, under a proper system of settlement, would have furnished homes and means of comfort and independence to some three hundred families of his fellow-countrymen.

So much for Smith, now let us turn to the case of Brown, who on his arrival here 25 years ago was advised to go in for a freehold farm with his £2000, and who accordingly bought 500 acres of good land on the plains, which was then to be had at £2 per acre. After paying £1000 for this land, he found he would have to fence it substantially on account of the mobs of cattle belonging to the local runholder. As there were no roads, and timber was very scarce, his ring fence, and a few interior paddock fences, ran away with £500, so that by the time he had bought a team of horses, the necessary farm implements, and a few cows, and put up a small cottage and stable, his capital was exhausted, and he had to trust to his first crop to keep things going; labour was expensive and difficult to obtain, a nor'-wester came and threshed out some of his grain before he could cut it, and he began to find that farming in the colony was rather a precarious pursuit. However, he succeeded in borrowing enough money (though at high interest) to keep him afloat, and by dint of thrifty industry and self denial, he has just managed to keep his head above water ever since; the great rise in the value of land, consequent on the increase of settlement around him, and the inauguration of the Railway Policy, having at length enabled him to sell 200 acres of his land at a price sufficient to clear the remainder from debt; he now finds himself the owner of a 300 acre farm, and the father of a large family, and wondering what on earth he is to do with his boys, who have all been brought up to practical farming, and who are steady and industrious, but for whom, after careful search and enquiries, he cannot find *any Government land worth having for farming purposes throughout the whole extent of the Middle Island*, and he is consequently beginning to think seriously—old as he is—of selling out, and moving with his whole family to the North Western States of America, where he hears there are vast tracts of good land to be sold at about a dollar an acre, and moreover where the farmer is welcomed as being in truth the very backbone of the country, and the mainstay of its prosperity; there he hopes his numerous sons will all be able to found new homes for themselves, though it is not without many a pang he tears himself away from this beautiful climate to face the cold of an American winter, or admits to himself the necessity he is under to exchange the Flag of Old England, for the "Stars and Stripes."

But, poor Robinson, who chose a career in the Government service has fared still worse in life. Twenty-five years ago he obtained a billet at £300 a year, being about twice what he would have had for the same work in England, and was thought by his friends very fortunate. He soon afterwards got married, spent his capital in building and furnishing a house, and then his troubles began. He found that the price of everything he had to buy (excepting meat) was much higher than in England, servants' wages more than double, and so on. He soon found he had some difficulty in making both ends meet. However, as his family increased, he also received a slight increase of salary, and managed to get along pretty well till the crisis of 1879, when, owing to a breach of faith on the part of his banker, he had to choose the alternative of sacrificing his house at half its value or borrowing on it at exorbitant interest, and chose the latter. This year (1880) he received an intimation from the Government that owing to the necessity for retrenchment his services will be dispensed with. He gets a year's salary as compensation, and is thrown on the world to find a living as best he can for himself and his large family, having spent the whole prime of his life in the Government service, and being now in a great measure incapacitated from age and ill-health from commencing in a new path with any chance of success. To add to his bitterness, he feels that the department he was employed in ought to *have needed increase rather than reduction*, if the population of the colony had increased to the extent he had been in the habit of calculating on, on the assumption that actual settlement was rapidly going on; but he now finds out, on investigation, that though there has been such a large influx of immigrants during the last eight or ten years, they have not settled in the country districts, for the simple reason that they found that there was *no Government land left for them to settle on*, and the prices asked by the large estate-holders for portions of land suitable for farming were altogether hopelessly beyond the resources of men of the labouring or small farming classes to give; the consequence being, that the would-be settlers have become discontented wanderers, precisely as predicted by Mr. Stafford in the speech before quoted. However, sir, I consider that the fate of the large estates of New

Zealand is already sealed by reason of the enormous amount of indebtedness, public and private, now overhanging the colony. Without the breaking up of these estates into farms of moderate size, and the consequent increase of the producing population, it appears to me that it will be simply a *matter of impossibility* for us to keep up the payments of interest falling due for any length of time. I will now proceed to give you some figures taken from various printed returns, which, I think, will prove the position I have taken up. The population of the colony at the time of the last census in 1878, was 414,000, excluding Maoris. Of these only 119,000 were males between the ages of twenty and sixty, leaving 295,000 souls more or less dependent on these 119,000—viz., 76,000 women, 215,000 children and young people under twenty-one, and about 4,000 men over sixty. Allowing for the increase up to 1880, we may put down the population at 450,000, and the number of men between the ages of twenty and sixty as 130,000, inclusive of the prisoners in our gaols, the invalids in our hospitals, the lunatics in our asylums, and other non-producers. The interest and sinking fund on the public debt is put down as £1,535,000 per annum, to meet which involves a tax of about £11 15s. per head on the 130,000 men. But, there is the whole Government expenditure other than the interest on the debt to be provided for. I find that in the Appropriation Act for 1880-81 this is set down at £1,868,000, of which amount £604,000 is expenditure on public works. Deducting this item, and allowing £100,000 for reductions effected during the recess, we have left a sum of £1,164,000 to be provided for. You may say that the 10 per cent, reduction alone would amount to more than £100,000, but we must remember that the 10 per cent, extends only to salaries, and not to such items as pensions, postal subsidies, and other fixed amounts. I have left out of the question the profit on the working of the railways after paying expenses, say about £200,000 per annum, because I assume that at least that sum would be required for absolutely necessary public works, such as roads, bridges, and public buildings, and for the maintenance, removal, and repair of railways and telegraph lines now in use. Well, this Government expenditure of £1,640,000 means a further tax of £8 5s. per head on each of the 130,000 men in the Colony, which, added to the £11 15s. on account of interest, makes exactly £20 per head. Can this amount be provided out of indirect taxation? I do not see how it will be possible. But beyond all this, there are other heavy drains upon the resources of the community to be provided for. We have to allow for the interest on the loans of the municipalities and other public bodies. I find from a published return that up to 31st March, 1880, sixty-five boroughs had borrowed £1,597,000, at an average interest of 6 per cent., probably this sum has been largely increased since, as I find it had increased by no less than £394,000 during the twelve months ended 31st March, 1880, having stood at £1,203,000 the previous year. At any rate we know of £60,000, being the Timaru water loan, which was not included in the return; this makes it £1,657,000 at least, which entails the finding of another £83,000 per annum, putting the interest at only 5 per cent. Next there are the loans of the different Harbour Boards, of which I can find no return, but which must amount to a large sum in the aggregate, that of Lyttelton alone being £200,000; but this item being uncertain, we will leave out altogether. But, beyond all this, we have to take into account the private debts due to outside creditors by individual members of the community. I find from a return that the amount secured on mortgage, under the Land Transfer Act, On 30th June, 1879, was no less a sum than £9,651,000 (of which Canterbury province alone contributed £4,386,000). This item had increased by £2,607,000 during the twelve months ended 30th June, 1879, and it seems probable that nearly as large an increase has taken place again during the twelve months ended 30th June, 1880. Then, there are also the mortgages under the old system, and which are not under the Transfer Act, but of the amount of these I can find no return. At any rate we may assume that the total amount of money borrowed on mortgage at the present time is at the very least £12,000,000. If these sums had been borrowed from persons residing within the Colony the amount might have been left out as immaterial to these calculations, but we know that the greater portion of it must be English money borrowed through the several great loan companies, or through private agencies; we may therefore safely put down the amount borrowed from persons outside the Colony at £8,000,000 at the least, and the interest as averaging 8 per cent.; this will entail the finding of £640,000 annually in the shape of interest. Still, beyond this, we have to take into consideration the large sums payable to the different Banks as discounts and interest on advances, which are chiefly distributed and spent in England in the form of dividends and bonuses. From a return I find that, on the 30th June, 1879, the total advances by all the Banks in New Zealand reached the enormous sum of £14,017,000, the deposits at the same date standing at £7,904,000. As most of the Banks have head offices in London, it is difficult to arrive at the balance against the public of New Zealand, as probably a large share of the deposits are made in the London offices, and the advances are made chiefly in the colony; but to be on the safe side we will assume that both deposits and advances are made in the Colony and, deducting the former from the latter, we arrive at a balance of £6,113,000 against the public; this sum at 8 per cent, would mean £489,000 payable to the Banks in the shape of interest. But there is yet another, and that a very heavy drain upon the resources of New Zealand, which we must not lose sight of, but of which there are no statistics available. I mean the large sums yearly remitted, in the form of wool or other produce, for the benefit of absentee proprietors. Take, for example, the 340,000 acres belonging to the New Zealand and Australian Land

Company, the whole of the profits of these runs, after paying working expenses, are remitted Home and spent in England or Scotland by the individuals who form the proprietary—or rather, I should say, not the profits merely, but the whole produce of the land except what is distributed in the colony in the form of wages or on materials for improvements. Then, there are several other companies in Great Britain holding large properties in New Zealand, notably the Waimea Plains Company which holds no less than 170,000 acres of freehold agricultural land in the Mataura district of Southland, and to whose railway scheme the Hall Government lent their assistance at the very time they were railing against the Grey Government for their so-called reckless extravagance. Again, there are sundry wealthy individuals (such as Messrs Clifford and Weld) deriving large revenues from estates in New Zealand, and spending the money in England or elsewhere outside the colony. However, leaving all these uncertain items out of the question, let us add together the sums which we know have to be provided, and I think we shall find it quite sufficiently alarming; they are—

Dividing this by 130,000 (the number of men between twenty and sixty) we arrive at the conclusion that each man has to find annually £30. Though New Zealand, we all admit, has large resources, I am very doubtful if it will prove to be possible to find so large a sum as £3,911,000 every year. The exports of wool for the year 1879 amounted to £3,126,000 for the whole Colony, and of grain to £688,000, so that together they would be about £100,000 short of the amount required. The total exports for 1879, including gold, Kauri gum, and all other items, amounted to £5,667,000, so that after paying the outgoings there would be only a surplus of some £1,750,000 left towards paying for our imports which amounted to £8,755,000 in 1878 and £8,373,000 in 1879, and this is supposing that public works were entirely stopped throughout the Colony, except to the extent of the surplus railway revenue. Let us put the case in another form; the capital sums due amount altogether, as we have shown, to £45,770,000. Assuming the white population to be now 450,000, this shows over £100 of indebtedness for every man, woman, and child in the Colony (roughly, two-thirds public debt and one-third private indebtedness). Contrast this with the United States, where the Government debt was only £15 10s. per head of population in 1866, after paying for the great Civil War, and it has since been reduced to £8 10s. per head, with every prospect of extinguishing it altogether within another twenty years, as the interest is diminishing every year whilst the population is rapidly increasing. No less than £13,000,000 of the debt was paid off during the twelve months ended 30th of June, 1880, and according to the special correspondent of the *Otago Witness* the Government is now paying off the debt at the rate of £3,000,000 *a month*. In a recent publication, there is given a table showing the public debts of different countries and colonies, and also the amount raised by taxation in each, and these tables will be found useful for enabling us to appreciate the real weight of the burden under which the colonists of New Zealand will in future have to stagger:—

The taxation is given as follows, viz.:—

It will be seen, therefore, that in both these lists this Colony holds an unenviable pre-eminence.

But in comparing our position with that of the United States, it must be borne in mind that the greater part of the American National Debt is now held by American capitalists, so that the interest is retained in the country; whereas, nearly the whole of our debt is due to English capitalists, consequently, the interest will have to be sent out of the colony every year, and no part of it will be spent here. The plain fact of the matter is, that the Government of New Zealand have attempted (in spite of the warnings of Mr. Stafford and the other speakers I have quoted from), to *perform an absolute impossibility*, viz.. to spend £20,000,000 reproductively in a country with a population only sufficient to justify a fourth of that expenditure. We, or rather our Landowning Rulers have attempted to combine the advantages enjoyed by pastoral races of people—viz., extensive tracts of land for their flocks and herds to roam over undisturbed by the conflicting interests of a settled population—with the advantages of an old and densely peopled country, viz., good roads in all directions, and a system of railways, telegraphs, and other modern luxuries adapted for and only justified by a dense population. The two conditions are antagonistic, and cannot be made to harmonise, they never have done so yet, and never will in any country. It is a well-known fact, that the purely pastoral countries of the world (in Central Asia, for instance), have remained in the same condition with regard to roads and other concomitants of civilisation as they were in the days of Abraham! The really good land fit for grain growing within the colony is very limited in extent, and scattered in patches widely apart through both Islands, but the bulk of it, being in the Provinces of Canterbury and Otago; so that to render a large scheme of Immigration and Public Works really successful, *every acre fit for cultivation ought to have been reserved by Government* from the very first promulgation of the policy, for actual settlement, in moderate-sized farms with numerous village centres; instead of which, I believe, that fully three-fourths of the good land is held in large estates, and consequently, those farmers who were too late to get a share of the other fourth, have had to content themselves with getting patches of inferior land, such as shingly plains, sandy river-beds, or steep hill-sides, or go without altogether. Upon this inferior land they now find to their cost that it is impossible to compete successfully as wheat-growers with the innumerable small holders of the good prairie lands of the United States; and, on the other hand, they find it equally impossible to compete as stock raisers with the holders of the large estates of picked land in this colony.

And here, I would say, that, under the existing order of things, it is, in my opinion, only a question of time for all the small holders of grazing land in New Zealand to be crushed out by the competition of the large holders. This process has been going on rapidly during the last two years, assisted by the arbitrary action of some of the Banks, who have suffered the small holders to succumb to the times by hundreds, whilst assisting the great holders, to the utmost of their resources, to tide over the financial crisis brought about by the failure of the Glasgow Bank; and this policy, all now admit, to have been suicidal on the part of the Banks in their own interest. It is obvious that the owner of 30,000 or 40,000 acres of good land bought from Government at £2 per acre (if in Canterbury, or at 10s. or £1 an acre in the other provinces), can afford to under-sell in the Stock Market either the farmer paying a rent of from 10s. to £1 an acre for good land, or the owner of a few hundred acres of inferior land bought from Government at the same prices that the picked land was obtained for. Thus, if there had been no outside debt to disturb the course of affairs, in the course of a generation or two the rural population would have become divided into two classes only, as was truly pointed out by Sir George Grey—viz., an enormously wealthy class of large landed proprietors, few in number, but having unlimited power in the control of the affairs of State, and a class of agricultural labourers, numerous indeed, but possessing no political power, and in condition little if any better off than their brethren in England. In fact, I question whether the farm labourer in England is not better off in some respects even now than he is here. There, at least in the southern counties, he generally has a neat little cottage and garden, with enough ground to keep a cow or a pig or two. His children look healthy and happy in the green lanes; he has his allowance of beer or cider every day; should sickness occur, he and his family are generally well looked after by the ladies of the parish, and his medicine found by the parish doctor, and in old age, if worst comes to the worst, he has the Union or often a comfortable Almshouse to fall back on. Here he has to tramp long distances from one station to another in search of employment, and when he gets it, he has either to camp in a tent or be crowded with ten or a dozen other men in a rough men's hut with no garden or trees to shelter it from the hot sun; he is often thrown out of employment altogether during the winter, when, let him be ever so careful, his summer earnings melt away long before the next busy season comes round; he is generally unable to marry because he can find no home up country for his wife; and no provision whatever is made by the State for his old age, when past work. No doubt some of my opponents will argue that the competition amongst the farmers would have been more severe if the land had been in small holdings. I believe, however, it would not really have been so, for in that case the mere numbers of the rural population would have caused the towns to grow to three or four times their present size, and industries and manufactories of all kinds would have started into existence, which are now not attempted, for the simple reason that the country population is not sufficiently numerous to render the chance of success certain or even probable. We should then have had good markets within the colony for the productions of our small farms, instead of having, as now, to rely almost exclusively on the precarious profits of an export trade. I have no hesitation in asserting that at the present time most of the *towns of New Zealand are altogether overgrown* in proportion to the numbers of the surrounding rural population. Three or four years ago, when the large land-holders in South Canterbury were in haste to get their best lands laid down in English grass, extensive areas were let for cropping, generally two crops being allowed, to practical men owning teams of their own. Grain was then realising fairly remunerative prices, and a great amount of temporary prosperity in the district was created by the operations of these men. Now, much of the land has been laid down in pasture, and cropping given up, the consequence being, that numbers of ploughmen and other labourers have been thrown out of employment, farm horses have been sold off in such numbers as to have depreciated enormously in value, and the grain traffic on the railways is also materially diminishing. A further result must be a falling off in the customs revenue in the grain-growing parts of the colony, caused partly by the diminution in the number of labourers employed, and partly by the diminution in the earnings of those still in employment, but at lower wages than those ruling a year or two ago. In a recent copy of the *London Times* it was mentioned that, owing to the acreage in wheat in the eastern counties of England having fallen off to the extent of nearly 1,000,000 acres during the last ten years, the rural population of those counties had diminished to the extent of nearly 500,000 souls during the same period; that is to say, the people having failed to find employment in their customary country avocations, had been forced into the manufacturing districts in large numbers. In this colony, unfortunately, the working classes have very little in the shape of factories to fall back upon if country labour fails them, and I assert that it is hopeless to expect that capitalists will start anything of the kind, so long as the bulk of the land is locked up in large estates, thereby precluding all hope of a local sale for the products of the factories—in short, *until the land is really settled by a permanent population* it is mere waste of time and money appointing commissions on local industries, and a farce offering bonuses as an inducement towards the establishment of factories of any kind. For instance, take the flour-mills in Timaru and Oamaru, which were built in the prosperous times on the assumption that the country districts around those towns were being actually settled, and that therefore population would rapidly increase, they are now either shut up altogether or hardly paying working expenses, and why? because settlement was frustrated by the squatters, and

consequently business of all kinds instead of expanding, as was naturally expected by the enterprising firms who spent their capital in erecting those mills, has rather shown a contraction—in short, they were misled by the fictitious appearance of prosperity produced during the cropping era, and now find out, when it is too late, that they are years in advance of the present requirement of the districts. The same circumstance of course affects the railways, public buildings, and other works carried out by the Government, and which were calculated for the requirements of a country thickly settled by farmers, rather than for the solitudes of the large estates. Let us turn to the example of other countries. It is well known that France is now the most prosperous nation in Europe, and many writers attribute the fact to the possession of the soil of France by over 5,000,000 small freeholders, consequently the great bulk of the rural population is frugal, industrious, contented, and ardently patriotic. So evident is this to statesmen that the Prussian Government is now doing all it possibly can to facilitate the subdivision of the soil of that country into small freeholds on the French plan; and, even in England, many able writers are now advocating the adoption of some similar system, seeing how more and more unequal becomes the competition with the American producers of grain and meat, and taking warning by the terrible example afforded by Ireland of the evil effects of large estates and absentee proprietors. Look at the history of the United States, which country has achieved its present greatness amongst nations, owing chiefly to the fact that from the very first nearly every man who went there did so with the fixed idea of founding a home for himself and his children, and not merely with the idea of making money, and then returning to spend it in England. Read the history of early settlement in America, and what do we find? That the people had literally to fight their way inch by inch in subduing the wilderness. Settling in dense forests, and with a long and severe winter to contend with, they lived hard and frugal lives, importing little or nothing, and subsisting almost entirely on the produce of their own small farms. They had to contend with wolves, bears, and other noxious animals inhabiting the woods; but, worse than all, they were surrounded by bands of savage Indians, ready at any time to attack them, so that they had literally to till their fields with their rifles beside them, and carve homes for their families out of the forest, with their lives in their hands. Yet, in spite of all the hardships they endured, they were ready at the call of patriotism to lay down their lives for their adopted country, and, with a population of only 3,000,000, they were able to resist successfully the whole power of England, and to found a nation which already has a larger white population than Great Britain and all her colonies combined. Contrast the progress of population in the United States with that in the Australian Colonies. These colonies owe their origin to the settlement of New South Wales in 1788, and by 1820 the population was about 30,000. In the fifty years which had elapsed between that date and 1870, the whole population of the entire group of colonies, including Tasmania and New Zealand, had not reached a total of 2,000,000; whereas, in the same fifty years, the single State of Illinois, with an area only half that of New Zealand, had increased in population from 55,000 to 2,539,000, and a similar wonderful increase had taken place in many of the other States, notably Ohio, Michigan, and Missouri, which three States together had increased from 45,000 to 5,570,000 in the same fifty years. Again, the small state of Iowa, only two-thirds of the size of New Zealand, possessed only 95,000 inhabitants when admitted to the Union in 1846, and had increased to 2,000,000 by 1880, being about four times the present population of this colony—after all the large sums we have lavished in promoting immigration. There can be no doubt whatever that this striking difference in the rate of increase is due in a great measure to the different systems of land regulations, those in the States holding out *every possible inducement for the settlement of the immigrants on the land*, and those in these colonies *obstructing such settlement as far as possible in the interests of the stockowners*. No other explanation of the difference is sufficient, for, you must remember, that practically those Western States were more remote and difficult of access forty years ago than these colonies are now, whilst here we have the advantage of a far more genial and healthy climate, owing to the absence of the long and severe American winter; and, moreover, we have had the advantage of the stimulating effects of rich gold discoveries in Victoria, New South Wales, Queensland, Tasmania, and New Zealand, whilst the five States quoted above have had nothing but their agriculture to depend on for their wealth and progress.

Now, let us consider the Land System of these colonies. Study the history of the Feudal System of Europe in the Middle Ages, and you will see so many points of resemblance between that system and the squatting system of the colonies, that squatting might be described as feudalism modified to suit peaceable times instead of warlike times. Thus, under the feudal system, the king, who was considered absolute owner of all the soil of his kingdom, granted large tracts to his different barons, in consideration of their rendering him assistance in time of war, or at other times contributing in money towards his personal expenses; but the barons soon acquired such great power as to be able to claim their lands as freehold, and hand them down from father to son. In these colonies the land was granted by the Colonial Governments in large tracts to the squatters, subject to a merely nominal rent, and the privileges attached to the possession of the runs were so great as soon to enable them to be converted into freeholds.

The "Head Station," with its group of huts for the dependents, takes the place of the old Feudal "Castle"

with its adjacent village, and the ancient hostility shown by the Lord of the Manor to poachers and other intruders on his domain, finds its equal in these colonies in the stern determination to exclude cockatoos from the run, and so preserve its solitude unbroken for the benefit of the flocks and herds of the runholder. But, there is one important particular in which the system in these colonies is worse than the old Feudal System ever was, and that is, in the absence of provision for the family life of dependents. Under the old Feudal system the retainers and dependents of the Lord of the Manor were allowed land to cultivate for their own use and that of their families; it is true, the men had to fight when required by their lord, but he on the other hand was held bound to protect them and their families against all hostile comers; hence, in the course of a generation or two a strong mutual attachment sprang up, and the vassals were just as ready to lay down their lives in defence of their lord, as they were to do so in defence of their country against any foreign invader. In the colonies, you find on an average station from 15 to 20 men, shepherds, bullock drivers, fencers, and others, but generally only one or two women, and family life is almost universally discouraged. The stereotyped advertisement, "Wanted for a Station, a married couple without encumbrance," sufficiently indicates the feelings shown. If one of the hands on a station is rash enough to marry, he generally has to betake himself to the towns or farming districts to look for work; or perhaps he settles in the suburbs of some small town, and goes away from home every summer for the shearing and harvesting, earning, it is true, good wages for six months, on which he and his family have to subsist during the six months in which little or no work is obtainable. All thinking men must admit this to be an undesirable and unnatural system. Can we wonder that some of the wives take to drunkenness and other vices, during the long absence of their natural protectors, or that the children, being neglected and beyond the control of their mother as they grow up, develop into larrikinism? The other day the Government complained that Burnham, and the other Reformatories are already inconveniently full, and for this state of things I believe that the Colonial system of employing labour is in a great measure responsible. Another evil of the system is, that many of the men having to live for months together away from their wives and families, lose their natural home-loving instincts, and get educated, so to speak, up to the point of deserting them altogether—an evil now so commonly complained of in all parts of the colonies. There is still another evil brought about by the above state of things, which is a great lack of young men growing up in the country, fit to take a position as farm labourers, as the lads brought up on the streets of the cities are useless as ploughmen and ignorant as to the care of live stock; whilst there are very few girls growing up who are likely to turn out good dairy-maids or domestic servants on farms, the town bred girls aspiring to be shop-girls and barmaids. This evil is beginning to be complained of even in England at the present time, and is one which will be seriously felt here now that the immigration of farm labourers and country girls from Britain is almost at a stand-still.

However, there are of course stations and stations. As typical examples of squatting under its most beneficial aspect, I might mention Mount Peel and the Orari Gorge Stations. Here we see large tracts of rugged mountainous country, only a very small portion of which is fit for cultivation, held by the descendants of the old landed families of England, who have been trained up in the traditions of the duties and responsibilities of proprietorship, which have been thus defined by the celebrated Dr. Johnson, "a man of family and estate ought to consider himself as having charge of a district, over which he is to diffuse civility and happiness." You see scattered around the head stations little comfortable cottages, each with its neat garden, and upon enquiry you find that the married shepherds, ploughmen, gardeners, and others, live in these and bring up their families in comfort. At Mount Peel Station, there is a handsome little stone church built by the proprietor, in which every Sunday the men with their wives and children assemble for worship, service being held at intervals by a regular clergyman, and at other times by a lay-reader. On both of these stations the proprietors themselves reside permanently, having large families and households, so that the evils of absenteeism are avoided, and the children brought up in the country acquire a patriotic love for their native land.

It is only on stations managed on these principles that anything akin to village life in England is possible, where it is no uncommon thing to find servants who have been their whole lives in the service of one family, and perhaps their fathers before them; whilst, on stations generally in the Colonies, the hands are constantly being changed, and there is no sort of cohesion or kindly fellow-feeling between the different classes composing the rural population.

At the opposite extreme of station life in New Zealand I should place the stations held by the New Zealand and Australian Land Company and the other large Absentee Companies holding properties in New Zealand. Here you have *enormous blocks of good agricultural land* held merely as a speculation by absentees belonging to the commercial classes, and consequently, without any of the traditional sense of their responsibilities which I have above alluded to. It is well-known that the large investments made in New Zealand land by the Company, under the auspices of Mr. Morton, was one of the principal causes of the disastrous failure of the notorious Glasgow Bank—an event which carried ruin and misery into thousands of previously happy homes; and which failure also indirectly brought on the Financial Crisis in this colony, which has caused such irretrievable disaster here also. Well, the lands of these Companies are held merely as a speculation, with a

view to being ultimately cut up and sold to colonists at an enormous advance on the price originally paid to Government; but, in the meantime, the prosperity of the present population is undoubtedly injuriously affected by the locking up of these lauds by absentee proprietors, who only seek for the largest possible return from the estates, in order to spend the proceeds in Scotland or England. Take the Levels Estate of 80,000 acres as an instance. I believe the progress of Timaru has been materially checked by reason of the way in which this fine block of land in its immediate neighbourhood is held closed against population; and in this and similar cases, it is open to argument whether Mr. Stafford's remedy of *the resumption of land by the State* on payment of compensation *would not be justifiable* in the interests of the community at large. Some few years ago there was apparently much progress in the Point District, owing to the cropping which was then going on on the Levels Run, preparatory to laying down the land in English grass; but, at the present time, you may get on to this estate, within a few miles of Timaru, and ride through great paddocks of English grass for 10 or 15 miles at a stretch, without seeing a human being, or anything more to remind you of human life than an occasional deserted sod hut falling to ruins. The township of Morton and other townships were laid off, and sections sold to the public on the understanding that the surrounding land was about to be disposed of in moderate sized farms; but now, the purchasers finding the farms still unsold, and everything in a state of stagnation, naturally complain that they have been misled and seduced into purchasing under false pretences. A short time since we saw a paragraph in the papers, saying that the Committee of the Glasgow Bank had decided not to realise their New Zealand assets in the shape of land till the times became more favourable for selling. What meaning has this for the people of New Zealand? Why, sir, it means that every struggling "cockatoo" or small tradesman has to contribute so much annually in taxation to meet the deficiency in the colonial revenue, caused by the payment of interest on money expended on the construction of railways through, and for the benefit of, those estates; and he has to pay this extra amount in order that the company may be able to hold those estates uninhabited, till other parts of the districts surrounding them shall have become more densely peopled and highly improved, so as to give these estates enhanced value in the market. To put it more plainly: the New Zealand and Australian Land Company hold in Canterbury, Otago, and Southland some 340,000 acres of freehold land, whilst the whole of the land sold up to date in those provinces is only 6,600,000 acres, so that the above company actually owns about one-twentieth of the whole. There has been spent on railway construction in those three provinces, according to the latest returns, about £5,473,000, a twentieth part of which sum would amount to about £273,500, which latter sum has therefore, I maintain, been spent *practically for the benefit of the company's estates by the people of New Zealand*, and consequently the interest on that sum has to be found annually by the people of New Zealand, until such time as the company, by the sale of those estates, allow new contributors of the revenue to step in and relieve the present population of New Zealand of part of the burden. Or, to put it in another way, the company will have bought the Canterbury estates at £2 per acre, and the Otago and Southland ones at £1 per acre, say £500,000, the total purchase money; this land they expect to sell at an *average rate of about £8 per acre*, the enhanced value being due to the railways and other public works, and to immigration. If they succeed in selling at that price, then about £2,700,000 will be withdrawn from New Zealand and sent to Scotland for distribution amongst the proprietors; and to allow of their realising this great profit, all of us who remain in New Zealand will have to bear the burden of paying interest on the proportion of the Public Works Loan expended for the benefit of those estates. The same argument of course applies to all the other great freeholds, but the evil is not so glaring in the case of resident proprietors who spend their profits within the colony. I have instanced the holding of the Levels Run by the company as being specially detrimental to the interests of Timaru; but the evils of absentee proprietorship are felt and deplored just as much in other parts of the colony. "Atticus," the writer of "Pastoral Notes" in the *Otago Witness* of December 18th last, says—"Public companies stand convicted of having brought about the present unsatisfactory state of things. It does not require the pen of a ready-writer to expose their system of station management. On several of the company's stations one solitary shepherd is the sole resident employed to protect their interests in the elevated regions of the wilds. They pursue a policy of self-aggrandisement at home and abroad, and Heaven knows how they have carried out their adopted programme to the letter. After holding possession of miles of country for the past twenty years, and having no doubt heaped up treasures in abundance, they have reduced below zero the rate of wages of the few hands they presently employ, and have also adopted a system of amalgamation, with a view of ruling the labour market, or moulding it to suit their own pockets, and establishing a labour ring amongst themselves."

There can be no doubt, that if the New Zealand runholders had been content to live on in the isolated and semi-civilised fashion in which the old feudal barons did, or in which the squatters of most parts of New South Wales and Queensland do still, they might have held their runs comparatively intact for many years to come. Had they confined their attention solely to producing wool and tallow, and steadily vetoed any attempts to borrow money, either for public works or for immigration, they would have been able to hold their ground permanently, and quietly crushed out all attempts to interfere with their privileges. Those professional men or

tradesmen who dared to advocate liberal ideas, would have been quickly starved out of the colony, and in the course of a generation or two the population at large would have had to work at the improvement of the great estates on such terms as the proprietors chose to dictate, or to emigrate again to some country where the land was not all locked up, and where, consequently, the small farmer would stand some chance of rising to Independence. This position was no doubt clearly seen at the time by Sir Cracroft Wilson, Mr. F. Jollie, and the other squatters who so bitterly opposed the Public Works Scheme. But, sir, I contend that, by giving in their adhesion to the borrowing policy, the majority of both Houses of the Legislature placed it *beyond the power of the large freeholders to escape for any length of time* the responsibilities of their position; and, I argue, that the money raised on loan *having been, expended mainly for the benefit of the landowners*, they will have to provide the greater portion of the interest on the loans, either directly or indirectly, in spite of all the combined efforts they can make to evade doing so. It is obvious, that it is only possible to tax the trading and labouring classes up to a certain point. If you further tax the tradesman, who is only just able to make a comfortable living by his trade, he must adopt one or other of two courses: he must charge his customers—*i.e.*, the squatters and farmers—more for his goods, or he must leave the country for one where taxes are lighter. Similarly, if you impose too heavy a tax on the labourers' necessaries, such as hoots, clothing, and groceries, he will either expect higher wages or take the first opportunity of clearing out of the colony. Here, I may mention, that a case of this kind has actually recently occurred. In a recent article in the *London Times* was given an account of the causes which led to the late Civil War in the Argentine Confederation. It appears that that country borrowed £5,000,000 in England about the year 1865, for the purpose of constructing a railway leading from the capital (Buenos Ayres) into the interior, and at the same time held out great inducements to immigrants, which were taken advantage of by large numbers, chiefly of Italian, French, and Basque origin. Everything prospered for a time under the magic influence of the borrowed money, property rose rapidly in value, new settlements went on apace, and some of the old residents made large fortunes; but presently the money was all spent, and then there was a collapse. Taxes had to be imposed to pay the interest on the debt. The large landowners of the interior were in the ascendant in the Legislature, so the Government decided on raising the required amount in the form of a customs duty of 20 per cent., instead of in the form of a land tax. What was the result? The people became dissatisfied, and numbers of the small settlers and labourers left the country; the revenue fell off owing to the diminished spending power of the people; then the Conservative Government blindly aggravated the evil, and so the process went on acting and reacting on itself, until they had actually worked the customs duty up to 60 per cent, *ad valorem*. At this point the strain on the populace proved too great; an insurrection broke out in Buenos Ayres against the Government; the landowners of the interior raised forces to overawe the city, and a civil war ensued. If, then, by a system of over-taxation our Government should drive the trading and labouring classes to leave the colony in any numbers, they would also at once ruin the small farmers who supply the towns with farm, dairy, and garden produce, and who even now find great difficulty in disposing of these goods at a price which will give them anything over the cost of production. The large farmers and graziers would then have to rely almost exclusively on an export trade, as the local market, both for grain and live stock, would be almost destroyed; and both the customs revenue and the railway traffic returns would show a large and constantly increasing deficiency. I see that the latter item is expected to fall short of the Colonial Treasurer's estimate for this year by no less than £164,000, and that, in spite of the fact that the last grain season (1880) the yield was nearly double what it had ever been before, and much larger than it is likely to be for many years again.

Taking into consideration the large amount that has to be provided annually to meet our liabilities, and the extreme sparsity of the population of the colony, I confess I can see no possible solution of the difficulty but by reverting to the land tax, and making each estate pay something in proportion to the amount it would contribute to the revenue if it were held by numbers of small farmers, instead of by one proprietor or by a company of absentees. To do this equitably, it would be necessary to have a sliding scale, (as has been adopted, after violent opposition by the monopolists, in the neighbouring colony of Victoria), according to the size of the estate, something after the following fashion, *viz.*:—

Two or more estates belonging to same owners or company to count as one, for the purpose of computing the rate per acre. Of course there would have to be modifications of the above scale according to the quality of the land, for instance, an estate like the Longbeach Estate, all first class land, could bear a higher rate, whilst estates on the shingly plains or in the Mackenzie Country would be very much less than the rate given. At any rate, the principle is perfectly just and fair, as the theory is, that people should contribute towards the expense of the State in exact proportion to the benefit they derive from the protection of the State; and if it suits a capitalist to hold a large tract of land to the exclusion of other people, it is quite fair that he should pay for his privilege. The average customs revenue of the colony is about £3 10s. per head of the population, let us take this as a basis for comparing the tax payable under this scale by the land in large estates, with the same land if held in small farms. Take for example an Estate of 40,000 acres, the land tax would amount (at one shilling per acre) to

£2,000 per annum; but divide the estate into farms of an average size of 150 acres, and we should have 266 farms, allowing an average of eight persons to each farm and giving a population of 2128 souls; these, at the rate of £3 10s. per head, would contribute £7,448 to the Government annually in the form of customs revenue, to say nothing of what would be contributed by their dependent population of blacksmiths, wheelwrights, and other tradesmen. Again, let us take the estates of the New Zealand and Australian Land Company, which I find by an advertisement on the cover of Messrs. Grant and Foster's report holds 340,000 *acres of good land* in New Zealand. Well then, 340,000 acres at two shillings per acre would amount to a total tax of £34,000 per annum, but what would the same land give if divided into small farms? It would divide into 2,266 farms of 150 acres each; allowing as before eight souls to each farm, we should have 18,128 souls without reckoning dependent tradesmen. This, at £3 10s. per head would mean a contribution to customs revenue alone of £63,448 per annum, to say nothing of stamps, post office, and other sources of revenue from the additional population, and the enormous increase of railway revenue which that population would ensure. Look at the subject in whatever light you may, whether as a matter of justice to the people who have been induced to come out here, expediency for the general welfare, or even absolute necessity in the interests of self preservation, I think most people studying the subject earnestly must admit, that some such *radical change in the incidence of taxation is necessary*; and not until it is made can we ever hope to escape from the depression and gloom which now overshadows and stifles the energies of the whole colony.

If the competition of the 3,000,000 small freeholders in America has been sufficient to shake to its foundation the whole system of land tenure in the United Kingdom, where it has been rooted for hundreds of years, and where the producers have the finest markets in the world at their own doors, I ask, sir, how is it possible that we, at a distance of 16,000 miles from those markets, can hold our own against that competition, except by adopting the American system of small holdings ourselves, or something as near akin to it as is now feasible? I believe that if our present system of large estates continues, a very few years will see the increasing burden of taxation drive a large number of the industrial population out of the colony; and then the large freeholders, deprived of the assistance afforded by the presence of numbers of fellow-colonists to share the burden with them, will have to submit, with the best grace they can, to a much more heavy direct taxation than has yet been mooted by even the most radical section of the community, if they wish to maintain the credit of the colony and keep up the payment of interest on the Loans. In case of any failure to do so, the British Government would probably interfere in the interests of the capitalists who have found the money for those loans; since the laud of the colony was virtually pledged as security for them, as pointed out by Mr. Creighton in 1870, in the speech from which I have before quoted; but since that time the Colonial Government has permitted nearly all the good land to pass into private hands, without laying by the proceeds of such sale towards the repayment of the Loans, thus leaving the British capitalist in a position in which he might reasonably complain that he had been unfairly dealt with. The number of acres sold in New Zealand up to the end of 1878 was 13,820,281, of which 11,478,300 were sold for cash, realising £10,208,282. The land remaining in the hands of the Government is 5,080,000 acres in the North Island, and 29,786,000 in the South Island, but this nearly all consists of rugged mountain ranges and other waste country, which would not in all probability sell if offered at an average of 5s. per acre all round. It is true that, if the land had been sold to numerous purchasers, in small farms, the extra population, by contributing a large increase to both the customs, and railway revenue, would have made our creditors' position more secure; but now, the greater portion of our landed security has disappeared, without a corresponding increase in revenue to compensate for the loss of it. The forthcoming Census Returns will doubtless disclose a large increase in the total number of the population, owing to the extra-ordinary large proportion of births to the number of adults, as compared to other countries; but it must be remembered that it is only an increase in the number of adult males that can be depended on in calculating on an increase of revenue, the addition of a large infant population being an element of financial weakness rather than of strength to the colony.

It has been suggested that the large estate owners should lease their lands to tenants, in farms of moderate size, as recommended by Mr. John Grigg, of Longbeach, in a paper which appeared in the *New Zealand Country Journal*, but I fear this plan is not feasible, for several reasons: in the first place, the rent expected is far too high in comparison with what land can be obtained for in other new countries, and out of all proportion to the profits which may reasonably be expected from the land; in the second place, the owners of the large estates have generally neither the will nor the means to build the requisite houses and farm buildings on each holding, and mere tenants will not do so unless they get very long leases at low rents; and, in the third place, there are not farmers enough in New Zealand to take up a fourth of the area of the large estates even if they were willing, and as for farmers from England, of whom we have heard so much lately, I do not think many of them would care to exchange a lease in a country where unfailing markets exist at their own doors, for a lease in a country where they may find the markets most precarious and uncertain, even if the season should prove entirely favourable, as many farmers here have found to their cost during the last two years. Besides, as was pointed out

by several of the speakers from whom I have quoted, men do not care to break up their homes, leave their native land, and travel 16,000 miles to find themselves in the same position as they held in the old country, viz., that of tenant farmers; *and no inducements, short of freeholds of their own*, would tempt them out here in any great numbers. In the *London Times*, of 1st October last, is to be found an account of the new "Colony," so-called, in the State of Tennessee, formed under the auspices of "The Aid to Land Ownership Society," of which Mr. Hughes, M.P., is president. They have 400,000 acres freehold, the site of the town being only seven miles from a main trunk line of railway, and eight hours, by rail, from Cincinnati, a city of 255,000 inhabitants. The climate is described as healthy and genial, the soil remarkably good, game in the neighbourhood plentiful, and the land is to be sold in small farms *at the price of 1 dollar 70 cents per acre (about 7s.)*, of which only 25 per cent, is required in cash, and the balance in payments extending over a period of three years. This combination of advantages is to be found within a fortnight's easy travel from London, and the particulars are set forth at length in the same English papers which contain letters from New Zealand describing this Colony as in an almost hopelessly bankrupt condition.

As another means of relieving the colony of a portion of the burden of debt, it has been suggested that the Railways should be sold to a company or series of companies. I fear, however, it would be found impossible to meet with capitalists willing to incur the risk of taking them over, except at an enormous reduction on the cost price. Owing to the sparsity of population, the traffic is even now not sufficient to pay two per cent on the cost of construction over the whole of the New Zealand Railways, and you must remember that some of the lines have now been in use 10 years or upwards; and as no money has been set aside for maintenance fund, the purchasers would have to prepare themselves to meet a heavy expenditure within a year or two for laying down new sleepers, repairs to bridges, and for maintenance generally, to say nothing of special risks from flood, land slips, and other accidents to which the New Zealand Railways are so specially liable. Moreover the would-be purchasers finding that most of the Railways run for miles at a stretch through large estates, *which are now in process of being rapidly laid down in permanent pasture*, instead of being devoted to grain growing, would argue that the traffic returns instead of showing a constant increase year by year, would probably show a tendency to decrease, or possibly fall away, until they were actually below the point at which they would cover mere working expenses. As bearing on this question, I may here point out that New Zealand has actually 1,254 miles of railway open, as against 1,124 in the Colony of Victoria, which colony has more than double our population. If you compare us with the countries of the Old World, the disadvantage under which our railways labour through lack of population becomes still more apparent; and further it must be borne in mind, that this disadvantage will become more aggravated as the average wealth of the population diminishes; thus, in the prosperous times, numbers of people travelled for pleasure who can no longer afford to do so, and as the working men get thrown out of employment, they have to forego the luxury of moving about from place to place by rail; thus, a recent return showed that in four weeks ending 11th December, 1880, the number of railway passengers was less by 10,612 persons than in the same four weeks of 1879, which itself was not a prosperous year, as the financial crisis occurred in April of that year.

We have heard a great deal during the last twelve months or so on the subject of retrenchment; the present Ministry have received a great deal of laudation, in the columns of the Conservative journals, on account of the vigour with which they have set about cutting down salaries and discharging Civil servants (some of whom had been long in the Government service); we have had it dinned into our ears how fortunate it was for the colony that they took office when they did, just in time to save it from bankruptcy; we were solemnly assured that the very money (out of the £5,000,000 loan) had been all squandered by the Grey Ministry, which, as it now turns out, the Hall Ministry have been lavishly expending in Taranaki and other favoured districts ever since they took office. Sir George Grey's Liberal teachings, and warm solicitude for the real welfare of the mass of the people of the colony, have been craftily and unscrupulously distorted in order to frighten a too credulous public with the idea that they were evidences of Communism or Red Republicanism, and he has been made use of as a sort of shocking example, enabling the venial supporters of the Hall Ministry to attack any expression of dissent from their doings, and to brand the dissenters as revolutionary demagogues. Moreover, the persistent and virulent abuse of Sir George Grey served to divert the attention of the bulk of the people, whilst the dominant class of wealthy landowners divided as much as possible of the remains of the public estate amongst themselves. We have been told, over and over again, that all that was necessary to ensure the return of our lost prosperity was the continuance in office of the Hall Ministry; this idea has been so persistently impressed upon us as to give rise to a suspicion, in many minds, that the terrible financial crisis which swept over the colony, with the suddenness of a tornado, in April, 1879, was brought on by a "ring" of capitalists and land speculators, with a view to paralyse Sir George Grey's watchful care for the interests of the working classes, by holding him up to them as the author of all their misfortunes. If this suspicion is correct, we must charitably conclude that, in the excitement of political hatred, *the irreparable mischief* which would accrue to the colony, in consequence of that crisis, was not thoroughly foreseen, for we cannot bring our minds to conceive of men *base enough to*

*bring ruin to thousands of unoffending homes*, in order to gratify political spite, or even in the reckless effort to secure self-aggrandisement.

Sir, I believe that the public of New Zealand, more especially in the cities and towns, are now beginning to suspect that, in their blind terror of Sir George Grey's so-called Communism, they have been deluded into putting into power the very men who have really been at the root of the evils which have befallen the colony. Our present Premier is THE MAN, *above all others* in Canterbury, who, by his invention of the system of pre-emptive rights and other abuses, has done most to build up the gigantic land monopoly which has utterly destroyed, for the present, all chance of New Zealand becoming a populous, prosperous, or great colony; he is the exponent and champion of the wealthy "ring" who decreed that Sir George Grey must be ousted from office, and the Land Tax abolished at all risks; and who proceeded to carry out that programme so recklessly, that they have completely played into the hands of the enemies of New Zealand, and caused the colony to be held up as a sad example and solemn warning to all other colonies, in many of the leading English newspapers. In proof that this is so, I will read an extract from the *Otago Witness*, of 25th December, 1880. Their home correspondent says: "Canada and the United States are reaping a splendid harvest of scared British farmers, and New Zealand would reap the best of all but for the indescribably dismal stories which are coming home from the colony. It is a thousand pities that it should be so, and especially that these stories should be so exaggerated as many of them plainly are. I can read between the lines two distinct sources of exaggeration. Some are political, and have their origin in a desire to exaggerate the difficulties of the colony *in order to make capital out of the blunders and faults of the late Government*. Those who are guilty of this, little think how far-reaching is the harm they do, and how they are making a rod under which their own backs will smart, when they diminish the credit of the colony, and scare away the class which, just now, the colony most needs—capitalist farmers. It is exactly this class of statement which most surely finds its way home, and is made most of where not one in a thousand has colonial knowledge enough to discount it to its true value. \* \* \* \* The English Press still keeps up a shower of most damaging articles upon New Zealand affairs."

What is the character of the retrenchment we hear so much about? I fancy the public are beginning to find out that the Conservative Ministers are setting about it in a way to do much harm, and very little real good after all. They have the strictest sense of duty when dealing with the poor "Civil servant," who has perhaps been twenty years in the Government service, and who has a large family to provide for; by all means cut him down ten per cent, just when he has naturally been expecting a rise after his long years of service, and if he ventures to grumble, tell him he may think himself fortunate that he is not turned out altogether; by all means cut down the railway porters their ten per cent.; even the poor servant girl at the hospital, on £20 a-year, is not too humble to have her £2 deducted, or the country postmaster, at £5 per annum, to be reduced to £1 10s.; these are all necessary retrenchments, and must be submitted to with a good grace. But you must deal very gently with the Hon. John Merino, who has 100,000 acres of freehold land, with no house on it but his own, and who shears, each year, 80,000 sheep; his nerves are susceptible, and his feelings delicate, so it would never do to hurt them, by taxing his land, as that Communist, Sir George Grey, attempted to do; if you talk of such a thing he will withdraw (so you are told) his capital from the colony in disgust, and New Zealand can never get on without capital (as you are also told, in an awe-struck whisper). At the same time, the Hon. John, being in the Legislative Council, is careful to draw his honorarium to the utmost penny, though he earns it by taking a good deal of trouble to conserve his own interests at the expense of those of the people. You may, perhaps, remember, sir, that when, last session, the Hon. Mr. Peacock brought forward a motion in the Upper House, to forego the honorarium for that one year, on account of the urgent cry for retrenchment, he could not get one single member to vote with him—with shame be it spoken!

Let us briefly recapitulate the work which the Hall Ministry have achieved since they took office. First and foremost, they have abolished the Land Tax, which told heavily on their friends and supporters, the holders of the large estates, and comparatively lightly on the mass of small owners of property, whether in town or country, and they have substituted in lieu thereof the Property Tax, which fails comparatively lightly on the large holders of land, and heavily on the owners of buildings or of improved farms. Under the Property Tax every owner of a house or shop in town has to pay a penny in the pound on its capital value, though it may be unlet owing to the general depression and bad times, and the unfortunate tradesman has actually to pay a tax on goods which are lying useless, because he is unable to sell them owing to the depressed state of trade. On the other hand, the great estates owned by the Levels Company and other absentee owners, pay on only one-eighth part of their capital, though they bring in a very large income from wool and other sources. Next, the Ministry have altered the customs tariff by increasing the 10 per cent. *ad valorem* duties formerly paid to 15 per cent., and by taxing articles formerly exempt. They have also imposed a Beer Tax of 3d. per gallon, which would have been 6d. but for the strenuous opposition of a portion of the public. The Hall Ministry have, by their 10 per cent all-round reductions in the Civil Service, completely demoralised every department of that service, filling the mind of every man in it with dissatisfaction as to the present, and uncertainty as to the future. By

arbitrarily cutting down the pay of the lower classes of officials, who were previously in receipt of salaries already less than their equals in skill could earn outside the Government service, they have destroyed all *esprit de corps* in each branch of the service, and paved the way to losing all their best men as soon as the affairs of the colony begin to show signs of returning prosperity. Further, the Hall Ministry have suspended indefinitely public works in both islands of the greatest importance to the producing communities, who alone render public works reproductive, and squandered large sums in, as far as we can yet judge, entirely unproductive expenditure at Taranaki and other favoured localities, apparently for the sole purpose of pleasing constituents of some of the members of the Ministry. They have, in spite of the earnest, emphatic, and, I may say, prophetic warnings given by Mr. Stafford and others, of the disastrous effects entailed on the colony by the system of large landed estates in this Island, connived at the acquisition of enormous blocks of land in the North Island by speculators more or less connected with a prominent member of the Ministry, and who are said to form a ring having complete control of the land question in the Province of Auckland, and who expect to realise, by cutting up the land and selling in small blocks to settlers, *the profits which ought to have gone into the Government chest*, so as in some measure to reimburse the colony for the enormous sums spent in acquiring the land from the Maoris.

In short, the whole policy of the Hall Ministry has been *to play into the hands of large capitalists, and heap burdens upon the mass of the people of New Zealand*, to drive away men who have worked half a lifetime in the colony, in order to aggrandise the great absentee proprietors, forgetful of the fact that a day of reckoning must come, and that, by driving away the small farmers and industrious mechanics of the colony, the taxation rendered inevitable by means of our enormous debt *must eventually fall with tenfold force upon the large landed proprietors*. In the matter of railway management, the Ministry have increased the rate for goods to such an extent as to cause widespread dissatisfaction, and still further to reduce the chances of farmers at a distance from Christchurch growing grain with a reasonable margin of profit. I maintain, sir, that one-half the present rates, both for passengers and goods, would have been amply sufficient to pay interest on the cost of construction of the railways, if the country through which the lines pass had been occupied under a proper system of small farm settlement—which, I have shown, was an integral part of the original Public Works Scheme—instead of being occupied, as it now is, for the most part, by a series of large estates, carrying only an extremely scanty population. In the United States, from which country the crushing competition to our wheat growers originates, the railway companies are now carrying grain a distance of 900 miles for the same price which is here charged for carrying it 100 miles; and why are they able to do this? For the simple reason that they have what we lack, a dense population of small farmers and their dependents spread throughout the country, and furnishing a large passenger traffic to swell the receipts.

If the present Ministry remain in office over another session they will find it necessary to advocate further sweeping reductions in the Civil Service and Public Works votes, on account of the stationary character of the customs revenue and the large falling off in the railway receipts, which is now estimated to be £164,000 for the year below the Colonial Treasurer's estimate. They will also, doubtless, as shadowed forth in Mr. Wakefield's late speech at Geraldine, endeavour to sweep away the vote for education, towards which property now pays its share, and throw the whole weight upon the parents of children attending the schools—a section of the community who now contribute most heavily to the revenue of the colony through the *ad valorem* customs duty. And here, I must remark, that in the case of the schools having less than twenty-five scholars, and which are to be done away with to save expense, the reason why so few children are found in one neighbourhood is, that in consequence of the land having been bought up in great tracts by the runholders, the small farmers have had to settle on a few rough corners left unbought on account of their inferior quality, and thus, perhaps three or four poor families are found together, separated by ten or twelve miles of uninhabited land from the next small community; whereas, if the farmers had been allowed to spread wave by wave over the country, as in America, there would always have been numerous families within a school radius of three or four miles. Thus, in a map in my possession of Buena Vista County, in the State of Iowa, no less than seventy-nine schools are shown as existing in a block of country twenty-four miles square, and which was only first settled in 1860. For this reason, I consider it would be quite fair to compel the owners of the uninhabited blocks to subsidise the small schools, rather than that the children should go untaught.

The same fact of the scattered and isolated position of the small farmers tells against their interests in numerous other ways, as, for instance, in largely increasing the cost of hauling their grain to market, and an increased cost and difficulty in getting threshing machines and other machinery on to the farms when required. Again, their being so scattered is an insuperable obstacle to the establishment of co-operative cheese or butter factories, now so generally in use in the States, where the small farms are numerous and in close contiguity to each other. And, I believe, that the establishment of these cheese and butter factories here would be the only means of starting an export trade in those lines of produce with any hope of permanent success.

No doubt, also, the subsidies to County Councils, Road Boards, Municipalities, and other local bodies, will

be abolished altogether, whilst, at the same time, the burden of maintaining the hospitals, and the payment of charitable aid, will be thrown upon those bodies, who will consequently be under the necessity of raising special rates for those purposes. Probably, also, should the Ministry consider their position sufficiently strong, they will re-impose the tea and sugar duties, as lately recommended by sundry speakers representing the interests of capitalists, and thus still further relieve the great land-owners at the expense of the struggling heads of large families, poor widows, whose sole luxury is their cup of tea, and others of the feeble order who can least bear additional burdens. It is all very well for the Hall Ministry and their organs to make a great parade of the large reductions effected in the Civil Service; but you must remember, sir, that the saving to the colony is more apparent than real; for instance, in discharging an official with, say £400 a year, you deprive the district in which he was employed of the expenditure of that £400 amongst the tradesmen, small farmers, and other members of the community; for it is notorious that the Civil servants, like country clergymen at home, have mostly large families, and have to live fully up to their incomes; thus the money is still kept in circulation in the colony. On the other hand, if you relieve one of the leviathan estate owners of taxation to the amount of £400 a year, you simply increase the chances of his spending that amount in travelling abroad, or in sending members of his family to live in England. A word here with regard to the Land Tax, the great argument used against which was that it checked the flow of capital into the country for investment. I would remark that it was only deterrent in the case of capitalists seeking to buy large estates—a class we are most undoubtedly better without; whereas, the Property Tax deters the man of small capital, seeking a place to settle on with a view to farming, or a town property in which to start a new industry; and this is the very class we are admittedly *most urgently in need of at this time*.

Sir, I think most people (at any rate in the towns) of New Zealand are beginning to ask each other what they have gained by entrusting the reins of power during the last two years to the nominees of the great landowning interest; they are beginning to see that the "good times" which were promised them seem just as far off as ever, and many of our most industrious and thrifty men, both in town and country, are beginning to say to each other, that unless some change soon occurs in the Policy of the Government, they will have to "clear out" of New Zealand before money gets so scarce as to prevent their leaving at all. During the last two years, many scores of industrious men in South Canterbury, as well as in nearly every other part of the colony, have seen the savings of years, (in some cases almost a lifetime), melt away from their grasp through no fault of their own, and they are beginning to conclude that there is, and has been, something radically wrong about the Government system of the Colony, which from good soil, fine climate, extensive sea-board, fine harbours, rich gold diggings, and other favourable circumstances, ought to have been, if properly governed, so flourishing. What that something is, I have endeavoured to point out in this paper, viz., that the Government of the colony has never really honestly fostered a system of actual settlement, as is done in America. Yet, if any one is bold enough to say as much in public or to write to a newspaper expressing such views, as the Rev. John Foster of Oamaru recently did, he is at once abused, and hooted down on all sides as a maligner of his adopted country, and is, so to speak, socially outlawed for daring in this so called free country to express his real opinions. I have read the Rev. John Foster's letter carefully, and consider that, making due allowances for his hastiness of judgment on some points, as a new arrival in the colony, the statements in his letter came in many particulars remarkably near the truth. The letter bears internal evidence of having been conscientiously written as a warning to persons amongst his old associates, and who might be contemplating immigration to New Zealand, that their hopes and expectations might be grievously disappointed if they came. I have no doubt whatever that hundreds, aye thousands of other private letters from persons who have arrived in the colony during the last two or three years, have had much the same tenor, though they have not found their way into print. I say, sir, that immigrants can truly complain that they have been cruelly misled (whether by Sir Julius Vogel or his subordinate agents, who have written guide-books to New Zealand is immaterial), when they were told that there were millions of acres of good land in the colony only awaiting settlement, as thousands have been led to believe. The fact is, as I have shown from the Report of the Chief Commissioner of Crown Lands, there is no good Government Land left, and it is most reprehensible to induce men to come out here by making such false statements. It is also most unfair on the part of some of our journals to brand unfortunate "new chums" as loafers, because they find on arrival here that it is impossible to get any Government Land upon which they can make a living, and almost equally impossible to get work at once of a kind to which they have been accustomed in the old country, if indeed they are fortunate to get work of any kind whatever.

What can be more significant than the fact that considerable numbers of steerage passengers are returning to England in the wool ships, no less than thirty having recently sailed in one vessel; surely this is a sign of there being something wrong in a young country with less than half a million inhabitants; for men would not encounter the discomforts of a steerage passage a second time, if they saw a reasonable hope of doing any good out here. All attempts made to conceal the real state of stagnation and depression under which the colony suffers, are futile, where returns and statistics are so frequently made public, and it would be far better for our

writers, to face the difficulty, instead of glossing it over, and endeavour to discover to what causes we owe that state which we all deplore amongst ourselves. Have not the pages of the *Bankruptcy Gazette*, ever since March, 1879, shown that there have been more failures in New Zealand, in proportion to its population, than probably ever occurred in any civilised community before (except, perhaps, in Ireland, in 1847)? Have not the columns of our newspapers been filled, and are they not so still, with advertisements of the sale of freeholds, by order of the mortgagees, and of farmers' plant and live stock, under distraint for rent and under bills of sale? Is it not notorious that the only people who have thriven in business, during the past two years, are the lawyers and the auctioneers? Can it be denied that scores of fanners were compelled to take less for their grain last year, owing to the pressure of creditors, than would cover the bare expenses of growing it, leaving rent, interest, and their own expenses of living, out of the question? Is it not true that thousands of men were out of work for weeks, aye, for months, last winter, whilst a portion of the last largo loan was still unexpended? Can we ignore the fact of soup kitchens having been established in Christchurch, and other largo towns, for the relief of the destitute? Why, even in December (the middle of summer) we read of 375 receiving relief in Wellington alone. In the newspapers, of December 1st, the fact was recorded that 200 of the unemployed were then working on the "relief works" of the Canterbury railways; and at Waimate thirty-five unemployed men, with their families, were put on by the County Council to deepen a creek, to keep them going till harvest should set in. Do we not hear from all directions, that "swaggers," looking for work, were never so numerous before? In one case, no less than fifty came to a sheep station, on the Rangitata, on one evening—and all this in the height of what is called the "busy season." If this be the case now, what look-out is there for next winter, when most of the public works will be stopped for want of funds? The reserved funds of the County Councils and Road Boards are fast running out, owing to the stoppage of the subsidies, and then where will the married men in our small townships look for employment? You must bear in mind that, so far from the cultivation of the land increasing, it is actually diminishing, as many of the largo landed proprietors, and some of the smaller owners, are laying down permanent pasture for grazing, and intend to crop no more, at least unless prices given for grain should improve materially.

There is no doubt that the Government will be compelled to find work of some kind or other for large bodies of men, during the coming winter, whether they have funds available or not, as the men have been induced to come to this country by the statement that work was always to be had; and it is certain that when men congregate in largo numbers, in a state of destitution, there is no possibility of resisting their demand to be fed and provided for, unless the Government are prepared to face riots and excesses of all kinds, for men will simply not starve quietly, whoever is to blame for their destitution. Yet you have the *Timaru Herald*, and other Conservative papers, laying the blame of the hard times on the ignorance or want of enterprise of the farmers, on the improvidence of the working men, on the alleged extravagance of the late Ministry of Sir George Grey; in short, on anything except what I believe to be the true cause, or at least one of the principal causes, viz., the *monopoly of nearly all of the best land of the colony* in the hands of comparatively few holders. Every San Francisco mail brings accounts of the increasing prosperity of the United States, so much so, that the new President set apart a day of general thanksgiving for the unexampled prosperity of the country; and we read that the national debt is being paid off at the rate of £3,000,000 a month, so that it will all be cleared off in ten years time. I am convinced, sir, that unless means can be devised shortly for throwing open, for actual settlement, the lands of the colony, both the remaining Government land, where of any use, and some of the large freehold estates, we shall witness numbers of our best men leaving our shores for the States, where, it is known, there are millions of acres of fertile prairie lands still open for settlement, on terms so easy as almost to amount to a gift of the soil to the hard-working small farmer. Then, when it is too late, we shall begin to acknowledge the realisation of Mr. Stafford's prophecy, that if we introduced immigrants, *without reserving land for them to settle on*, we should have "nothing but a *hungry, discontented, semi-pauperised people*, who, instead of being a source of wealth, will be a great source of injury and injustice to those already in the country."

We have been told, by the *Timaru Herald* and other papers of the Conservative party, that drawing attention to the plain truth, in the way I have done, is "setting class against class," this, sir, is a cant phrase, which has been made the most of in abusing Sir George Grey, who has made bitter enemies by his fearless advocacy of the cause of the poor man; but disinterested people are beginning to see that those who would keep large tracts of the land in the condition of unpeopled solitudes, for the pasturing of their flocks and herds, or who would raze to the ground all the cockatoos' cottages, rather than be annoyed by humble neighbours, are, in reality, the men who are setting "class against class," and raising up, in this new country, a feeling of bitterness and irritation which, unless allayed by wise legislation, *will assuredly lead, sooner or later, to all the evils under which Ireland is suffering at the present moment*. Again, another charge brought against Sir George Grey was, that his Land Tax, and other measures, were "class legislation," why, sir, the whole history of the colony, from the day on which the first depasturing licenses were issued, has been "class legislation" with a vengeance, legislation which has aimed steadily at the building up of great estates for those who were fortunate

enough to be hero during the first few years of the settlement of the colony, or who have arrived here, of late years, with large capital; but, legislation which has *done its best to obstruct and frustrate the settlement* of a large population, on the lands of the colony, in every possible way.

I feel convinced, sir, that when once this question of the settlement of the land is studied, and thoroughly understood by the people of the large towns of New Zealand, they will insist on a radical change being made in the incidence of taxation, they will see that *their own prosperity, and the future prospects of their children, have been wrecked*, through the eager greed and reckless ambition of a comparative handful of wealthy men; and they will, by excluding, as far as possible, from the House of Representatives, all men identified with those great proprietors, take the only means of insuring that the burdens which have been incurred, in creating public works for the advantage of the few, shall be placed on the shoulders of those who derived the benefit, instead of on the shoulders of the many who have in no way participated in that benefit. *Then, and not till then*, shall we be able to look forward to fixing our homes permanently in this colony, and to teaching our children sentiments of patriotic love for the land in which they have been born.

I have had occasion to mention the name of Sir George Grey, a statesman who has been more misrepresented and vilified, both by the Conservative journals and by *the representatives of vested interests*, than any other in New Zealand. Sir, I will read you the opinion of Sir George Grey's character given recently in the columns of the *Sydney Mail*, which, though a Conservative paper, is not blinded by hatred or self-interest, and is therefore honest enough to give a fair criticism. It says—"From Sir George Grey's politics we are often compelled to dissent, *but the man's devotion to New Zealand is supreme and unquestionable*. History will rank him with *patriots*, not with adventurers. He may be grievously wrong in some of his views, but, in the eyes of posterity, the *love he bears to the colony* in which he has spent the strength of his life, *will cover a multitude of mistakes*." This is a generous criticism, vigorously expressed, and which I, for one, cordially endorse; though doubtless he has at times allowed his zeal for the welfare of the masses of the people to outrun his discretion; and he would probably have been able to achieve a greater measure of reform if he had attempted far less at once, and educated, so to speak, the people up to his level gradually. I believe that the time will come when the great bulk of the people of New Zealand will look back with feelings of love and reverence to the name of Sir George Grey, who in his old age fought their battle almost single-handed, with an indomitable pluck and an earnest self-sacrifice worthy of all honour; abused and insulted though he has been, by those who would have, if possible, crushed out the liberties of the people of New Zealand for ever, and built up an oligarchy worse than the feudal system of old; inasmuch as it would have been based on the power of wealth alone, where consequently sordid meanness or grasping avarice would have usurped the leading positions in the State, instead of being based, as in feudal times, on the obligation of fighting side by side in defence of their country, under which system chivalry and patriotism were the characteristics of those who took the leading positions in the State.

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen, I have to apologise for having detained you so long; but, having spent the best years of my life in Now Zealand, I have a heartfelt interest in the welfare and prosperity of our adopted country. I have taken some trouble to put my views at length before you, feeling that the subject is one which, unless gone into fully and exhaustively, had better be left alone altogether. Should any of our members be able to bring forward arguments in debate, tending to prove that the monopoly of the land is not so detrimental to the true interests of the colony as it appears to me to be, or that I have in this paper underrated the resources of the country, and that our burdens are not likely to prove so crushing to us all as I have been led believe, I shall be only too happy to be convinced by their arguments. In the meantime, I can only express a hope that we may all live to see the whole of the good land of the colony thickly settled upon by an industrious and contented population, *and then, and not till then*, shall we be able to acknowledge the benefit derivable from our railways, roads, bridges, and other monuments of *Sir Julius Vogel's Public Works Policy of 1870*.

May each one of us live to see that time, and the consequent prosperity of the land which has been hopefully, if somewhat ambitiously, called "the Britain of the South."

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## Contents,

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University Reform

The Inaugural Address for 1881

Delivered at Canterbury College, New Zealand University

By *Professor A. W. Bickerton*

Christchurch: Printed By G. Tombs and Co., Cathedral Square. 1881

COLLEAGUES AND FELLOW-STUDENTS,—

I have chosen for the inaugural address this year the subject of University Reform: a subject which, while it is pressing itself upon the attention of university men everywhere, seems to me to be of special importance to us as founders of a new institution. We are placed in a position exceptionally favourable to the exercise of a free choice, and it is plainly our duty to decide, as soon as possible, how far it will be wise for us to follow the lines of the old universities, and to what extent we may, with advantage, introduce new methods, whether of our own devising or such as have been suggested during the past few years by Pattison, Spencer, Seeley, Huxley, Bain, Helmholtz, Arnold, and other writers of high repute. Having myself been educated outside the pale of Oxford and Cambridge, I shall be very careful in referring to the old universities, to use solely the remarks of the writers I have mentioned, and I hope thereby to combine the result of experience with the presumed fairness of the spectator. Although the need of reform was considered urgent more than ten years ago, and has since that time been pressed upon the country with increasing boldness, yet comparatively few appear at the present time acquainted with the literature on the subject.

It may happen that in this address I shall be at issue with some of my hearers, yet I shall claim their forbearance, because I believe, with Mill, that "he who knows only his own side of the case, knows little of that."

The general idea of the functions of a university, as expressed in the language of the best writers on the subject, and these functions themselves, as embodied in actually existing institutions, are as different one from the other as can easily be imagined. Time will not admit of a full development of the contrast; but a short series of quotations, illustrative of the best written thoughts on this subject, will enable anyone who is conversant with the actual state of the universities to develop it for himself.

Helmholtz, a man who, as a discoverer and thinker, stands in the first rank amongst living men, after discussing fully the interdependence of the sciences and urging all to work, not for personal ends, but rather as fellow labourers in a great common work bearing upon the higher interests of humanity, says, "To keep up these relations between all searchers after truth, and all branches of knowledge, to animate them all to vigorous co-operation towards their common end, is the great office of the universities." Professor Huxley defines a university as "a corporation that has charge of the interests of knowledge as such, the business of which is to represent knowledge by the acquirements of its members, and to increase it by their studies." Much to the same purpose is the definition given by the Rev. Mark Pattison, Rector of Lincoln College, Oxford: "Its object is to cultivate the mind, and form the intelligence. A university should be in possession of all science and all knowledge; but it is as science and knowledge, not as a money-bringing pursuit, that it possesses it." In another place he states that "the colleges were in their origin endowments, not for the elements of a general liberal education, but for the prolonged study of special and professional faculties by men of riper age," and he quotes an old academic saying, "A university is founded on arts." The well-known titles Bachelor and Master of Arts seem to confirm this impression. At their formation therefore the colleges were what the German universities now are—the recognised homes of mature students engaged in extending the boundaries of knowledge. Mr. Pattison also shows how far of late years our old universities have deviated from this standard. In his suggestions for academical organisation, with special reference to Oxford, he tells us that "the colleges have become boarding schools in which the elements of the learned languages are taught to youths." In his address to the science congress at Liverpool, he says, "Among the middle classes it is the belief that unless to a professional man a university education is worse than useless," and he characterises the present state of things as "nothing less than a state of national destitution and intellectual blight." Matthew Arnold in his "Higher Schools of Germany" says, "It is the function of the university to develop into science the knowledge a boy brings with him from the school, at the same time that it directs him towards the profession in which his knowledge may most naturally be exercised;" and further on he says, "Our English universities do not perform the functions of a university as that function is above laid down." Professor Seeley, of Cambridge, refers to this point in his lectures on liberal education. In speaking of the poverty of our universities in original work, he says, "The present insignificance of our universities in the work of science and scholarship explains itself very naturally by the system pursued in them." He shows that the college lecturers are all engaged in giving instruction in general classics and general mathematics, without paying due attention to specialisation; and that all are working with a view to examinations. Further, he speaks of the habit and fashion of original production as having long gone out, and after stating many arguments to show how unsatisfactory all this must be, he says, "We now see that the tripos acts powerfully upon the teaching class and draws them by motives of interest and what almost seems duty into a method of instruction which makes profound study unnecessary and almost impossible." Nothing seems to me to be more contemptible than the state of mind of a student preparing for the tripos as described by Professor Seeley when he says, "Instead of enlarging the range of the student's anticipations it narrows them;" and again, "thinking of any kind is dangerous. It is the well-known saying of a Cambridge private tutor, 'If so and so did not think so much he might do very well.'" For a wonder William

Thomson continued to think, and the world does not regret that he did so. Professor Seeley goes on to say that "the university student says to himself, 'It is my business now to narrow my mind, and for three years, three of the most progressive years of a man's life to consider not what is true but what will be set, not Newton or Aristotle, but papers in Newton or papers in Aristotle, and to prepare not for life but solely and simply for the Senate House.' The all-worshipped tripos produces in fact what may be called a universal suspension of the work of education. Cambridge is like a country invaded by the Sphinx. To answer the monster's conundrums has become the one absorbing occupation. All other pursuits are suspended, everything less urgent seems unimportant and fantastic; the learner ridicules the love of knowledge, and the teacher with more or less misgiving gradually acquiesces." In the introduction he tells us that he only echoes the thoughts of very many who have had experience of the system. He shows that it is not the university alone that suffers from the defect of the system; the schools that train for the university suffer also; and the establishment of the middle class examinations practically places nearly all secondary education under their influence. "We may be sure that if these universities labour at present under any serious defect of system the whole education of the country will suffer for it."

The remarks I have quoted suffice to show that the efficiency of a college may be sadly marred by too closely following the model of the old universities, and that any attempt to build after their model without any other sufficient reason than that such a model exists, should be looked upon with great mistrust.

I think that the university, to fulfil its proper office, must take the lead in all matters relating to education and knowledge; and that it should be especially an institution for the conservation and development of the arts and sciences. I use the term art as expressing the best known method of doing anything, and science as expressing the laws of nature, and the dependence which maxims of art has upon certain of these laws. Thus I consider that the art of composition is the mode of presenting an idea before the mind in the clearest and most pleasant way; while the science of composition points out the psychological peculiarities which render this mode perspicuous and pleasing. Again, the art of smelting iron is the best mode of applying heat and re-agents to various minerals for the purpose of extracting iron, and the science of smelting shows the laws of nature that come into action during the process.

How an institution may best conserve and develop knowledge is, it appears to me, the problem which forms the starting point of all university reform. To conserve knowledge a university should be in possession of the sum of knowledge stored in libraries and museums, the lectures presenting the essence so clearly that the whole would be available—that every conclusion might be tested and every important thought expanded. The corps of a university should be organised as an army, with rank and file of working students superintended by specialist professors, who themselves would be in direct communication with professors of general science and art, and, at the head of all, a professor of general knowledge; but it should differ so far from an ordinary army that obedience would be founded only on reason, respect only on merit, and that the object of all work would be to save and make perfect rather than to maim and destroy. It should be the duty of every lecturer, whether specialist or not, to place before the students as clear and full a picture of the knowledge of his own subject as is possible in the time allotted to the course, giving an impartial account of all knowledge in proportion to its worth, without regard to the time or the place of its production, neither favouring nor neglecting his compatriots nor his contemporaries, and rendering into the current mother tongue all foreign words and obsolete nomenclature. As, in such an institution, all would be original investigators, the researches of each teacher would form subjects for a special course. The student would then enjoy such direct intercourse with original minds as would often give rise to fertile germs, which, in the genial atmosphere of such a college, would find opportunity of development, and be likely to bear many a noble fruit of genius. The object of this two-fold method, the combination of the general with the special, is to correct the faults of two orders of minds; the general when shallow and special when isolated. Close parallelism of subjects induced stagnation in the old universities, and I believe that many scientific men of the present day are suffering from the opposite extreme of specialisation, producing results superfluous and even vicious, by reason of absence of organic connection with correlated lines of work.

The other function of a university, the advancement of knowledge, is a department which has been scarcely touched by the British universities; yet I am sure that any one who has given thought to the matter will feel with Helmholtz that, "to extend the limits of science is really to work for the progress of humanity." It is upon this progress alone that the importance of these institutions will be measured by future historians.

The further development of knowledge will chiefly depend on the machinery for the discovery and training of genius, and for providing it with a suitable field and opportunity for work. It is evident that this training must begin at school, and the selection of capacity must begin there also; the final selection and training being the work of the university. It is an important question whether those studies which will best select genius, are also best fitted for general training—that is, whether studies depending on verbal memory, or studies demanding a fair share of reasoning, are best suited for mental training. If the answer be the latter, then both discovery and

training may be done by the same machinery.

Is it not the undue attention to verbal memory (that paradise of lazy teachers) which has ruled so long in the schools, that has rendered possible the trite remark, "the successful schoolboy seldom makes a successful man." I do not believe that the measure of truth contained in this saying is due to the fact that the unsuccessful boy was immature compared with his fellows. The case appears to me that the world tests other faculties of the mind than those tested at school. I fully believe that the "boy is father to the man"; but that the successful schoolboy is often an unsuccessful man because the glib word-memory that makes the thousand and one inflections of the Greek verb an easy task, is not the chief requisite in the more important problems of after-life. Old Roger Ascham discusses this question in his quaint way through many pages of his "Schoolmaster," and in contrasting these "quick wits" and "hard wits," he says, "More quick to enter speedily than able to pierce far; even like over-sharp tools whose edges are soon turned; such wits delight themselves in easy and pleasant studies, and never pass far forward in high and hard sciences." He again speaks of quick wits as "of nature always flattering their betters, envying their equals, despising their inferiors." He tells us that "these do not shine in after life, except a very few, to whom peradventure blood and happy parentage may perchance purchase a long standing upon the stage"; and in showing how seldom ordinary methods select the best boys, and how the severity of the master on account of their inability to commit tasks to memory discourages the hard wits, he says, "by beating they drive away the best nature from learning,"—"an injury offered to learning and to the Commonwealth." "He (the hard wit) is smally regarded, little looked into; he lacketh teaching, he lacketh encouraging, he lacketh all things, only he never lacketh beating, nor any work that may move him to hate learning, nor any deed that may drive him from learning to any other kind of living." The same idea occurs frequently in Richter's work on education. Almost without doubt the cause of the failure of the schools to select the best man, is the substitution of verbal memory for recollection and reason. As Hazlitt says, "There is a certain kind and degree of intellect in which words take root but into which things have not power to penetrate." These intellects are the school prodigies.

School training in the past has been like an imperfect mineral dressing-floor, where something of medium value is selected and fully applied, but where the gold has passed into the same receptacle with the gangue. In one point the parallel is not good, for if mineral sorting be badly done, it is only necessary in after years to apply superior methods and the lost metal is recovered; but in the case of genius when once the frail body has passed away, the spirit no longer is recoverable, and my own experience tends to show that lost genius is one of the most common things in connection with genius. Have you ever thought how easily Faraday might have missed his mark? A little less self-confidence, a different trade, and the highest we could have expected had been a second Adam Bede.

My ideal of a system of education is one under which every child shall have his endowments, however insignificant, developed to their utmost, and at the same time no single child having in his soul the divine spark of genius shall be lost to the world.

Few persons, if any, think that it would be well for boys to spend more time at their books than at present: my own opinion is they already spend too much.

It is evident that in any reformed curriculum the study of our own language must form a large part of the training, and certainly as much time as at present must be spent in educating the eye and ear to appreciate correctly form, colour, and music, nor must modern language be wholly neglected. So then, if science is to be taught, a portion of the time now spent at Latin must be given to it. I am told, however, that too little time is even now devoted to classics if they are to be of any use; and, as Professor Seeley says, "What avail all the merits and beauties of the classics to those who never attain to appreciate them? If they never arrive, what was the use of their setting out? That a country is prosperous and pleasant is a reason for going to it, but it is not a reason for going half-way to it. If you cannot get all the way to America, you had better surely go somewhere else." I say distinctly, let the ancient classics be studied and well studied, let them form a voluntary university subject to be taken up by men who are fit for them and can fully realise their spirit. We cannot afford to lose anything of the wonderful life of ancient Greece and Rome. But do not make every boy encounter all the stormy billows of ancient grammar and vocabulary, with their attendant nausea, without the shadow of hope that he will ever reach the transmarine bowers of classic delight.

If then time cannot be spared from classics for science, we have to ask, which of the two shall be studied? The question at issue is thus narrowed down to the relative suitability of Latin and science as a means of mental training in schools and colleges. In this discussion it may be urged that as I am not proficient in classical knowledge, I am not qualified to judge. I most certainly do not wish to do so: I wish you to judge for yourselves. But I must state that practically my whole time at school was spent at classics; for to me such work in the school as required thinking offered so little difficulty that it occupied an insignificant part of my time.

I do not know what may be the method in grammar schools in England now; but during my stay at the Alton Grammar School, I know that almost the whole work of the school consisted in learning by rote. In fact

Latin was taught out of the Eton Latin Grammar, a book in which all the instructions to learners are in Latin. So often did I con these rules that parts cling to my memory now; but even to this day I have never known their meaning. So that if classics are to be measured by the discipline, I am a great classic, for I believe I worked harder than most of the boys; and had certainly as much caning. If we are to speak well of the bridge that bears us safely, it is surely equally kind to tell of a way so rough, so thorny, that its image is ineffaceable.

However, not trusting my own impressions, I simply call witnesses and ask, "Is the study interesting?" Bain says, "There is, first, the dryness inseparable from the learning of a language, especially at the commencement; there is, next, the circumstance that the literary interest in the authors is not felt, for want of due preparation." Huxley, after telling us that he would as soon think of using palæontology as classics, says, "It is wonderful how close a parallel to classical training could be made out of that palæontology to which I refer. In the first place I could get up an osteological primer so arid, so pedantic in its terminology, so altogether distasteful to the youthful mind, as to beat the recent famous production of the head masters out of the field in all these excellences. Next I could exercise my boys upon easy fossils, and bring out all their powers of memory and all their ingenuity in the application of my osteo-grammatical rules to the interpretation, or construing of those fragments. To those who had reached the higher classes, I might supply odd bones to be built up into animals, giving great honour and reward to him who succeeded in fabricating monsters most entirely in accordance with the rules. That would answer to verse-making and essay-writing in the dead languages." Again he says, "The ordinary schoolboy finds Parnassus uncommonly steep, and there is no chance of his having much time or inclination to look about him till he gets to the top. And nine times out of ten he does not get to the top." Butler says of the Erewhonians: "Thus are they taught what is called the hypothetical language for many of their best years—a language which was originally composed at the time when the country was in a very different state of civilisation to what it is at present, a state which has long since exploded and been superseded. Many valuable maxims and noble thoughts which were at one time concealed in it have become current in their modern literature, and have been translated over and over again into the language now spoken. Surely then it would seem to be enough that the study of the original language should be consigned to the few whose instincts led them naturally to pursue it. But the Erewhonians think differently; the store they set by it is perfectly astonishing; they will even give anyone a maintenance for life if he attains considerable proficiency in the study; nay, they will spend years in learning to translate some of their own good poetry into the hypothetical language, to do so with fluency being reckoned a distinguishing mark of a scholar and a gentleman. \* \* \* \* If the youths chose it for themselves I should have wondered less; but they do not choose it, they have it thrust upon them, and, for the most part, are disinclined to it. \* \* \* \* In the course of my stay I met one youth who told me that for fourteen years the hypothetical language had been almost the only thing that he had been taught, although he had never (to his credit, as it seemed to me) shown the slightest aptitude for it, while he had been endowed with not inconsiderable abilities for several other branches of human learning. He assured me that he would never open another hypothetical book after he had taken his degree, but would follow out the bent of his own inclinations. This was well enough, but who could give him his fourteen years back again?" The fact is that apart from the pleasure of accomplishing anything, Latin has no delight to ordinary boys.

I ask, "Does it enable us to write English well or to read literature?" Seeley says, "the more you exalt literature the more you must condemn the classical system"; and again, "I think that an exact knowledge of the meanings of English words is not very common even among highly educated people, which is natural enough, since their attention has been so much diverted to Latin and Greek ones." Bain, through many pages, exposes the absurdities of learning Latin in order to speak English. I believe, with Hazlitt, that "we shall be better when our natural use of speech is not hung up in monumental mockery in an obsolete language."

Are the dead languages a good training of the reasoning faculties? Helmholtz says, "What strikes me in my own experience of students who pass from our classical schools to scientific and medical studies, is first, a certain laxity in the application of strictly universal laws. The grammatical rules in which they have been exercised, are, for the most part, followed by long lists of exceptions; accordingly they are not in the habit of relying implicitly on the certainty of a legitimate deduction from a strictly universal law."

Hazlitt says, "The habit of supplying our ideas from foreign sources 'enfeebles all internal strength of thought' as a course of dram-drinking destroys the tone of the stomach."

Bain says, "If, at the proper age, a pupil has mastered English grammar, he has, in point of reasoning power, gone a step beyond Latin or Greek grammar, and should therefore be relieved from further labour for perfecting his reasoning faculties in the grammatical field."

I have never heard it claimed that classics serve any practically useful part in a student's after life, so I do not feel called upon to discuss the question.

We must now try and ascertain whether science is possessed of those merits that the dead languages are so deficient in?

The most frequent complaint of schools is that boys are not taught common sense. It is probably not very

easy to teach what is meant by common sense, namely, the perception of the course that is the best under the varying circumstances of life. Huxley tells us that "science is only trained and organised common sense. The man of science in fact simply uses with scrupulous exactness the methods which we all habitually use carelessly." Whilst Seeley tells us "classics should not be commenced until at least fourteen years of age." Huxley tells us "science should be commenced with the dawn of intelligence," and says, that in his opinion the stupidity of the average boy or girl, "in nine cases out of ten, '*fit, non nascitur,*' and is developed by a long process of parental and pedagogic repression of the natural intellectual appetites, accompanied by a persistent attempt to create artificial ones for food which is not only tasteless but essentially indigestible."

I believe these remarks to be absolutely true. When I was offered my present appointment I was science lecturer at Winchester College. My lectures were given to the middle school; the very youngest did not attend, and the attendance of the prefects was voluntary. If I except the volunteers, at every examination I held there, the junior classes exhibited distinctly more reasoning faculty than the elder ones. I do not suppose, in this case, this was entirely due to the substitution of memory for thought. The distinct practical utility of science carries with it the idea that it is ungentlemanly, and this doubtless had some influence with the boys, and they may not have exerted themselves to the utmost. But in many other instances I have had the clearest evidence that mere memory work distinctly reduced the capacity for consecutive reasoning. I have found no difficulty in teaching elementary science to young children whose intellect was uninjured by rote lessons. In fact my own experience tends to show that if discreetly taught science cannot be begun too early.

Were science really understood, I believe there would be no two opinions as to its fitness, on all accounts, as a subject for study; but it is shrouded in misconceptions of all kinds. Of these there are two which especially need combating. The first is that this study is only valuable for its material utility, and not as mental training; the other is that science consists of vast masses of facts, and that consequently the man of science is one who is chiefly a vast memory machine. True it is that science is materially useful. Its splendid achievements bear stronger testimony to that fact than words can. Yet probably its material value in clothing, feeding, and healing man, and freeing him from the bondage of perpetual toil is as nothing when compared with the emancipation that science has conferred upon his intellectual, his moral, and his spiritual nature.

Whilst I verily believe that even the material results are small compared with that which a fair field to work in would have produced. Nothing but the mere crumbs of a scientific education have yet fallen to the lot of any people; but how marvellous the results! What an awakening then will there be, when science is both as well taught, and as fully taught as its importance deserves! Do not think that I am alone in this opinion. Bain, in his "Education as a Science," says, "It is from the sphere of the physical sciences that the inductive method has been transferred to other subjects as mind, politics, history, medicine, and many besides." Mill says, "The inductive sciences have, of late, done more for the advance of logical methods than the labours of philosophers properly so called." Flint, in his "Philosophy of History," refers again and again to the importance of scientific methods for the development of history. He speaks of the impossibility of induction being applied to history until physical science had taught men to reason; and he says, further, "It is chiefly through the growth of physical science that the notion of law in human development has arisen; and, chiefly through it also, that the path which leads to the discovery of a law has been opened up." The names Flint speaks of as having made a philosophy of history possible, are nearly all those which a scientific student recognises as workers in the field of scientific investigation. I will give one reference: "The man, however, who, of all mediæval philosophers, saw most clearly the deficiencies of antiquity and cherished the most rational hopes of intellectual advance in the future was Roger Bacon. This was due to an acquaintance with experimental science, and an insight into its possibilities very wonderful in the thirteenth century."

These are the opinions of men to whom physical science is *not* a special study: of *scientific* men who have spoken of the subject, the difficulty would be to find one who did not believe in the power of science in mental discipline.

But there are those, who, while admitting its intellectual value, consider it soulless, needing no imagination and supplying no food to the moral and spiritual nature. Yet the very first requisite of a scientific investigator is rigid conscientiousness. A scientific investigator spends his life in weighing evidence, making inductions, and testing them. The novice finds what he expects and hopes for; not so the trained experimentalist; he discovers what is actually present, what is true. Anything but this means scientific shipwreck. If he is thus forced to incessant conscientiousness in his intercourse with inanimate nature, is he likely to throw it all to the winds in his converse with his fellows? Confirmed habit is not so easily broken. Think of the training in long-sustained effort, of the patience and perseverance, of the constant inventiveness and fertility required even by a small research. If you wish to see this in its most perfect form I refer you to Faraday's "Electrical Researches," to Joule's investigations on the "Conservation of Energy," and to a still more recent work, viz., Helmholtz's "Investigation on the Eye and Ear." And, with the latter author, I do believe that our age has learnt many lessons from the physical sciences, the reverence for facts, and the fidelity with which they are sought;

distrustfulness of appearances, the belief that in all cases effect follows cause, and the earnest endeavour to detect the relations in all cases.

What finer training for the juridical faculties could well be conceived of than the clear unbiassed method of scientific research. The moral effect of the clear perception of cause and effect, of the certainty of a known law, is well described by Butler. He says, that "this (the certainty) is a great blessing; for it is the foundation on which morality and science are built. The assurance that the future is no arbitrary and changeable thing, but that like futures will invariably follow on the reproduction of like presents, is the groundwork on which we lay all our plans, the faith on which we do every conscious act of our lives. If this were not so we should be without a guide; we should have no confidence in acting, and hence, we should never act; there will be no knowing that the results which follow now will be the same as those which followed before. Who would plough or sow if he disbelieved in the fixity of the future? Who would throw water on a blazing house if the action of water upon fire were uncertain? Men will only do their utmost when they feel certain that the future will discover itself against them if their utmost has not been done. The feeling of such a certainty is a constituent part of the sum of the forces at work upon them, and will act most powerfully on the best and most moral men. Those who are most firmly persuaded that the future is immutably bound up with the present in which their work is lying, will best husband their present, and till it with the greatest care. The future must be a lottery to those who think that the same combinations can sometimes precede one set of results, and sometimes another. If their belief is sincere they will speculate instead of working: these ought to be the immoral men; the others have the strongest spur to exertion and morality, if their belief is a living one."

But powerfully as science has acted and is acting in giving us a clear conception of morality, how much more is our spiritual nature indebted to it? But for cosmical science. man would never have escaped from the crudest conceptions of anthropomorphic polytheism. How can a man have mean and ignoble thoughts of a deity when he sees the vast scale upon which the universe is constructed? How can he think of him as capricious and changing when he attempts to conceive the ages which our own puny earth has taken to ripen to its present state? True it is, as Herbert Spencer says, "But for science we should still be worshipping fetishes; or, with hecatombs of victims, propitiating diabolical deities. And yet this science, which, in place of the most degrading conceptions of things, has given us some insight into the grandeurs of creation, is written against in our theologies and frowned upon from our pulpits."

I think that I have succeeded in convincing you that science has other value than that of a "comfort-grinding engine," that by far its most important function is its work among our highest faculties. I have yet to show that the study of science does not demand a mere memory of facts; but that, on the contrary, a collection of mere facts, as such, is not science; that the clear perception of nature's laws, the grouping of these laws into great generalisations and consistent cosmical conceptions constitutes science; that, in fact, the common idea that theory is not science is the greatest blunder of all. Science is incipient when a definite law is found, and ripens into consistent proven theories.

Helmholtz tells us in his "Essay on the Aim and Prospects of the Physical Sciences," that we must measure progress by the proportion in which laws more general and more comprehensive reveal themselves; that isolated facts and experiments have in themselves no value; that no matter how numerous they be, even if all were stored up in encyclopædias and classified so as to be all available, they would not deserve the name of science; and that they only become valuable as they reveal the law of a series of uniformly-recurring phenomena. "To find the law by which they are regulated is to understand phenomena." After fully discussing the tremendous importance of such conceptions as the indestructibility of matter and energy, he goes on to show the great importance of the theory of Darwin. He tells us that it contains an essentially new creative thought; that it has raised a vast number of enigmatical wonders to a great consistent system of development.

Professor Tyndall, in his "Scientific use of the Imagination," and in his American address, and Dr. Young, in his reply to Brougham, speak of law and theory; they speak of facts only as proving a law. All historians of science are historians of the discoveries of laws and generalisations. If you ask upon what Newton's fame rests, the answer is undoubtedly the "Theory of Gravitation"; if Young's, the "Theory of Undulation"; if Darwin's, the "Theory of Natural Selection." All these men were skilful experimenters and trustworthy observers; but it is chiefly as confirming their great theories that we value their experiments and their observations; in fact, the theory of gravitation was chiefly based on the observations of *others*, and it is well-known that a faulty observation of the length of an arc of the meridian caused New on to lay aside his theory for nearly twenty years. It was not his observations that gave him his standing as an astronomer, but the consummate intelligence with which he made his induction and deductively followed its laws into every department of the intricate planetary motions. Of course memory is essential to every intellectual effort, but it is chiefly that form of memory which bears the name of recollection that is valuable in science. So small a part does it play, that Helmholtz tells us that the physicist needs hardly any memory for detached facts, but do not therefore suppose scientific thought is easy work. He tells us "the iron labour of conscious logical reasoning demands great

perseverance and great caution; it moves on but slowly, and is rarely illuminated by brilliant flashes of genius."

Surely no more argument is required to show the fallacy of the two ideas that scientific study consists in the cramming of facts, and that it results only in material utility. Is it not evident, on the contrary, that scientific study is the highest form of mental training, and best fitted on all the counts for school and college work? It supplies the most satisfactory means for the discovery of genius; for in it bad logic cannot be concealed by verbiage, but is at once detected by appeal to experiment; thus bringing the clearest mind to the front. It, cultivating all the faculties, and being "organised common sense," is the most useful in fitting men to cope with the varied problems of life.

To quote Herbert Spencer:—"Paraphrasing an Eastern fable, we may say that in the family of knowledge, science is the household drudge, who, in obscurity, hides unrecognised perfections. To her has been committed all the work; by her skill, intelligence, and devotion, have all conveniences and gratifications been obtained; and while ceaselessly ministering to the rest, she has been kept in the back ground, that her haughty sisters might flaunt their fripperies in the eyes of the world. The parallel holds yet further. For we are fast coming to the *denouement* when the positions will be changed; and while these haughty sisters sink into merited neglect, science, proclaimed as highest alike in worth and beauty, will reign supreme."

Thus far I have endeavoured to prove that a great change is needed with regard to the choice of means for the discovery and for the training of genius, and we see that our hope for the future lies chiefly in the substitution of logical and scientific studies for verbal memory. I have now to speak of the supreme function of the university—the utilisation of genius in the advancement of knowledge.

The first great question is, shall we attempt to lead original minds into one and the same definite groove, and make them all travel one beaten path, or shall the individuality of each be allowed to exert itself and grow to the utmost? If we want original work, we must have original minds; and can the original be a copy?

There is in every mind a native individuality far greater than is usually supposed. There are differences between all faces, and may we not suppose that there are greater differences between minds?

In the process of fitting square men into round holes, there are but few who do not suffer from the pinch of the mould, and of these the strongest natures suffer most, and give the most unshapely results; and after all, strive as you will, you can not make all alike, though Fashion has an appearance of succeeding and the Chinese have been almost successful. I myself do not think that any amount of bandages, of chipping and planing, will ever quite make Anglo-Saxons into machines; nevertheless if our schools and universities take their style from the worshippers of Grundy a considerable advance will be made towards this metamorphosis. Nor must we forget that Mill has said, that, unless individuality were allowed to exercise itself, Europe would bid fair to become a second China; and Max Muller adds that we are now twenty years nearer China than we were in Mill's time.

But, even if the race were capable of the change, the people who would like to establish a second celestial empire among us, whose motto is "For China direct," are certainly finite in number; and however much these may worship mediocrity, it is surely not the office of the university to do so, to plane down genius to the general level. This would ill accord with Mill's opinion that the few men of genius are the salt of the earth, and without them human life would become a stagnant pool; or with the idea of Carlyle, when he wrote, "The world's wealth is its original men; by these and their works it is a world and not a waste: the memory and record of what men it bore, this is the sum of its strength, its sacred 'property for ever' whereby it upholds itself and steers forward for better or worse through the yet undiscovered deep of time;" and although he also says that not one in a thousand has the smallest turn for thinking, each of us can at least take his advice and "cease to be a hollow-sounding shell of hearsays, egoisms, purblind diletantisms, and become, were it on an infinitely small scale, a faithful and discerning soul." Let us each find out the bent of his own nature and follow it, trying to add a gem, however small, to the casket of knowledge. Eccentricity is not necessary to originality, nor on the other hand should we avoid originality through fear of being considered eccentric. There is usually some one point in the character of each which is specially prominent, and fits the possessor for a certain line of action. This he should follow, rather than attempt the *role* of an admirable Crichton. Helmholtz has said that if a comparison be made of different men's work in allied sciences, it will be found that the most distinguished men show most clearly their individuality, the specialisation of their minds; and seem little qualified mutually to interchange the subjects of their research. Clearly and distinctly it must be stated that unless individuality grows in an environment of liberty no fruit of progress can result. The great exponent of liberty in his essay says that "the only unfailing and permanent source of improvement is liberty," and "genius can only breathe freely in an atmosphere of freedom." Hence in any university the first, the absolutely essential thing for the exaltation of genius and for rendering it productive is full liberty of selection.

If the university degree is to be the mark neither of distinguished genius nor of wide culture, but the mark of a caste, the poll degree of the old universities is rightly granted. If this were dependent upon genius, it would clearly fail of its purpose. But remember this—the appliances which exalt mediocrity are not suitable for the

training of genius. The machinery that cuts paste and polishes it until to the ordinary eye it seems a diamond, is not fit for the gem itself. The intractable stone will either play havoc with the machinery or will be rejected and cast out with the waste. I do not, for my part, believe that a country's endowments should be devoted to the cultivation of the manners of a favoured few. I believe that if there are any to whom their homes and companions have not given manners, their parents should combine to establish a proprietary school of deportment. When I have seen in the old school at Winchester the motto, "manners makyth man," I have thought either that the meaning of the word manners has terribly degenerated since the days when that motto was written, or that our standard of what constitutes the man has risen. We have such standards of manliness now as love of truth, moral courage, hatred of wrong and of oppression, enthusiasm for humanity, and all that is contained in that comprehensive word altruism. These may be trusted to carry manners with them, and if a being does not possess these qualities, let us keep him in the rough; let us not varnish deformity and label it a gentleman.

For our own college I do not much fear that it will so degenerate. There is at present an earnest enthusiasm for work, with which the *nil admirari* spirit so essential to society's neophyte will no more unite than oil with water. By work we have gained our position, and by work we must hold it—no other way remains. We have no traditions reaching back through the mists of a dozen centuries upon which to rest. Our very claim to continued existence depends upon our work, nor would I wish it to be otherwise. I heartily endorse Carlyle's words when he says, "all work, even cotton-spinning, is noble. Work is alone noble: be that here said and asserted once more. And in like manner too all dignity is painful; a life of ease is not for any man, nor for any good." Yes, work, earnest well-directed work, is our portion; for while individuality is essential, it demands much care to utilise it. While we do not attempt to prune the vine that it may look like the apple, nor the apple that it may look like the gourd, yet if we wish an abundant and mature crop, each must be trained and pruned and tended, and that with strict regard to its generic character. It is the same with genius. We dare not attempt to make it a copy; yet many excrescences need to be pared away, and many a dormant bud to be developed, in order that there may be shapely and healthy growth.

The knowledge of the past is also essential to further progress. Out of it springs advancement in our own life as branches spring from the roots into surrounding air. The roots of the tree of knowledge are necessary, but their place, as Huxley says, is not in the air; and with similar meaning Carlyle writes, "The present is not needlessly trammelled with the past, and only grows out of it, like a tree whose roots are not intertangled with its branches, but lie peaceably underground." Every great genius must utilize the experience of his predecessors, and every great work must be built upon the thoughts of the past. No one can fully comprehend the present but in its relation to the past. Do not think, then, because I wish you to follow your bent, that I wish you to idle your time. You will often "weary your soul with work," but just as truly as genius is individual, so truly has it energy to overcome difficulties.

I have told you that consistent theory is the life of science, but never has a flash of genius revealed such theory, unless the mind were saturated with all the great principles involved, each in its own fulness, unless it had the clearest insight into all their inter-dependencies, and into their organic connection with the sum of knowledge.

It is the same with great works of art. There is always some feature of nature rendered truly in them; but before every feature can be seen and represented, culture is necessary, and it is only in the mind of a genius that such culture originates; for it is his essential characteristic to see a little more of the whole truth than his predecessors. No doubt Chinese pictures were true works of art in their time; but when the laws of perspective had once become known, no painting could be great that neglected those laws. A modern painter needs to know many other laws in addition to those of perspective, and in proportion as an art is capable of expressing greater complexity of ideas so will greater preparation be required. And if the art of painting now demands much study, how much more will be needed by the more complex art of language?

It is the nature of most human contrivances to pass through three stages. The first, of imperfection; the next., one of perfection in action, though cumbrous in mode; and the last, one of perfection and simplicity combined. And just as the art of language is the greatest human invention, so in it we can trace the process most clearly. Prior to the Greek, languages existed something like the present Maori, representing the imperfect stage; the Greek represents the perfect and cumbrous; and in our own tongue we see the development of perfection combined with simplicity.

But if, on the one hand, it is impossible to produce a great work of art that does not conform to the canons already discovered, so, on the other hand, it is impossible for a dead art ever to be revived. We never dream of attempting to supersede the steamship by an improved design of a galley; so in an age of simple perfection in language would it not be folly to revive cumbrousness at the expense of simplicity? No great genius would ever think of using the verse or prose of a dead language to give expression to his sublime creations. The writing of Greek verse is on a par with the imitation of Chinese pictures, or the revival of the askew heads of Byzantine

saints. Orientalism, Classicism, pre-Raphaelitism, may become manias, they can never become arts. As well might you galvanize a corpse and call its contortions the express on of a living soul, as to call such attempts at resuscitation, art. I take it that he is the greatest artist, who, perceiving most clearly the thoughts and emotions of his own age in their solvent state, most successfully crystallizes them into expression. The greatest, thinker is he who brings the greatest number of facts under the domain of law, and most widely extends knowledge by his deductions.

To apply these remarks to practice, I would suggest that we should, as far as possible, do away with compulsion and give scope to all orders of minds. If, however, there is to be compulsion let those subjects which are considered essential be taken up at school, and let all compulsory examinations cease with the commencement of the university course. If we have compulsion at matriculation, other than in the use of our native tongue, let it be balanced, and not all on the side of the older studies; and let the value of the subjects be balanced also. So little does science count now in our Junior University Scholarships that although in language alone a competitor may obtain 5000 marks, yet in the whole range of the natural and physical sciences he can only obtain 1000; and this in the face of the fact of which I have spoken, that a knowledge of science has entirely revolutionised our material life, has developed our logical faculty to such an extent as to have given an entirely new direction to our methods of the study of language itself, of history, sociology, political economy, and philosophy, and even promises to give such a basis to morality as it has never had before. Surely it would not be too much to expect that the whole range of the natural and physical sciences should count equal to language.

In our university course Latin and Mathematics are compulsory subjects, and I believe they are so to their disadvantage. Real progress in both would be greater were it not so. Our own experience shows that it is seldom that men are strong both in Latin and in Mathematics. How can a student make his mark in his favourite study when he frequently has during his whole course the weight of an uncongenial one hanging about his neck? Is it good for either classics or mathematics that the mathematician shall be largely engaged in mastering the difficult idioms of an author he cares nothing about, or the student of the classics in learning the most elegant methods of the transformation of formulæ? Common sense emphatically answers "No." If it be thus better for the compulsory subjects that compulsion be abolished, who can measure the advantages to the voluntary subjects, whilst for the student it would often mean absolute emancipation? With regard to our higher degrees, I think they should be granted only to those who have added to the sum of knowledge, and in order to render this possible, I would certainly not make it necessary that the candidate should come up in the year following the one in which he graduates. With regard to the question of the endowment of research, I look with a certain amount of distrust on the idea of supporting students engaged solely in original research. I fear they would tend to degenerate, like the holders of fellowships, into youthful sinecurists. I thoroughly endorse the opinion now held by many discoverers, "that the best investigators are usually those who have also the responsibilities of instruction, gaining thus the incitement of colleagues, the encouragement of pupils, and the observation of the public." I think that as the number and importance of the professors' new discoveries increased, if they desired it, they should be relieved of their ordinary lecture work. This would make room for assistant professors, who would qualify for the post of professors by their success in the double work of teaching and research. This seems to me to be the best mode of protecting the band of investigators we would establish from incurring the stigma of the academic saying that "A fellowship is the grave of learning."

A university has, in the past, been generally the special privilege of a leisured class. The general mass could not have taken advantage of it if they would, while often the millions toiled in squalid misery to support this leisured class. Sir Thomas More in his "Utopia" makes all so frugal that each one had leisure to cultivate his mind if he wished it, and his Utopian idea was that so few as nine hours a day should be spent in labour. We, with our eight hours system, have gone beyond Utopia, but not by rigid frugality. Any artizan in full work can have a home which for real comfort would compare favourably with a nobleman's palace in Sir Thomas More's day. This has been rendered possible by the inventor. It is true he is indebted to science for his material; but it is to him we directly owe our wealth. The fact that the enjoyment of the highest culture is not now associated with millions of actual slaves, or of fellow creatures in the virtual slavery of continual toil, is due to him. All honour, then, to the inventor; his intellectual work may not be the highest, but he has rendered the highest possible. Although now a new scientific discovery often carries a whole train of arts after it, and gives them their rules, we must not forget that the inventor, and the arts he originated, preceded science; nor do we forget it. We sincerely hope that the creator of our wealth will take advantage of his leisure and share our larger life. Our university is open to all who choose to avail themselves of it. The hours of many lectures suit all, and the fees need deter none. I hope soon to see many artizans seeking the higher pleasures that wide culture carries with it. The average adult artizan has not received sufficient education to appreciate our advanced lectures, but I trust that a science and art department will soon be established in New Zealand which will enable him to do so. I can testify to the eagerness with which working men took advantage of those classes in England, and to the marked

success that attended their study; yet most of these men worked ten hours a day. I see no reason why the colonial artizan with his extra two hours of leisure, should fall behind his fellows in England; nor do I believe he will. If workmen use these classes, and the more thoughtful follow on to the university, if the political and social sciences keep pace with the powers of production, and their exponents learn how to distribute fairly, then for the first time in the history of the world we shall have a people all free, all in comfort and plenty, all with leisure, and all who care about it in the enjoyment of that higher life which is rendered possible only by the most perfect cultivation of senses, mind, and soul.

The New Zealand Shipping Company Limited, and The late General Manager.

[Private].

*"Ausculta paucis, nisi molestum."*

A Letter to the Shareholders

From H. Selwyn Smith.

Sent to \_\_\_\_\_

Of \_\_\_\_\_

With the Writer's Compliments.

SYDNEY, SEPTEMBER, 1889.

## Preface.

*Extract from the "LYTTELTON TIMES" of August 13, 1880:—*

## "The New Zealand Shipping Company.

"THE New Zealand Shipping Company Limited, held their Seventh Annual Meeting yesterday afternoon. The Chair was taken by Mr. J. L. Coster, Chairman of the Board of Directors. The following Directors also were present:—Messrs. Aynsley, Anderson, Reeves, Turner, and Wilson.

"The Report and Balance Sheet were taken as read.

"In addressing the Shareholders, the Chairman, *inter alia*, said:—"The other item to which I have to refer is "the paragraph

This is not published, so it cannot be quoted.

in respect to the late General Manager. "I assume that none but Shareholders of the Shipping "Company are present. If there are any others, I ask "them to withdraw, because the statement I have to "make is a privileged one to the Shareholders alone."

"The Chairman, after referring in complimentary terms to the officials of the Company, both in London and the Colony, concluded by moving the adoption of the Report and Balance Sheet."

## To the Shareholders in the New Zealand Shipping Company Limited.

Gentlemen,—I have lately received from some of your number copies of the Report and Balance-sheet presented to you by your Directors on the 12th ultimo, and the *Lyttelton Times* of the following day, containing an account of the proceedings at your late Annual Meeting, and in deference to the kindly expressed wishes of my friends, as well as in justice to myself, I venture to trouble you with a brief epitome of my introduction to your service, and the manner of my leaving it.

You are probably aware that I was for many years in business in Melbourne, and my first knowledge of your Company was acquired on the 12th July, 1875, when Mr. T. M. Stewart, Manager of the Melbourne Branch Bank of New Zealand, called on me and asked if I knew any one whom I could recommend as thoroughly competent to take the full charge of a large Shipping Company in New Zealand, and he enquired my opinions of two gentlemen who had been indicated to him as likely to be suitable for the appointment. He told me the Company was well subscribed—in its infancy, but certain to progress, and that the Directors were willing to give "a commencing salary of £800 to £1,000, to be increased as business went on." And finally he begged me to look through the list of Shareholders in, and of the ships loaded out by, your Company in 1874, and to write him suggesting any one I thought of for the management, and to say if, in my opinion, the proposed salary was inadequate.

And on the 14th July, 1875, I wrote to Mr. Stewart as follows:—

Melbourne.

14th July, 1875.

THOMAS M. STEWART, ESQ., Bank of New Zealand.

My dear Sir,—I return you the Share List of the New Zealand Shipping Company, and also the paper showing the magnitude of the agency operations under its auspices, during the year 1874; and in thanking you for your confidence in consulting me as to a fit and competent person to take the general management of the Company at Christchurch, I regret to say I cannot unhesitatingly recommend any one. I have taken the Directory beside me, and carefully considered the merits of \* \* \* \* \* and \* \* \* \* \* there are few who, in my humble judgment, would make good and efficient managers. Of the gentlemen you named to me, I can, with every kindly respect say, they lack every essential qualification. I have thought of two—one \* \* \* \* \* and \* \* \* \* \* lately of \* \* \* \* \* a man of extensive though somewhat bitter mercantile experience \* \* \* \* \*.

You will pardon my adding that I think your friends hardly estimate the importance of the position of a General Manager of such a Company, or appreciate the value of such qualifications as he must be invested with, if he is successfully to conduct a concern, requiring, besides extensive general mercantile knowledge—which can only be acquired by years and years of experience—special abilities and aptitude of administration of interests which, ignorantly or inefficiently handled, would suffer irretrievably; or they would not expect to secure the services of a really competent man, at a salary which is not infrequently given here to managing clerks of large mercantile establishments, and which is not one-half of that accorded to men in such positions in England.

And I may not be trespassing beyond the confidence you have reposed in me, if I tender the advice to your friends to pay a good man if they can secure him, so well as to make interests and prosperity identical and identified. With such a proprietary, and such facilities and advantages as the N.Z.S. Co. has, there is a grand career before them, if only the right man is at the helm. The business It will be the duty of the General Manager of this Company to forecast, to initiate, to carry out all these schemes; to regulate and control the working at all the branches; to be responsible for all the details, &c.; and such a man should be efficiently paid. The necessary qualifications are the purchase of years of labour, experience, and care, and should be adequately rewarded. \* \* \*

I am, &c.,

H. SELWYN SMITH.

Shortly afterwards, a mutual friend, Mr. Robert Murray Smith, called on me, and, *inter alia* said, "Mr. Stewart is very anxious" that you should accept that New Zealand appointment;" and I replied, "He did not offer it to me, and if he had done so I should have told him I would not go for double the proposed salary."

On the 17th August Mr. Stewart again called, and at once referred to Mr. Murray Smith's conversation with me, and expressed a hope that I would accept the appointment at his disposal with "a commencing salary of £1,000, to be increased as the Company prospered." He read me extracts from letters he had received from Mr. Coster, your Chairman, written after his perusal of my letter of 14th July, and urged me very strongly to go over to Christchurch to see the Directors, and to take the post, in full confidence that I should be well treated by the Company.

I explained frankly to Mr. Stewart that my income was far larger than that proposed by his friends; that my business connection was an important one, and that in giving it up and breaking up my home I should incur heavy pecuniary loss, and that I therefore could not, and would not, entertain the idea of leaving Victoria unless very substantial and permanent advantages were held out, and ensured to me.

Mr. Stewart then begged me to write him fully as to my views, and the terms on which I would accept the appointment, and I did so as follows:—

Melbourne,

20th August, 1875.

THOMAS M. STEWART, ESQ.

My dear Sir,—When you were good enough to consult me a few weeks ago as to a suitable man for the position of General Manager of the N.Z.S. Co.'s business at Christchurch, you did not tell me that your wish

and intention was that I should suggest myself for the office.

Shortly afterwards, our mutual friend Mr. Murray Smith told me your views, and during our interview on the 17th inst., I learned from the extracts you read from your New Zealand correspondent's letter how favourably you must have spoken of me, and I am deeply indebted to you for commendation, which has evoked so cordial a concurrence and such generous impulse as is manifested in the invitation to me to visit the Directors of the Company, with a view to the arrangement of terms on which I might take the charge suggested.

I would at once go over as proposed, but at the moment I am liquidating a large insolvent estate, and have under adjustment some important average statements and negotiations which forbid my immediate absence from Melbourne.

Under these circumstances, I presume and venture to trouble you with my views so far as I am personally concerned; and I do so with full confidence that my letter will be respected by you and your friends as private.

Your correspondents have so generously expressed themselves as to my fitness for the position of Manager that I need only say I have owned and successfully managed ships for twenty-five years; at the age of twenty I had full charge of one of the largest establishments in Sydney, and I have ever since presided over important and extensive business concerns—having the control of many clerks and more men. My colonial experience extends over thirty-five years; interim I have voyaged and travelled much, and always had extensive correspondence both East and West, and so have acquired a thorough knowledge of the commerce of the world.

Through heavy losses in the realization of advances on pastoral securities a few years ago, I was obliged to suspend payment temporarily, but on resuming my business I have been able, with my large connection of friends, to make an income of from £1500 to £2200 a year,

This was after providing for household and personal expenses.

with the prospect of its gradual increase as my means enable me prudently to extend my operations, and I am sure you will understand and appreciate the serious consideration it is for me to decide whether it is right for me to throw up this and break ground in a new field.

I frankly confess that the idea of a fixed income—if adequate to the requirements of my large family—has a great charm for me. I have too great faith in the future of New Zealand, a country whose importance is yet in its infancy, and which must afford good openings for men of enterprise and talent, and the invitation to me to stretch the cords of my tent there is so flatteringly couched that I am loth to say,—what prudence compels me,—I cannot, in view of the necessities of my family, give up what I have here, *unless I am assured a commencing salary equivalent to the minimum I am now making*. If this was conceded me, I would make early arrangements to join the Company's service, *content that any increment to my salary should depend on the result of my management*, and determined to devote myself wholly and heartily to the interests of the concern; and, let me add, I am no niggard at my work, nor am I afraid to cope with whatever may be presented to me. I have good plans for organizing and efficiently carrying out and administering business confided to me. My energy and activity are quite unimpaired.

I am, &c.,

H. SELWYN SMITH.

On the 7th September Mr. Stewart asked me to call on him, and he read me a telegram he had just received from your Chairman, dated 30th August, in which he was desired to "*Offer a commencing salary of £1,250—the payment of my own and family's expenses*" and saying, "*future remuneration may very safely rest on success of management, urging my going over at once.*"

On this a long conversation ensued. I declined the offer, and expressed surprise at its being made, if, as I presumed, the Directors had my letter of 20th August before them. I said I would not concede on the terms therein laid down, and that the matter was one of too much importance to me to be decided so hurriedly, or without preparatorily and clearly defining all terms and conditions.

I was then begged to write a final letter, stating the terms on which I would go down and join the Company's service, and I wrote to Mr. Stewart as follows:—

Melbourne,

7th September, 1875.

THOMAS M. STEWART, ESQ., Bank of New Zealand,

My dear Sir,—I am much indebted to you for so promptly intimating that the New Zealand Shipping Company have authorised you to offer me *a commencing salary of £1250*, if I will undertake the General Management of the business at Christchurch.

It is not quite clear to me whether this authority was sent prior to the perusal of my letter to you of the 20th ultimo, which you told me you had been good enough to forward. If the Directors had it before them, when telegraphing, I can hardly understand the proposal, for I had very carefully considered what I wrote, *and determined on the minimum salary I would accept*, if I entered on the service of the Company; and I pointed out to you the reasons which influenced my decision, *and the hopes I entertained of adding considerably to the proposed salary, by a successful administration of the Company's interests, in which I expected to participate*; and it would be unbecoming in me to deviate from what I then wrote and said to you; and the Company would not, I think, be favourably impressed, if I changed my mind, after making it up.

When you first spoke to me about a Manager for the New Zealand Shipping Company, I wrote you my views of the qualifications necessary for the office. I did so frankly; for at the time you had not informed me that you had me in view for it, and though the Company has endorsed your kind recommendation of me, my impression of the importance of the position, and of the remuneration which should be accorded to its faithful occupant, is not in any way modified. Indeed it is far otherwise, and while I cannot but feel gratified at the offer made, I must most respectfully decline it, *on the simple ground that the pay proposed is not an adequate reward* for the devotion of services and the experience necessary to the efficient fulfilment of the duties appertaining to the office. This I say without reference to myself or my requirements; but in case the negotiations initiated under your good auspices are re-opened, with a personal reference to me, I deem it due as well to the Company as to myself to say, *I am prepared to adhere to my letter of the 20th ultimo, to which I would add that my idea of increment to my salary is that I should be also rewarded with a tithe of the profits accruing, after securing the proprietary an adequate interest on the capital employed, so that my advancement should depend on my successful management, the term, of which I presume would be positively five years, with the option of determining it at the end of three, on equitable terms and notice*. I should beg also that a certain time should be allowed me to get rid of my own vessels, so that I might do so without unnecessarily sacrificing them;—of course they, or their working, would in no way clash with the interests of, or my duties to, the Company.

Pray accept my assurance that I highly appreciate the compliment paid me, and am greatly obliged to you for your contribution to it; and if ultimately I receive the appointment I will not discredit your recommendation, but I cannot sever my valuable connection here unless it is to my advantage to do so. Once I enter on new ground, my whole interest and energy will be at the disposal of my employers, and if I am not obliged first to sell my ships, I shall not require much time here to arrange my affairs and leave Melbourne.

I am, &c., &c.,

H. SELWYN SMITH.

On the 29th September Mr. Stewart called and placed the following letter in my bands:—

*The New Zealand Shipping Company Limited, Christchurch,*

18th September, 1875.

H. SELWYN SMITH, ESQ., Melbourne.

Dear Sir,—Referring to the negotiations which have been passing between this Company and yourself, through our mutual friend Mr. Stewart, and to an intimation received by telegram that you are prepared to accept the General Management of this Company, at a salary of £1500 per annum, for the period of three years certain, I am instructed by the Directors to state that they have appointed you to the office on these terms, and they hope you will be able to arrange to assume your management with the least possible delay, as the wool season is about commencing.

As previously intimated through Mr. Stewart, the Directors are willing to defray the necessary travelling expenses of yourself and family from Melbourne to Christchurch.

*A complete and detailed agreement to be entered into when the Directors have the pleasure of seeing you in Christchurch.*

Trusting to see you on a very early day, and requesting that you will afford the earliest information by telegraph of your movements,

I remain, &c.,

JOSEPH GOULD, Secretary.

This letter I answered as follows:—

Melbourne,

2nd October, 1875.

JOSEPH GOULD, ESQ., Secretary The New Zealand Shipping Co. Limited, Christchurch.

Dear Sir,—In acknowledging your letter of the 18th ultimo, and accepting the appointment your Directors have been good enough to confer on me, I beg you will convey to them the expression of my full appreciation of the confidence reposed in me, and my assurance that nothing shall be wanting on my part to entitle me to maintain it.

By the next steamer I hope to advise you when I can promise to join the service, and no long interval will elapse. I shall leave my family here while making arrangements for their reception, sending or returning for them as may suit the convenience of the Company.

I feel certain, from the generous tone of the correspondence read to me by Mr. Stewart, *that I shall, in the agreement to be entered into, be fairly treated*, and the Directors may depend on my hearty and active zeal and interest in promoting and conserving the interests confided to my direction and management.

I am, dear Sir,

Yours faithfully,

H. SELWYN SMITH.

Here I may mention that I sought from Mr. Stewart (through whom I sent the letter to Mr. Gould) as long a time as possible, to enable me to close up my business engagements and to try and dispose of some of my vessels prior to leaving Melbourne. But each mail from New Zealand brought letters to Mr. Stewart, pressing me to join the service at once, and your Chairman wrote me begging me to postpone an almost obligatory visit to Sydney, and thus I was hurried from Victoria and had to leave many matters unsettled, and some of these ultimated in serious pecuniary loss to me, which might have been avoided if I had had the time to adjust them personally;

My losses owing to my having to leave these unsettled matters and to my inability to sell my vessels, and being restricted in their trading, amount to more than double the aggregate salary I received during my whole period of service for you.

and it is not out of place to say that the breaking-up of my home in Melbourne, and re-forming it in New Zealand, alone cost me upwards of £800.

I arrived in New Zealand on the 1st of December, 1875, and almost immediately assumed charge as General Manager of your Company.

On the 14th December, 1875, a Minute was passed by your Board—"That the agreement with Mr. H. Selwyn Smith, as General Manager, was to be prepared, &c., and, *inter alia*, that I was to find a security of £4,000 sterling,

Although this was the first, and indeed the only, intimation I ever had of the obligation to find security of £4,000, I completed my arrangements to comply with the Directors' wishes in this matter.

I had not been long in charge when I saw that the conditions stipulated in my letters of 20th August and 7th September might probably prove inconvenient to the Company, and I was quite prepared,—whenever the "*complete and detailed, agreement*" promised in the Secretary's letter of 18th September, 1875, and embodying the terms for which I had stipulated when agreeing to accept my appointment was presented to me,—to concur in any modification which might be suggested by your Directors on the basis of a *certain* instead of an *uncertain* addition to the *commencing salary*, referred to in my first letter.

But time went on, and the "*complete and detailed agreement*" never was submitted to me, and though I was anxious it should be implemented, delicacy forbade my pressing for its completion, and I certainly had no doubt that when it was I should "*be fairly treated*;" and, assured that thus there would accrue to my credit a considerable augmentation to my salary, I had no hesitation in directing the London Office to make certain quarterly payments of about £60 each (to relatives dependent on me), which have been regularly passed in the London monthly accounts (these were always seen by your Chairman and other Directors), and then through the books to my debit in the colony—so, too, with sundry other payments, and for some supplies I had from the Company's stores—everything was duly debited, and I had full and, I submit, fair expectation that the increment to my salary stipulated for would far more than cover the debits,—for the position of the Company was now vastly changed, and the balance of £14,000, to the debit of profit and loss in 1875, was altered, and in the interval up to the 30th June, 1878, the RESERVED PROFITS, *after securing the proprietary an adequate interest on the capital employed*, amounted to £40,000, of which the *tithe* is £4,000.

I admit I was not satisfied at the long postponement of the completion of the promised agreement, and that in the latter part of 1878 I felt confident—of what I for some short time previous only conjectured—that my letters, and the terms embodied in them, on which I had broken up my business and home in Melbourne, and entered your service, had never been submitted or disclosed to your Directors as a body.

On the 3rd December, 1878, a Sub-Committee of your Directors, appointed to review salaries, brought up a Report in which the following passage occurred:—

*In conclusion, your Committee have to state they did not investigate the agreement with the General Manager, as, in their opinion, the Directors did not delegate this to them, but as the term of his agreement must be drawing to an end, they are of opinion the Board should have all the papers connected therewith laid before them.*

I confess I was somewhat surprised at this paragraph, because I considered that the three years having passed without the stipulated "*equitable terms and notice of determination*," we were mutually bound for the remainder of the full term of the engagement originally stipulated for; but I was not sorry that the question had at last been thus opened up, for I relied on the Board, as a whole, looking into and fulfilling the obligations of the Company.

The Chairman asked me to let him have copies of the letters I have hereinbefore set out, and I handed them to him the same day (3rd December, 1878); and I may add that he has kept them ever since, though I have applied three times for them; and there are, or were, other copies of them in the Company's safe. No word was said to me on the subject by any of your Directors, but on the 13th January, 1879, Mr. Coster handed me a pencil memo, of a resolution which he told me the Board had passed during the preceding week, as follows:—

*The term of the engagement with the General Manager having expired, the Board appoints Mr. H. Selwyn Smith General Manager at a salary of £1,500, subject to six months' notice on either side,*— saying he thought I would like to enter it in my own handwriting, and assuring me on his honor that the Board did not mean anything by the terms and conditions of the resolution.

I at once demurred, and told Mr. Coster, "*My engagement not having been determined, as prescribed, at the end of three years, went on to the end of the five years.*" He replied, "*The Directors only feel bound to the three years,—you have in fact no agreement now.*" I remonstrated and said, "*Then they cannot have seen the letters which have passed;*" and he rejoined that "*he had not read those I gave him on the 3rd December!*" The next day I wrote to the Chairman as follows:—

Christchurch,

14th January, 1879.

J. L. COSTER, ESQ., Chairman of The New Zealand Shipping Co. Limited.

Dear Sir,—The minute of the Board you yesterday showed me, and your statement that you had not read the letters which, in pursuance of the Sub-committee's suggestion I handed you last month, impress my mind to the effect that the Directors have not seen the correspondence which is the foundation of my connection with the Company, and that they are not aware of the inducements held out to me to throw up my business in Melbourne, and take the position I now hold.

And I therefore deferentially submit that your correspondence with Mr. Stewart, as well as mine, in reference to my appointment, should be considered by the Board, prior to entering on its proceedings a minute which, in my humble judgment, is not consistent with existing obligations arising out of the correspondence referred to.

I of course only desire that, *as the Directors have now taken the matter up*, the terms of my engagement may, after frank and fair discussion, be definitely and agreeably settled.

I am, &c.,

H. SELWYN SMITH.

To this your Chairman replied in a note which I cannot set out because I missed it from my table shortly after its receipt. Its purport was, that "*The Directors would defer recording the resolution, and would carefully consider my request, &c.*"

On the 17th February, 1879, your Directors held a special and private meeting—which I was summoned to attend for a short time; and after various questions by the Directors, I left the room. Subsequently, Messrs. Murray-Aynsley, and C. W. Turner, deputed by the Board, waited on me, and pressed me to say what would satisfy me, adding that they had thought of £1,750 as an annual salary, and that *until that day they were not aware of the stipulations I had made prior to accepting the appointment*. I promised to see them later in the

day; but when I called on Mr. Murray-Aynsley, he was not in, and I went on to Mr. Turner, and told him that "although I never would have given up my Melbourne business and joined the service on the terms which the Directors seemed to think I would or should accept, it was now too late to retrace my steps, and so, disappointed as I was, *and embarrassed as I should be with the Company* by the course proposed, I should draw whatever they determined on, and not again refer to money matters till the end of my engagement; but, if the Directors would make my salary £2,000 a year *ah initio*, they would have in me a satisfied servant, but not at any less rate or terms." At this time there was a large sum to my debt, which would have been more than cleared off if I had been credited retrospectively.

The Board then passed a minute stating, in effect, *That the engagement with the General Manager having expired, Mr. H. Selwyn Smith was appointed General Manager at a salary of £1,750 (from 1st December preceding) subject to twelve months' notice, and that an agreement was to be prepared by the Company's solicitors.*

Not long after this I was warned by friends that certain members of your Board were determined to eject me from the service; and I was informed, on most undoubted authority, that the *coup d'état* was to be some day suddenly accomplished; but I heard nothing from any one of your Directors to indicate the impending proceeding, nor of the agreement. I was quite aware that the state of my account was fully known, at least to some of the Directors, and of course to your Auditors; and also that, notwithstanding the apparent existence of friendly relations, the contemplated proceeding was only deferred for reasons which were obvious to me.

On the 5th November, 1879, I received the following letter from the Company's solicitors:—

Christchurch,

4th November, 1879.

Dear Mr. SMITH,—At the request of the Directors, we beg to hand you a draft agreement which we have prepared by their instructions; please peruse it, and see us further on this subject.

HARPER, HARPER AND SCOTT.

The next morning I received a note from Mr. George Harper, the Solicitor, requesting me to return the draft agreement by the bearer, and to see him about it "at noon."

To this I replied on same day:—

*In compliance with your note, I return the draft agreement, which I have hardly had time to read, and certainly not to consider; but, as requested, I will wait on you at noon.*

Of the agreement I made a rough copy for future reference and publication, and, I may say, the original draft was fairly enough worded, if only the terms had been in pursuance of my letters, but the interlineations (which I state confidently were not originated by the Solicitors) were such as to prevent its subscription by any one of independent mind and judgment. I challenge the production of any completed agreement embodying such terms and restrictions, and I fully appreciated the purport and object of the document. I cannot set it out because the copy I made was taken from my table during my absence one day.

I called on Mr. Harper, as promised, and passing over much that transpired, which I am not at liberty to make use of here. I told him officially that I would defer the consideration of the agreement for a few days, until my return from Wellington, whither I was going that evening.

About the 14th November, 1879, I met Mr. Harper, and he promised to send me the Draft agreement again, saying that I might underline whatever I objected to in it. The document was not sent to me, but on the evening of the 25th November, Mr. George Harper called, and handed me the following letter, requesting me to read it in his presence:—

Hereford Street, Christchurch, N.Z.,

25th November, 1879.

H. SELWYN SMITH, ESQ., New Zealand Shipping Company Office, Hereford Street, Christchurch.

Dear Sir,—We beg to bring under your notice the following copy of a resolution passed this day at a meeting of the Board of the Directors of the Company:—

*"The Board having before it the letter of Messrs. Harper, Harper and Scott of the 7th instant, with the draft agreement prepared by them, but which Mr. Smith has declined to sign, the Board decides to terminate the engagement with the General Manager, in terms of resolution of the 17th February, 1879, and that the Solicitors be instructed to give the necessary notice." Carried unanimously.*

In pursuance of the terms of the foregoing resolution, and acting under the instructions of the Board of Directors of the New Zealand Shipping Company Limited, we hereby give you notice that your engagement with the Company as General Manager thereof is to terminate at the expiration of twelve months from this date.

We are also instructed to give you notice that the Board of Directors require you forthwith to cease acting as the General Manager of the said Company, and that they do not require the continuation of your services as such during the said ensuing period of twelve months from this date.

The Board are prepared *at once to pay or credit you with one years' salary in advance*, subject to adjustment of accounts between yourself and the Company.

We are, dear Sir,

Yours faithfully,

HARPER, HARPER and SCOTT.

After my perusal of the letter, he left, and, in less than five minutes, returned with Messrs. Coster, Murray-Aynsley and Turner, and the former being the spokesman expressed a hope that I "clearly understood the position." I declined discussing it then with the Directors, preferring, as they had communicated through their Solicitors, to address myself to them. But I of course admitted the right of the Board to suspend me, and said that I would remove all my private papers, and, on the demand of the Chairman, would deliver up my keys the next day.

The Directors considered my proposal reasonable, and in consecutive order stated that they desired to do "everything with the greatest consideration for me."

The next day I gave up my keys to Mr. Harper, in the presence of the three Directors already named. I afterwards saw Mr. Harper, and asked him to tell me the real reason for the action of the Directors, and he said it was "*Because I refused to sign the agreement; that they were determined I should do so; that they did not admit that I had any claim for percentage of profits; and he added that there was no desire to inconvenience me; that my account was being made up, and would be handed to me; that it would be credited with £1,750, in lieu of 12 months' notice.*" I said "if there was any explanation wanted about any matter I would of course give it to him." He replied that "*none was required; that my account was perfectly clear; but if he wanted further information he would ask me;*" and he added, "*that the Directors wished him to be the medium of communication from me.*"

The following day I had a long interview with Mr. Harper, who, *inter alia*, said that "*If I would resign and leave myself in the hands of the Directors he thought they would give a certain sum for my family, provided I left Christchurch.*"

I told him, as indeed he already well knew, that I could not leave the place until I had made some settlement of my private affairs, which the action of the Directors had rendered very difficult;—and I offered to submit the terms on which I should leave the Company's service to the arbitrament of gentlemen selected in the usual way, or to receive—in addition to the acquittance of the balance to the debit of my account—a specific sum, which in the aggregate was very much within the title of profits accrued at June, 1878 (six months prior to the time I commenced to draw my salary at the altered rate.)

After conference with the Directors, Mr. Harper told me that they declined to refer to arbitration, but, he added, that if I resigned and left Christchurch something would be done for my family. Then he called at my house and told me the Directors were determined to put a notice in the newspapers, or to have a paragraph inserted, saying I had left the service, and that there was no desire to put anything in that would be hurtful to me, and that I might write it myself if I liked.

To this I replied,—"*If I concurred in or wrote such a notice I should effectually bar any claim I have to the addition to my salary, for which I have throughout stipulated;*" and Mr. Harper rejoined, "*I will be your solicitor now, and tell you that no doubt you will lose any claim you may have, if you do so.*"

The notice appeared under the instruction of the Directors, and I then, on several occasions during December, asked for a copy of the proposed agreement and for my account, and Mr. Harper told me he was instructed not to give me the first, but the latter was being made up, and would be handed to me on completion.

On the 24th December I received a letter from Messrs. Harper, Harper and Scott, the purport of which will be gathered from my acknowledgment as follows:—

Christchurch,

24th December, 1879.

MESSRS. HARPER, HARPER and SCOTT. *Re The New Zealand Shipping Company's Letters.*

In reply to your letter of even date, I beg to say that I have not received or retained any letters which have come by the recent mails from England relating to the business of the N.Z.S. Co., either marked *private*, *official*, *confidential*, or *otherwise*.

After the attempt of the Chairman to intercept my letters at the Post Office, the Postmaster was good enough to call on me, and gave me two letters, one from \* \* \* and one addressed to me personally by Mr. Strickland, the Company's London Manager. The latter I begged might be delivered to Mr. Gibbs, the Company's Accountant, on condition of his opening it in my presence, and if it was, as I apprehended, a private letter, giving it to me—if on Company's business alone, retaining it. Of this letter I have heard nothing further, and if it has not reached the Company it can at any time do so, on the condition I attached.

One or two colonial letters which have reached me by inadvertence, I have of course immediately sent to the Company, as I beg to do with the enclosed, through you. It reached me at 11 o'clock to-day, &c.

H. SELWYN SMITH.

A few days later I wrote Messrs. Harper, Harper and Scott as follows:—

Christchurch,

29th December, 1879.

MESSRS. HARPER, HARPER and SCOTT, *Re The New Zealand Shipping Company*.

Dear Sirs,—Referring to your letter of the 25th ultimo, and to my interview with your Mr. George Harper on the succeeding day, I have to request that you will be good enough to furnish me with a copy of the proposed agreement, referred to in the resolution of the Board of Directors quoted by you, and also with a copy of my account with the Company, embracing the credit of salary in advance.

I am, &c.,

H. SELWYN SMITH.

And at the same time I addressed Mr. Coster:—

*"Mr. H. Selwyn Smith requests Mr. Coster to return him the packet of letters referring to his engagement by the New Zealand Shipping Company, handed him on the 3rd December, 1878, and also a scrap book, containing the 'Recollections of a Nonogenarian,' &c., and a paper on the 'Functions of the Brain' and some Newspaper slips."*

On the 31st December, 1879, I wrote to Mr. Coster:—

*"Mr. H. Selwyn Smith has received from Mr. Coster the two books and one manuscript, but the letters, lent to him on the 3rd December, 1878, relating to Mr. Smith's engagement with the New Zealand Shipping Company, were not in the parcel, and he will be much obliged if Mr. Coster will send them to him."*

On the 3rd January, 1880, Mr. George Harper called on me with sundry letters, some of which had been detained for three weeks—requesting me to open them in his presence, and he then said, *"I may as well answer your last letter verbally. The Directors instruct me not to give you a copy of the proposed agreement, but the copy of your account you are entitled to; it is made up and in my office, and will not take an hour to copy, and you shall have that at once."*

I waited till the 30th January, and then I called on Mr. Harper and asked him for the account, in conformity with his promise, and he replied, *"I know I promised it, but since then I have received instructions from, the Directors not to give it you, and now I mayn't."*

From this time I had neither verbal nor written communication with Mr. Harper; and I do not feel at liberty to set out in detail the negotiations through a friend which were initiated by Mr. Harper, because, while I am certain that they were officially dictated and sanctioned, I appreciate the personal consideration for me which prompted much that I cannot here record without a breach of the confidence reposed in me and my friend. Suffice it, the whole tenor of Mr. Harper's instructions was to get me to leave Canterbury.

Very shortly after this the apprehension of a serious domestic family calamity made me determine on leaving New Zealand so soon as my private affairs enabled me to do so, and then negotiations were renewed and carried on between Mr. Harper, acting under the instructions of your Chairman, and a friend who most kindly and efficiently took the matter up on my behalf. The result was the interchange of "a MEMO, of the HEADS OF AN AGREEMENT," one of which was, that I was to be paid a specific sum of money by the Company on my leaving Canterbury—and this part of it remains unfulfilled, though it is nearly six months since I left Christchurch.

Of course I have not had the advantage of hearing the "privileged statement" in reference to me which your

Chairman made at the Annual Meeting, but I have fully and fairly laid before you every condition precedent to my entering, and circumstance connected with my suspension from, your service, and I believe that if the facts had been placed before you as you now have them, it is probable the stipulated addition to my salary would have been accorded to me; and if to this there was added the £1,750 credit in lieu of notice—vide Messrs. Harper, Harper and Scott's letter of 25th November, 1879—and I had been further credited a considerable sum debited to me, but expended for the Company—the balance of my account to be dealt with would have been largely in my favor."

I do not think it necessary to say more than that, in my judgment, and in that of all friends whom I have consulted, my expectation of a large augmentation to my salary was well founded; and further, that if the proceeding of your Directors was in consequence of the state of my account, it would have been more frank to have said so than to have based my suspension on my refusal to sign an agreement which, if implemented, would have effectually barred my rights, and utterly destroyed my independence.

It would be unbecoming in me (whatever my opinion may be) to impute other motives than the Company's interests, which are professedly so jealously guarded; time will probably justify me, and I am content to wait a while; but I cannot conclude without tendering my most grateful acknowledgments to those of your number who, in full knowledge of the facts, have expressed their sympathy with, and undiminished confidence in me; and I appreciate very highly the spontaneous testimony borne by many of the Company's most important constituents to my zeal and efficiency in conserving and promoting your interests, which I take leave to say I most loyally studied during all the time I had charge of your business.

I am, Gentlemen,

Your obedient Servant,  
H. SELWYN SMITH.

Sydney,

September, 1880.

decorative feature

*Printed by John Woods & Co., 13 Bridge Street, Sydney.*

## The Griffiths V. Johnson Libel Case.

*Heard at the Supreme Court, Blenheim, on Friday and Saturday, December 17th and 18th, 1880.*

Before his Honor the Chief Justice.

The plaintiff's declaration was as follows:—

- That he has for many years past carried on and was at the time of the matters herein complained of carrying on the business of an Auctioneer and Commission Agent at Blenheim in the Provincial District of Marlborough.
- That in the year 1804 he was a teller in the Bank of New Zealand at their branch office at Picton in the said Provincial District and continued in such position until the nineteenth day of August 1864 when he left the service of the said Bank of New Zealand.
- That on or about the first day of September 1864 the sum of three thousand seven hundred pounds was stolen from the said Bank of New Zealand at their said branch office.
- That one David Henderson Murdoch was tried in this Court at Nelson on a charge of stealing the said sum of three thousand seven hundred pounds, and that the plaintiff was a witness for the prosecution at such trial, and that the said David Henderson Murdoch was acquitted.
- That afterwards, namely, in the years from 1872 to 1878 the plaintiff acted as Clerk to the Resident Magistrate's Court at Blenheim aforesaid, and for that purpose occupied a room in the Government Buildings at Blenheim aforesaid.
- That while he was acting as such Clerk, and occupying such room as aforesaid, namely, on the second day of November, 1876, the said Government Buildings were totally destroyed by fire.
- That on or about the twenty-fourth day of September, 1879, the defendant falsely and maliciously printed and published of the [*unclear*: in] a newspaper called the ROUGH EXPRESS the words Following, that is to say:—

## Glass House Occupants Should not Throw Stones.

SIR,—Although the election is over and past, yet the *canaille* of Mr Seymour's Committee must, jackal-like, try to know the bones of the unsuccessful candidate, and slander his supporters. To be sure, Mr Seymour [*unclear: them*] the example at the last former election. Yet it is laughable to find these low-bred suckling Seymourites prating about "Statesmanship and political economy," concerning which their effusion signed "Marina" exhibits them to know as much about such as the average Maori does about astronomy. If they must expend their energies, they should do so in a way that would bring them in cash to pay the hotel-keepers for *their* brandy, etc., instead of by the exchequer of the Insolvent Court. The £500 reward for burning the Government Buildings is still obtainable [*meaning thereby that the plaintiff had caused the fire by which the said Government Buildings at Blenheim had been destroyed, and that the reward of £500 which was offered for the conviction of the person causing the said fire could be obtained by the conviction of the plaintiff thereof*] and no doubt a still larger sum may be earned by discovering to the Bank of New Zealand who stole the L3,700 [*meaning thereby the sum stolen on or about the 1st September 1864, as mentioned in the 3rd paragraph of this declaration.*] The scapegoat MURDOCH has been acquitted [*meaning thereby that David Henderson Murdoch, who was accused of stealing the said sum of L3,700 was the scapegoat for the plaintiff.*] The jury's solemn verdict declared *he* was not guilty [*meaning thereby that the plaintiff was guilty of stealing the said sum of money.*] The prizes are within their reach. *meaning thereby* [*unclear: that*] *evidence to convict the plaintiff of causing the said fire at the Government Buildings, and of stealing the said*

[*unclear: of*] *money from the Bank of New Zealand was known to exist and was obtainable.*] Dare they try to earn them?—I am, etc.,

DISGUSTED.

Wherefore the plaintiff claims to recover from the defendant the sum of one thousand pounds.

[In publishing the inuendoes in the alleged libel in italics as above, we do so in order to distinguish them from the actual letter, in which the alleged libel was contained.]

The defendant's plea was a general denial.

The issues were as follows:—

- Did the defendant falsely and maliciously publish of and concerning the plaintiff the words set forth in the seventh paragraph of the plaintiffs declaration?
- Were the said words or part of them intended to mean chat the plaintiff had caused the fire by which the Government Buildings at Blenheim had been destroyed, and that the reward of £500, which was offered for the conviction of the person causing the said fire could be obtained by the conviction of the plaintiff?
- Were the said words or part of them intended to mean and did they mean that the plaintiff had been guilty of stealing from the Bank of New Zealand the sum of £3,7000 stolen from the said Bank at the branch office at Picton, on or about September 1st, 1864.
- Were the said words or part of them intended to mean and did they mean that sufficient evidence to convict the plaintiff of causing she said lire at the Government Buildings at Blenheim, and of the stealing the said sum of money from the Bank of New Zealand was known to exist and was obtainable?
- What damages (if any) is the plaintiff entitled to recover from the defendant?

Mr Conolly with Mr Rogers appeared for the plaintiff, Mr Travers and with him Messrs Sinclair and McNab for the defendant.

The special jury comprised the following gentleman:—R. Beatson, R. W. Parker, A. J. Norberg, M. Healy, A. C. J. Ward, W. Welford, J. B. Green, G. A. Smith, T. Redwood, J. B. Rayner, F. B. Ward, and A. Brown.

Mr T. Redwood was chosen foreman of the jury.

All witnesses in the case were ordered out of Court.

Mr Conolly addressing the Court said in this action Christopher James Whitney Griffiths is the plaintiff and Samuel Johnson the defendant. The defendant pleads absolute denial of the [*unclear: alleged*]. The plaintiff has resided in the province for many years and has for some ten years carried on business on his own account as an Auctioner and Commission agent in Blenheim. At the time o the alleged libel the defendant was the proprietor and publisher of the "Marlborough Express," a newspaper published in the disfor some 15 years past, and which has a large circulation. The action was brought to recover damages for a libel alleged to have been published in that journal in September 1879, in the form of a letter to the Editor. The letter does not contain Mr Griffiths' name. It was by implication only that the insinuations or accusations made in that letter applied to Mr Griffiths. It was not necessary for the purpose of libel that the name of the party libelled should be given, provided the libellous matter distinctly pointed to the individual. In order to show how the letter would apply to Mr Griffiths it would be necessary to go back over 10 years. In 1861, Mr Griffiths, then a very young man was teller in the Bank of New Zealand at Picton. He gave up the office in 1861, and in giving it up, handed over all

cash and everything belonging to the Bank in his possession to one Murdoch. A large part of the money so handed over was after-wards mislaid and Murdoch was placed on his trial at Nelson for the robbery of £3,700. The principal witness against him was Mr Griffiths, and Murdoch was acquitted, why it was hard to know. Murdoch's defence was that Mr Griffiths was not telling the truth when he said he had delivered the money up to him. Since that time Mr Griffiths had been living in Blenheim and had occupied a respectable position in public life. He was clerk to the Bench for 6 years, and now after these all years, he was subjected to the cruelty and injustice of being accused of being guilty of a crime of which Murdoch was innocent. In virtue of his office as Clerk to the Bench, Mr Griffiths occupied a room in the Government Buildings, which were burnt on November 2nd, 1876, and at the inquest, which was held afterwards, and at which the plaintiff was examined, there was no evidence to show how the fire was caused but it did appear that it had originated in Mr Griffiths' office, and a verdict to that effect and that the fire was no accidental, was returned. Mr Griffiths was not the only person who had access to his office, and he was a loser by the fire. There was a lot of gossip afterwards about the fire, and some ill-natured persons said it was lighted by Mr Griffiths. Mr Griffiths had also been somewhat active in political matters and had made a certain number of enemies as politicians usually do. Two years after the fire, in the early part of 1879, a detective was brought over from [unclear: to] inquire into the matter, and a reward of £500 was offered by the Government. Mr Griffiths had never been arrested or charged with the offence. In September 1879 a general election took place for the House of Representatives, and it was a contested election in this district. Mr Griffiths was one of the committee of the successful candidate, and Mr Johnson espoused the cause of the unsuccessful candidate, Mr Henderson. After the contest a letter appeared in the EXPRESS, evidently called forth by a letter appearing in another paper at Blenheim, which was as follows:—

## Glass House Occupants Should not Throw Stones.

SIR,—Although the election is over and past, yet the *canaille* of Mr Seymour's committee must, jackal-like, try to gnaw the bones of the unsuccessful candidate, and slander his supporters. To be sure, Mr Seymour set them the example at the last former election. Yet it is laughable to find these low-bred suckling Seymourites prating about "Statesmanship and political economy," concerning which their effusion signed "Marina" exhibits them to know as much about such as the average Maori does about astronomy. If they must expend their energies, they should do so in a way that would bring them in cash to pay the hotelkeepers for *their* brandy, &c., instead of by the exchequer of the Insolvent Court. The £500 reward for burning the Government Buildings is still obtainable, and no doubt a still larger sum may be earned by discovering to the Bank of New Zealand who stole the £3,700. The scapegoat MURDOCH has been acquitted. The jury's solemn verdict declared *he* was not guilty. The prizes are within their reach. Dare they try to earn them.—I am, &c.,  
DISGUSTED.

It would have been open to the defendant to have pleaded the letter to which this was a reply, in mitigation of damages, but he had not taken that course. Several courses lay open to the defendant, he might have pleaded provocation for acts or writings on the part of the plaintiff towards himself. He might have pleaded that the charges were true. He had not done so, and it was not therefore open to him to prove that Mr Griffiths was guilty of the facts alleged. The only plea was a denial of all the allegations. The most material allegation was: Did these words apply to Mr Griffiths? He could not understand how the defendant proposed to disprove it. The only course open to him was to call other persons, who would say they did not understand that it did mean that. The action was not brought with a view of making money, but he hoped if the facts were established to their satisfaction it would be marked by substantial damages, as a lesson to those who conducted newspapers not to assail private characters, unless they are able to come into court and contend that what had been said was true, and to establish it. If Mr Griffiths had not taken this course what would have been said of him in the future.

Christopher James Whitney Griffiths deposed: I am an Auctioneer and Commission Agent residing at Blenheim, and the plaintiff in this action. I have resided here about 16 years. I was before that time in the Bank of New Zealand at Picton. I gave up that appointment about 1864. I was in the Bank three years. There was a person named Murdoch in the Bank. I was teller, and had charge of a quantity of cash; on leaving the Bank I handed it over to Murdoch, and afterwards learned that a large sum was missing. Murdoch was arrested, committed for trial, and tried in the Supreme Court at Nelson. I was the principal witness against him. Murdoch was acquitted. My evidence was that I had handed the money over to him. The amount missing was £3,700. For some years I held the office of Clerk to the Bench at Blenheim. I was clerk at the time of the fire on November 1st, 1876. I occupied at that time a room in the building as clerk. An inquest on the fire was held, I was present, and gave evidence. The result of the inquest was that the origin of the fire was not known, but one witness stated that it originated in my offices. There were a good many rumors about as to the origin of the fire. I was a considerable loser by the fire. I remember a reward being offered in January 1879 for the discovery of the incendiary. £500 were offered by Government, and a large sum besides by the insurance office. A detective

was here several weeks at the same time or a little later. I have taken some interest in politics. I was a member of Mr Seymour's committee in the last election, but did not take such an active part as in times past. Mr Seymour was elected. I saw the EXPRESS of September 24th, and the letter the subject matter of the libel. I saw the letter "Marina" in the "Times" of September 16th to which it refers. I had nothing to do with the authorship of that letter.

Mr Conolly was about to ask Mr Griffiths what he understood by the letter, when Mr Travers submitted that it would be necessary first to show what circumstances at the trial would justify him in believing that he was meant as the scapegoat of Murdoch.

Examination continued:—I handed to Murdoch several thousands of pounds, and one particular parcel of £3,700—money that technically was not in the cash. It consisted of banknotes issued by other branches of the Bank of New Zealand than Picton. It was the practice in those days for most of the branches to issue their own notes, and every Monday to debit by amount each particular branch, with all the notes issued by that branch. It was that parcel that was missing and that Murdoch was accused of stealing, and the whole point of the defence was whether I had actually handed over that money. A month after I had left the Bank. (August 9th) I was written to by the Manager at Picton, who informed me that several branches of the Bank of New Zealand had written to Picton stating that the amount of certain notes with which they had been debited, and which they properly should have received had not come to hand, and he asked me to come through to Picton and explain it, as I had been the party who had debited it. This debit was the first debited for some months past. When I received this letter from Picton I at once went through to see what was the matter. For I could not understand it. I found that on a certain date £3,700 had been debited to certain branches, and I also found that not one of the branches to whom these amounts had been debited had acknowledged the receipt of the money which should have been transmitted about September 1. I then remembered the fact that, I had handed over to Murdoch when I left the Bank all these notes, to the amount of £3,700. Mr Murdoch had been some time in the employ of the Bank, and was acquainted with this practice. I recollected particularly that the money had been handed over to him on account of it being a very large bundle, and unusually large in amount, and entirely different in appearance from any other bundles of notes that we had in the Bank at the time. I also remembered writing the ticket with the figures on the top. When I handed (the bundle to Murdoch he counted them all, and in the presence of another clerk. On finding that none of this money had been received, and remembering I had handed it over to Murdoch, and the fact that Murdoch had quarrelled with the manager and got himself dismissed, an action that was entirely unexplained, I went to the manager and told him that Murdoch had stolen the money Murdoch remained in the Bank till after September 1, he was then suspended and resided at Picton. I gave this evidence at the trial. I remember the report of the trial in the Nelson papers it was accurate and pretty full. The point raised was whether I had not myself taken it. The defence denied Murdoch had received it, and that I had taken the money and committed perjury to screen myself. It would be impossible that anyone but Murdoch or myself should have been guilty. The Judge in summing up made some remark about a witness named Blundell: the Counsel for the defence immediately denied casting any imputation upon him. but did not deny casting any imputation upon me.

Mr Travers said the facts shown by Mr Griffiths were that he was teller to the Bank, and on August 9th he voluntarily left the Bank. As teller he had the cash and a certain parcel of branch notes amounting to £3,700, with which each particular branch had been properly debited before handing them over to Mr Griffiths. Mr Murdoch would naturally have seen to the correctness of these entries, and so when Mr Griffiths left the Bank he must have left it under circumstances that would have relieved him from any after imputation in connection with this transaction that could have been cast on him. He submitted that a scapegoat in the sense his friend imposed it, was a person on whom the sin was cast by the guilty person. There was not a tittle of evidence to justify the smallest suspicion that Mr Griffiths himself was the guilty person, and therefore he could not be considered to be using Murdoch as a scapegoat. He submitted Mr Griffiths could not, without showing some suitable guilt attaching to him, give such a definition of the word "scapegoat."

Mr Conolly said that it was Mr Griffiths who started the prosecution.

His Honor said the question put by Mr Conolly was: "What was the opinion the witness formed upon reading the letter?"

Mr Travers read the case of Danes and Hartley, (Law Journal, volume 18, Exchequer 81) and said that the evidence must not be of mere conjecture, or suspicion, but of circumstances which would justify the sense imputed. He submitted that there was nothing to justify the connection of Mr Griffiths with the word scapegoat. In the Judge's summing-up he referred to Mr Griffiths' evidence, which, he said was given in "a clear, open, and ready manner, and in its more material points had received ample confirmation from other witnesses."

Mr Conolly then put the question to Mr Griffiths, who said: "I understood I was meant by the word "scapegoat."

Mr Conolly: Did the Judge say: "If Mr Griffiths was not a felon and a perjurer, then Murdoch was

undoubtedly guilty?"

Mr Griffiths: He used those words.

Mr Conolly: In another part occur these words: "The Judge, in summing-up the case to the jury said everything which could have been done for the prisoner had been done by his counsel, and the question for the jury now to determine was, 'Did the prisoner receive the notes, as sworn to by Griffiths, and to some extent corroborated by other witnesses, or did he not?' Either the witness Griffiths had perjured himself, and was himself the thief, or the prisoner was guilty." Is that a fair report of what His Honor said?

Mr Griffiths: It is.

Mr Conolly: "In another part the counsel for the defence had said-"Not for one moment have I ever dreamt of directing suspicion towards Blundell."

Mr Griffiths: When I left the Bank I took a receipt from the Bank, and Murdoch took it with the notes. Mr T. Warren was Manager at Picton at the time. I was the originator of the trial, but I do not know who laid the information. At the inquest on the fire I was told by several persons that I was suspected. When the detective was here I heard the same report again, and, further, that I was going to be arrested on the charge of burning the buildings. Looking at the fact I regard the reference to the tire in the letter, "Glass House Occupants" as [unclear: to] me.

Cross-examined by Mr Travers: Mr [unclear: doch] was in the Bank on September 3rd, Murdoch being teller on that date, and succeeded by Mr Blandell. The practice with the branch notes was resumed for the first time on the occasion on which they were debited. Murdoch was about a day or two in the Bank at Picton before I left. He was agent just previously at Wakamarina. There was no necessity for him to see the debit of the £3,700. The account of each branch was debited with the amount of its notes. The notes were transmitted at the end of the month, but there would be no entry showing that, excepting it be in the letter-book. If the debits existed at the date I handed over the notes, I do know that it would have been a proper precaution for Murdoch to ascertain whether the debits were correct, as represented by the notes. I do not think it was his duty to receive more than what I gave him. At the end of the month, when it became his duty to transmit notes to the branches, he would have been able to see whether the notes were there. Murdoch [unclear: transmit] the notes for the remaining portion of the month, but omitted to transmit the £3,700. The various branches wrote, because the notes sent them did not represent the amount for which they had been debited. I came to the conclusion that Murdoch had stolen them, because I had handed the notes over to Murdoch, and he had not given them to the accountant. When I told the manager he said it was very awkward for me, but he did not accuse me of taking the notes. No one suggested to me at the time the expediency of charging Murdoch with the felony. I never had the smallest doubt that Murdoch was guilty. I felt that, as the matter lay between myself and him, if he was not convicted I knew suspicion would attach to me. Detective Brown conferred with me about the fire several times when he was here. I acted with him to a certain extent, and gave him all the information I was in possession of. His general conduct when he first came led me to suppose that he was impressed with the rumor he had heard that I was the author of the fire. He told me before he went away that it was ridiculous. I did not mention the rumor to him in a jocular way. I had offered a reward on the part of the insurance offices. When Mr Brown came to me I gave him all the information I could, but I never went to him. The reward was offered by me as Secretary to the Insurance Association. I signed [unclear: reward]. In my capacity as Secretary I was acting in concert with Detective Brown. I have known the defendant and he and have I been on terms of acquaintanceship. I was a loser by the fire. I may have been indebted to he plaintiff at the time of the lire. I do not remember his excusing an account of some £20 or £30 I owed him at the time. I am not conscious of any such obligation. I won't contradict Mr Johnson. I do not recollect Mr Johnson or anybody else making me a present at that time. Since the lire J had a clerk named Scaife. I can remember sending him to copy out the items of an account. I never knew till this moment that Mr Johnson excused me on account of my loss. I believe that in the account referred to there was a dispute. I think it was there and then settled. I used to read both papers during the election. I never wrote to Mr Johnson to ask for any explanation or apology or the name of the writer, before issuing the writ for this action. I was not on sufficiently good terms to be able to do so. I think he knew I was going to serve him with a writ, because he settled all his property on his wife the day before.

[An adjournment of half-an-hour then took place.]

On the Court resuming at 2 o'clock, Mr Griffiths's cross-examination was continued. He said: There were two newspapers published in Blenheim at the time of the election, I read the issue of October 3rd of the "Times" containing remarks upon this action. The day of the declaration was the third. I have no knowledge when the writ was served on the defendant. The "Times" supported the party I have been working with, I have taken no proceedings against the editor or proprietor of the "Times" for publishing this, nor have I asked for an apology. I do not know how it appeared in that paper.

Mr Travers submitted that the fact was an important one inasmuch as it showed that on the very day the writ was served, another paper containing the alleged libellous matter, and purporting to give the inuendoes and

the meaning of the defendant, had been published in Blenheim, and that no steps whatever had been taken against that paper by the defendant.

Mr Conolly objected to the article being put in as evidence.

His Honor then requested to see the article referred to, and after perusing it, said that there could be no doubt that the information was obtained from the plaintiff or his solicitor.

Mr Conolly withdrew his objection and the article which was as follows was handed in:

"A libel action has been commenced by Mr C. J. W. Griffiths, of Blenheim, against Mr Samuel Johnson, the printer and publisher, of the Marlborough "Express." The subject matter of the action is a letter which appeared in the columns of that journal on September 24th, under the heading "Glass House Occupants should not throw stones," and signed "Disgusted" The inuendoes on which the plaintiff relies are that the following construction may be put upon the letter:—(1) That the plaintiff had caused the lire by which the Government Buildings were burned; (2) That the sum of £3,700, stolen from the Bank of New Zealand in 1864, is still the subject matter of a reward—and that D. H. Murdoch, accused of stealing the same, was a scape [*unclear: the*] plaintiff; (3) That the [*unclear: plaintiff*] £3,700, and (4) That sufficient evidence to convict the plaintiff of both offences is known to exist and is obtainable. Mr lingers is solicitor for the plaintiff, and, we understand, that Mr E. T. Conolly has already been retained on his behalf. The matter being *sub judice*, we feel compelled to abstain from comment, and thus leave the matter at this stage. The writ was served this afternoon and the damages claimed are £1000."

Mr Travers said that the publication of such a matter was very strange. It gave the matter, which the plaintiff alleged to be libellous, for general circulation.

Cross-examination continued: (Mr Johnson's ledger was here produced.) I have no recollection of making the marks against my debits in the book. The debits begin February 24th, but there is no date, but probably it would be February 24th, 1877. The preceding entry is December 9th, 1876. Presuming the entries to be correct it would show a balance of about £70 as being owing from me to Mr Johnson on December 7th, 1876. I cannot say without referring to my books how that amount was discharged. I had acted as musical *critique* for Mr Johnson on several occasions. I claimed something for services. I never heard that Mr Johnson struck off any money I owed him on the ground of my loss by the lire. As far as that goes it would be still an open account. I have receipts given me by Mr Johnson. When I heard of the loss of the bank notes I had no sense of guilt in my inner consciousness.

Re-examined by Mr Conolly: When I handed the notes to Murdoch, I took a receipt. I left it in the Bank and it was missing. The want of that receipt was the weak point in the evidence against Murdoch. There was no responsibility on the part of Murdoch when he took charge for the amounts debited, but only for the notes. A fortnight after I left I heard Murdoch had quarrelled with the manager and left. It was another fortnight before the loss of the notes was discovered. When the notes were missed, I believe Murdoch was then in Sydney. He came back of his own accord and was arrested when he landed. I had nothing to do with bringing Detective Brown over. The Government reward was issued I think before Brown came and the Insurance Companies' reward shortly after. This reward was offered in consequence of a communication from the police to the effect that if the reward was received someone would give evidence. Brown came to me nearly a week after he had come, he was brought to me by Inspector Emerson in consequence of my remarking it was strange he had not come to me. Brown appeared to avoid me, I have no idea how he came over so long after the affair. I have heard several rumours as to how it was done. At the time of the fire I and Mr Johnson were political friends. We became on different sides about the time when the "Times" newspaper started. Mr Johnson was then on a rail for some time, and afterwards he went over. There was a considerable amount of coolness between us even before Brown came over, and coincident with that the rumors of my having set fire to the buildings were revived. Nothing ever came of those rewards. I do not think there was any evidence obtained. I lost everything relating to my business in the office in the fire. I was carrying on business as an Auctioneer and Commission Agent at the time. I therefore possess no papers showing the state of my account with Mr Johnson at the time of the fire. I should have refused any such settlement on the ground of my loss. Unples [*unclear: allusions*] to myself used frequently to appear in the EXPRESS. The subject of the libel was greatly talked of when it appeared. I heard of Mr Johnson's need of settlement on his family immediately after and before the serving of the writ. The writ was pushed on, on that account.

Arthur Penrose Seymour deposed: I reside in Picton and am M.H.R. for this district. I have been resident in Picton since 1864, and own a run in neighbourhood of Blenheim and have been three times Superintendent of Marlborough. I was Superintendent at the latter part of 1864. I remember Murdoch's trial. I remember reading the account of the trial in a newspaper. I cannot recall whether I knew the plaintiff at that time. I remember the fire at the Government Building, and the reward of £500 offered by the Government. I recollect Detective Brown's coming I have read the letter, the subject matter of this action. I am acquainted with the fact of Murdoch's trial. I have reasons for thinking that these words apply to some person. I should say the

summing-up of the Judge, as I read it, necessarily to a lay-man like himself, implicated one other person as, the thief, if Murdoch was not. The letter then went on to say: "The jury's solemn verdict declared that *he* was not guilty." I have no other reasons for saying who was the other person, looking at the summing-up of the Judge, as a whole excepting to the plaintiff. The passage relating to the fire related to the same person. It was currently reported at the time of the fire that Mr Griffiths set the Government Buildings on fire. At the inquest I understood Mr Griffiths was severely cross-examined.

Cross-examined by Mr Travers: I never heard of any rumors about any other person as the originator of the fire than Mr Griffiths, and it was because of that rumor I connect the two. I put the two together, though they might be separable.

[Mr Travers here read the Judge's summing-up at Murdoch's trial, as reported in the Nelson "Examiner."]

Cross-examination continued: The Judge, in my opinion, distinctly threw out that Mr Griffiths was in no way responsible.

William Douglas Hall Baillie deposed: I reside at Para, and am a member of the Legislative Council. In 1864 I resided at Picton, and was Commissioner of Police for the Province. I knew Mr Griffiths at the time and Murdoch. I remember the robbery at the Bank and Murdoch's trial. I am acquainted with the newspaper reports of the trial, and Mr Bridges, one of the bank officials, consulted me. The letter signed by "Disgusted" in the EXPRESS, I have seen since it was published. I attributed the allusion to the Bank robbery to Mr Griffiths, from the fact that the judge only pointed to one person other than Murdoch, namely, Griffiths. I remember the fire at the Government Buildings. I remember the £500 reward offered by the Government. Rumors were current after the fire, implicating [*unclear: the*] plaintiff was one of [*unclear: those*].

Cross-examined by Mr Travers: My construction of the Judge's language was that if Murdoch was not guilty the plaintiff was. I looked upon the Judge's summing up as a clear affirmation of Murdoch's guilt.

Thomas Williams deposed: I am a brewer residing in Picton. I remember the Bank robbery. I knew Mr Griffiths at that time. I think I read the account of the trial. I saw a letter signed "Disgusted" in the Marlborough EXPRESS in September last. In my opinion it alluded to someone. I was under the impression that as the jury had acquitted Mr Murdoch, the only person who could have taken the money was Mr Griffiths, and the letter led me to that conclusion.

Cross-examined by Mr Travers: Mr Blundell and Mr Warren were in the Bank at Picton at the time of the robbery. I knew Mr Griffiths' character, and had no suspicion of him. I have no doubt of Murdoch's guilt. At the time of the fire many persons were pointed at. I cannot form an opinion as to whom the allusion to the fire referred.

Francis Henry Pickering deposed: I am a merchant residing in Blenheim. Formerly I resided in Nelson, and was there at the time of Murdoch's trial. I suppose the word "scapegoat" in the letter signed "Disgusted" refers to someone. The letter refers to Murdoch. I was in court at the latter part of the Judge's summing up, and remember the concluding remarks of the Judge, and so far as I can remember what the Judge said it was to the effect that if Murdoch was acquitted, then the witness Griffiths must be guilty.

Thomas Horton deposed: I am a merchant residing in Blenheim, formerly I was in the Bank of New South Wales. I was in Hokitika at the time of the Bank robbery of 1864. I read the reports of the trial in the Nelson papers. I was here at the time the buildings were burned down. I was here when the letter signed "Disgusted" appeared. The expressions contained in it pointed to are particular person, namely, Mr Griffiths. As the prize for discovering the Bank robber referred to Griffiths, I take it the other does to, more especially as some time after the fire it was reported that Mr Griffiths was the author of the fire. Those rumors were more wide at the time the detective was here.

Cross-examined by Mr Travers: I have only known Mr Griffiths three years. I have been taking no interest in this case. I may have spoken to other people about it. I am giving this account for the first time.

Mr Travers: Will you please to read the commencement of the letter signed "Disgusted"

Mr Horton: "Although the election is over [*unclear: and*] Mr Seymour's Committee

Mr Travers: Who were the *canaille*?

Mr Horton: I don't know; there were none on the Committee,

Mr Travers: You were on the Committee? (Laughter.)

Mr Horton: Yes.

Mr Travers: And Mr Griffiths too? (Laughter.)

Mr Horton: Yes.

Witness: The word *canaille* included the whole Committee, I suppose. I am satisfied Mr Griffiths is not guilty of the robbery. Immediately after the fire one or two people were suspected, but by the time the £500 were offered those rumors had died away; but suddenly a rumor arose that Mr Griffiths was about to be arrested. I do not believe Mr Griffiths set fire to the Government Buildings. At the time of the publication of the letter I was on the same side as Mr Griffiths. There was a good deal of heat about that election, and a good deal

of chaff and badinage. I had some conversation with the last witness, and reported part of what he had said to Mr Rogers.

Albert Pitt deposed: I am a barrister and solicitor, resident at Nelson. I was junior counsel on the prosecution of Murdoch. I have recently looked at a report of the Judge's summing up. I remember the Judge summing up Knowing the whole of the facts at that trial, the letter applied to Mr Griffiths.

Cross-examined by Mr Travers: I have no opinion that Mr Griffiths was guilty of the robbery. The Judge's summing up left in my mind an assurance of Mr Griffiths' innocence.

Joseph Ward deposed: I am a sheep farmer, residing in the Wairau, and have known Mr Griffiths many years. I remember the robbery at Picton. I have seen the letter signed "Disgusted" in the EXPRESS. The allusions to the scapegoat pointed to Mr Griffiths in my opinion.

Cross-examined by Mr Travers: I believe Mr Griffiths to be perfectly innocent. I pitched upon Mr Griffiths as being pointed at by the letter, because I knew some other people had doubts as to Mr Griffiths' innocence.

Cyrus Goulter deposed: I am a sheep farmer residing in the district. I read the report of the trial in the Nelson "Examiner." I have seen the letter signed "Disgusted" in the EXPRESS. The allusions in it allude to Mr Griffiths. At the time of the fire he heard several persons pointed out as the originators of the fire. When the detective came over he was more particularly pointed at.

Cross-examined by Mr Travers: I am satisfied that Mr Griffiths is innocent. I believe Murdoch was guilty.

William Douslin deposed: I am an architect residing at Blenheim. I remember the trial of Murdoch at Nelson. The allusions in the letter signed "Disgusted" pointed to Mr Griffiths. During the visit of Detective Brown to Blenheim it was currently reported that Mr Griffiths was about to be apprehended.

Cross-examined by Mr Travers: I did not believe that Mr Griffiths was guilty.

Hubert Patrick Macklin deposed: I am the Head Master of the Blenheim High School. I have resided here 4 years and 9 months. I know the defendant; I remember being in his office a month or two before the letter signed "Disgusted" was published. I used to be in the EXPRESS office two or three times every day. On one particular occasion there was a conversation about Murdoch's trial; he showed me a printed slip of it. That was before the letter appeared. It was put into my hand by Mr Johnson, and I read it; it contained what purported to be a report of Murdoch's trial. Mr Johnson told me about other parties publishing or circulating it. It was nothing Mr Johnson had anything to do with. Mr Johnson did not say why it was being circulated. I understood it was to damage Mr Griffiths. I advised Mr Johnson as a friend to have nothing to do with it. I remember the fire by which the Government Buildings were burnt down; several persons were pointed to by rumor; I remember Detective Brown coming over and a reward being offered; it was currently reported that Mr Griffiths was going to be arrested. I saw Mr Johnson on the same day as the letter "Disgusted" appeared, and I expostulated with him. I said "How can you expect people to take your part and support you if you publish letters of this sort in the paper." I said "Supposing Griffiths had been in gaol 14 years ago it would not have been right to rake it up now." Mr Johnson made some remark about the way Mr Griffiths had been treating him. He did not explain what his grievance with Mr Griffiths was. On a previous occasion Mr Johnson told me that he believed Mr Griffiths to be the author of some attacks upon him in the other paper. Mr Johnson did not deny that the letter referred to Griffiths. I do not think I can give evidence on the conversations we had after that.

Cross-examined by Mr McNab: You appear in the last gazetted list of teachers as a B.I, I believe?

I do.

The letters M.A. also appear after B 1?

Yes.

Are you a Master of Arts?

I am not called upon to say if I am.

Are you a graduate of any university?

I am not called upon to say.

Now, Mr Macklin, did you not, when applying to the Education Board for the appointment in the Borough Schools that you now hold, represent yourself to be a B.A.?

I did not.

Have you not told anyone you were an M.A. of Durham?

I have not.

At the time of the conversation that you state took place between you and Mr Johnson, were you not in the position of assistant-editor of the EXPRESS?

I was not.

Did you not write articles for the EXPRESS then?

I am not prepared to say.

Now, Mr Macklin, answer my question—Were you not in the habit of writing articles for the Express at that time?

I am not called upon to answer that.

His Honor: I think, Mr Macklin, you had better answer that question.

I have written articles for that paper.

Were you not in that confidence which exists between the proprietor of a newspaper and his staff?

I was not.

Have you not stated that you were once sub-editor of the *Melbourne Age*?

I have. I was sub-editor of the *Melbourne Age* about 14 years ago for about ten months.

Who was editor of that paper then?

Mr Levy was the proprietor. There was no regular editor.

Did you not then learn what was the etiquette between the proprietor of a paper and the staff?

Certainly I did.

Do you mean to say that any copy in the EXPRESS office was not open to you by your asking for it?

It was not.

Did you not go to Mr Rogers, or did he come to you?

Neither.

When did you give the information that has enabled the plaintiff to examine you as he has?

I have told the story a hundred times.

Have you ever advised Mr Johnson about the action?

I may have. My opinion was that the letter was not a libel.

Did you not advise Mr Johnson to apologise?

I did at one time, but not afterwards. I was doing my best to settle the case for about three months, with both sides.

Were you making those efforts for two months after the letter signed "Disgusted" appeared?

I was. I advised both sides.

Now, Mr Macklin, did you write the following letter to Mr Johnson?—

"High School,

October 2, 1879,

Dear Johnson,—

I have some recollection of telling you to make no apology to Griffiths Do you remember my saying so?—Your obedient servant,

H. P. MACKLIN."

That is my hand writing.

Did you not also write to Mr Johnson about November 12th, 1879, as follows:—"I do not believe that there is a libel, nor ground of action, so far as Griffiths is concerned." . . . "Remember my own opinion is that there is no libel, and that if there were the settlement protects everything, and further, I do not believe Griffiths means to rake the affair up in Court."?

I may have.

You said that on reading the letter signed "Disgusted" you at once went and remonstrated with Mr Johnson?

I went at once, but he was not there. I saw him later.

Was Miss Johnson there when you went?

I did not see her.

I believe you used to haunt the EXPRESS office at that time?

Yes, if you wish to call my visits there by that name.

As a matter of fact when the letter appeared did you not advise Mr Griffiths to bring an action?

I don't remember, I am not certain. In trying to settle the case I got very angry with both sides.

Did you not offer Mr Griffiths financial assistance as against Mr Johnson or the writer of the letter?

I have no memory of it. I remember saying I would pay a certain amount to have the case settled out of the lodge.

Will you swear you did not offer Mr Griffiths financial assistance?

I will not swear I did not.

Did you not offer to give Mr Johnson £10 or an I.O.U. for that amount? (Laughter.)

I don't remember.

Will you swear you did not?

I will not swear I did not.

By Mr Conolly: I am the Master of the Masonic Lodge here. The plaintiff and defendant are both members. I was trying to settle the case without going to law.

Mr Travers: By subsidising both parties to the amount of L5 each. (Laughter.)

This concluded the case for the plaintiff, and the Court adjourned till the following morning.

The Court sat at 10 o'clock.

Mr Travers opened the case for the defence. He asked His Honor if there was a case to go to the jury. The evidence adduced in support of the plaintiff was not rational; that is to say, whereas Mr Griffiths must have been guilty of the bank robbery in order to be able to I make a scapegoat of Murdoch for his sin, no one could possibly see that the Glass House letter applied to Griffiths, because he was absolutely innocent. The real criminal was not known or named, excepting as a thief, and everyone concurred in saying Mr Griffiths was not a thief. He submitted that in the absence of anything more cogent than the suggestion that a perfectly innocent man was the thief, that his client was entitled to a nonsuit.

Mr Travers cited in support of his contention the case *Danes v. Hartley*.

His Honor: The question is by no means simple, but after considering the matter I am inclined to think that there is a case to go to the jury. I will reserve the point nevertheless. Of course, even if the defendant was the writer of the article, or knew of it, if the language will not bear the construction put upon it by the plaintiff, then the jury will have to return a verdict for the defendant. It is, however, for the plaintiff to prove that the defendant did point to the plaintiff.

Mr Travers said he did not propose to enter into a lengthy defence. He alluded to His Honor's remark that even if the defendant was the writer of the article or knew of it, if the language would not bear the construction put upon it by the plaintiff, then they would have to return a verdict in favor of the defendant. It was immaterial what the letter intended to convey, if it did not convey the meaning put upon it by the plaintiff. There was something, it was true, in this direction, in the evidence given by Mr Macklin. Mr Macklin was the nicest Irishman he had ever seen. The only thing he seemed to think to be his duty was to find funds for both sides.—(Laughter.)—He wanted a scrimmage, there was no doubt of that, and to prove the desire he had offered money first one side and then to the other. A capital plan, no doubt, to attain his object. It reminded him of the Kilkenny cats. Mr Macklin reached out one hand and collared one party by the tail, and reached out the other and caught the other party by the tail. Then he drew their tails together, knotted them, and chucked the two infuriated animals across a rail, where he left them to fight until nothing remained but the tails and a bunch of hair.—(Laughter.)—Such men as Mr Macklin were the greatest possible boon to gentlemen like himself (Mr Travers) and his friend Mr Conolly.—(Laughter.)— Mr Johnson, when placed in the witness-box would state the circumstances of the interview with Mr Macklin. If a man published defamatory matter concerning another, it was his duty to say so and apologise, but if he does not conceive that the meaning alleged to have been conveyed, is at all to be supported, he would naturally say, "I am not going to apologise, for I cannot see that it points to Mr Griffiths." Mr Johnson had not been given an opportunity to apologise, but the writ was slapped at him, and hardly had it been served before a paper, containing the meanings deduced by the plaintiff, appeared, so that everyone might say, "Oh! Is that it?" "I see it now!" So far, in fact, was Mr Johnson from thinking that Mr Griffiths was guilty of burning the Government Buildings, that he had written many articles and paragraphs, all tending to exonerate him from such suspicion.

Samuel Johnson deposed: I am defendant in this action, and was the proprietor and publisher of the Marlborough EXPRESS at the time of the publication of Disgusted's letter. I was served with a writ on October 3rd at 4 p.m. I glanced over the writ and took it to my solicitor, and was returning from the interview when I found a copy of the "Times" of that evening's date, and my attention was attracted to the article remarking upon the action. I received no communication from the plaintiff or his solicitor prior to the service of the writ. I do not consider that the letter could have been printed after service of the writ. Mr Macklin had been associated with me for some time previously. He contributed to the EXPRESS and was frequently in my office. I remember his seeing me on October 3rd. He came into my office and said "That's a bad letter." I said "Where, show me?" He pointed to the letter and I said, reading it, "there's nothing in that." It was the first time I read that letter. He said "it applies to Griffiths," and I said "it alludes to no one; it is simply a reply to Marina about the brandy." I did not consider it related to Mr Griffiths, nor have I ever done so. Mr Griffiths had been a contributor to the paper. We had no account between us for the non gratuitous contributions. At the interview with Macklin, I never had a slip relating to Mr Griffiths in my possession. I had a slip in the month of June. A friend of mine told me he had heard something of that, sort, and I asked him to lend it to me. He lent it to me in the strictest confidence, and I showed it to Macklin in the strictest confidence also. It had nothing [*unclear: to*] with this action. Griffiths advertised with me, and there was an account between us. About the time of the fire there was L69 in my books owing me by Mr Griffiths. I repeatedly applied for the money, and had an interview with Mr Griffiths after the fire, and was then asking for money. He asked me what I thought was a fair thing for his

services as a contributor. He did not dispute any account against him. He had lost his notes in the fire. I estimated [*unclear: his*] at about L20, but never stated so [*unclear: to*]. A prior conversation took place after the fire in my own office, we were on quite friendly terms. He stated how short of money he was owing to losses at the fire, and intimated he had lost money there, by cheques that had come back again which had been supposed to be burnt in the fire. At last interview, I said I would strike off everything prior to the fire. Griffiths said "Oh, that's too much," and I said "Never mind, my word is passed, so it's over." Our relations were perfectly friendly, and he continued to be a customer of mine up to the time of the commencement of the "Times." when he became a supporter of that paper. I remember the fire and heard rumors affecting Mr Griffiths, but never attached any credit or importance to that. I wrote on the subject. I never saw any reason to associate Mr Griffiths with the Bank robbery. Part of my family have gone to England. I was trying to sever my connection with the paper in order to go to England all last year, and nine months before the action was endeavoring to get Mr Griffiths to sell the paper for me. I did dispose of it ultimately, and intended to follow my wife, but could not get away on account of this action commenced in October last year. I knew nothing of Detective Brown's coming here, and had nothing to do with his coming. I attributed the fire to a different cause than incendiarism.

Cross-examined by Mr Conolly: I opposed an application to have the trial come off at Wellington. It was impossible for me to meet him there, and I objected decidedly. I parted with all my interests in the paper immediately after the letter, but before the writ was served. The report of Murdoch's trial that Mr Macklin read in my office was to all appearance the same as was read in Court yesterday. I am inclined to think it was from the "Colonist." I was never thoroughly acquainted with the details of the trial until three weeks ago. The slip was lent to me by a friend. I was going off to Wellington by steamer, and I asked him for something to read, and he handed me the slip. I do not know how it came into the gentleman's possession. It had nothing to do with this case. I cannot say whether it was a slip or a supplement. It was not a proof sheet; it might have been an extra. I cannot say if it was a reprint. I remember now that there was a leading article on the page, commenting on the case. I had no record of the Murdoch trial in my possession. I took the slip over to Wellington in my pocket, and read it on the way. It must have been after my return that I showed it to Mr Macklin, if I did at all. Mr Macklin, when he came to me, after the publication of the libel, told me that there had been a row in the Club about it, and he considered it applied to Griffiths. I replied that I regarded it as an answer to the letter signed "Marina."

This letter ran as follows:—

## Statesman? not He!

TO THE EDITOR.

SIR,—In this part of the Wairau many of our men have been induced to vote for Mr Henderson because he was said by his touters (that's what we used to call such men as Dodson and Sinclair) to be a better speaker and a better statesman than Mr Seymour. Now that the election is over, I hope they will ask themselves whether that last statement is really true. The better statesman should beat the worse; Mr Seymour should therefore have been beaten by Mr Henderson—but he wasn't. A statesman—especially a "better" statesman—should know what is under his power to control, and what is not. Now I see in your paper that Mr Henderson proposed in the Education Board not to pay any accounts until they were passed at the monthly meeting of the Board. All accounts were included in this—teachers' salaries and all. The Board has no power to pass, or to refuse to pass, the monthly payment of teachers' salaries. The Board almost at first made it a rule that all teachers' salaries should be paid monthly, and then this grand statesman Henderson brings forward a resolution contradicting a regulation printed and issued by the Board. And then he'll say, "But Mr Seymour agreed to it." If he said that to me in the nomination hall, I should say it was a "mean thing" to try and foist off his mistakes on Mr Seymour. The "better statesman" ought to have known better. Statesman? Not he!

And then what a grand statesman he must be to try and gain the teetotallers' votes by taking round with him as chief supporters a man whose coat of arms must be a beer cask rampant, and another, whose only qualifications as a canvasser are these: 1st. That he can drink without danger more brandy than anyone else to be found; 2nd. That he can issue more false smiles than anyone else to be found; 3rd. That his only motto is "Hennessy." Statesman? Not he!

When he gets to be statesman he is going to make all pay taxes alike, according to justice. When asked in connection with this subject whether payment of legacy duty did not tend to equalize this matter, he said something to this effect—"The person to whom the money is left does not pay it." He meant that if I had L1000 left me, and the legacy duty was at 2 per cent, that I should receive L980, but that I should not lose the L20 because I never had it. Here's logic! here's a Miilite! here's a statesman! Does the dead man pay it? No; dead men pay no bills. But somebody must pay what somebody receives. Government receives it, therefore they receive it from the rich people who bequeath it and receive it. And then he says to all the Blenheim men "Did you hear me at the nomination?" Statesman? Not he!

And then his ideas about the people whom he seeks to help to rule are very wild and Uninformed. He talks about runholders in a very ignorant way. Doesn't he know that Mr Seymour's run supports a great many men besides Mr Seymour? What does Mr Seymour do with all the money he gets on his wool? Who pays all the taxes on the tea and sugar used on Mr Seymour's runs? I suppose the time has been when Mr Henderson has boasted of the millions of pounds of wool clipped here every year—the time has been when he has bemoaned the fall in the price of wool as a national calamity—the time has been when he has rejoiced at the rise in the price of wool as national prosperity, and now—he tries to turn you against runholders—the men who are, and have been, the mainstay of the country.

I say that by his speeches he is neither logician nor statesman. Statesman? Not he!

But of all other things which, to my mind, show that he is no statesman, this is the chief. The Seymour party brought from all parts men who had a right to vote for the member for the Wairau. Had a right. Supposing that Mr H. H. Stafford came. I think his stake in the Wairau Electoral District requires representing as much as yours or mine. Mr Henderson's organ, the Express, condemns this kind of thing on page 4 of the issue of the 10th September in a foggy sentence ending in "absence of really good organisation," and also on page 6, in his account of the election. And yet both Henderson and the organ advocate as much suffrage as even you can get, but with this limitation—if you are absent at the time of the election, and won't vote on their side, your suffrage is forfeited. And they didn't want to "swamp the electorate," as they call it, with Brother Tom and Mr Rishworth, who haven't any stake in the place. Oh, Mr Henderson! what a fine statesman you are to argue thus. Grey is the Mahomet whom they follow; and on page 5 of the same issue, column 4, near the top, we are told that Grey's central committee will do the same thing Mr Seymour's committee did, viz, get him all the votes they can, either by steamer or special train. They had better devote their next leader to condemning their leader.

Now is Mr Henderson a statesman? Not he. Yours, etc.—

MARINA.

There was a reference to someone who could drink more brandy than anyone else. That did not refer to me. I understood the allusion to the person who paid for his brandy through the exchequer of the Insolvent Court. I could not understand to whom the phrase commencing "the scapegoat Murdoch" applied. I do not know to whom it applied. I think that the Judge's summing up was a *reductio ad absurdum*. The person alluded to as paying for his brandy through the Exchequer of the Bankruptcy Court is not named in the report of Murdoch's trial, and I don't think could have been the person named as Murdoch's scapegoat, nor did any suspicion of the fire point at him. The account between me and Mr Griffiths had been running on some time without a balance being struck. He used to contribute in one way or another from 1870. His contributions were voluntary and non-gratuitous. He used to send *critiques* of concerts, but he never sent me in any account. I remember Mr Scaife coming to copy the whole account of items I erased. It was at my own instance. We were then on the best of terms, and I am not aware we had one ill word between us since the "Times" was started.

Charles Redwood deposed: I am a sheep-farmer residing in the district for over 17 years. I read the trial of Mr Murdoch at the time, and remember the fire and the rumors. I read the letter signed "Disgusted" at the time it appeared. In reading it the allusions in that letter pointed to one person in particular. It conveyed to my mind Mr Griffiths.

Caleb Davis deposed: I am a builder residing in Blenheim. I remember Murdoch's trial and the Blenheim fire. There were rumours about different people at the time. I remember the letter signed "Disgusted" and do not know if it brings any particular person to my mind.

By Mr Conolly: I saw the account of Murdoch's trial for the first time yesterday, and the impression left on my mind was that Mr Griffiths was innocent. I do not recollect reading Mr Kingdon's speech. At the time of the trial it was mentioned as unpleasant for Mr Griffiths that Murdoch had been acquitted. When I read the letter "Disgusted" I thought nothing of it. I cannot say who the scapegoat might have been. At the time of the Blenheim fire several names including Mr Griffiths' were mentioned. When Brown was here I heard a rumor that Mr Griffiths was about to be arrested.

Mr Travers addressing the jury stated that he did not propose to call any more witnesses. The question for them to consider was whether the alleged construction of the libel had been made out or not. He would refer to the construction as set forth in the declaration, because unless that construction had been made out to their satisfaction there was no case for the plaintiff. The first thing they must be satisfied of is that the plaintiff is the person and the only one alluded to in the letter. It must not mean that he was one of the several persons alluded to, but the plaintiff only, and secondly that the letter pointed to the plaintiff in the manner alleged in the declaration. The cause that had produced the letter signed "Disgusted" appeared to be a letter signed "Manna" that had appeared in a rival newspaper. It suggested in its commencement that some of them if not all might set to and replenish their respective exchequers and pay for their brandy by looking out for and discovering a guilty person. The letter then went on to say "The L500 reward for burning the Government Buildings is still obtainable." The plaintiff alleged that this said he [*unclear*: had] the fire, and that the L500 reward could he

obtained by his conviction. That was one specific charge alleged to have been made against the plaintiff. It was a remarkable thing, however, that the reward was not for the discovery of the incendiary but for *burning* the Government Buildings. What was there in that language to say that the plaintiff had caused the fire, and how was it possible to put any such construction on the words used by "Disgusted." It would be putting a meaning on the English language that to say the least would not be rational. He submitted that the words could not bear any such construction. It appeared that at the inquest on the fire it was shown that the fire originated in Mr Griffiths office, and the "Man in the Street" said that Griffiths did it, but no rational man would come to the conclusion that the words in the letter meant Mr Griffiths. His friend contended that that and the subsequent allusion to the Bank robbery put together pointed to Mr Griffiths, but he (Mr Travers) considered that it pointed to the prizes more than anything else. No rational man who read the report of the trial could say that Mr Griffith was accused of robbery. If anyone was looking for the reward would they find it through Mr Griffiths? Judge Johnson, in his charge to the jury at Murdoch's trial, had exonerated him from all blame. The reward was offered, but it was for the guilty man, and no one had ever ventured to suppose that Mr Griffiths was guilty. Mr Macklin, the funny Irishman (laughter) said that Mr Johnson knew full well that it was intended to mean Mr Griffiths. Mr Macklin appeared to have played a very funny part throughout the transaction. He was equally in the confidence of both parties, and was urging both on, and said it was only his "benevolence," (loud laughter) benevolence, indeed! He was so benevolent, in fact, that he would sooner pay one side £5 not to give in, but go on, and then give the other side an I.O.U. for L10 (loud laughter) to go on with the matter also. His (Macklin's) view of settling the affair was to learn as much on one side as he could, and then to go and tell it to the other (laughter). He was at the bottom of the whole affair, without doubt, exciting the one and inciting the other. He was a class of man that had a mistake in his name. The first letter of his name should have been C, and his name, instead of being "Macklin," should have been "Cacklin" (loud laughter, in which Judge, jury, and everyone in Court participated). In the matter of the service of the writ, it was not courteous to have issued it [*unclear: once*] as was done, it was usual to write a letter first and ask for an apology. The position was a remarkable one altogether. There was the benevolent Macklin urging on the fight the lawyers issuing writs, and poor Mr Johnson, just as he gets the writ in his hands finds the whole of the inuendoes published *in extenso* in the rival newspaper. The inuendoes, in fact, which could only have been known to the plaintiff, his solicitor, or his clerk, and must have been supplied to the rival parties by one or other of them. But he asked was it worthy, was it right, that a man who had been in business in the place for years, who desired to leave the place [*unclear: and*] the employment of a journalist, should be detained from October 3rd, 1879 till the present time, by a legal procedure threatening L1,000 damages. There was no [*unclear: evidence*] despatch on the part of the plaintiff in pushing the case on. The whole of the issues were finally determined by December, and then had been nothing to hinder the case being settled months and months ago if the plaintiff had not deferred to ask for a change of *venue*. To that proposition the defendant objected, and there was nothing for it but to [*unclear: let*] stand over. To the plaintiff the delay could matter little, there was the writ, and it rested with him to withdraw it or let the action [*unclear: on*], and he had kept this sword of Damocles hanging over the defendant's head for more than a year. Was that consistent, he asked, with the conduct they would expect from a man really desirous of ridding himself of an imputation that he alleged had been cast upon him. With regard to damages, he would say a few words, though he could not possibly think that the case was one for damages. It had not, in the first place, been shown that the plaintiff had sustained any loss by the alleged libel either in his business or in his social position. The defendant had not attempted to justify the alleged libel in any way. No special damage was alleged, and in the event of their finding a verdict for the plaintiff, the smallest coin would be sufficient. If the grievance had been a substantial one, that would not have been enough, the plaintiff, it had been shown, had not suffered either in body or mind, and the most nominal damages would be ample.

Mr Conolly then rose, and in his address to the jury said: He would ask the jurymen to imagine themselves in Mr Griffiths's place, and indirect charges were made against them in a newspaper that they had committed a bank robbery or were guilty of arson. Could they venture to treat it with contempt? If the defendant had treated those charges against him with contempt, it might happen when he was an old man, and the witnesses that had appeared in Court during the trial were dead and gone, someone might revive the charge in a more distinct manner and people would naturally reason "Was not a similar charge brought against you 30 years ago, and did you take proceedings then?" On the subject of damages, his friend Mr Travers had suggested that the smallest coin in the realm would be sufficient. He begged to differ from that. He had already told them that the action was not brought to make money. He did not want vindictive damages, [*unclear: but*] asked them not to give damages [*unclear: be*] an insult to his client. [*unclear: He*] in which the defendant had conducted his case very much to his credit. He accepted Mr Johnson's evidence with regard to the publication of the libel. He was guilty of negligence, but it had not been done by himself. Under these circumstances he would not be justified in asking for such damages as would amount to the ruin of the defendant. A complaint made on behalf of the plaintiff was that the action had been pushed on so hurriedly. The alleged libel appeared on September 24th

1879, and the writ was issued 9 days afterwards, but though the writ was served there was nothing to have prevented Mr Johnson apologising afterwards. Mr Johnson immediately after it was said that the action was going to be commenced, made everything he had over to his wife, and it was, therefore necessary to push on the writ as much as possible. If the libel pointed to Griffiths and other persons as well, they should find for the defendant, but if it pointed to Mr Griffiths and Mr Griffiths solely, then they should find for the plaintiff. Mr Johnson had stated that the letter was a supposed retaliation for a letter signed "Marina" that had previously appeared in the Marlborough "Times." It was a remarkable fact that the defendant could tell to whom the allusions in that letter alluded, and could also tell to whom the first portion of the letter signed "Disgusted" alluded, but he could not see whom the other allusions pointed at. The letter mentions that Murdoch was merely the scapegoat for another person guilty, and that his acquittal was quite proper. A man that said that Murdoch was a scapegoat must mean that Griffiths was the guilty person. The question for them to decide was what the writer wanted to insinuate. There was no question of Griffiths guilt or innocence. There was positive evidence on the part of Macklin that Johnson was aware that the allusions referred to Griffiths. It suited his friend's purpose to indicate Mr Macklin as if he had been a mischief-maker and guilty of a gross breach of confidence, but his evidence was clear and distinct that Mr Johnson at the time of the publication of the libel admitted that it applied to Griffiths. Shortly before that date Mr Johnson had an opportunity of becoming fully acquainted with the circumstances of Murdoch's trial. In Mr Macklin's position as Master of the Masonic Lodge for the district he was in a way a father, and was naturally desirous of preventing the parties throwing dust at one another publicly, and he hardly deserved to be treated as one of those pests of society who try *[unclear: to]* on people to lawsuits. Mr Conolly proceeded to analyse the letter and concluded his address by pointing out, and explaining the several issues.

His Honor in addressing the Jury said that the subject was one that rested more particularly than any other class of case with the Jury. It frequently happened that persons endeavoured to clothe a libel in such a way as to have all the desired effect, and yet be such that it would be difficult at first to say that it applied to any particular person. If the letter, the subject matter of the libel, simply said that a reward was still open, and no doubt the Bank of New Zealand would give a larger one, there would have been no case to go to the Jury. There was something now in the case, however, and the question was whether the language was applicable to the defendant or not. Was the language such, that if read by the light of a previous acquaintance with the facts of the bank robbery and the burning of the Government Buildings, they would say that it meant to charge the plaintiff with those offences. It was quite immaterial whether the person reading the letter believed in the plaintiff complete innocence. The case for the plaintiff depended entirely upon this. The concluding part of the letter said—"and no doubt a still larger sum may be earned by discovering to the Bank of New Zealand who stole the L3,700. The scapegoat Murdoch has been acquitted. The jury's solemn verdict declared *he* was not guilty. The prizes are within their reach." This was said to be the key to the letter. There was indisputably some years ago a robbery at the Picton branch of the Bank of New Zealand, when a person named Murdoch was charged and acquitted of the robbery, and it appeared that the whole point of the case had been whether the prisoner had received the notes from Griffiths or not. It was for them to say whether those facts and the language of the letter, in their judgment, was calculated to impress the minds of persons as an imputation of robbery against Mr Griffiths. Mr Macklin said that he had gone to see Mr Johnson immediately after the publication of the libel and had expostulated about it, and that Mr Johnson acknowledged that Mr Griffiths was the person alluded to, but seemed to excuse or justify himself for the letter by saying that Mr Griffiths had behaved badly to him. If it had only been said that a reward was offered, although it would cause the idea of Mr Griffiths to appear, that could not be said to be a charge against him. They should satisfy themselves, not merely that the reading of the letter would have the effect of raising in people's minds the picture of Mr Griffiths, but they should satisfy themselves that the letter contained a direct charge against him.

After a few more words from His Honor on the question of damages, the jury retired to consider their verdict.

They returned into Court three hours afterwards, viz, at 6.15 p.m., when the foreman (Mr Thomas Redwood) stated that they were unable to agree, and were desirous of obtaining advice as to the amount of time they would require to be locked up, and whether they would be allowed refreshments.

His Honor: You have already been locked up for three hours. Three fourths of your number can now agree upon a verdict.

Foreman: I regret, your Honor we cannot agree.

His Honor: Is there no probability of your agreeing?

Foreman: There is a possibility.

His Honor: I regret there is no alternative but for you to go back again.

Immediately after the jury had left the Court Mr Travers stated that now that there was no probability of the jury agreeing, he would like to make a proposition to his friend. He was authorised by the defendant to say that

if the jury were discharged he would be willing to offer an expression of regret for the publication of the letter.

Mr Conolly: Mr Redwood stated that there was a possibility of the jury agreeing, and I certainly cannot consent to any such proposition.

The jury again returned into Court at 9.30 p.m.

The Foreman said that the jury wished to make a statement. It was that there was no possibility of their agreeing on a verdict, even if kept locked up for an indefinite time. He desired to express the opinion as emphatically as possible that he could see no possibility at all of an agreement being come to.

His Honor: I am not in a position to discharge you at present. You have only been locked up six hours. I fear you must go back again.

At 11.30 p.m., His Honor called the jury into Court and asked the Foreman if they had agreed upon a verdict.

The Foreman said there was no probability of an agreement amongst the jurors.

His Honor then said he would take them as having sat twelve hours, and permit of their discharge.

The jury were then formally discharged and paid, and the case was at end.

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### The Unity of the Church of Christ

Broken by Schism, and Its Restoration by Apostles.

*The Call of Paul and Barnabas, Foreshadowing The Call of a Gentile Apostleship Now.*

*The Sheaf of First Fruits and the Harvest.*

Three Sermons Preached in the Catholic Apostolic Church, Webb Street, Wellington, N. Z.,

On its Being Opened for Divine Service, NOVEMBER, 1880.

Edwards and Green, Printers Wellington Featherston Street. 1881.

Catholic Apostolic Church,

Webb Street, Wellington.

Services &c.,

Sunday Forenoon at 10 Sunday Afternoon Teaching &c. at 4-30 Sunday Evening at 5 Sunday Evening Sermon

at 7-30 Tuesday Morning at 6 Monday Evening Wednesday Evening 5-15 Friday Evening

The Seats are Free *A sermon is preached every Sunday Evening at half-past Seven o'clock, on the Faith and Hope of the Church, to which all are earnestly invited.*

## The Unity of the Church of Christ Broken by Schism; and, Its Restoration by Apostles.

THE thought that will be uppermost with you who are present, and who do not belong to the handful of believers who worship here, I take to be this,—What need of another place of worship and another denomination? To this question, then, I address myself. And in the first place we say,—Yes; the multitude of Christian churches, having different names, different doctrines, and different modes of worshipping God, is a scandal to the cause of Christ Jesus our Lord. The seamless robe of Christ has been rent and torn into pieces; and it is because that it is so, we are here to testify that this is a grievous sin—the sin of schism in the body of Christ. It is the common sin of Christendom; the great sin of the baptized in all the Christian nations. We witness for the body of Christ, the Church of God. The Catholic Apostolic Church—*that name* which is common to all the baptized, as the ancient creed declares,—*I believe one Holy Catholic Apostolic Church;* but still the name with which none are content, but add to it some other name, as Greek, Roman, Potestant, Episcopalian, Presbyterian, Independent, Wesleyan.

We *also* witness to the fact of the restoration of apostles and prophets, as the Lord's way of unity in His body—His way of bringing help to His Church, at the time of her sore need, as His answer to her cry to Him for help; to bring her out of the confusion into which she has fallen, back into the old paths, and the old way of unity, that she may be prepared to meet Him at His coming. The Prophet Jeremiah gives a picture of the present state of the baptized people of God,—*"From the least of them even unto the greatest of them, every one is given to covetousness; and from the prophet even unto the priest, every one dealeth falsely. They have healed also the hurt of the daughter of my people slightly, saying, Peace, peace, when there is no peace. Thus saith the Lord, Stand ye in the ways, and see, and ask for the old paths, where is the good way, and walk therein, and ye shall find rest for your souls. But they said, We will not walk therein."* And thus speaks the prophet Isaiah, *"He will be very gracious unto thee at the voice of thy cry; when he shall hear it he will answer thee, and thine ears shall hear a word behind thee, saying, This is the way, walk ye in it, when ye turn to the right hand and when ye turn to the left."* In the great intercessory prayer before His passion, Jesus then prayed that His people might be one:

"Holy Father, keep through thine own name those thou hast given me, that they may be one as we are." "As thou, Father, art in me and I in thee, that they also may be one in us." That prayer, brethren, must be answered, must be manifestly fulfilled. And it is to prepare the way for His coming by restoring the unity that has been lost that the Lord hath given again apostles to His Church.

Before the first coming of the Lord, John Baptist was sent to prepare the way before Him. he was "the voice of one crying in the wilderness, Make straight the way of the Lord" and his cry was, Repent for the kingdom of God is at hand. John was a prophet, sent by God at the close of the prophetic dispensation. Now at the close of this dispensation which is apostolic, apostles are sent in the spirit and power of Elias according to that saying of the Lord to the question by His disciples, "Why then say the scribes that Elias must first come?" And Jesus said, "Elias truly shall first come and restore all things. But I say unto you that Elias is come already, and they knew him not. Then understood they that He spake unto them of John the Baptist." Note, brethren, the remarkable saying that "Elias truly shall first come and restore all things." The Lord hath sent apostles to bring the baptized people of God to repentance, *for the, coming of the Lord draweth nigh*. We witness therefore also to the coming of the Lord. His *instant* coming to take unto Himself His own, those who sleep in Him and those who shall be changed.

Thus, brethren, I have named three great events which we witness to especially, viz.:

- The unity of the Church as the body of Christ, broken by schism and will-worship.
- The restoration of apostles and prophets to the Church that by them she may be brought back into *unity* under the Head of the body and so prepared for the coming of the Lord.
- And thirdly that the Lord is coming quickly according to His promise, Behold I come quickly. He that shall come, will come, and will not tarry.

No need to prove, brethren, that the Church of Christ ought to be one and shall yet be seen as one, and no need to prove that her unity has been broken. We know Christ's prayer for her unity, and we see with our eyes her shattered state, divided into Roman, Greek, and Protestant, and Protestant again subdivided into legion.

Some of you, brethren, may remember a certain preacher here named Wilson who testified in this city to the restoration of apostles many years ago, viz. in 1863 and 1864. His first address was given in the side room of the then Oddfellows' Hall, and some of you may remember his using on that occasion a striking figure to describe the broken, divided state of Christ's Church. He described it first in its original state as built on the foundation of apostles and prophets, as a large mirror or looking-glass, and thus representing and containing the whole truth of God. But the mirror became broken into a thousand pieces; each sect in Christendom had picked up one of the pieces, and saw itself reflected in that one broken piece, and each sect believed itself to have the whole truth of God, instead of only that portion of the whole which its piece represents. That was the figure, and it is very expressive of the real state of the case, as regards the existing state of the Churches. Who shall unite all the scattered fragments of the Truth of God, and build it into one harmonious whole, the perfect mirror, the whole Truth of God manifested in the Church—in the Church as the Body of Christ? None but the Lord Himself, and by His right hand His apostleship, the wise master builders by whom He first built her up. Thus Paul describes himself as a worker under God: "For we are labourers together with God; ye are God's husbandry, ye are God's building, according to the grace of God given unto me, as a wise master-builder, I have laid the foundation."

Let us glance at the divisions among Protestants, which keep them from the unity of the Body of Christ. The Church of England has retained government by Bishops, but has lost the Presbytery, while the Presbyterian Churches have preserved the Presbytery but have rejected the presiding Bishop. The Church of England retains the name of the Deacon, but has lost the substance of that office, and also the right of the congregation to elect them. As a general rule, the various denominations are right in that especial thing which they stand up for and witness unto, but are wrong in regard to those things which they deny. Thus dissenters from Episcopacy disclaim the standing of priesthood for their ministers, but they stand for the election of their ministers by the congregations, which is a right thing for Deacons, for that is the standing which their ministers assume when they disclaim being Priests. The Quakers are also right, in that they witness for the truth, that the light of prophecy ought always to be in the Church, by means of men and women speaking in the power of the Holy Ghost; but on the other hand, they are wrong in setting the spoken word above the written word, and also in denying all ministry and sacraments.

Now, how shall all this division and disorder be done away, and Christ's order be brought in instead? There has been a craving for unity for these forty years past. Apostles labouring in the midst of the baptized have caused this longing, and other things also, such as the revived hope of the coming of the Lord. Many have been the attempts at unity. High Church men have fondly thought that the Patriarch of the Greek Church, the Pope of Rome, and the Archbishop of Canterbury might be brought to embrace each other and thus be brought to agreement, while Evangelical Alliances have sought it in another way; but all such attempts have failed, and must still fail. The Lord only can do it, and His way is to restore His Apostleship. And how shall Apostles do

this great work? Only by teaching and I guiding those who will receive them as Apostles of the Lord; those who are meek and lowly in heart; those who become teachable as little children, and thus become able to receive God's truth, even as Jesus said—"Whosoever shall not receive the Kingdom of God as a little child, shall in nowise enter therein." This was the stumbling block to the proud Scribes and Pharisees of old, they would not condescend to be taught by Jesus; they did not allow that they had anything to learn of Him. It is just the same with the *would-be* wise ones of this day, of whom it may be said, as Jesus said to the Pharisees, when they asked Him, Are we blind also? "If ye were blind, ye should have no sin But now ye say, We see—therefore your sin remaineth." Isaiah describes the painful process of this teaching in his 28th chapter—this is part of it—9-13, but read the whole chapter for yourselves, brethren; it bears on this work I tell you of, and on this time.

Let us look at the statement I have made, that Apostles are sent to restore the unity of the Church. Apostles are not of men, neither by man, but by Jesus Christ, and God the Father, who raised Him from the dead. In the mystery of the Church as the body of Christ, Jesus Christ Himself being the Head, we have been taught that the apostle is the right hand of the body; thus in the 1st ch. of Revelation the Lord is seen holding in His right hand seven stars, and the seven stars are interpreted to be the seven angels of the seven Churches; that is to say angels or bishops. This is Christ's way of holding the Church in unity. By apostles the Lord holds together all the churches as in His right hand.

All the priests, deacons, and flock of every congregation are under the guidance of the angel or bishop. All the angels are under the apostles and receive doctrine and guidance direct from them; and the apostles themselves receive direct from the Lord.

As Jesus was the apostle of the Father, and knew His mind, so the apostles of the Lord know the mind of Christ. Did He not say, "As the Father hath sent me, even so send I you?"

But you will say, to what end is all this theory? Is anything practical to come of it? Yes, brethren, much every way. It is the Lord's way to bring peace to his troubled people; it is His ark of refuge for this present time, and for that time of trouble which is looming over the Christian nations and by fleeing into it you shall find deliverance in the great tribulation from the persecution of the Antichrist.

Is it nothing to find certainty in doctrine and teaching in this time of unbelief and unsettling of all things? Is it nothing to find the wisdom of God available for direction in all your conduct? for the specialty of the apostolic gift is wisdom and discernment. Is it nothing to feel sure that you are at peace with God, that you are acting under His direction, being fellow workers with Him in this His work, for making ready a people for His coming? Is it nothing that you are helping the Lord in this time of His necessity, in this day of trouble, of rebuke and blasphemy?

But, you will say, how shall we know it to be true when there are so many delusions abroad? Ah, yes, brethren, that is the difficulty, indeed. How shall you receive it? It sounds very good, but how shall you know that it is of God? It is God-given faith alone that will enable you to receive it. You must pray to God for that. It was so with John Baptist's teaching; it was so with the teaching of the Son of God Himself. "No man," said he, "cometh unto me except the Father draw him." When the Lord said, "There is not a greater prophet than John the Baptist," all the people that heard Him, and the publicans, justified God, being baptized with the baptism of John. But the pharisees and the lawyers rejected the counsel of God against themselves, being not baptized of him. That is the danger this generation is in, viz., of rejecting the counsel of God against themselves. There is a test, brethren, by which you can try yourselves, and that is, *Do you desire that it may be true?* Does it seem such good news that for the sake of it you can cast all else behind and press forward into it to make it your own? Nobody can hinder you if you make it your will to do so. This work is like all God's best gifts—free as the air: Come, buy wine, yea, milk and honey without money and without price. If, I say, you *desire* that this message may be true, that it is of God, then have good hope that the Lord may help you to see it. But it will require you to be in thorough earnest, not for *to-day* only but for many days. The world and your acquaintances will all pull you the other way. It is not a work to please the flesh. It exalts no names; it praises no man's gifts. The Lord's name is the only name; it will be no worldly advantage to any to belong to the Lord's work, for men will look on you with suspicion as being *certainly peculiar* and perhaps fanatical.

You must be content to be counted as fools for Christ's sake, even as it was in St. Paul's days. No work of God has ever been acceptable to men at the time when He does it; it is always of such a character as to be against the spirit of the age—as this work is *now*, as it was with John the Baptist, as it was with the Lord Himself and with his apostles, Remember Paul's account of his own experiences. "Of the Jews," he says, "five times received I forty stripes save one; thrice was I beaten with rods; once was I stoned." You know the painful list of his sufferings while laboring as an apostle of the Lord. This was the way in which God's work was received in those days by the people of God, even by His Israel, the seed, of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. John Baptist was slain in prison at the suit of a dancing girl and her wicked mother. Jesus was crucified as a blasphemer, and all the apostles met with more or less violent deaths. Is human nature so changed now, that

men will gladly receive apostles and submit to their discipline? Surely not; men are the same now as then; they will not accept men as teachers or guides who offend all their pride and prejudices. So it has been in the experience of the apostles of the Lord in these days; true, they have not been beaten with rods, or put to death, but *they have been rejected* (as to their mission and office), they have been rejected by every nation in Europe through their heads and representatives in Church and State.

A remnant in each of the Christian nations, has received them as apostles of the Lord, and they have been built up into churches after the Lord's more perfect way, and this especially in England and Scotland, out of which the Lord has taken His twelve apostles and in which He has set the centre of His work for the whole Church. In Germany also, and Switzerland, Denmark and Sweden, the Lord's work has been comparatively well received, and in other countries more sparingly. But shall this general unbelief and rejection of the Lord in the persons of his ambassadors, frustrate the purpose of God? Surely not, any more than His rejection by the Jewish Church, and His crucifixion did in that case. A faithful remnant of Israel was found, by which Christ built his Church. And now by a faithful remnant in these days Christ will restore his Church.

Need we *wonder*, brethren, that the Christian nations and Church should reject apostles? Jesus their Lord and master was rejected before them and did He not say, "the servant is not greater than his Lord; if they have persecuted me, they will also persecute you."

This is no new thing, brethren, that I am telling you about; it is now forty-five years ago that the twelve apostles were separated to the work unto which God had called them, and they *have done their work*, and they all sleep in the Lord except one, and the result as to the baptized people of God, as I said before, is that they have been rejected. And what remains as the consequence for rejecting the mercy and favor of God? Why, as it was with Jerusalem, so it will be with Christendom They will be cast off from Him, from being His people; hear Paul to the Romans, ch. xi. 11-13, and 18-21. That was Paul's warning to the Romans, and to us all; that if our faith is gone, then we shall be cut off as the Jews were.

But you may say, how is it that we have not heard of this work before, if it has been going on for forty-five years? Well, brethren, some of you may have heard of it in the old country, and may recal the stir it made when you were children, about speaking in unknown tongues—as such I remember it myself. And some may have heard the good news of it in this City, preached in the Odd Fellows' Hall and in the Athenæum—first in 1863 and 1864 by Mr. Wilson from the Mother Church in Melbourne, then in 1867 by Mr. Whitestone and again by him in 1873: lastly by Mr. Wilkinson the evangelist from New South Wales who delivered a testimony to this work of the Lord in 1876, in all the chief towns from Dunedin in the South to Auckland in the North, which gave him two months' hard work. The Lord hath guided His work as it pleased him, but He forces no man's will. In this work there is nothing new, but the restoration of the original Christian economy—It disdains all novelty, denies no Catholic truth, causes no schism, recognizes all existing authority, and aims at strengthening the things which remain that are ready to die. Its truth is the surest evidence of its heavenly birth, which will commend it to the honest heart more powerfully than signs and wonders.

As, in the first dispensation, Noah was raised up to warn the world lying in wickedness of coming judgment and to point out the way of salvation, so, we are told, shall it also be before the coming of the Son of Man. As it was foretold that Elias should come to prepare a people to stand in the great and terrible day of the Lord, calling them to remember the words of His servant Moses, (being the last words of the Old Testament) and which prophecy John the Baptist fulfilled in the letter when he preached repentance to Israel; so shall a spiritual ministry in the spirit and power of Elias rouse men to a sense of their having forsaken the right ways of the Lord, and endeavour to persuade them to return before He shall be revealed from heaven.

And as each dispensation has hitherto been closed by a ministry of the same character as that by which it was commenced; as in a patriarchal dispensation the last messenger sent by a merciful God was a Patriarch and in a prophetic dispensation a prophet; so it may reasonably be expected that in an apostolic dispensation, the final mission of grace will be committed to apostles. With the loss of unity, there has followed sickness and decay of the Divine life in the Church. It is to restore that Divine life to health and strength that apostles are needed. Without that restoration the Church cannot be made ready to meet the Lord at His coming. I propose on Sunday next to go into the subject of the restoration of apostles, and to show by the analogy of the Lord's dealing with Paul and Barnabas, in calling *them* to be His apostles, how He has also called men to be His apostles now.

## **The Call of Paul and Barnabas foreshadowing the Call of a Gentile Apostleship now.**

LAST Sunday, brethren, I told you that we believe in the restoration of apostles and prophets, and that in

this manner the Lord Jesus Christ has come to the help of His baptized people in this time of their extreme necessity; that in answer to their urgent prayers for help, He hath sent them rain, in the time of the latter rain. This is the *foundation* of our position as a body of believers in Christ Jesus; without which foundation, indeed, we are mere schismatics, making another rent in the seamless robe of Christ. Therefore it is that I have brought this subject first before you; because it is well to begin at the foundation, and especially at the opening of this building for the worship of God, when some may be expected to come out of a natural curiosity as to the why and the wherefore of our action in this matter. Again, then, I declare to you as brethren in Christ, that except for the solemn conviction that the Lord hath restored the lost ministries of apostles and prophets to His Church, we have no standing ground whatever, or right to speak or teach in His name. But on the other hand, believing as we do that the Lord hath set His hand to revive His church by restoring that which He took not away, *viz*, the ministries which He gave to his Church at the beginning, believing this, I say, we are impelled to go forward whithersoever He leads us by those whom He has sent. St. Paul said, "Woe unto me if I preach not the gospel" so say we also, "Woe unto us, if we draw back our hand from the plough, or turn aside from doing that which the Lord giveth us to do.

It is not of ourselves that we come thus into public to testify for the work which God is doing in this day; it is not for gaining the praise of men, or to please ourselves; but it is in obedience to the direction of those who are over us in the Lord, who have decided that the time has arrived when we may no longer fulfil this duty under the roof of a private house, as we have been doing for many years; but in a building set apart entirely for the worship and service of God.

To proceed, then, with the Scripture account of the call of Paul and Barnabas to be apostles to the Gentiles, as an example of God's acting in the past and to show that there is nothing impossible or improbable in His acting in the same way in this our own day. Have you ever asked yourselves the question as to the time when and how Paul was first recognised by the Church as an apostle? Your first impulse perhaps will be to point to the Lord's appearing to him, on his way to Damascus, when he was converted from an active enemy, into a faithful disciple. The words addressed to him, "Depart, for I will send thee far hence to the Gentiles," may have conveyed to Paul the assurance at that same time that he was to be the Lord's apostle to the Gentiles, but that did not make him such to the Church, or to those who were apostles before him, for we find him eight years afterwards filling a subordinate office in the Church at Antioch, for Barnabas sought him out and took him from Tarsus to Antioch, and there (it is written) they assembled themselves for a whole year with the Church and taught much people. And it was from that city that Barnabas and Saul were sent by the Church to take relief to the disciples in Judea. Now apostles are rulers in the Church and are not themselves sent by any but by the Lord only: even as the Lord Himself was the Apostle sent by the Father—to use His own words,—"*As thou hast sent me into the world even so have I also sent them into the world*"—In Acts xiii. we find five ministers named as certain prophets and teachers in the Church at Antioch, two of the five being Barnabas and Saul. They are not called apostles, you see, but prophets and teachers. If they were already known as apostles, would they be classed as prophets, and teachers? surely not. Where, then, and when are they first called apostles? It is in the next chapter, when they are at Lystra on their first apostolic journey after being separated from the Church at Antioch; ch. xiv., 14. Apostles are ministers to the Church Catholic, and not to any one Church in particular even as Paul speaking of his trials in his old age, says, "Besides those things that are without, that which cometh upon me daily, the care of all the Churches." That is an apostle's burden, brethren,—"*the care of all the Churches.*" That was Paul's experience fifteen years after his call at Antioch.

To return to chapter xiii. of Acts. As these five prophets and teachers in the Church at Antioch, were fulfilling the worship of God, with the assembled Church, a word of prophecy came forth, the voice of the Holy Ghost through one of the prophets, calling for the separation of those two ministers Barnabas and Saul, from their duty to that Church, that they might go forth for the work unto which the Lord had called them; and what, brethren, then? Why that voice is instantly recognized and obeyed as the commandment of the Lord from heaven (Acts XIII. 1-4).

So they being *sent by the Holy Ghost*, Not sent by the Church at Antioch, although it is written that when they had fasted and prayed and laid their hands upon them, "*They sent them away*"—*So they being sent by the Holy Ghost* so it is written, brethren. Such an event as this in the Church at Antioch, so simply written, has been unknown to the Church for hundreds of years, nay, for more than a thousand years; but with the restoration of apostles and prophets, it is again found to be a fact. And why not, brethren? The same Lord liveth who acted thus, at Antioch, and what should hinder Him from acting in the same manner now in London or elsewhere for the guidance and comfort of His Church? Nothing to hinder where there is faith and obedience—yes, living faith in a living God and childlike obedience, two things very hard to find in this day of *pride*, *self will*, and *selfishness*. But the Lord did find both forty-five years ago, and He has been working mightily ever since. Perhaps you will say, Not much to show for forty-five years' work.—True, brethren, not much to show here,—or indeed anywhere, for men prefer their own ways, and the ways of their fathers, rather than God's way.

How has it been in times past, when God has set His hand to work for the salvation of His people? Has it been believed in, and accepted? What had John Baptist to show for his labour when from his prison he sent messengers to Jesus with the question, "Art thou he that should come or do we look for another?" Had he lost all heart and hope that the Kingdom of Heaven was at hand? Or, what was there to show for the life and labour of Jesus Christ when he lay in the sepulchre, betrayed by one apostle, denied by another, and all forsook Him and fled? Where was the hope of Messiah then? Why, hope was dead in the tomb with Jesus. Or later on, what was there to show for the labour of Paul, and of Peter, and the rest? Why, very little, as far as can be known. But of the state of those churches to which apostolic epistles were written, we can see by those epistles that they were mostly very weak—falling back instead of going on to perfection. The Church at Phillipi is the only one altogether commended. And Paul at last, instead of the bright hope of presenting the Church as a chaste bride to the Lord, gives warning of a falling away—that after His departing grievous wolves shall enter in, not sparing the flock. To Timothy he writes that in the last days perilous times shall come. He knows that the time of his departure is at hand, and the history leaves him a prisoner bound with a chain to a Roman soldier; a type of the Gentile apostleship ever since.

So it was, brethren, in the New Testament times; Why expect a different result for the work of apostles in these days; why should they succeed when their Master failed? In all these instances of failure that I have named, it was a remnant only that received the truth; and with that remnant the Lord began His next work. But to resume.

We left Paul and Barnabas, at Antioch, where it is written, "So they being sent forth by the Holy Ghost departed unto Silencia and from thence sailed to Cyprus;" and it is on this journey, when at Lystra, that they are *first called* apostles. Paul is now at last doing apostolic work ten years after his conversion; and we thus fix the *time and place and manner* of his recognition as an apostle of the Lord, viz., in the Church at Antioch, ten years after his conversion, and on the testimony of the Holy Ghost in word of prophecy. Let us now consider his recognition as such by those who were apostles before him; this occurred at Jerusalem whither he and Barnabas went up from Antioch about the question that had been raised as to the necessity of circumcision. This took place, after he had been working as an apostle for seven years, or seventeen years after his conversion; and he is now going to meet those who were apostles before him for the first time, after he himself had been labouring as an apostle and had been recognized as such among the Gentile Churches. He knows that it is a crisis in the Church at large, he sees the importance to the whole Church that he and Barnabas should be received as fellow apostles; that the apostleship should be seen to be *one*; and therefore he acts with the greatest prudence and caution, by seeking first to have private interviews with those having the greatest authority in the Church. Paul tells the story himself in Galatians, 1st and 2nd Chapters "I went up" he says "by revelation and communicated unto them the gospel which I preach among the Gentiles, but privately to them which were of reputation, lest by any means I should run, or had run in vain." The result was that James, Peter, and John gave unto him and Barnabas the right hand of fellowship, when they saw the grace given unto them. Read Gal. i. 17-19 chapter II. 1-2-9.

Thus, then, I have shown by the analogy of the Lord's dealing with Paul and Barnabas, in calling them to be His apostles, how he can at any time call others also in the same manner, if only He can find men with faith in Him as the living Lord in the heavens speaking by the Holy Ghost in their midst.

I have dwelt more upon Paul individually, than upon Barnabas, because his work and position is the most striking; but there is this significance in the case of Barnabas (which accords with the call of apostles in the present day), that in his case there is no record of any miraculous appearance of our Lord to him; although we may well believe that the Lord had dealt with him personally also, by calling him as His apostle, before the open testimony to his call, by the word of prophecy in the Church at Antioch.

So Paul says, "When they perceived him to be a partaker of the same grace which they had received, they gave unto him the right hand of fellowship." They asked him not for any evidence of his apostleship; they called no council to consider his claims; they passed no vote as countersign to his credentials. They received his word; they perceived the grace given unto him; they gave him the right hand of fellowship.

It seems wonderful that they could so readily have acted thus, for men seem utterly unable to act in the same manner now. But it did not seem wonderful then, nor has the Church ever expressed wonder or a doubt of the apostleship of Paul, because of the circumstances under which he was introduced.

But what enabled the apostles so to receive Paul without dispute, without questioning? Here is the secret. They were walking in the Spirit and not after the flesh; they were abiding in Christ; they were walking in the fear of the Lord, and in the comfort of the Holy Ghost The Lord was to them still a living Person, capable of acting by the Holy Ghost. It was with them no question of necessity or probability; they saw that the Lord had acted, and they said amen. But now those who believe in Christ walk no more after the Spirit, they walk after the flesh. The Lord is no longer thought of as the living Lord, capable of acting from heaven by the Holy Ghost, as the first apostles knew him to be.

The real cause of inability to discern the hand and work of God, is that Christian men are not abiding in Christ; all their efforts are directed to getting to Christ. "To get to Christ," appears the sole object of their religion; "to bring men to Christ," the sole object of every sermon; all which efforts and expressions show that they are not abiding in Christ, or at least that they do not believe that they are in Him.

The case of Paul was a note of warning to the Church; it reminded her that she had a Head in the heavens, who had reserved to Himself the right of calling and setting in the office of apostle whom He would and whenever He pleased; that the Lord chooses whom He will and for what work He pleases. This is the fact which the Church in her present schismatic and divided condition finds it so hard to believe.

Paul was received upon his own testimony and the grace that was perceived to be in him: upon the same grounds must apostles he received now.

In a somewhat similar way to the separation of Paul and Barnabas at Antioch, twelve men were separated from the several Churches to which they belonged, to the work unto which the Lord had called them. This happened at a meeting of the seven Churches in London, on the 14th July, 1835.

They were then enjoined to set the Church an example of self-sacrifice, to go and reside together in the village of Albury for a year; and in company with those who had the gift of prophecy, to dedicate the year to the reading of the Holy Scripture from beginning to end, with continual prayer; and their reading of the Holy Scripture was accompanied with the continual light of the word of prophecy.

The next year, viz., 1836, they composed a testimony to Christendom, setting forth the schismatic and sinful state of the whole Church the sin of the land and of its rulers in Church and State; and also that the Lord had come to the help of His people by the restoration of apostles. This was delivered personally to William IV. and the chief officers of the Government, and to the bishops and clergy. The year after they delivered a fuller testimony to Cardinal Acton for the Roman Pontiff, to the crowned heads in Europe, and to the bishops and other Church authorities. This was also delivered personally, being written in the language of each country, and took two years to complete—no light or easy task—and from this statement you may see that from the beginning, this work has not been hidden in a corner; it has been a message to the whole Church—Greek, Roman, and Protestant. And with regard to this land, a copy of that testimony, being a pamphlet of about fifty pages, was sent by Mr. Wilson, in the year 1863, to all the clergy of the province of Wellington.

The apostles did their work zealously, building up those who received their testimony into congregations in every Christian country to which they had access. And now their work is done, and they have all been taken to their rest except one. As I said before, their work according to man's judgment is a failure, for the baptized nations have rejected them, even as the Jews rejected the Lord and his first apostles.

But the Lord's ways are not as man's ways; the purpose of God in His twelve is not frustrated; He will yet justify them and their work in the face of this generation. But, you will say, Is it not a lame and impotent conclusion, to set before us this work of apostles, which you say is done, and which you confess is a failure in the judgment of men? Yes, brethren, if that were all. But it is not all.

The apostles have taught us that the promise to the Angel of the Church in Philadelphia shall be fulfilled in those they have gathered and sealed unto the day of redemption; that promise is in Rev. iii., 10, "Because," &c. That is to say that those who have walked in the doctrine and fellowship of the apostles *faithfully* shall find safety as in an ark of refuge from the hour of temptation; that time now coining, of which the Lord spoke, "For there shall be great tribulation, such as was not since the beginning of the world to this time, no, nor ever shall be." This promise must be fulfilled, or they and we shall be found false witnesses before God; deceivers and deceived.

This promise to Philadelphia, "Because thou hast kept the word of my patience, I also will keep thee from the hour of temptation," opens up the doctrine of the ripening and gathering a special sheaf before the general harvest, after the analogy of the sheaf of firstfruits under the Mosaic law, and of that sheaf receiving the great honour of being taken into the presence of the Lord and waved before Him.

I purpose on next Sunday to bring forward the evidence of Holy Scripture for the doctrine of a firstfruits as distinct from the harvest, viz., that the sheaf of firstfruits is to be taken unto the Lord before the harvest is gathered, being that election unto which Paul longed to attain when he said, "If by any means I might attain unto the resurrection *from* the dead."

The distinction between the firstfruits and the harvest is to be found in the vii. and xiv. Rev., viz., the first is a known number, 144,000; the second is a great multitude which no man can number. The first are sealed with the seal of the living God; the second come out of great tribulation. It is apostolic doctrine that the latter work, viz., the gathering of the harvest, will be the work of the two witnesses of Rev. xi., the counterpart of the seventy who were to go "two and two into every city and place whither" the Lord would come; and further, that we are now in the interval between these two phases of the Lord's work for the salvation of His people.

So, brethren, if this be so, then this message which we bring to you is of the gravest import, and that even if the apostles have done their work yet the two witnesses have not done theirs. These are solemn things; and this

is a momentous time. Now is the accepted time, now is the day of salvation. The way to the first prize is still open to all; the Lord waits to be gracious. Verily, He is the God of patience, for He hath borne with us in our weakness and our shortcomings for these 45 years. Isaiah prophesied of the Lord's work in chap, xxviii. thus: "The word of the Lord was with them, precept upon precept, precept upon precept, line upon line, here a little and there a little; for with stammering lips and another tongue will He speak to this people, To whom he said, This is the rest wherewith ye may cause the weary to rest, and this is the refreshing; *yet they would not hear.*" Do not you, brethren, be of those who will not hear, for faith cometh by hearing, and hearing by the word of God. For it pleased God by the foolishness of preaching to save them that believe. Because the foolishness of God is wiser than men; and the weakness of God is stronger than men.

## The Sheaf of Firstfruits and the Harbest.

ON the last two Sundays I have spoken of the unity of Christ's Church; of that unity broken by schism as the one glaring sin of the whole Church against her Lord and Head in the heavens; I spoke of the Lord's prayer for the unity of His Church, and of the necessity of that prayer being answered and visibly fulfilled. I then shewed that the Lord's way of holding His Church in unity was by apostles; that apostles have been restored to the Church, and, from the analogy of the Lord's dealing with Paul and Barnabas in calling them to be his apostles *after* His ascension into heaven, how He has in like manner called twelve men to be his apostles in this our own day and generation; that the apostles after laboring for forty-five years have done their work, and have all fallen asleep except one; and, moreover, that in the judgment of men their work has been a failure, having been rejected by all the nations of Christendom through their heads in Church and State.

In the judgment of men, brethren, this work of God may be a failure, but not in His whose work it is, any more than the rejection of Christ and of His apostles by the Jewish nation was a failure then in God's purpose. He suffers men to have their evil way of unbelief for a season that His way of salvation may shine out more gloriously, as St. Paul teaches us in that case, "through their fall salvation is come unto the Gentiles." "Behold, therefore, the goodness and severity of God: on them which fell, severity; but toward thee, goodness, if thou continue in His goodness: otherwise thou also shalt be cut off."

The work which the apostles have done has been "to strengthen the things which remain and were ready to die," to restore the worship of God in its integrity, sifting out the errors which had crept in, and to restore the discipline of His house. This has been done by means of a remnant which has in faith and obedience submitted to the Lord's guidance by His apostles, in almost every country in Christendom. Thus the Lord has been able to prepare a firstfruits of His harvest, to be ready for His coming—a first-ripe sheaf as the earnest of that great harvest, which he longs to gather in. The work of gathering that harvest is His next work towards the completion of His grand scheme for man's redemption.

Does this doctrine of a firstfruits and the harvest sound new and startling to you, brethren? It ought not to do, if you have sought out in your Bibles for the whole counsel of God, and have not neglected certain parts of His word because they have clashed with your traditions. The doctrine of a firstfruits stands in Holy Scripture in so many plain words, thus, "These were redeemed from among men, being the firstfruits unto God and to the Lamb;" and what of the sheaf of firstfruits under the law, which was gathered from out of the harvest field, "then ye shall bring a sheaf of the firstfruits of your harvest unto the priest, and he shall wave the sheaf before the Lord to be accepted for you;" was not the law a shadow of good things to come?

Foreshowings of this doctrine are to be found throughout the Bible, viz., that the Lord will by a handful do a special work for the ultimate benefit of the many.

It is to be seen in Gideon's three hundred. "And the Lord said unto Gideon, The people that are with thee are too many for Me to give the Midianites into thine hand." "And Gideon divided the three hundred men into three companies, and he put a trumpet in every man's hand, with empty pitchers, and lamps within the pitchers." The breaking of those earthen vessels, and the light within shining forth, is generally received as a vivid type of the instant change from the earthly to the immortal state.

In the history of Joseph we have a prophetic picture of yet future things. In the bowing of the sheaves of his brethren to his sheaf, which arose and stood upright, and the sun and moon and eleven stars making obeisance to him, we may see a foreshewing not only of what took place when he was made governor of Egypt, but also of events yet future to Israel after the Spirit. In Isaiah xxvi. there is the hiding of the Lord's people in safety from a time of great trouble, the time of the great tribulation under the antichrist, who is here called Leviathan, the piercing serpent, another name for the beast out of the sea, of Rev. xiii.; read Isaiah xxvi., 20, 21, and 1st of xxvii. In Luke xxi. the Lord, speaking of the "great tribulation, such as was not since the beginning of the world to this time, no, nor ever shall be," tells us of a worthiness to be attained unto, and which some having, they shall escape all those troubles, and be taken from them into His presence, v. 35-36.

But these scattered rays of light are all gathered up into a focus in the book of the Revelation of Jesus Christ; therefore let us dwell upon the evidence to be found in that book upon this subject, and especially in chapters vii. and xiv. I said on last Sunday that the distinction between the firstfruits and the harvest is to be found distinctly in those two chapters—that the first is a known definite number, viz., 144,000; while the second or harvest is a great multitude which no man *can* number that the first are sealed with the seal of the living God, while the second have come out of "the great tribulation," not simply, as in our version out of any "great tribulation," but out of a special definite one, out of "the tribulation the great." The sealing is put upon twelve times 12,000 of all the tribes of the Children of Israel; not of the literal twelve tribes, but of twelve tribes of spiritual Israel; for the book of Revelation is addressed not to the Jews or descendants of Jacob, but to the Christian Church, viz., John to the seven churches which are in Asia, and he is told to "Write the things which thou hast seen, and the things which are, and the things which shall be hereafter;" and in accordance with this view, the Christian nations were divided into twelve tribes, and one of the apostles named for each tribe, England being Judah, while Scotland and Switzerland were named together as one tribe. These sealed ones are seen in chapter xiv. standing with the Lamb on the Mount Zion, and it is said of them that "they sing a new song and no man could learn that song but the 144,000 which were redeemed from the earth." "These were redeemed from among men, being the firstfruits unto God and the Lamb." After this glorious sight upon Mount Zion, John sees three several angels, who delivered three distinct messages—the first having the everlasting gospel to preach, and that gospel is, that men are to fear God and not Antichrist, who will then be at the zenith of his power; the second angel proclaims the fall of the mystica Babylon; and the third message warns all against the worship of the beast and his image. Thus do these three angel messages shadow forth the great tribulation, out of which the harvest is to be gathered, and from which the firstfruits have been kept, preserved in safety, and standing before the Son of Man; thus plainly in accord with the words of our Lord speaks the Book of Revelation, that out of that unexampled time of trouble, some shall be accounted worthy to escape all those things which shall come to pass and *to stand before the Son of Man*.

The sheaf of firstfruits having been taken away, it remains to gather the harvest. Is there any indication in Holy Scripture of a special ministry for that purpose? The answer given by apostolic teaching is that it will be done by the two witnesses of Revelation xi. (also answering to the seventy who were sent by the Lord two and two into every city and place whither He Himself would come). They are the two olive trees and the two candlesticks standing before the God of the earth, and it is written, "I will give power unto my two witnesses, and they shall prophesy a thousand two hundred and three score days clothed in sackcloth. They witness for God against the Antichrist, the man of sin, the beast that ariseth out of the sea. They call men to worship God, and not the beast, neither to receive his mark nor the number of his name They will also witness to the fact of the resurrection of the saints and the translation of the living, a testimony which the world will not endure And when they shall have finished their testimony, the beast that ascendeth out of the bottomless pit shall make war against them, and shall kill them. This will be the time of the great tribulation, when the ten kings shall have one mind, and shall give their strength and power unto the beast; when all the world wonders after the beast, he of whom our Lord spoke when He said, "I am come in my Father's name and ye receive me not, if another shall come in his own name, him ye will receive."

Yes, men will receive him and worship him, because he will be the embodiment of selfishness, and in him they will see their own likeness. they will see in him all the qualities which the natural man admires, viz., pride of intellect, eloquence, science, supreme power, boundless wealth, and beauty of person. How will men without faith in the living God be able to resist the fascination of such a being? This will be the outcome of the present worship of Mammon, of the advance in scientific power applied to the steam engine, to railways, to the telegraph and the telephone, to mighty powers of destruction by dynamite, by torpedoes, and twenty millions of soldiers armed with deadly rifles and artillery; for all this great advance in wealth and power of the Christian nations is being made without one thought of giving the honor to the God of the whole earth, or to Christ who hath redeemed it and them; and yet they call themselves by His name!

Let us now turn to the history of God's dealings with Elijah and Elisha for further light, in 2 Kings, ii. Elijah is a type of the sheaf of firstfruits caught away in a chariot of fire and horses of fire, without tasting of death, while Elisha is left behind to go through the troubled times of Ahab and Jezebel, types of the beast and the false prophet. Elisha is thus a type of the harvest, gathered in the midst of storm and tempest. Let us trace the account. "When the Lord would take up Elijah into heaven by a whirlwind Elijah went with Elisha from Gilgal, thence to Bethel, and from thence to Jericho, and then to Jordan. At Bethel the sons of the prophets came forth to Elisha and said unto him, Knowest thou that the Lord will take away thy master from thy head to-day? And he said, Yea, I know it; hold ye your peace." So that it was known, you see, not only by Elisha, but also in Bethel, what the Lord was about to do. The sons of the prophets come out in like manner from Jericho and say the same words and receive the same answer. Then they two go on and stand by Jordan, and fifty men of the sons of the prophets went and stood to view afar off. Elijah divides the water of the river and they two

went over on dry ground. And as they still went on and talked, behold there appeared a chariot of fire and horses of fire and parted them both asunder, and Elijah went up by a whirlwind into heaven. Now comes the part that ought to be a warning to this generation. These sons of the prophets, who knew beforehand that a wonderful thing was to happen to Elijah, witness it and see it with their eyes, yet they do not really believe in the goodness of God; but they believe that Elijah has been aught out of their sight only to be cast upon some mountain or into some valley, and they bow before Elisha and ask his permission to send fifty young men to seek for his master, and he said, Ye shall not send. But they urged him till he was ashamed, and he said, Send. Is this a picture of the state of mind of those who shall know that the translation of the firstfruits has taken place? It would seem so. Now let us read this chapter through without comment, and see if you can read it or hear it in any other sense than that I have done.

Well, brethren, does all this sound to you like idle tales? Is it all a feverish dream with which you can have nothing to do? We speak it to you in sober earnestness; the belief in it is and has been the solace of our lives for many years: that Jesus has come to the help of His people in their great need, and in answer to long-sustained prayer; that He hath had long patience and forbearance with the weakness and waywardness of those who have believed and followed Him. The long-suffering of God is salvation; not willing that any should perish. Now is the day of salvation, now is the accepted time. The door of faith is still open.

But perhaps you find it hard to believe that Jesus Christ, who ascended from the earth 1850 years ago, has in these last days come to the help of His people as the Head of the Church. No doubt, brethren, it is hard to believe; but all His actings have ever been hard to believe. Was it not hard for men and women in olden time to believe that Jesus the son of the carpenter, whom they saw going about their streets dusty and toilworn, preaching and doing good—that that man whose brothers and sisters they knew—was the Son of God, the long-expected Messiah? And besides, who was rejected by their High Priests and Scribes and Pharisees. The foxes had holes, and the birds of the air had nests, but He had not where to lay His head. Was it not much harder to believe God's acting in that old time than what you are asked to believe now viz., that He hath sent again apostles to prepare a people for His coming, to prepare all who will come to Him for help, and who will accept that help in the only way He wills to give it? You may not choose the way that He will accept you in; it must be His own way. The Jews thought they would have accepted Messiah some other way, but He was the way, and they must believe in Him, and submit to be taught by Him, or else become aliens from the family of God. Jesus said if any man will do His will he shall know of the doctrine, whether it be of God. So it is now—not by the power of reasoning, or by the working of the intellect, but by doing His will.

You have heard much in late years of the coming of the Lord, but the doctrine has been obscured and rendered almost powerless as to its purifying influence on the lives of men by its having become associated in men's minds with the end of the world as it is at present constituted. The coming of the Lord will be to take His firstfruits unto Himself—to snatch away His jewels. Does He not say, Behold I come as a thief? According to the analogy of the taking away of Elijah fifty sons of the prophets came out of Jericho and stood to view afar off, but none of those who were left in Jericho, or in Bethel or Gilgal, knew of the wonderful fact *having taken place*, except what they would hear afterwards from those who saw. And may it not be the same again? It will be a nine days wonder—soon forgotten in the absorbing whirl of events taking place in Christendom.

The armies of Europe may any day be hurled upon each other, and then who can foretell what will follow?

The coming of the Lord may be at any instant, and the world will still go on in its usual way for a time; only those who are His people, and who are left behind, who have gone for oil for their vessels when it is too late for the marriage supper, they will know the terrible nature of that word, Too late, ye cannot enter now.

Yes, our Lord and Saviour will come as a thief to take away his firstripe sheaf—those who sleep in Him, and those who shall be changed without tasting death. To them he saith, "Because thou hast kept the word of my patience, I also will keep thee from the hour of temptation, which shall come upon all the world." This firstripe sheaf is the earnest of the great harvest which the Lord will gather, viz., those who remain faithful to their God in the fiery trial of the great tribulation—who refuse to worship the beast and his image, or to receive his mark, or the number of his name.

The Lord hath sent apostles as His ambassadors to His people, and hath opened His arms to receive them for these forty-five years past. His word is still, "Come all ye that labour and are heavy laden and I will give you rest. Take my yoke upon you and learn of me, for I am meek and lowly in heart, and ye shall find rest unto your souls."

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The Key.

A Series of Communications Bearing on the Spiritual Philosophy,

By

logo

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## Preface.

"The Key" is an abridged summary of spirit teaching received during the last ten years. Small portions, such as that relating to Re-incarnation, are entirely the result of thought, some of a recent date, and others that were carried to a conclusion long before I knew anything of importance connected with Spiritualism, and when I thought there was no certain evidence of any future conscious existence for mankind, but only a bare possibility of such being the case. I need not say that all similar ideas have happily left me long ago. The present publication is intended principally for those who read history, and who therefore will be able to understand the historical allusions. If another edition is required I shall endeavour to explain those passages more fully.

The term "jonnuck" (a provincialism) is used occasionally through the book because it is the only English word that thoroughly expresses the idea of friendly self-assertion.

I had intended to have collected in one place in this book all those portions of manuscript that referred to similar subjects, and had marked them to be so transferred; this, however, could not be done by the compositors without re-writing a great portion of the copy. Not having the time at disposal, the work is published in a less connected form than it otherwise would have been.

I am yours, &c.,  
logo

Melbourne,

April 16th, 1881.

## As to the Nature of the Godhead.

THE thinking power that has created and now rules, and for all eternity will continue to rule, the vast universe, is at the present time mainly composed of myriads of units that have been procreated on those worlds which were set aside during long past ages for the purpose of spirit nurseries, or breeding grounds, of which this earth is but one amongst millions. It is true that there was a vast benevolent and excessively intelligent power previously existing, and that many of the grandest ideas of the progressive creation were initiated by this all-loving progenitor of the present spirit world. Among other vast plans was that of the division of the thinking and acting power into male and female; in the original being, the union of the two principles had been constant until the plan of procreation of fresh individualities was considered necessary for the increase of the intelligence, and thereby happiness, of the spirit world. These ideas are perhaps dimly shadowed forth in the Hindoo, Jewish, and other inspired writings, under the symbols of God brooding on chaos, &c. All that was necessary for us nurslings to know, or perhaps all that we can understand in this state, has been ages ago taught to our forefathers; and whether we shall ever (even in the spirit world) be thoroughly able to comprehend the first initiation of mind and matter is perhaps a doubtful question; we know sufficient to render thanks for the great kindness whereby we are capable of admittance amongst the glorified, and also for our original creation; let us, therefore, be modest, thankful, and content with our lot, confident that if we do our duty in this life we shall be received on an equal footing in the spirit world amongst those of a *similar mental and moral character*, and also that true friendships are eternal, and that as we improve our descendants and successors in earth life, so do we render possible greater happiness and intellectual power in the world of spirits. Yes, but some may say, the efforts of even all the inhabitants of this little world can hardly influence the happiness of that vast spirit life even so much as does a drop of water added to the ocean. Nevertheless, let us try, and what little we can do will be thankfully accepted; yes, they say, even *thankfully accepted* by that supreme and wonderful power that can, if necessary, crush our very earth into nothingness in an instant. And will they do so? After carefully training and teaching mankind from the pre-historic times up to our present state of semi-civilisation, is it possible that supreme reason can so far stultify itself as to break up and throw away its labour when the result is nearly gained? No, no; I cannot think so. The end of this Christian dispensation may have, and I believe has, arrived; the end also of that evil power alluded to by Christ when he spoke of "the world, the flesh, and the devil;" but

not the end of the material world. No, rather the commencement of the Age of Reason, instead of that of hard-bought spiritual and formal teaching through which our forefathers and our-selves also have waded. With all due humility, let us not forget that as we improve man here, so do we raise the intellectual and loving power of the Godhead.

## On the Ancient Religions and Civilisations.

The human body may be considered as nothing more than an invention of the spirit world, and therefore, of necessity, the best instrument that the united wisdom of the Godhead has been able to devise for the purposes of self-procreation of the highest form of spiritual and bodily development hitherto possible under the conditions of this planet. The evils of this life result simply from the fact of our being in an imperfect state. Many of those evils can be remedied, or perhaps altogether removed, if men will take the proper methods and put their own shoulders to the right part of the wheel, and not wait for Jupiter to do all.

When man was first created he was of necessity without those principles of self-government which are now at the command of all, and are the results of human experience for thousands of years past. In this unlearned condition it was considered right by the Supreme Power that rules of conduct should by degrees be laid down for the guidance of this noblest animal of earth life. At first sight it might seem easy enough for the Divine Being to simply tell his creature what to do, and that any reasoning being would simply, from love and gratitude, immediately do it; but such unfortunately is not possible.

Having at various times lived near savages, from my own experience I think I can see plainly that no spiritual instructions would ever convince the original man of the necessity of continuous labour, and yet without such labour (both mental and bodily) the highest perfection of mind possible in this earthly state cannot be attained; and, consequently, when the harvest is reaped by death, the spirit crop annually arising from a savage community is not nearly so valuable to the spirit world, nor yet so numerous as would be garnered from the same extent of country when under the government of religion, law, and civilisation generally. Therefore the Divine Being originated various religions in different countries and at different periods. At the first commencement all that the original man could understand would be something tangible, such as a stone or a log of wood. Priests, prophets, and oracles were started, in many instances, really by divine power, and although we at this date may be inclined to laugh at such things, yet in those early times they were necessary to catch the attention of the multitude. Then the prophet anointed the head slave-driver (the king), and became perhaps his prime minister or adviser: the prophet himself being often chosen by the all-seeing Governor of the Universe, would naturally be the cleverest and worthiest man for that position, often infinitely superior in mind to the men whom he had assisted to the kingly power. The king being appointed, or having by superior brute force appointed himself, naturally chose kindred spirits as captains over the warriors, and afterwards as slave-drivers *over the lower classes*, and then with the lash at his back, the originally free and independent barbarian became forcibly compelled to do infinitely more work than ever his small ideas of gratitude would have caused him to perform had he been simply asked or even divinely commanded to improve his mental and bodily powers by labour. It was, therefore, to enslave the ancient Egyptian that his peculiar religion had been permitted to come on earth; the poor labourer was sacrificed in order that his manual labour might give mental employment for his superiors, and thus advance them and other races along with them, and to some extent also to improve even the workman himself; then pyramids, temples, and other great works were built. At the present day people are often greatly astonished to find that the Egyptian priests, without the help of our modern astronomical and other implements were oftentimes ahead of the moderns in matters of mathematical accuracy. If they had not those implements, or similar ones, how is it possible that they should know *of their own knowledge* such difficult questions, for instance, as the distance of the earth from the sun? I was given to understand (and it seems reasonable to me) that where the intellect of the priest failed, there the power of the prophet often commenced; and that possibly when planning such a building as the great pyramid that the prophet received divine command to make it of a certain length on the base; and that plan was implicitly, but at the same time intelligently, followed out. And perhaps we see the result at the present day better, in some respects, than it was understood even by its builders. Still, the divine teachings committed to the Egyptian priests were, no doubt, excellent in matters of learning, and also they greatly improved their mathematical knowledge by means of self-advancement, possibly however not to the extent of measuring the exact distance of the earth from the sun. These pyramids, gigantic statues, &c., while teaching the Egyptians, Greeks, and other surrounding nations in the building arts, sculpture, and various sciences were also still more particularly intended to place a firm record on this earth showing what nations could do under a slave government even at those very remote periods, and thereby inciting the people who should arise thousands of years afterwards to still greater achievements; and we can see that result (*viz.*, emulating of ancient builders and scientists) has been attained

during the times of the ancient Greeks and Romans, and also at the present period, for when great ideas in architecture and engineering are spoken of, we almost instinctively turn our venerating gaze to the old land of Egypt.

The race inhabiting that country was naturally of a disposition suitable for the initiation of the then new slave system of government (that is new on a large scale); they were more docile than the Greeks, therefore fitter to learn the lesson and teach it when learned, than that more lively people. There were also civilisations then commencing in other parts of the world, but (with the exception perhaps of those nations on the Tigris and Euphrates) none of them were divinely intended to influence European progress so much as that which had been brought about on the banks of the Nile.

The system introduced in India was intended by the Supreme Power to crystallise by means of the caste system so as to produce large annual crops of fairly developed spirits; but it was never meant to greatly influence those races in Europe from which the greatest amount of advancement was expected in these latter days.

The Chinese philosophy (with its principles of servilely following their teachers, and considering it to be almost impious to advance beyond them) had an intention of producing vast multitudes for spirit life, they being kept during the earthly existence under a tolerably kind and liberal form of Government; but still of necessity there had to be so much of the conservative element introduced into the system, that stagnation has been one necessary evil of it. As to the other religions, I have neither time nor space to say anything about them, but I shall now endeavour to show somewhat of the plan followed by the spirit world in training our modern European nations, by means of the errors and sufferings of those preceding them. When the Greeks began to see the great improvements that had been carried out in surrounding countries, their own natural emulation—assisted by direct spirit teaching—caused their more intelligent men to aspire to equal and, if possible, to surpass their teachers; they sent young men to Egypt and elsewhere to learn scientific matters, but never having been enslaved themselves, except on isolated occasions, they found a difficulty in getting their freemen to do the hard continuous labour necessary for great engineering and building operations, they apparently got over the objection by means of keeping large gangs of slaves, raised from the prisoners taken in war, and by purchase from the Phoenicians and others, and still amongst themselves they kept up a most intense love of liberty; this itself was a great advance above the condition of the Egyptians, where it would seem that slavery and servility was almost universal; as, however, the Greeks, as a nation, had never gone through the painful but salutary process of learning how to work by routine, they were often unable to arrive at the correct spiritual ideas on the dignity and necessity of labour; however, they did great things by means of their most admirable philosophers and rulers, and helped greatly to teach the Romans and moderns. Their brilliant career was directly assisted by means of oracles, sometimes causing them to choose the right men as rulers, and sometimes the wrong; now leading them to victories the world can never forget, and then to sad humiliations such as happened to Nicias, at Syracuse. It was, however, not required of them that they should found a system of *permanent* republics, that indeed is to come in the future, but the Greeks were wanted at that time to experimentalise and succeed at times, and to blunder into defeat at others. The Deity having sufficiently demonstrated the fact that even the intelligent Greeks were unfit to govern themselves, their power was taken from them and given to the Romans, who, profiting to a great extent from Greek historians and philosophers, were able to render their Government more capable of improving and civilising humanity, than any system the world had yet seen; however, slavery of a great portion of the working population had still to be practised. Then came the religion of Christianity, promising great things as to the increasing of the popular happiness, but up to a very late period there has, perhaps, been but little addition to the earthly advantages of the masses on that account; however, the grand ideal of worshipping and endeavouring to imitate man in the generous and unselfish form of Jesus has done much towards raising the moral character of many of the European races; then the idea of being saved by *belief alone*; faith in God has assisted the development of those moral organs of the mind that in the savage state are so seldom used; he that has blind, undoubting, unsuspecting faith in his Deity and brother man Jesus, can hardly deny a large amount of trustfulness to his neighbour on earth, whom he knows to have similar religious ideas; at any rate as far as my experience goes, those nations whose forefathers have been most strongly grounded in the doctrine of salvation for belief alone, are at the present time generally noted for their conscientiously assisting one another in gaining any great political or other object. This want of brotherly trustfulness and perhaps still more the want of trust in their leaders, were two of the most serious faults of the ancient Greeks; they would assist one another *at times*, but then the snaky, shortsighted, selfish reason would step in, and for hardly any offence they would kill the best men in Greece, or destroy Greek cities for little provocation. Now at the present time by means of our religious and historical trainings, and the beliefs resulting from them, we are saved from such dangerous cruelty and the unsuccessful leader is generally, at the present day, an object of reverence, for what he has done justly.

Now as to the oracles of the ancient world, we of modern times have been trained to believe that as there

was so much childish lying nonsense in many of those matters, that therefore, of necessity they could not any of them be of spiritual or divine origin; but when we come to consider the reason of their being given, perhaps their very unreliability was one of the necessities of the state of the world at that time, had it been the divine intention to spread republican liberty from Athens as a centre to the farthest limits of the world, then the oracles might have spoken truly, and done no injury to men at the time or to future ages. The world was not ready to receive liberty *on the basis of freedom to all*, and nothing short of that would please our loving father God (that is the united spirit world) therefore the Greek was allowed to experimentalise, was assisted sometimes to good at other times to bad laws, the oracles just teaching sufficient to make them open their eyes and use their own reason; if Dodona did not suit the popular will, then try Delphos, failing that, consult their cleverest men again, and that is the way the spiritual teachings are even now oftentimes given; the spirit world does not intend to do for us that which we can do for ourselves, not that they are careless about these matters, but because if they did so they would be hindering a vastly important principle, namely, that of self-improvement, and after training us and our progenitors for ages in the paths leading to self-government, is it likely that when the end is almost in view that they will suddenly alter their policy and teach one how to find his stolen property and so on; it is true they will do so at times, but the exceptions prove the rule, for they who, not individually but *collectively*, see and know all that is to be known, can of course tell us where to find thieves. &c.; and what then, are we to dismiss our detectives, magistrates, and trust to a spiritual police? No, no, this would be retrogression, not progress, and therefore will not be done; and even in the matter of curing disease by miracles and what not, for my own part I would infinitely prefer the advice of a sound physician to any amount of spiritual opinions, although I have known them to be of great use on many occasions.

## Spiritual Teachings on the Mind or Soul of Man.

This important subject is also the most difficult of any within the range of spiritual investigation, inasmuch as we, spiritualists, have usually but little reliable outside data to compare with our own experience; however, I shall endeavour to relate what has been spiritually taught to me and that only because of its, to me, apparent feasibility, leaving others to hold their own opinions on these points with as much freedom and goodwill as I do my own.

The reason given to me for there being duplicate organs of bodily generation and also corresponding phrenological bumps on either side of the brain was this; one side of each human being is male and the other female, and if the mind in the process of copulation impels a life spark down the spinal marrow either on the male side or the female, the current completing its circuit by returning to the brain on the reverse side from which it proceeded on its journey, should the current be positive or male, then the semen becomes vivified to that sex, and is then capable of causing the fertilisation of an ovum for the production of a male child; but some women rarely produce other than masculine, and others again generally female offspring. When such is the case the ova becomes capable of fertilisation usually only in the one direction, thus should the current come down on the male side of the woman's body, the ova is in that sex ready for fertilisation, but it is also usually necessary that the current should set in from the corresponding side with the man; and this was stated to me to be one of the reasons why some women have been so barren to certain men, whilst they were fertile to others; however, of course, I have no proof of this, further than it was given to me as a spiritual communication on a matter with which I am but little acquainted, and therefore unable to say authoritatively anything either for or against the theory, and another remark made was that whatever organs of the brain had been most recently exercised before the copulation process, were most likely to be strongly represented in the infant resulting from the union, *provided the woman has sufficient of that portion* of organ of the mind to be able to make a fair copy of her husband's disposition in that particular. Also where there is true love on the part of the wife, she will instinctively endeavour to photo her husband's mental peculiarities; but it is absolutely necessary for the purpose of making a sound mental photograph of her partner that she shall be able to psychologically comprehend him; thus, however beautiful, loving, and interesting a wife an intellectual man may have, still if she has not the brain power, she can hardly be able to render a good brain copy of her husband's mind, although she may produce a tolerably correct bodily likeness, and even then the likeness will not eventually be so perfect as that which a more intellectual woman would have been able to produce, inasmuch as that when the child grows up the difference in mind will show very strongly on the physiognomy sometimes, and almost obliterate the physical likeness that had existed in youth. They also stated that the showily intellectual women are generally not so good at this mental photography as the quietly thoughtful ones, the reverse holding good as to personal advantages. One intention of the Divine Being in the scheme of human procreation is this, that after

death the positive and negative spirits (man and wife) shall unite together and form a dual individuality, not, however, destroying the self-consciousness of each one of the pair; that self-consciousness and absolute loving equality being one of the main sensations of joy to be experienced for never ending time, and this should be a most authoritative reason for acting with truth, love, and honour in this life, so as to have but few secrets to be revealed hereafter.

Where there is great difference in mind an earthly union is sometimes not consummated in spirit life, but such ultimate union, nevertheless, is the highest reward to be granted or rejected by the female at her desire, she not being prompted by mean motives, for such evils are buried in the earth from which they sprang.

One illustration given to me to show the necessity for male and female union in earth life, was this:—"What is the use of the right blade of a pair of shears without the left?" and for the purposes for which the shears were made the conclusion is obvious that without the two being joined almost as one, the end for which they were made is lost.

Again, they said that the highest intellectual condition of earthly humanity could have been better attained had God so willed it that the male and female spirits should exist in one body, but then for the purposes of procreation it would have been necessary to have had organs of male and female generation also, in the one organism; that difficulty has been overcome in some species, both of the vegetable and lower animal kingdoms, and means could have been found by the all-powerful spirit world to effect something similar with mankind; for the sake of the offspring the better plan was taken of creating the higher animals with their generative organs placed in separate bodies.

Another spiritual communication was this, that polygamy, although countenanced by the spirit world in ancient times, almost as a necessity, on account of the constant wars and rapines carried on amongst barbarous tribes (and in which consisted the worst portion of their barbarism), is not now desired by God, more particularly amongst the more advanced races for this sufficient reason, that it prevents the woman from taking her fair half of the home governing power, and it is now the Divine wish that women shall occupy as high a position as men in all matters where reason shows to them and to honourable men that their influence would be both gratifying to themselves as free agents, and salutary to the general welfare. In the spirit world, however, the case is different, there polygamy may and is sometimes practised, although the happiness attained by the union of two is as complete and perfect as that of one male and several female spirits. The converse state of more than one male joined in union with female spirit or spirits, is unnatural according to the conditions necessary for happiness, and therefore never practised. The illustration given to me to show this, was that of several wheels joined together by one axle; the bond of union is the male principle or axle, there may be three or four wheels attached to it, there can be but one centre piece if the machine is to run smoothly; however, one of each sex is sufficient in spirit life to constitute a perfect dual, and there is no necessity for us to desire or hope for anything different.

The fact of the nearly agreeing numbers of the sexes at birth in different parts of the world would appear to partly corroborate this statement. From statistics that I have read it seems that male births rather outnumber the female; the spirit communication on this point, referred to the New Testament text about the unforgiven sin, he that outrages the affections of all the females with whom he is acquainted with in earth life, is in danger of never enjoying the perfect happiness of the dual state. I am now alluding to the vilest of men. A man may behave badly to one woman and yet retain the affections of another; but while, if just and right so to do, the female spirit may and can join in a union of three, two of whom being females, the male spirit has no such chance.

However, if a man by ill-treatment and disloyalty, loses her that should be his partner, perhaps he may be accepted by the spirit of his mistress or the mistress of others; there is no need for me to argue the matter out to the fullest extent, let us endeavour to avoid its possibility. The punishment allotted to these crimes is not willingly inflicted by the spirit world, it arises rather from the necessities of the dual state; she who has been martyred all her life to please her hard task-master (who perhaps is also a man of infamous memories in other respects), we can hardly expect to show the virtues of total forgiveness when such would be productive in the dual state of a large amount of unpleasant thought and *memory always present* and to last for all time. No, no, that would never do; better for each, if possible, to choose suitable partners according to their mental and moral condition. I asked the question, would it not be possible to create fresh female spirits for ultimate union with such lost ones, and the answer was that "neither justice nor reason could permit of the union of the vile with the virtuous," that is with such spirits as I spoke of, who would of necessity be spotlessly pure; justice and reason being against it, mercy has to be silent.

There is no intentional punishment for any crime committed on earth, but on account of the fact that all that exists of the human being after what we call death, or rather spirit birth, is mind; capable of *enormously* strong powers of memory and sensation, both of pleasure and pain; therefore it is that ideas which we might often forget in earth life, can never be avoided for one moment in the eternal state, and it has been on account of this

that all the best developed religions given from on high to humanity, have endeavoured to teach men to act well one towards the other, in order that they may have less to regret hereafter. The various schemes of salvation (so called) have been divinely appointed through various chosen men, to suit the condition of the races for whom it was intended; some few have been given to show other people what to avoid. Now most persons, not actually Mormons, would say at once that Joseph Smith, the Mormon leader, could never have received Divine help in his apostleship, because they say that even the Book itself was an ungrammatical fraud, from the commencement, and that had God wished to give a new religion to the world it would have surely at any rate have been as well worded as the more ancient affairs of the same kind. Now from my experience of Spiritualism, it would seem that the fact of bad grammar or error of any other kind is no certain disproof of spiritual origin; and, again, by means of Mormonism we are able to judge as to the advantages and disadvantages of a theocratic form of government; to see also, how mutual help caused Nauvoo and afterwards Salt Lake to be flourishing cities, also to show the real effects of polygamy, and thereby to let the European races choose as to which system they consider best adapted to their conditions of life, and all these experiments are made right under their own noses, by people of similar race. I can plainly see the advantages of the experiment, and also those of the Spiritualist Free Lovers, &c. Joseph Smith and all other religious inventors claim Divine assistance, and for my own part I shall neither deny nor affirm it; some may be swindlers, but not all. But of this I am thoroughly certain, that few, if any, spiritual communications are entirely free from errors either amongst ancient or modern religions; the ancient faiths are all greatly different, and therefore cannot all be literally true. Anything from a Divine source that is free from defect of one sort or other from end to end, must almost certainly *have been revised by the human brain of the medium or his successors*. Paradoxical as it may seem, the error in a spiritually written communication is, to some extent, the proof that it is of Divine origin.

The ancient and modern religions have all of them numerous examples of unreliability; opponents constantly cite them as absolutely overthrowing the possibility of their being of Divine origin. Is it not, however, possible that these so-called schemes of salvation have been given, not so much for purposes connected with the future, but rather to cause men to learn how to govern themselves in earth life while making history to teach future generations, and that even the errors themselves have been so accurately arranged by the spirit world that when civilisation and science should have advanced to a certain pitch, the religions would fall down of their own weight, as did the walls of Jericho, according to the Old Book; and whether that be true or not, at any rate the scientific trumpets blown at the present day must, ere long, destroy the old superstitions so as to make way for a true and wholesome worship of the Supreme Being. When the higher intellects of the various more advanced races shall take it fairly on their own shoulders to establish systems whereby man's inner desire for something to venerate shall be thoroughly satisfied, and a correct system of morals being taught at the same time with little advice to the godhead on things we don't understand. When this occurs, we shall have fairly passed over this transition state that at present gives so little satisfaction to many thinking minds. There are plenty of materials at hand of Divine and human origin, the Hebrew Scriptures, and also much that is excellent from other inspired sources; retain the good, reject the evil and useless. The spirit world cares but little whether we worship or not, and most certainly, as a rule, will not alter the laws of God or nature at our foolish requests. To us, however, belongs the right and duty of worship towards our Maker, that worship often rendering great service to ourselves; he who promises (as he justly believes in the presence of God) to endeavour to check an evil habit, has really done much towards helping himself to keep his good intention, and in fact answers his own prayer by calling up all his energies to carry it out. I do not deny or affirm that prayer has never been answered in any other sense, in that sense it is potent and that is quite sufficient for the present purpose.

If I were to die before you, reader, would your worship of my spirit give me any pleasure? No, certainly not; but rather pain; and it is just the same with all those who have departed thousands of years before us. However, to worship the spirit world in Unity, as what it really is, viz., the Most High God, the benevolent Ruler of the Universe, is evidently a proper and grateful act. Let our higher civilisations take heed to it on their own heads, for after the thousands of years of training for that and other grand purposes, if we in earth life cannot carry it out thoroughly, then has that training been in vain. Nature teaches many of us that He is unvarying, and never errs; if so he cannot have blundered in this most essential point.

It is well that there are several noble men of advanced views holding office in many of the Christian churches at the present day; they and kindred minds in the scientific world, are the salt of the earth, necessary in preparing the minds of men towards what must come, viz., a religion based on sound *scientific* as well as *religious* fact; and to them we must look for help in the present evil day, when men are wandering about as sheep having no shepherd, not because they will not, but because they cannot believe some of the teachings of old times, and therefore feel impelled to reject the whole, in some instances muddling themselves about spirit writing and table rappings when totally unsuited for such enquiries, and thus instead of advancing in religious

thought, are apt to become mere recorders of dancing mahogany and small beer chronicle generally. The spiritual intercourse granted to mankind during the last thirty years has not been intended by the Supreme Ruler to be the means of founding a new religion (as was the case with the olden forms of revelation), but rather to assist the men of science and thought in pulling down the old buildings, thus clearing the ground for a noble offering to Deity in the shape of a voluntary system of worship avowedly planned and carried out by man in the flesh. As to the scientific thinkers, their work has been well done and borne excellent fruit, resulting perhaps in this, that very few intelligent ministers or members of Church of England congregations would like to deliberately avow their unreserved belief in all the Thirty-nine Articles of Mother Church; but the vast mass of the people is not so easily moved by mere words from men they are not capable of appreciating, therefore for this and other reasons a novel system of spiritual converse was carried out in our generation, by means of which any member of the spirit world is allowed (his perfected reason, and no other, telling him what to do) to give communications, but so as not to leave men in the flesh a chance of founding a new priest-ridden or superstitious religion; because we are now fairly out of leading strings, and those who have gone before us do not wish to re-enslave us; so the spiritual assistance to science takes the form of communications most convincing to the person who receives it, and but little capable of being imparted to others *as an article of faith*; still the result arrived at by them is of course, as might be expected, thoroughly gained, and people who otherwise would, in spite of scientific evidence to the contrary, stick to their unreasoning faith like limpets to a rock, are by the gentle influence of Spiritualism, gradually weaned from the old superstitions, and at present have nothing of much importance to put in place of thereof, therefore the sooner true reformers of genius take the matter fairly in hand, the better for the interests of all humanity.

## Classification of the Human Race.

In the savage state men are naturally all reasoners, using their small reason on almost all occasions, and neglecting those organs of formalism on which the civilisation of the race mainly depends, the religions and governmental schemes under which humanity has hitherto been trained, have resulted in this, that now men habitually use the reason of others in almost all phases of life; and this is evidently far better both for our happiness here and also for training and duly using our organs of unreason so as to be perfected as near as possible under present conditions, and to be capable of a vastly greater intellectual happiness hereafter. True, men do have to use their reason to a more or less extent in the application to daily wants of the forms laid down by the different scientific and other teachers, but few feel called on to originate, and very few in a million are really able to originate, anything of much importance. The shoemaker sticking to his last is the right and proper idea, unless however the shoemaker has something in him worth listening to, and then, under the guidance of careful reason, he has a right to throw the last into the fire, more particularly at the present time when the Age of Reason should commence, and will do so if we work together for that purpose.

I was spiritually informed, and my own experience somewhat corroborates to me, that civilised men at the present day are generally to be classified under four heads, as if arranging the main organs of the brain under four groups.

- Reasoners.—(But few of them).
- Reasoning Formalists.—Business, legal and political men are generally of these.
- Reasoning Imaginatives.—Authors, poets, &c.
- Friendly Self-asserting Formalists; the rank and file of mankind.

Now, for past ages the media, prophets, &c, who have been chosen to teach mankind have been selected according to this classification.

In the old times of Egypt, when it was needful almost at once to elevate a nation to do great engineering and other works to teach mankind for all ages, the men chosen were usually reasoning formalists, of a high mathematical type, and the communications they received were vastly more clear and formal than anything that has been or ever will be vouchsafed to other nations. Then came the Greeks; here much of the formal work had already been done for them, and what was wanted was quick appreciation of its advantages; therefore men of the imaginative turn of mind were sometimes selected in order to fire up the Greek energy, because "They" say that when the imagination is fully at work, the reason moves vastly quicker, although not so steadily and reliably; and also, where it is either naturally or by home training at the head of affairs, it has the effect of causing men to use their reason when it would be far best left alone; thus it is that novel authors, actors, poets, &c, are sometimes unfortunate in married life, and in other instances, from taking notice of small matters, where the bare formalist or friendly self-assertor would be unable to detect any intentional disrespect or injury; and it is precisely the same with nations, when the imaginative organs are at the top in stratification instead of where they should be, namely, at the bottom, to be searched for and used only when reading poetry and then put

away again. However, with the Greeks there it was fairly at the top on almost all occasions. The spirit world had caused it to be so, and when the end had been gained, namely, of quickly advancing Greece to that state of partial liberty and great intellectual power, that was to be a prophecy to future humanity of what free men could, and can, and will yet do. What remained? Why there were the gallant, clever Greeks, always restless, always suspicious, and often unjustly cruel to their best men, and as the imaginative training was fairly ground into them from father to son, it was known to be almost a matter of impossibility to alter then, the false stratification in that nation. This, therefore, became another potent reason why Greece was foredoomed to fall under the power of Romans, Arabs, and Turks.

The reason is with most men of a selfish nature; in the savage state it acts well enough as the main adviser, because the wants being few and easily satisfied, there is not so much cause for quarrelling about them, but in civilisation it is absolutely necessary to find some organs of the unreason that shall exercise a constant check on its selfish course. The best plan has been judged to be to gradually train the nations to examine almost all matters according to formalism; that is, as most of us do at the present period, we generally go by the brand; if it comes out of the right bottle we are satisfied, and as a rule it is far better that it should be so than that each man should invariably endeavour to form an independent judgment for himself; all, except idiots, can criticise to a certain extent, and but few originate opinions.

In order to show the great advantages of civilisation the following table was given to me years ago: thus, it was, taking the Australian black as the unit, although if required we might go into decimals to any extent, for the mind of all animals capable of will, volition, and self-consciousness is made of use in building up the spirit world:—

Australian Black, 1; Kaffir, 2; Chinese,  $2\frac{1}{2}$  to  $3\frac{1}{2}$ ; Ordinary European,  $3\frac{1}{2}$  to 5; Highest Minds, Socrates, Shakspeare, &c., 7 to 8.

Now, they said that the getting rid of the body, and thence the greater freedom in action of the mind, and the being united with a suitable female spirit, increases the mental and moral nature as by a multiplication of 400; thus the yearly spirit crop of Australian blacks consisted only of perhaps a few hundreds, each one averaging only a spiritual value of 400, while under civilisation the same country is capable of producing many millions, whose average power shall perhaps be up to 1600 for each one, and a few occasionally up to, say 2800 or 3200; and let us endeavour even to surpass that, if possible; although man, like the racehorse, apparently can be trained and bred up to a certain point, and that point appears to have been reached by the Greeks long ago; beyond that we become weedy, and have to try back again; however, there is no harm in striving our best for further advancement.

Now, as to the self-asserting and friendly organs of unreason: these are very important to be trained, and thus to cause men to use them as much as possible, but of course under a sound formalism. These organs constitute the great bond of friendly union amongst the bulk of the English-speaking races, and are far safer to depend upon for our necessary friendship than is the case amongst those nations who use the reason and imagination too often. If you are friendly with the self-asserters to-day, you know pretty well how you will find them to-morrow; and it will continue thus generally, unless circumstances cause you to cut through the outer into the inner man, and then it becomes with most men a question of selfish reason, and the savage returns again. Nor is this only the case amongst the professedly non-religious; try the same experiment with a religiously converted man belonging to any of the churches—one whom you knew to be thoroughly selfish and spiteful before his conversion, is perhaps the best for the experiment: touch his self-love and out crops the old unconverted and unconvertable feeling instantly; and yet even so, this outward conversion to higher self-government, by means of using the sayings of Jesus and others for the usual guidance in daily affairs, is far better than for the really selfish man to be left without any check whatever.

By thinking over this can we not see the absolute necessity for good moral training for each generation as it arises; although some at the present day seem to deny that such teaching is wanted in the future, for my own part I am not of that opinion. For the last 1800 years the western nations have had a thoroughly good drilling on the self-asserting bumps. It is true that the doctrine taught by Jesus, Paul, and others, is that of self-abnegation, however the masses can never receive it in the way Jesus and Paul practised it; and it was never intended that they should do so. No, the self-abnegation principle cuts both ways; in many instances it keeps back the really honourable reasoner—the man who acts almost by nature as the apostles taught—but when such an one retires from the fight, his place is immediately filled by a genuine self-asserter, and thus it is that many generous and well-devised affairs have come to the ground; they answered well enough while the men of large and therefore unselfish reason were at the head, but when self-abnegation prevents other men of similar minds stepping forward to lead when their turn comes, then the place that should be theirs is instantly occupied by some unblushing self-asserter of the reasoning type; and if too many of these come to the front, a grand scheme may be ruined for the sake of selfish ends. The men who are to be blamed for the failure are not so much the self-asserters as the more generous men who allow themselves to be put in the background.

Now, the present and future desire of the spirit world is that the large, unselfish minds shall, for the sake of their kind, give up more of themselves to the use of their fellow men than many of them are in the habit of doing; and in all things they do they should always bear in mind to act in a right and modest way, and preach and practise the doctrine of honourable self-assertion instead of self-abnegation for the future, particularly in political matters, for these affairs are anxiously watched by our spirit friends, and the generous exertions of such men as George Washington, Lafayette, Hampden, Daniel O'Connell, and Mazzini are matters of more pride to them than they are to us. Indeed, from a spiritual point of view the science of politics as to this world necessarily takes the lead of all others. It has been called the "science of exigencies," and it is well named; therefore is it peculiarly the portion of the men of the largest and most original intellect—the men who make precedents, and yet have sense enough never to make a new one when the old will answer the purpose.

When Garibaldi for some few years refused to accept the well-earned money that his grateful country offered, was that money saved to the country? I very much doubt it; probably it was spent, and not perhaps as well spent as he would have done, for when eventually he did agree to accept some of it, the money was at once laid out on deepening the Tiber, thereby finding work for willing labour and also improving that renowned old river. Such men should learn the gospel of honest self-assertion on all points, and practise it not to the exclusion but rather to the assistance of others.

Now to shift the subject to a matter of sympathy instead of bare fact, let us consider the subject of where are we English and Americans to place our Holy Land; most of us, perhaps from old religious associations, are likely to think of Palestine. Those who are determined so to do, let them follow their inclination, and no harm to any is done thereby; but for my own part, and I believe also that of many others of our race, the Holy City is not Jerusalem to the entire exclusion of the land of Socrates, the greatest medium who ever trod this earth, where he taught Xenophon, Plato, and Aristotle to know themselves as far as he could show them, and to rightly use their faculties; there I think all we Europeans should look with as much veneration as we possess, and if names of men alone are not sufficient to cause us so to do, if we are yet so barbarous as to require the memory of blood to sanctify our admiration; what victories were ever gained by the sanguinary Jewish kings and rulers equal in glory or in results to those won for all time in the cause of liberty, on the plains of Marathon and Platœa and at Salamis.

I shall now endeavour to relate one or two communications that possibly may be of use to some of us. When Socrates assisted the self-asserting Alcibiades to power and did nothing, or but little, to advance the common-sense genius, Xenophon in Athens, he made an error that the spirit world had intended him to make, and that error did much towards causing the ruin of his beloved country. Xenophon was the one honourable Athenian of the time who would have been true as a leader to the republic, and at the same time was equal, if not superior, to Alcibiades in political and warlike genius. Had Socrates possessed the historical training that we now all have at command, he would have more constantly incited Xenophon to advance in Athens, and the error, as to Alcibiades, would not have been made; because in that case it would not have been desired by the spirit world; however, the time for true liberty had not then come. Let us bear this in mind when electing rulers, it is not always the most showy intellect that is either the cleverest or the most reliable.

Another communication was this:—"The Greek phase of Spiritualism was unreliable, but suggestive; not like that of Egypt which, when it was used, was formal and exact."

Socrates was considered by the spirit world to have been their greatest medium, because during his whole ministry on earth and while conversing constantly with the departed great ones of his own land and others, yet he never even asked, expected, or obtained anything for himself as a reward, either during earth life or in the spirit state, except this that he knew that he had done his duty and would be received in the future state with a hearty welcome as among friends; therefore, without superstitious delusions, he performed his work as consistently and conscientiously as if he had believed himself to be nothing more than a poor and sometimes ill-used agent of God; he was also taught much more than it was considered right by him and his spirit friends to be mentioned at that time, to any except some few perhaps of his closest companions. The time had not come for the intimate state of spiritual communication which will, perhaps, before long be the portion of many in earth life.

The imaginative Media, religious and poetical, used often really, and at times unconsciously to themselves, to be impressed from a Divine source to deliver that which the spirit world thought fit and which also agreed with the medium's own idealism and that of his race. The spirits always select suitable men for their business, a good grazier can pick out the best sheep for his purpose from the flock, but not with the same certainty that the Eternal Being can choose the men he requires. The same plan was carried out in selecting the formal Media, and often were they unconsciously influenced, and so can it be if necessary now; but the necessity does not so constantly appear, as mankind have better means of self-improvement in this life, and if we do not know of certain things in our day, why there will only be so much more to exercise those that come after us.

Individual spirits at circles often say, and truly, that they do not know everything, and once a spirit

communication asked me a certain matter bearing on this point. As near as I can recollect, it was thus:—

Question to me—"Do you know how many stars there are?" I answered no. "Then do you know what they are" and I said that science had taught us to believe they were all suns. "Then if so, do you not think it probable that there are many planets attached to each of them, and that some of these planets are also used for spirit nurseries, as this one is?" I answered, I thought it likely. Then he asked, "Do you not think it probable that the history of each of those planets is as interesting and as well worthy of study as the affairs of this one? I replied I thought it was so. Then he said "if there are millions of those stars or suns, and attached to them there are millions of millions of planets, perhaps some of which are larger than this, although I have been in the world of spirits for over 2000 years, yet I will frankly confess that personally I do not know and shall never know all those histories that we have just acknowledged to be worth knowing; however, should I require to learn anything on a given point connected with them, I can get the information, but I do not often require it, my time and care being taken up with the planetary system to which I belong, and some others connected with it. However, the united spirit world belonging to the whole of the planetary systems will be likely to be acquainted with all that is to be known, even if an individual member like myself acknowledges he does not know everything."

For my own part I am firmly convinced that not only everything we do is known to our spirit friends, but also even everything we think; for I have often had my thoughts on various subjects interpreted to me instantly, even almost before I had finished out the thinking of them.

On a few occasions I have practised the plan along with them of answering thought by thought without putting them into words, and have been told by them that that is the spirit mode of conversation, words only being needed by us on account of the dense envelope that encloses us and cuts us off from direct spirit communion.

As well as the skill to know our thoughts, I am fully convinced that the power is always at hand direct from the spirit world to strike down the intended murderer with the knife in his hand? then why is it not used? it is one of their strictest rules that if we wish to prevent crime we must take our own means so to do, and not trust to them.

However, you will often read in history of leaders in war carrying on battle after battle and often amongst the thickest of the shot, and yet never killed and sometimes not even wounded, while hundreds are falling near them; the men had not perhaps finished their work, but *when that is done the bullet comes true to its mark*, not before. Perhaps you will say this is not very safe for a patriotic General to trust to, I quite agree with you on that point. It is a remarkable fact, however, that there are many instances in history appearing to substantiate the power of spirit protection, provided it has been considered necessary *by them* that it should be done.

When first I became acquainted with Spiritualism, They were constantly referring to the soon-coming better condition of men in earth life, speaking of co-operation and republicanism as likely to do great things for us. Now the objection that always appeared against these Utopian communications seemed to me to be the difficulty of how to prevent overpopulation almost directly these good times should commence. At that period I never could get any proper answer from them as to the population question, and Malthus seemed to me to be triumphant in argument as against my spirit friends. Since then I have read some books that endeavour to show how population can be regulated by science; some of the methods proposed have been objected to by many worthy men who think it irreligious to take steps in that direction, to prevent over increase. For ray own part I am thoroughly convinced that in no very distant future something of the kind will have to be done; for if we do away with most of our wars and other large crimes and diseases, then by means of better and more moral living, our successors will soon find that they have hardly sufficient room to stand; so if the right method has not been found out, the sooner such a plan is discovered the better for humanity. If each one married on the understanding from one to the other, and with the power to prevent the production of more than two children to each pair of parents, then there is some possibility of virtue on a large scale, particularly amongst the rank and file, the men of great self-assertion. Nothing but marriage to a suitable helpmate will ever keep such men moral in that respect, and marriage with murder or starvation for the offspring would be a disgrace to our state of advancement. No, there must be a scientific prevention, and that is better than nature's cure for over population. We shall not get spirit help on that point, for it is just one of those matters that we must and can do for ourselves.

In the future time, if necessary, it can be rendered compulsory by law under fine not to produce more than a certain number to each family, so that the offspring of the rich may not elbow those of the poor clean out of means of livelihood, and that the poor shall not be allowed to starve one another. Correct education however on those points would probably lead to a proper course being taken even without legislation.

One of the bugbears of my very early days was the notion that was enpeavoured to be driven into me that it was only the long-faced Christians who were intended to participate in divine happiness, and the idea of having nothing else to do but to sit on the damp clouds twanking harps, as some poet or other puts it, was to me, as to

many others, no very enticing prospect. Now, I and many thousands know by experience of the fact, that spirits who have left the flesh have as keen and even keener sense of enjoyment, according to our ideas of what is amusing, than we have. Dear friend, did you know Robert Smith in earth life? Was he a plain, good-hearted fellow? Well, if so, he is just the same plain Bob Smith now; a higher moral and intellectual nature in many respects, but as to appreciation of wit and humour he is just the same individual as he was before; though if he had coarseness, that has left him, unless for spiritual purposes he puts it on again to astonish you and to prove his identity, or for some other spiritual purpose. If you are introduced to him at a spirit circle there is no need to pull a long face, it will please him infinitely better to be sociable. If you ask him for what he has not got, such as money, he cannot supply you, unless he either manufactures it or picks you up a £5 note; and that would be against the usually strict spirit rule, of not assisting in such matters. It is true that for certain purposes similar things have been done, but not often. If nothing else will satisfy you but theological questions, such as what was the name of Noah's grandmother, it is very likely he will give you some remarks, but not very reliable or much to the point, and perhaps it is far better to let him take his own way and talk on things in general; at least that is the spirit-teaching I have received, and thoroughly appreciate. My veneration (what little there naturally is of it) is kept as a matter of reason to be applied to the worship of the One true God, *i. the United Spirit World*. There is only true, kindly friendship required to be shown to any particular member of it,

The strongest or most usually employed organ of the brain gives the distinguishing name to the mind-class to which any person may happen to belong; thus, if a man is a formalist, and is prominently of an acquisitive disposition, then he is to be classified as an acquisitive formalist; should conscientiousness (that is a desire to carry out all the correct forms to the furthest proper limit) be his general type of mind, then he is to be classed as a conscientious formalist, and the same with any of the other leading organs, such as those relative to music, mathematics, and so on, for the leading bump governs at most times the others of the group. As to the organs at the base of the brain, mainly relating to the production of children, and the protection of them and of women, or those who are dependant on us. Those bumps should, by sound moral training, be kept under the complete check of the formal organs and of reason. That man is a dangerous member of society who by want of correct training, or on account of the natural weakness of the organs that should rule, is so constituted that he is unable to be certain of keeping the protective (rather than destructive) disposition in check. The man himself is often rather to be pitied than blamed, as it is generally the want of training rather than his own fault that causes his misfortunes; and this is particularly often the case amongst the poor and needy, and can and must be remedied. The Spirit-teaching I had was this. Mercy and pity is due to all when such can be granted without injury to the community; and that true mercy, both to the criminal and to society, consists, at any rate in the case of habitually violent criminals, in preventing by the most certain means such an one from adding fresh sin to his already numerous and never-to-be-forgotten errors; and also that mercy is due in the first place to those of the public who might otherwise suffer from him.

As to the men of honourable and large unselfish reason, no right thinking men should ever lightly throw their friendship away, for although it often is more undemonstrative than even the "jonnuck," ordinary English type, but it is very enduring and reliable when rightly used, and at the present age of the world is becoming of greater value than ever as a means of joining the men together who are most suitable for influencing the world in the right direction. The people I now allude to are those who are capable of forming an intelligent opinion of things *outside of their ordinary avocations*; and such are generally to be found here and there to whom their neighbours run for advice when they are in a difficulty. Oftentimes they are poor devils, not sufficiently acquisitive to make money for money's sake, or if they do, they often let more selfish people borrow it from them; and because they are not sufficiently formal, and don't like grinding the same wheel every day, they usually get trampled into the mud by men not so clever as themselves. However, if we want honest work done, for instance, as special jurymen and what not, they are the men to do it, because they are not influenced by ordinary unreasoning friendships and dislikes to the extent that most men are, and also that they can form a correct opinion of their own from facts brought before them, when others would be totally in a fog.

In the process of improvements in the various trades and professions almost everything has now become a matter of formalism; what with scientific implements and exact training, these poor rule of thumb people have to go to the wall, and are laughed at as jack of all trades and masters of none. Only now and then, when formalism is at fault, the original reasoner is listened to with attention; and when the advice has been given and accepted, the adviser is usually left out in the cold until absolutely wanted again; for not being of the unreasoning friendly turn of mind, he is unable, except with a great effort, to join in the usual bonds of friendship with those around him. The neglect he receives is apt to sour his mind, and in some cases renders him in later life misanthropical; or perhaps, if to keep himself in bread in earlier years he asserts himself by means of what acquisitiveness (or economy) he possesses, in age he becomes that most despicable character, a miser. Sometimes, when not properly trained in early life, he commences in crime, and eventually becomes a greater and more dangerous villain than others on account of his larger brain power. Now, I believe all this

might be avoided by teaching such retreating men to assert themselves, as a matter of right and justice, instead of ramming down their throats, when young, the for them absurd doctrine of self-abnegation. It is just what they, and such as they, will alone practise, and thereby allow the natural self-asserters to ride rough-shod over them when young, they learning too late the self-assertion principle; then in disgust they are apt to apply it in a wrong direction; the wind-up sometimes being that the Judge has to tell them from the bench the old lesson about talents misapplied. I am not talking about the ordinary criminals who herd together, but of those more dangerous ones who keep to themselves.

On the question of apparitions I was instructed, that spirits can assume any form they please, both material and palpable, or simply visible either to one particular person, or to many, and that proof of identity by such means was not so absolutely certain as it might at first sight appear. That however the apparition or representation was very often accomplished by the power of the departed spirit represented, although like all other spiritual phenomena, it is not intended to be thoroughly reliable. In many cases at spirit circles such favours and others are granted to intellectual men who have lost faith in the various churches, so as to comfort them during this transition period. In the old time these apparitions or ghosts appeared at times for quite a different purpose, namely, that of frightening the unlearned as to the future state, and to avoid crimes, thereby causing such persons to take better heed to the teachings of their clergy. The reason that these things have been often stopped when education was being carried out in a proper manner was for the purpose of strengthening the hands of those who taught men how to guide themselves in a formal manner, and thus it was partly true that the schoolmaster drove away ghosts. If we saw a picture representing in a most accurate manner a dear friend, we should not say it was that friend, but only that it was just like him; and our spirit friends have by no means lost that power of likeness-drawing, on the contrary, in their state it is vastly increased.

I have been assured, and modern science seems to confirm it, that all matter is based upon the negative and positive, or male and female principle, the Yan and Yin of Chinese philosophy. They also told me that while as hydrogen and oxygen in chemical union become almost a totally different matter from what they were before, the union of the male and female in one, greatly improves the mental position that the spirits separately would have held, without however changing their individualities; also, that all male spirits are positive and all females oppositive (the term they used in relation to man in preference to the word negative), and that it is incorrect to call a strong-minded, a positive woman; she is really a strong *opposite*; and a weak-minded man not a negative, but an inferior positive.

As to re-incarnation, I used to hold long before I knew anything of Spiritualism that such an idea could hardly be true, because if, as history teaches us at one time the world contained very many less inhabitants than it does now; therefore, some of them must have been procreated, or else brought from some other planet, which is not likely; and as the method of procreation is always identical, if there was no re-incarnation for all, then it was almost impossible that such a misfortune could happen to any. Therefore, the feeling experienced by Pythagoras and others of a consciousness of previous existence, was either an illusion or else it is perhaps possible that in some cases ideas and remembrances can be transmitted from parents; and something of the same kind happens with pointer dogs, the young of which, though never taught to point, will often do so on the first occasion that they are taken out into the field, at least so I have read.

As to the Darwinian theory, if it appeared to the spirit world that the better system of bringing the higher animal man on to this earth was to take certain individuals of a lower species and carefully train them to a more advanced state, I see no reason why it should not have been done, although to me there would seem almost as much of the so-called miraculous intervention in so doing as there would be in actually creating the pro-creative bodies of man at once; because in all the experiments made by man with the lower animals there would seem to be such a very decided limit fixed, and that any change beyond that limit is, as far as actual experiment has gone, not to be thought of; thus we can by skilful breeding of cattle get to a very high type, vastly superior for our purposes to the original wild variety, but after we have got to that point we can get no further, it is an ox still, no nearer to any other distinct species, and that unless we are very careful the progeny will recede and will certainly not advance of itself.

Then as to the improvements in the vegetable world, there it would seem greater apparent alterations are to be made than in the animal, and our gardeners naturally take all the credit to themselves; nevertheless, Paul plants and Appollos waters but God gives the increase, and if the gardeners put their shoulder to the wheel in a proper and careful way, Jupiter will perhaps assist them more than we in this state generally imagine. I have never had any communication worth mentioning from the spirit world on that head, excepting the patting me in mind of one or two facts that somewhat bear on the question; one of them, I may as well mention, was this, that from my own experience of the apathy of savages there does not appear much chance of even mankind itself advancing from the very lowest savage state, without religions, slavery, and other Divine drivings. Had the spirit world designed to elevate the Australian black, selected a tribe situated in a good position for cultivating ground, then employed a prophet to teach them and order corn, &c., to be grown, it is possible that for a year

they might follow the spiritual direction; but next year and for years after they would probably leave it alone. A more advanced race, such as the Maories, might obey better. Slavery, however, was the Divinely appointed means of civilisation in the old time, and without it, I for one very much doubt if man himself would progress beyond the original state; and with monkeys the necessary self-improvement (even allowing to the fullest extent the doctrine of the survival of the fittest), could hardly be expected. What is impossible to man is often quite possible to God; His power extends just as far as anything in its own nature is not impossible; two and two must of necessity be four, when understood in the literal sense, and all the might of the spirit world itself cannot overthrow the multiplication table.

While speaking of savages, I may mention another spiritual statement that I think feasible; one of the reasons that American Indians die out is that in all those countries most suitable for the higher European races (the temperate climates) it has not been considered advisable to prevent or hinder their occupation of the country, trusting to their honourable and kindly treatment of the decaying races; how much of this racial decay is due to spiritual intentions and how much to our cruelties, disease and rum, I am unable to decide. However, the fact is plain enough that in Australia, New Zealand, several of the South Sea Islands and the northern part of America, the aboriginal tribes can hardly hold their own in natural increase, while in the hotter climate, such as Central America, they seem to survive. On the other hand in South Africa the negroes and kindred races keep their ground in spite of disease and bad brandy, and even increase rapidly. I was spiritually informed that one reason for this was that negro souls are very necessary to increase spiritual happiness; it is true there is great difference existing here between many of the various races, and there is even more in the future life; notwithstanding this, each race assists and is necessary to the other's happiness, and particularly is this the case with the negro and the white man. Therefore, although varieties of their race are living at the Cape of Good Hope, amongst the Europeans, our diseases, &c., seem to have no greater effect in hindering their increase than is the case with us. We may attribute this to the powerful stamina of the African races; that, argument does not deny, but rather affirms that it is the Divine intention the negro shall to some extent continue to dwell amongst our people; possibly also to show to future ages how such close communion of opposites can improve humanity. It is, I believe, generally at the present day conceded that Mahomet was a truthful, honest and pure-minded man, according to his lights, and therefore while he was promulgating the Koran he must have believed in his Divine Inspiration; and further that as many of his statements regarding scientific and heavenly matters are not literally true, therefore he must have been partly mad, a monomaniac, or else a self-deceiver. The system given through his mediumship is tolerably well suited for the tribes for whose use it was sent, and although some portions of it (such as that forbidding other law than that of the Koran to be used in their tribunals) tend to keep back Mahometans from advancement at the same rate as the Christian nations, still men of this creed have done much in former ages to further science and art, and even now their descendants are not so very far behind as to prevent their adoption of what is best amongst us; and when they do this, not in a slavish spirit as bare copyists, but acting in accordance somewhat with the traditions and manners of their tribes, it may be that great things will again proceed from the successors of the humble and honest camel driver of Mecca, one of the greatest and best media that ever lived, although he was not acting on the highest basis, that is of reason. His want of sufficient book learning would prevent this, not being able to form an opinion on the science and history of his own and contemporary people, and also he was too much filled with old Arab superstition; however, such a man, although not fit for the Socratic mediumship was, nevertheless, just the person required for the spiritual work then in hand amongst his own countrymen, and those who act as well as he did, are certain of receiving high commendation from the spirit world.

I shall here endeavour again to impress on all those who are so situated as to be able and willing to influence others, that the intention of the spirit training in this world for thousands of years has been to render men fit for entire self-government, under right reason and correct formalism; first to be carried out amongst the more advanced peoples and from them, in the fulness of time, to be imparted to those who are now considered to be the lower races, in such proportion and by such merciful means as they may be able to receive it, remembering that it is almost useless to force such matters upon them unless they will help themselves, *for we are now past the age of legal slavery*, and whether we like it or not, those of the aboriginal races who are unable or unwilling to fall in as freemen on the side of virtue and good government, will pick up the vices of the basest amongst us, and die in their sin; let us act kindly and honestly to them, and leave the rest to God.

All conceivable bad forms of religion and government have been tried, and the result of each is now a matter of history from which we can gain the knowledge of what to avoid, and also what to retain. This trying of all things has been the effectual method of God's instruction to our races, not endeavouring so much to prevent the evils constantly arising amongst men, but rather to encourage the nations to find out what misfortunes and what advantages arise from each particular line of conduct, and thus to profit by experience. Also let us not rashly throw away the advantages of the Christian doctrine along with the rubbish, it is easy for instance for us to give up the Sunday of rest, innocent recreation and worship, but those who come afterwards

would be possibly the worse for the change, and we nothing the better. Whether we like it or not republicanism, and as much cooperation connected therewith as can be reasonably introduced, is considered by the spirit world to be the most effectual plan of government whereby we can cause the faculties of all to be cultivated to the fullest extent; and also that system is nearest in condition to that of the government (if we can so call it) existing in the spirit world; it is not precisely the same, for there they all act together as one, when it is requisite so to do.

On the earth wholesale, not retail, politics should prevail; national honesty in paying monies justly due, and protection for brains as well as for personal property.

Earth life is the illusion, spirit life the fact.

As far as possible remove all matters that cause separation amongst men, and encourage trade to the fullest extent.

Let us not look for or desire spiritual miracles, the wonders performed by scientific men are those in which the spirit world is interested most, so it should be with us.

The stone to be cut out of the mountain without hands is nearly ready, it is almost in the hands of the people, and it shall bruise the image of tyranny to powder, never to rise again.

Hereditary titles and antiquated theologies are not crimes, but simply anachronisms; however, the self-adulation and cringing servility sometimes arising therefrom are evils to the commonwealth, and also to the individual; gentle, manly politeness used by the people will do away with much of the ancient necessity for artificial distinctions, and good men amongst the holders thereof should effect the total abolition of all titles not derived from personal merit.

Men could easily have been created with a loathing for animal food, and yet live well as vegetarians, both in the temperate and tropical zones, as do the monkeys. One reason why a liking for animal food forms part of our nature is, that the minds of the lower animals are required in spirit life as a sort of basis whereon the higher intelligences rest, Our quadruped friends are never lost to us if we treat them as friends in this life. The reasons why the spirit world have hitherto said but little through their media as to the brute creation, are that a direct revelation to them is of course useless; that all improvement in their condition must almost of necessity be through their masters of the human race, and that that race during the training of the last few thousand years has not been able to receive and carry out a revelation on the matter. In the future, let us take merciful care of all harmless beings that have not sufficient reason to take care of themselves.

The true master in spirit life of a quadruped is often not the actual owner on earth, but perhaps the servant who has fed and treated it well.

Where would be the justice of God did he permit us (as is too often the case) to torment the lower animals, and they to be totally shut out from the possibility of a future state of happiness? Would it not be more merciful to prevent their increase and to let us do our own drudgery?

Comets are used amongst other purposes, as one means of communion with the spirit worlds of other planetary spheres, thus being connecting links in the chain of power of the Godhead over matter.

Prophecies relating to future affairs are like the course of a ship bound to a distant port and marked on a chart as to the general outline, while most of the minutiae of the voyage are filled up as occasion serves; the greater events only are thoroughly determined on beforehand.

Atheists and believers in the various revealed religions are now on precisely the same spiritual footing, the divine power caring nothing as to what men believe or do not believe, while being most anxious as to what they do.

Joan of Arc was divinely inspired, partly for the purpose of teaching the world that a woman can receive the divine afflatus while using judgment of her own in the application of it, in almost the same way as a Socratic or reasoning male or female medium would do; and it also teaches us that in most political matters women are not to be excluded solely on account of sex. The voices of Joan of Arc were similar to those called "his demon" by Socrates; he, however, knew really who they who addressed him had been in earth life, and was also well versed in the spiritual conditions of existence; while Joan being uneducated and living at a period when plain spiritual teaching would have clashed with the power of kings and clergy, never arrived at the highest mediumistic honour, still her sad history would seem to point out that her common sense was sufficiently strong to have given her that privilege had she lived in happier times.

The only wonders really admired by the spiritual world are those performed by such as De Lesseps, G. Stephenson, Watt, Morse, and other inventors and discoverers; and that the time of the world's history when these matters would be known in earth life has, in some instances, been foretold by various prophets of old. This power of foretelling is simple enough to the Ruler of the Universe; to some extent it is a question of mathematics—given so much humanity, and so many years, and such a spiritual direction of training, then such and such will be the result at a given period of time. Some things of this kind can hardly be discovered by men in the flesh; in such cases an impression spiritually given to the right man at the right time is sure to produce

what the spirit world require, and they say, in such or any other matters, they *never choose the wrong man*, whatever may be the opinion of those in earth life on that point.

In spirit life each one generally cultivates certain branches of knowledge, according to individual liking; the same should be the case in earth life, but not to the entire exclusion of general information. There will always be plenty to learn through eternity, although it does not follow that any spirit feels called on to do nothing else but acquire information that to him would be personally useless.

The training given by continental sovereigns to their subjects by means of the drill-sergeant and universal conscription, has been effecting great and *spiritually intended* good. When kings and rulers plan, they perhaps think they are doing only their own brain-work, while they are rather to be considered as somewhat intelligent chessmen on the board, acting certainly to a large extent by their own free-will, notwithstanding many events are known and planned by God beforehand.

As a horse tethered to a long rope can kick and plunge within the length of that rope, but not beyond it, so are we and our rulers on the earth.

When the troop ship "Birkenhead" was lost the men stood to their arms on deck and nobly went down, while the women and children were saved. This shows the beauty of sound formal training. Were those men, all of them, unselfish by nature? No; some, perhaps many of them, were not very selfish, but in all of them the military system overruled selfishness and made heroes where want of discipline would have certainly caused more lives to be lost, and still more important, an excellent example would have been lost to our generation and to future time.

The Jews were chosen by God for the purpose of learning the more spiritually correct idea of worshipping the spirit world as one, under the title of Jehovah; also, because they were of a race that is naturally, and also by long spiritual training, strong in the principles of self-assertion and acquisitive formalism, especially in money matters; and thus the western nations while learning from the Jews a modification of their religion, such as should be suitable for advancing the European races in civilisation, also insensibly imbibed a liking for certain Jewish modes of thought in political and business matters that were much needed for causing a greater reliance on one another; the want of a strict formal, and at the same time self-asserting religious belief, having been one of the curses of old Greece and other western nations.

One of the reasons that strong drink has been permitted to be used to excess amongst us has been the necessity of keeping the people at labour for national improvement during these latter times, when the lash of actual legal slavery was being gradually withdrawn; for lack of an actual slave driver, men, who have been so minded, have been by drink, excited to spend their hard-earned money and thus flog themselves to renewed work, *with their noses constantly at the grindstone*; the necessity for these excessive drinking habits is now done away with, inasmuch as that we are most of us sufficiently formal in disposition to work steadily and take a pleasure in the work without the lash.

Again, strong drink puts the reason, and generally also the formal powers, on the shelf for the time being, while it excites the organs of self-assertion and friendship; thus the labourer, whilst having a drinking bout with friends at an inn was also receiving a practical lesson in jonnuck under the tuition of the high priest of self-assertion, that is *the publican*. The hotel-keeper to be of perfect type, must be a man of the friendly self-asserting character, and the men of his turn of mind go as naturally to him to learn the correct ideas on matters of self-assertion, as do the thorough formalists attend church to receive the training that is suitable for their frame of mind.

Not all ministers are formalists, and not all publicans are pure self-asserters; nevertheless natural selection leads the two great divisions of civilised humanity, as well as their leaders, some to the church and some to the public-house, according to their usual proclivities, and that feeling prompts intended publicans also. As men become more used to reasoning for themselves, the evils of drink will gradually disappear. It would be wrong to state that friendly asserters have no religious ideas, on the contrary, they often have such feelings very strongly developed, and so genuine and decided as to be utterly immovable by argument. Thus most of the Church of England publicans of this true hotelkeeping division of mind are often intense believers in, or at anyrate supporters of that noble establishment; but if you drive them into a corner as to their grounds of belief, you probably find that it is almost entirely based on the fact of their friends or parents having brought them up to it and as to formal questions as to "original sin" and so on, such as would greatly delight a pure formalist, for these ideas the genuine British ultra asserter cares nothing whatever. Again the same man believes in, and supports, his Sovereign because he is his Sovereign, and also his dog, his horse, and his children, for the same good and sufficient reason; this belief in self and all matters connected with self, gives such minds a great advantage in the business of life, particularly when, as is sometimes the case, it happens to be united with a large amount of common sense.

One great drawback to success in life, with many of this type of mind, is their over zeal in too often renewing their jonnuck friendship with various hotelkeepers.

Some people object to the possibility of a reasoning God having any existence, as the laws of nature seem to be exact and formal, and therefore that, possibly, reason is not required to carry them out, as they would appear to be the result in most instances of the necessities of matter. God having once reasoned out any law, that law will be adhered to, sometimes, because it has been almost or quite an impossibility to arrange matters otherwise, and in other cases on account of the course taken being the best for the purpose intended, notwithstanding that we in the flesh are perhaps thinking in our little foolish way we could have arranged some things better.

The comb in a beehive should teach us that when the spirit world wish to reason out any matter to the fullest extent, and then impress the result on the minds of even insects, nothing we can do can surpass it.

Bees seem to act almost entirely by instinct in their building work, and are infallible therein; in the higher quadrupeds, notably the dog, horse, and elephant, there is reasoning from cause to effect, similar to that of man; we have instincts and also reason as well as they, in many respects we excel them and in some they excel us. True reason should keep in check our pride and teach us friendliness to all the loving companions of man.

The bodily imperfections and necessities have been the causes of sin and evil in this life, when the body is thrown off at death all desire for what we call sin necessarily ceases with the cause of it, for to abolish the cause must as a matter of necessity destroy the effect in future cases; nevertheless that that has already been wrongly done can never be erased, although time, with healing influences, may ease the pain.

Some of the peculiar and to the uninitiated, rather absurd phases of Spiritualism have been permitted to convince some of those who had the spiritual experience performed right before them, and at the same time to prevent Spiritualism from degenerating into the worship of any individual spirit or spirits, and also to prevent it spreading too rapidly, and thus causing injury. Let us only worship the one true God, the united spirit world.

I believe it is not unusual for some spirits at circles to declare that they have committed great crimes in earth life.

On this head I have been spiritually told that such is often the fact, particularly where great physical power is shown; in such cases the rough work of spiritualism is being performed by those who in earth life most constantly opposed God's training, they do it voluntarily but not as a punishment. It is true they often have to put up with great insults and abuse from blockheads, that they do not mind so long as their work meets with approval on high.

To cause the death of a child even whilst in the womb, is murder. To bring an infant into the world, when there are no means to support it, may be a crime, and to leave a single child untaught as to its moral and intellectual duties, is sinning against God.

One of the first duties undertaken by each soul soon after arrival in the spirit state, is the care of some relation or loved one in earth life; the necessarily strict rule not to interfere with humanity except for spiritual purposes, generally prevents actual intercourse, yet pleasure results to them when we act well, and pain when we perform an unjust action; this overlooking of course may last for years, and with many spirits they are years of sorrow heroically borne, rather than to interfere with the training of mankind in the art of self-government. The old tale of the death of three sons in answer to the prayer of the parent who asked the Deity for that which was best to be done to them, is true to the facts of spirit life; their spirit friends knew more of the young men's nature and temptations than did the parent. In the old time those who died without offspring were considered to be happier than they who had to leave children behind them, but in the future if we train them rightly, pleasure and not pain will be more constantly the portion of spirit friends than is the case now, and possibly such knowledge to those in earth life may have a restraining influence on the actions of many; for if they fully realise the fact that not only the deeds, but even the thoughts, are instantly known to their guardian angels, it would be difficult to resist the hope that improvements in conduct would follow. When this better moral conduct shall become almost universal amongst men, then the open spiritual intercourse may be universal also; nevertheless for the prevention of retrogression it will be better to keep men in the position they now occupy, namely, that what they can do for themselves they should not ask their spirit friends to do for them, nor yet to ask for anything that is foolish.

The necessity of preventing things that are evil or wrong or unnatural from existing as examples to weak humanity, is a duty left by Deity in the hands of the medical profession and also of our rulers and men of thought.

The biographies of one ideal narrow-minded formalists, such as Charles 1st, of England, or Robespierre, in France, should teach us the danger of entrusting such men (never mind how formally honest they may be in some matters) with supreme power. The conscientious formalists are most valuable men in their right place, as able seconders, but not at the head of affairs; they will not bend, or if they do, it is at the wrong time. The placing of such names as the above in juxtaposition may be objected to by some, nevertheless the class of mind seems to me to be nearly identical in both, the times and nations were different, more than the characters of the men. Charles 1st habitually lied, because Machiavelli and James 1st had taught him that it was a branch of

kingcraft so to do, and thus in his position it became really a matter of conscientious formalism, and if there was in it any wrong for a king to commit, the Divine right notion amply covered it. Robespierre perhaps did not lie, if so, it was not so much his own narrow notions that prevented it, as the affectation of republican honesty, a matter of fashion or formalism, The doings of Cromwell while in England are, considering the exceedingly difficult position wherein he was placed, nearly all that could be expected from a man of really great reasoning powers, he found out clearly that Charles was not honest enough to be again entrusted with power, that he had actually planned the death of the leaders of the liberal party, and that the people, not understanding or correctly valuing the true principles of constitutional liberty, were just as likely as not to acquiesce in the destruction of all those who had held out for parliamentary rights; he thought to bind some of the waverers to him by getting them to join in the king's death and to fairly seal the covenant of civil and religious liberty with the blood of its most powerful and consistent opponent, and as a matter of necessity of the times, he was not far wrong, had he when the right time came played the next card usual with previous usurpers, and that was evidently expected by many of the nation; had he made himself king then his son might have had a better chance of gaining and retaining the allegiance of that large portion of the nation, the ignorant, the careless, who think little about who the king is to be, yet must have one before whom to fall down and abase themselves. It was a dangerous card, the army had to be managed and so had the nobles; still, under the circumstances, it was really the safest, and he knew it. It is related that a vision had told him, when a youth, that he would become the greatest man in England, but not king; the notion was agreeable to the period, and although at the present day most of us perhaps would consider it to have been merely an illusion of the brain, if it happened at all; nevertheless his spirit friends might have given him such an intimation and would be likely enough so to have done, if they could thereby have helped to teach the greatest man in England the knowledge of himself and thus to lead his thoughts to power, while restraining him from the kingly dignity; at anyrate I was told that it was the spirit of the Cromwell who was executed by Henry 8th, who gave or helped to give his namesake the information in question. The spirit world wished to start a republic in the then ultra-monarchical England, but the parliamentary and other small liberties they possessed kept the more intelligent people attached to the Crown, and the rest followed suit as they do now; yet from that small commencement on unsuitable soil the great American experiment was to result, and therefore was it right that Cromwell should never be King of England; see how apparently small a matter of spiritual help may lead to great results. When Cromwell went to Ireland he went as a bigot, as far as his nature would permit him to be one; he did not like to torment those who had a different religious belief from his own, nevertheless he had been appointed to revenge the blood of the saints shed in the north of Ireland. I know that Roman Catholic writers deny the fact of the atrocities mentioned and considered by the parliamentary committee to have been proved, they seem to believe that it is only the Saxon and not the Celt who can commit wholesale murders; but strong religious or rather irreligious hatred on either side is bound to produce an unreasoning desire for slaughter, and once the matter is fairly afloat, the Celt is not far short of the Saxon in cruelty; although for persistency in such wrong-doing we might give the belt to the dogs who hold on longest. The Celt is perhaps more fickle in some things, and may be so in murder; as to the Saxons we know well of their atrocious cruelty to the Jews at York, who so gallantly defended their wives and families while any hope remained, and then slaughtered one another rather than surrender to *our demon ancestors*.

Cromwell and his soldiers doubtless believed in the statements made in England, he could not help believing, for it was legally proved, as to the almost wholesale destruction of English and Scotch Protestant settlers in the north, and by whom, why actually by those whom the puritans believed to be idolators, the worshippers of images and the host. The book they loved told them clearly what to do in such cases, to smite the Amalekites hip and thigh, let not one of them escape, the Lord do so to me and more also, &c, &c. The lower class of minds of that date could hardly avoid the certainty of belief that they were called on to destroy everything connected with idolatry, that is if they went by the Old Testament, their favourite volume. Higher minds, such as Cromwell's, might seek to destroy only such as were actually in arms, and would not surrender; not so with the rank and file, most likely even many of the ministers of the various denominations would urge him on, for who were their opponents but Amalekites. &c., who had slaughtered the Saints.

Doubtless great crimes were committed at Drogheda and other places, and sad it is that we, who have so much to thank Cromwell for, cannot avoid the remembrance that he was the supreme leader of the parliamentary army at the time; but that he could have entirely prevented the army from acting savagely, I much doubt; and also the people of England were too uncivilised to be merciful to those they called idolaters. Everybody in fact urged Cromwell to the work of destruction, when his better reason should, and would almost of necessity, have restrained him from it, for such men are not by nature cruel. It is to the conscientious formalists that we owe the horrors of the Inquisition and those of the French revolution; the greater minds naturally will not permit these things, and but that smaller men worked on Cromwell's peculiar religious notions, I cannot believe that he could have permitted the slaughter of women and children, if such was done, as

related by Anthony A' Wood.

Nevertheless he was the right man to rule, had he not been pestered by his superstitious religious notions. The Divine right of intellect (honourable reason) was with him and not with Charles, and it would have shown brighter had he been trained differently.

The spirit world chose him as the best man in England for the work in hand, namely, for introducing republicanism 200 years and more before that country was fit for it, and the steps then taken have saved us much labour. When the slaughter of women and children by the Sepoys took place at Cawnpore I and many hundreds of others in Australia, on the gold mines, would have gone to India to stand up for the old flag; some actually did go, and but for the news of the successful march of Havelock's noble soldiers, I should have been off also. Thanks be to God for it, I was not wanted; nevertheless, I can understand the feeling that was in the minds of the friends of Cromwell on account of the Irish troubles. We are supposed to be more civilised now than then, still the old Adam is in youth excessively powerful in most of us. I trust not to offend any conscientious English, Irish, or Indian patriot by these remarks; they are not intended so to do. but only to excuse and ask pardon in this generation for the wrongs that one of our greatest and best men did to Ireland in former times. We should not hate for ever; the curse of Cromwell might safely be suffered to die, while we, both English, Irish, and Scotch, thank him for the great help he gave towards destroying tyranny and laying the foundations of liberty, both in Europe and America. He certainly was not ambitious in the common sense of the word; he evidently desired most anxiously to give liberty and protection to his countrymen, and to help other nations on the same road, and doubtless he deeply regretted that he, a most sincere lover of his country's liberties, should have been driven by the force of circumstances and the ignorance of the people of England to act (in some things) as an English monarch such as Charles would have been only too ready to do if he had dared. Cromwell dared but did not wish to have the really necessary work to save his friends' lives thrust on him; but who else could have done it? Had he been a man ambitious of vulgar applause and wonder, such as Napoleon, he would certainly, after closing the Parliament, have engaged his most thoroughly republican troops in foreign wars; the desire of spreading the faith would have been sufficient to satisfy them, and while they were away he could have raised plenty of good soldiers who would not have objected to the name of king in the man who already had the power. One may object that he had no reliable allies for such expeditions (an attack on Italy or other Catholic country) to satisfy his Puritan soldiers; but success, if attained, would soon have raised fair-weather friends, and these he could have driven farther than they meant to go; true he might have easily enough found his Moscow; but had he been an ambitious slaughter-loving man, he would certainly have had some such grand idea, for this glory is the bait that always tickles the unreason of the really ambitious tyrants. That Cromwell did none of these things should be sufficient proof that his ambition, if such it can be called, was not to destroy, but rather to justly govern and benefit his fellows to the fullest extent that his power and training permitted.

The main rules of spirit conduct to those in earth life are explained to all as soon as possible after arrival in the spirit state, and they having lost the imperfections of intellect that cease with the death of the body, are able at once to understand the reasonableness and justice of those directions, and afterwards always to act in accordance with them. Laws as to self-government are often matters of debate amongst us, but not so with them; the perfected faculties caused from union with the female spirit, when this has occurred, and complete communion with the surrounding spirit world, which of necessity always happens, soon teach each individual to select the best method of doing that which is needful for the happiness of those in their condition, and also to benefit and train friends in earth life. Many spirits would doubtless wish to communicate at once with their friends they have just left in the flesh; but such communications would interfere with the general rule to leave men to trust to themselves and to their various religions; and the necessity of this the newly-arrived spirit understands and never breaks except for spirit purposes, such as strengthening the power of the churches or developing Spiritualism.

There is almost always one certain way that is better than any other for effecting any particular design; the difference may be so slight as to be as it were but the weight of a feather to turn the scale. We with our flesh-clouded reason may easily err in such difficult matters, while in spirit life such a mistake can never occur, for even if it were possible that the individual could make an error from ignorance, the surrounding friends must and will correct the false idea at once,

The age of physical miracles ought to be past before long; not because the spirit world can no longer do such tricks (Spiritualists know the contrary), but because we, after the training our forefathers and selves have received, should be advanced too far to desire our spirit friends to perform for our amusement that which after all is only spiritual juggling. If we want such matters done, is it not better to patronise conjurors in earth life, and if we wish to see a ghost, pay our shilling at Professor Pepper's entertainment and see an undoubted specimen; for whether such things are done by spirits in the flesh or by those that are free from it, is really of no importance; they are in either case simply illusions. Physical Spiritualism is of but little use except to attract the

attention of the vulgar, for at the present day I hardly think that any reasoning man would be content to adopt any particular line of belief or conduct on such evidence. A miracle, supposing it to be true, proves nothing but itself (and even to do that is, according to Hume, a difficult matter), and to ask any intelligent man to believe that which is absurd in itself, merely because certain wonders were done by spirits in presence of the medium, is certainly bad logic. Spirits are mainly composed of the intellectual faculties; and in the age of reason it would be simply stupid and irreverent to ask for juggling from them, when by seeking in the correct manner we can either obtain more sensible manifestations, or else do without them.

Amongst the brute creation the horse may be accepted as a fair example of the extent of self-assertion (similar to that of some of the human races) that is possible to quadrupeds. Horses play, sometimes kicking and sometimes licking one another, and are also willing to do the same to their masters, and to work well and like it when made to do it, but not so willingly as the dog; although they love, yet do they not venerate their masters to any appreciable extent; therein they resemble such races as the English, the Negro, the Jew, and the Tartar. The dog, on the other hand, is a true venerator, with plenty of self-assertion as well, delighting to overcome in the course and to play roughly as does the more purely self-asserting horse; but for all that he has a large amount of veneration or desire of worship, applied almost entirely to his master. The dog, amongst quadrupeds, occupies a similar mental position to that which the venerating races hold amongst men, such people as the ancient Etruscans and Romans, the Brahmins, modern Italians, French, Scotch Highlanders, and to some extent the Germans. The self-asserting friendship for their rulers and deities and one another, (in place of the true veneration principle) amongst the English, is partly the result of training and partly of race. The ancient Greeks were mainly composed from two families of men, one of which was of the venerating type of mind similar to the Italian, while the other had naturally more of the self-asserting and imaginative type, similar to the modern southern Irish. The Italians originally were all venerators, and although the Greek element has been largely intermixed in that country, nevertheless the venerating mode of thought carries the day, and the present Italian race has reverted to the originally numerically strongest strain, and also, they have nearly eaten out by marriage the Teutonic (Gothic and Lombard) blood. Golden hair that used to be common in Venice is now said to be rare. In France, in accordance with the divine will, a similar process has resulted in the destruction of the invading Franks or Germans, and the people are in many parts, but not in all, nearly as pure Gaels now as they were when the country was first called Gaul.

In Ireland and England, a kindred race to the Gauls of France, had (it would appear from history as well as from spirit information) possession of both countries until the Phœnicians commenced trading to Ireland, and then a physically larger race first appeared there. Now I was told on that head, and also it has been corroborated from reading history, that when trading in the Levant the Phœnicians were troubled by the Greeks, who commenced early as pirates, therefore the traders often took numbers of their opponents prisoners, and purchased others, making slaves of them, first at Tyre, selling them at times to the Egyptians and others; afterwards using similar people in Carthage and Spain partly as soldiers to keep back and also to enslave the natives. Then, when Ireland was discovered by the Phœnicians, many of these Greeks and some real Iberians or venerating Spaniards were there used for slave-hunting amongst the Gaels, and also to collect hides of beasts, honey, gold, &c., to send to Tyre and Carthage. This was not long before the siege of Troy: When that event occurred, some of the Trojans escaped and made their way to a Phœnician or Carthaginian outpost, from whence they were assisted to Carthage, to be used in wars against the natives, as the Milesians and other Greeks had been employed in Ireland. The new Trojan element did not agree well with the Carthaginian, the queen Dido (if that was her name) persuaded the new comers to embark on a short expedition, so the men were told; instead of that she sent them away to Britain, through Spain, to catch slaves to be worked at the newly-discovered tin mines. Æneas was disappointed and then went to Rome with his few friends. From their better discipline, it was no difficult matter for the Trojans to conquer the painted and naked inhabitants of Britain, therefore, in order to save the lives of the intended serfs, the Trojan soldier used to unship the spear-head and carry the shaft alone, also taking a sword or dagger with him, not however often to be used, excepting to kill such prisoners as he thought to be of no value. With the spear-shaft in hand they would follow the Gaels into the scrub, knock them down, endeavouring not to injure them too severely, and then take the captives to their Phœnician masters. From constant practice they thus became expert at handling the spear-shaft, and from thence arose the custom that eventually ripened into the so-called Saxon quarter-staff play—not really Saxon, however, but Celtic or South British. I do not guarantee this, but it seems feasible to me, and was a spirit communication. In the process of time the southern parts of both islands became occupied by these Celts or Greeks in Ireland, and Trojans in England, Gaelic women supplying *wives and their language*. The mountains and northern parts were still occupied by the smaller and physically weaker race, the Gaels—or Picts as they were afterwards sometimes called on account of their constantly painting their bodies. The Celts, however, as might naturally be expected from the intermixture with Gaelic women, often adopted the latter custom as well as the language. Notwithstanding this admixture, the new-comers, both in Ireland and Britain, retained

somewhat of their former semi-civilisation. Their spears and shields were well made, and sometimes weapons were imported as return trade from the Phoenicians. The Celtic Briton still used the chariot in war, one custom that constantly distinguished them from the Gaels on the continent. Then came the Scoti to Ireland—a Scandinavian or Teutonic light-haired race, who partly mixed with both Celts and Gaels. Afterwards a branch of them joined the Picts and the Scandinavians, who at that time occupied portions of the east coast of Scotland; thus banded together they attacked and were overcoming the southern Celtic British, who had about that time been deserted by the Romans. The British in their despair called on the Saxons (Teutons) of Holland and surrounding countries for help; the help was given, but eventually the Saxons, after driving back the Picts and Scots, quarrelled with their late allies the Celts, and in the process of time conquered the country from Kent through England and the southern parts of Scotland nearly to the Highlands, and the people became Saxons—at least so histories tell us.

The Saxons did not eat their enemies, nor yet, although a most energetic race, were they so fond of work as to kill all the Celts and do the hard labour themselves; no doubt for one Saxon master there would be in many parts four or five Celtic serfs, and the Celts are quite as prolific as the Saxons, and thus would not lose the start they already possessed. The loss of language is not the same as a change of blood, and the spirit world is decidedly of opinion that their grand scheme of having a branch of the gallant Trojan race enslaved under that most vigorous slaveowner the Teuton, has been as might be supposed from its Divine intention, a complete success. At the present time there exists in England a thoroughly well crossed race from two or three of the best strains of Europe, well ground into the liking of labour, with almost all of their imagination knocked out of them by hard work (excepting a certain amount yet visible amongst those fitted by nature to be either poets, novelists, or readers of poetical works). The most of the labouring classes, at anyrate in England, are just plain jonnuck, self-asserters when at play, and bare formalists when at work; now if we in the coming time give the training to cause them to use their reason a little more, casting away their superstitious notions of religion, giving them at the same time a good system of morals and also a *correct* idea of their own value as freemen, and then by means of scientifically putting the right man of the united races at the head of affairs; and each, according to his intellectual and moral value, in the place that should be his or hers, then will the training of the last four or five thousand years lead to its proper and Divinely intended result, and better days will be possible for the whole of humanity. One of the principal points in all of the communications vouchsafed to me is the necessity of making use of the reasoners proper; these should, they say, supply the great number in the Upper Houses of Parliament in all nations. To some extent this is even now the case in England, where great talents in law, politics, and war often obtain a peerage for an intellectual family; also clever men from other ranks of life, such as merchants and bankers, often furnish their children as wives to the already titled families, and thus reinvigorate the old blood; but this is not sufficient for the future spiritual purposes, such men are usually more formalists than reasoners, and pure thinkers will now have to take a higher position above that of the unreasoners or self-asserters. In the position of jurymen, the only persons really of much use are those who either know about the matters in dispute as a portion of their education, and the very few who are capable of forming an independent opinion from the facts brought before them. The first-class is that of the trained formalists; the second-class is that of the (too often untrained) reasoners; for these men of independent judgment, and often of great unselfishness, get trodden into the mud in these hard formal matter of fact times, and their children either have to emigrate to America or elsewhere, or are crushed out of life. Such men when found should be utilised as jurymen, and for other purposes where they may be of value.

These reasoners when of inferior natural development, are often not far from being idiots. Handy Andy is a reasoner, with a good deal of self-asserting friendship, of small formalism, and that totally untrained; his imagination of little extent, but probably full of cock and bull stories of ghosts and fairies, and therefore at full work as the wonder-loving organ to excite the untrained reason of poor Andy to deeds of blunder and absurdity. Now such as Andy have memory, and a certain portion of other formal ability; these faculties should be properly trained, and forms given them whereby to conduct their business of life, then their reason would shine out at times in the matter of shrewd remarks and ready contrivance, while in the absence of book learning such men are all but idiots. I am aware that Irishmen, while denying that Handy Andy is to be considered the national portrait, and rightly so, may yet laugh at Andy's mistakes; of course it is a caricature, and therefore to some extent an exaggeration; nevertheless I have known people very much like Handy Andy, and when young was rather that way myself. The English national portrait of John Bull is not flattering, but taken with a pinch of salt it is true. Mr. Bull is drawn by Punch with plain indications of enormous self-asserting friendship of the public-house type, also symptoms of vigorous, although shortsighted reason, such as is sometimes called low-cunning, and at other times merely appearing as business shrewdness; then there is a look giving a hint as to the animal courage (mainly derived from the Saxon) in the background, ready, however, to be used when wanted; such a man is often warm enough as a friend, perhaps rather stupid as to matters outside of his experience, and is an excellent supporter of things as they are, for no other reason than that they exist; his father

approved of them and so does he, and woe be to all innovators, unless they show him clearly how to avoid loss, and to reap certain advantage.

Now let us take a glance at Brother Jonathan, as drawn by the same Mr. Punch; this again is by no means flattering, and from my experience of Americans not as true to life as that of John Bull; however, it seems intended to depict abominably selfish reason, fly and acquisitive formalism, up to all the meanest methods of self-advancement, and strong, constantly asserted, animal courage; which you would naturally expect to hear expressed or simulated by means of a harsh grating voice, giving the idea that opposition must give way at once, or the nearest cowardly means will be taken to enforce selfish ends. Such a man might be the lineal descendant of a puritan formalist, provided he had taken to most immoral courses early in life; but as a national portrait it is not true.

There are evidently reasoning and also formal idiots, and possibly some that show self-assertion and but little else. In Dean Ramsay's Scottish reminiscences he mentions the case of a flood coming down a village stream, some people were clinging to a tree that was below the bridge and growing on the side of the river; it was surrounded at the time by water; no boat could be found, and it was momentarily expected that the tree itself would be washed away by the force of the current. The people of the town it appears knew not what to do; if they were lowland Scotch they would most of them be hard formalists, and consequently quite out of their element when totally unforeseen matters happened to occur. The only person who was able to give a reasonable suggestion, was the village idiot; he showed them how to make a kind of raft, with casks, and lower it from the still standing bridge; the force of the water carried it down to the tree and the people on it were saved, the rope from the bridge sufficing to bring the raft back again. This man was evidently a reasoning idiot. The clowns of Shakspeare are of a similar class of mind, weak in most respects, nevertheless they are able to tell wiser men when they err in matters of reason.

An intelligent acquaintance told me of a lady belonging to his village in Scotland; she had a tolerably well developed forehead (where many of the formal organs exist), but the back and top of her head was small and undeveloped; she could not speak, and apparently cared for nothing else but cutting out and making patchwork quilts and clothing; anything of this sort she could do well enough as far as she had been taught, and nearly in the same way as her preceptors, excepting that she showed good taste of her own in arrangement of form and colour. This woman I would call a formal idiot, from whom quick ideas and ready answers would not be possible, even did she possess the faculty of speech. That the bump of destruction really means a desire to protect, I know from self investigation; inasmuch as I have a tolerably large one of my own, it is no incentive to cruelty in the natural state, simply meaning if you touch my wife or child or friend or clansman, I will kill you. In the ruler of a large state it may be useful as a guarantee of protection for all underneath him. In the case of badly trained, brutal people, it may portend protection for self and no one else. The animal courage is more generally persistent for fighting purposes; many English, Irish, and Americans are well supplied with both qualities partly from being a well mixed race and their receiving their bases of character from three excellent fighting strains.

Veneration prompts to love of the chief of the clan, the nation and the Deity; the seat of reason is immediately underneath it and is intended to be governed by it amongst the venerating nations; members of the non-venerating races, such as Celts, negroes, &c., often show large organs of veneration on the brain, but with them it is principally reason, and very little true veneration. The negro possesses an enormous amount of self-asserting friendship, and thus is chosen companion to the white races in spirit life to make up what some of them lack in that direction.

Animal courage in the natural state is a feeling of actual desire for war and the chase, *the thirst for slaughter*; to be toned down in civilisation, to a generous desire for victory and preeminence, it has its peculiar music. The American Indian war cry is a direct appeal to it, and the old Scandinavian religion thoroughly trained it for conquest. In an union of mixed races some offspring may take after the one parent and some after the other, and may appear almost thoroughly true to the strain, some again will evidently be half-castes. In the marriage state a bond of mental junction is required between the man and woman, the one may be a self-asserter and the other a formalist; but if they are both elevated reasoners, they may agree on almost all matters that are reducible to common sense; again the base of union may be formalism (household and business in quiet and order) or self-assertion (sports, dancing, fashion, &c.) Some years ago appeared a most excellent picture, in Punch, representing two marriages, it was called Rinkers and Thinkers; the reasoning man joined to the self-asserting rinking woman, and the thinking woman to the rinking man, and each of the parties was so typically represented as to show hardly any possibility of finding some basis of mind suitable even as neutral ground for agreement; in such cases there can hardly be a possibility of much happiness for either, the rinking woman cannot understand nor appreciate the thinking man, *although she may pretend that she does* before she marries, and the reverse holds good. Nevertheless a sporting man or woman may be also intellectual, if so the marriage is right enough, but in the Punch picture the reason did not show in either of the rinkers, nor did any

other suitable bond of union such as formalism, care of dress, &c., appear in the thinkers.

## A Classification Somewhat Suitable to the British Races.

- Reasoners and reasoning formalists, including all who, while possessing perhaps very large formal power, are also able to invent great and useful ideas for themselves and others; excellent judges, the greater historians, generals and other rulers,
- Reasoning imaginatives are those poets and poetical writers and thinkers whose reason effectually governs their large imagination, nearly at all times. Shakspeare and some few other writers, also some rulers of men. Politicians of this type of mind are, notwithstanding their reason, at times more likely to go beyond their strength than are the formalists.
- Reasoning Self-asserters.—Those who, while not devoid of formalism yet are not over strong on that group of organs; when their reason is sufficiently powerful they make most excellent orators, politicians, business men, diplomatists and leaders in peace and war, being particularly successful in command of small parties, where ready wit is sometimes better than book tactic; also their warmth of friendly nature endears them to the men they command, although at times they may be somewhat rough in manner; that is, however, a matter of training, all can and should be gentlemen in the future. In all commands connected with the sea, they are hardly to be excelled.
- Formal Reasoners while being thorough formalists, yet show great reasoning power in applying the forms. These make excellent accountants, conveyancers, heads of department, and formal business men.
- Imaginative reasoners are the poetical writers, actors, and thinkers of the second rank in intellect, although they also are of great value to humanity, nevertheless their reason too often permits the imagination to lead them astray, *the latter being the greater in power*; this is a somewhat dangerous stratification of mind for individuals born to it (as well as for nations so trained) and requires strict self-examination and will power to keep it within bounds. As well as poets and novelists these make special pleaders, good at exaggerating all points in favour of their case.
- Conscientious Formalists.—Those who constantly desire to carry out their forms to the fullest extent, but are incapable of inventing anything of importance. They make good accountants and sound copyists if rightly taught; but are apt to degenerate into tyrants when in independent power, or to be servile flatterers of the mob when they have to consult the public as elected officials. When *such men have not received a sufficiently strong formal education*, they are excessively dangerous to the people. Setting their reason and imagination at work as imaginative reasoners (not their correct class) to gain political power as orators, and often they succeed by means of utter carelessness as to facts or even possibilities, thus imposing upon the working classes who naturally are unable to classify men, if those who should teach them cannot do it.
- Acquisitive formalists—Those who apply their possibly large reason and formalism principally to economical purposes. When they are sufficiently intellectual they become most useful politicians, accountants, and business men for their own purposes, or for the national good; such men are often generous, and yet careful in spending, as they are clever in gaining money. The better minds of this class have no right to be placed so low down on the list as I have written them, but the lower intellects belonging to it are often despicably mean.
- Formal self-asserters suitable for mechanical and clerk labour, and also for seeing that others labour rightly.
- Self-asserting formalists, those who work with a will as directed.
- Self-asserting reasoners of the inferior type are men who should have been formalists, but from false training prefer to use their reason often in applying forms to bad purposes. The Australian larrikins are usually of this class.

As to the brutal natures who permit, either willingly or unwillingly, their mere animal passions to guide them, they need not be further alluded to here, as their existence will not be necessary in the time to come. The exact classification of the lower intellects is at the present time not needed, although doubtless it will have to be done eventually. Conscientious and acquisitive formalists are sometimes of very large capacity, as inventors or reasoners, naturally preferring to act in accordance with the forms they have learned, but nevertheless able to invent expedients when those rules will not answer. From his physiognomy, as well as biography, the great Duke of Wellington was certainly a conscientious, but not particularly acquisitive formalist, and was a most remarkably persistent specimen. In his own profession of war he must have been ready enough with expedients, otherwise he could not have been so great a general; but as a politician, from perhaps not thoroughly

comprehending the real meaning of political matters—not having so thoroughly studied them—he seemed not to know when he must drop the older forms and give into the people's will: thus, he who had never been beaten in war had to capitulate to public opinion under threat of revolution. Nelson, judging both from personal appearance and from history, was almost a pure reasoner, and naturally rather too prone to act in opposition to orders received from men more formal than himself; he would have been more at home in the coming than in the past ages.

Specimens of different stratifications of intellect, arising from various causes, both natural and artificial, that is by means of peculiar religious and political training:

## **THE ORIGINAL SAVAGE. 1ST STAGE.**

- Reason or cunning.
- Destructive and protective organs.

## **AVERAGE HELENES AND TROJANS, 2ND STAGE..**

- Imagination mingled with Greek self-esteem.
- Reason.
- Destructive and protective organs.

## **ANCIENT GREEKS IN 3RD STAGE.**

- Imagination and self-esteem full.
- Reason.
- Formalism.
- Destructive and protective.

## **ATHENIAN PEOPLE AT THE BEST PERIOD.**

- Imagination and self-esteem.
- Formalism.
- Reason.
- Destructive and protective organs, and self-asserting friendship acting by fits and starts, but not to be relied on.

## **LOW TYPE RELIGIOUS FANATIC OF MEDIEVAL AND MODERN EUROPE,**

- Self-assertion.
- Imagination.
- Formalism.
- Destructive and protective; with reason at work now and then under the command of four masters; the imagination receiving inspiration from self-assertion in religious matters, therefore whatever sect happens to assert itself strongest is likely to catch such an one for a convert, and the formalism at No. 3 is changed to suit the views of the time being: such men become strong Anabaptists, Lord George Gordon rioters, Mormons, or anything else, and always are most desirous to drive their newest doctrines down the throats of unbelievers, whether such approve of them or not.

## **RELIGIOUS FANATIC OF HIGHER AND MORE DANGEROUS ORGANISM.**

- Conscientious formalism.
- Imagination.
- Reason.
- Destruction; and self-asserting friendship almost obliterated. Such a man would use his reason and destructive power to torture or kill those who differed from him in matters of formal and imaginative religious or *irreligious* belief.

## JESUS AND MAHOMET, AND PERHAPS SOME OTHER PARTLY EDUCATED, SELF-ASSERTING MEDIA.

- Unselfish reason.
- Friendly self-assertion.
- Imagination.
- Formalism untrained.
- Destructive and protective.

This is a very high class of mind, but had the education been more complete, the formalism would have appeared higher upon the list, and have therefore been more powerful to assist reason in keeping the imagination and other unreason in check.

The safest and most natural arrangement of organs for most of civilised mankind in the future:—

- Reason.
- *Sound* formalism.
- Self-asserting friendship.
- Imagination.
- Destructive and protective organs.

Milton, when writing "Iconoclastes," as a reasoning formalist, was a totally different man at the time from John Milton at work on "Paradise Lost." Some men can as it were completely throw themselves out of gear from one class of thought, and act instantly with the most complete vigour on others.

As to the Chinese, East Indians, and other similar races, these should now endeavour to learn how to regulate their populations, and also to enforce a rule for so doing amongst their people, thereby abolishing child-murder amongst the infants and periodical famine amongst those who grow up; also, to educate all in a sound and liberal manner, to learn and practice such European notions as may suit their nations, and to surpass their teachers of old time. The ancient dispensations are now passing away; God no longer requires simply numbers for spirit life; now it is rather mental quality that is looked for, keeping up their numbers also, but not starving one another with over population. May they soon be able to understand their *rights* and *duties* as free, civilised men.

Possibly in the future it may be advisable for the nations of southern Europe to seek connection by marriage with the races of the north; the Scandinavians and other Teutons have a certain reliability about them that is somewhat lacking in the nature of the southern tribes, while the quickness of intellect the latter possess is of great value wherever it goes. Therefore if these nations could arrange to receive yearly, some battalions of the golden haired hand-maidens thoroughly well trained for household and other work required in the south, the dark haired girls could return the compliment at the north, and a certain proportion of marriages would result from such a custom; a good cross being kept up, and that is often better than pure breed for spiritual and moral purposes. In Great Britain we have Gaels and Gaelic trained Teutons in the Highlands of Scotland; Celts and Celtic trained Gaels and Teutons in south and west of Ireland; Saxons and Saxon trained Gaels and Celts in England Wales and the north of Ireland, and these mixtures have helped much towards spreading liberal ideas and institutions all over the world.

Frenchmen, though friendly towards England, often feel as foreigners in that land because, being strong venerators themselves, they cannot obtain entire sympathy from a purely self-asserting people, neither nation while spiritually untaught, can understand the other. The ancient Gael, either in France, Britain or Ireland, doubtless always venerated his chief and then his clan, and after that he had but little left for those who were not clansmen. The Romans must have greatly changed the original state of the intellect in ancient Gallia and Wales, but they never were able to do anything to alter that of the Scottish Highlanders. Thus we can at the present day, to some extent, compare old Gaul with modern France. The time will not be long before all of the Gaelic races will be classified on a sound stratification of mind suitable for the higher civilisations.

The modern Frenchman seems to me to venerate what he considers great ideas instead of persons; if an artist or workman, he has often great admiration for republicanism, communism or even for the "poor" man,

that is for poverty itself, looking on it as being one proof of honesty; his brother in England never, as far as I know, has the slightest respect for poverty as an *abstract idea*, he would say that "poverty is no crime, but it is d—d inconvenient;" as to venerating it, the notion would be absurd to him, of the two he is rather more likely to venerate wealth, while many French people, though they may envy, yet do they not have any respect for wealth, or for those that possess it. The Frenchman also venerates his trade, the Englishman generally only tries to make a living by it, and thus it is that such trades as photography, &c., where the fine arts are touched upon, the matter of fact Englishman is sometimes distanced by his venerating neighbour. The excellent way the French are now working their republic shows that veneration for great political ideas may yet prove a complete success, and so it will be, if they will endeavour to keep their imagination free from glory, &c., reserving their fighting power in the interests of the nation or of humanity, but not thinking of it as if there was nothing else worth living for. The stratification of venerating reason above sound formalism will suit the French as well as the British people, and the Gallic, intense spirit of comradeship must be very similar to our friendly self-assertion, training will probably render neighbouring nations still more like one another as the world rolls on. There is a difference in the reason itself of some of the European nations, which is spiritually shown as similar to the colours red, yellow, and white, with their admixtures. The Gaelic reason is white, pure, keen and suitable for philosophy and all great ideas, but not so useful for statesmanship as the yellow type, which is that of Italian, Spaniard, and part of the Greek people. Then as generals, the blood red colour is used to define such as Themistocles, Oliver Cromwell, Toussaint L'Ouverture, and other leaders and rulers of men of the highest rank in that class of mind. Those nations with whom the white and also the red (for rulers) predominates, are fondest of fighting out in the open; the yellow reasoners prefer to fight under cover, but can be trained to fight on the plain as well as the others do. The Romans, when mostly of Italian race, nevertheless fought well in the field, and they were beyond any other people at earthwork defences. Also the people of the yellow reason, when in an uncivilised condition, are rather fond of torturing their enemies, and of cruel sports; while the French, the English, the Germans, and the negroes kill with great zeal, but as a rule they do not, and never did, care to torture their captives. The Iberians, the Maories and the American Indians, who prefer engineering and craft to upstanding fighting, have been also great inventors of cruelties to be exercised on their captive foes; all these evil feelings, if we endeavour to check them, can be checked, and as for savages, whether such prefer to torture 10 or would instead rather kill 100 it matters little, if they only try to join in with us, and give up their bad habits, they will thus save themselves from extermination, which otherwise will be their fate whether civilised man assists the work or not.

As to the Russians, they are a people who have evidently a great future before them, and were they to become disunited, their power for carrying on the great work of civilisation in northern Asia would receive a serious check; they can do that far better than any other race, partly from their geographical position, but still more from the amount of blood kinship joining them in gradation of ideas, first with the Tartars and afterwards perhaps with even the Chinese and Japanese, whom it would appear are similar in race, although disunited from the Tartar stock ages ago, and spiritually developed in quite a different direction from that of the western nations; possibly the southern Slavonians, the Poles, and even the Italians, Greeks, Persians and Brahmins may be but various branches of the Tartar tribes, differently trained for long periods of time. I think, but may be wrong in so thinking, that

- The Gael.
- Iberian race, (the Pelasgic venerating element in ancient Greece.)
- Tartar race, (and the non-venerating portion of the Greek people.)
- Teutons, also somewhat mixed with ancient Greeks,
- Jews, Arabs, &c.
- Negroes.

are types of pure races that never have descended from one Adam, and that most of the other varieties are but the result of different training, climate and cross-breeding; perhaps the Australian natives and the ancient black race of India and the islands are allied, and originally may have been one people. The Maori and other Kanaka tribes are one in their brooding modes of thought, their buildings supported by statues of men, their style of ornamentation in dress, weapons and canoes; also their traditions in the various islands point to a common fatherland in the northwest, and where in that direction could their forefathers have seen such large statues of men and Gods as to cause them to be imitated on Easter Island and other places? Where, but in old Egypt. We know for certain, from Herodotus, that the Egyptians rounded the Cape of Good Hope, and came back to the Nile through the Pillars of Hercules; if the king caused one voyage to be made successfully, his subjects would perhaps make fresh expeditions for the purposes of gaining wealth, and thus the Malays, Kanakas and Ovahs of Madagascar may have come from northern Africa originally, the first-named tribes marrying with Tartar or Indian women, and the Kanakas in some instances becoming mingled with the Papuan and other negroid tribes, and possibly also they might have brought pure negroes or Nubians along with them.

As far as I am acquainted with the Maori speech, it seems to be similar in several words and ideas to that of Egypt; in that land Ra was the God of fire; with the Maori Ra means the sun. Rameses was a kingly name, a Radama also once ruled in Madagascar, and the same first syllable is constantly occurring in New Zealand names. Also the Maori language possesses the three distinctions of singular, plural and dual, and so I believe aid the Egyptian. I cannot say anything authoritatively on this point, but when seeing a Maori woman dressed in the ornamented flax mat going to the well for water, one can hardly avoid noticing the Egyptian resemblance. The higher class Egyptians had a religious objection to seafaring, and the Pharaohs often employed Phoenician seamen, but it no means follows that all of their people were thus trained against the sea; in India, under similar circumstances, some castes will not follow the sea whilst others will.

Certain diseases are intended to teach us that one man should cleave unto one woman, they also assist in weeding the vile from off the face of the earth; it is true that the heaviest punishment falls often on the least guilty, the Divine intention being that in all these matters, human beings shall be left to themselves to study and find out what to do and what to avoid. In a polygamous family there are no such diseases, because there the children and women are duly cared for; nevertheless polygamy is not spiritually desirable; but where women are ill-treated and they become uncleanly in their person, vengeance is carried into effect on some of the male sex, and also on those females who are not careful of sexual honour and decency; blind natural law awards the punishment, and prudence is well shown in avoiding anything that our reason and universal experience teaches us to be wrong, uncleanly or unnecessary.

It is absurd to try to make a good lawyer of a plain jonnuck lad, the money is wasted on the attempt, as certainly as it would be in trying to teach a non-musical girl to play and not mangle the piano, and yet both the boy and the girl may be clever enough in other, to them, more suitable directions.

Give up the notion that God cares more for one race or person than for another, except when pure spiritual reason points out that there is some good to the world to be gained from such care.

Wealth or poverty are in themselves but of little advantage or disadvantage to us when considered from a spiritual point of view, nevertheless in the future it will not be required of unselfish reasoners that they give up their gifts either for national or private benefit, without receiving a due money or other equivalent. The inventors of physical improvements and thinkers in other matters should assert themselves, and also mankind for its own better interests should see that such are duly paid.

Grey hair is in itself neither honourable nor dishonourable, it is simply the natural sign that should teach us to select, when reasonable so to do, suitable mates from amongst our own generation; due respect, however, should always be shown to seniors.

The man who blacks our boots, if he is above us in moral and intellectual nature, is also for that simple reason our superior, or at any rate our equal in spirit life; the sooner that this fact is thoroughly comprehended by humanity, the better for us all. Nevertheless such possible intellectual superiority alone, is no sufficient spiritual reason for making any great alteration in earthly position, for such matters are but of small moment compared to things of eternity.

Twenty-five years ago on the Victorian goldfields I was acquainted with a young west of Englander, the perfect type of an English rustic, frank look, rosy cheeks and brown hair; many years afterwards I came across the same man again, but there was a very great change in him; instead of the frank, jonnuck manner that implies the taking of things and people as they appear on the outside, or the not troubling much about what they mean; in place of this there was the sly, sneaking glance out of the corner of the eye, common to the inferior types of reason; yes, he had become a self-asserting reasoner, lost his liking for labour and adopted a preference for gambling *to win*, and therefore he was using his reason to find out the weak points of people he was about to play with, thus the better to use his formalism to take their money; now had he remained under the old stratification, he would have kept his original open countenance and some of his many other natural advantages, and also his mental qualifications perhaps improved by age; however, he had given up all that and become what the higher spiritual laws never intended him to be, namely, *a constant thinker*. I do not mean that in the future such people should not keep their wits about them, nevertheless they need not reason with entire reference to number one; better to stick to a trade or business, using their formalism all day and being agreeable and friendly with suitable associates in the evening, engaging sometimes in such discussions as may be best suited to train their higher formalism to assist reason in more excellent modes and matters of thought and action.

Welsh and Cornish men, although the Gaelic element prevails greatly amongst them, yet do they not, I believe, care very much to be soldiers or policemen, unless trouble of some kind or other drives them to it. On the other hand, the highland Gaels and Scots (Gaelic trained) are often eager for such occupations. The Welsh, though retaining their old language, have cast away their ancient mental training to a considerable extent, perhaps partly through old Roman influence; at anyrate they have now adopted much of the mode of thought of their English neighbours, and the jonnuck of Wales is something tremendous as far as my experience goes; both they and the Cornish are rather more talkative, and therefore in that respect somewhat like their French

congeners; nevertheless there can be no doubt but that they are in full mental unison with the larger part of the British nations, and thus there is little danger of disputes as to matters of race and ancient injuries given and received. They will fight for the flag gallantly enough in a popular cause, but not because they are particularly inclined to avoid formal labour. Many of the Scottish highland race are also getting into similar ways of thinking, particularly when they have gained some good Glasgow experience.

## Method of Spirit Intercourse With the Noblest Reasoning Medium of Ancient Times.

*Spirit Question from Solon.*—"Socrates, whom would you select from amongst the youth of your acquaintance for the higher teaching in reference to political power in the republic."

*Ans.*—"I think I would choose Alcibiades for one as he possesses great reasoning power, is excessively fond of the games that are so excellent and necessary for our country and for all Greece; also he is clever in debate, and if I can persuade him to be thoroughly attached to liberty, then all the interests of the republic, whilst in his hands, ought to be safe."

*Spirit.*—"Socrates, do your best for Athens, so that you may help to spread liberty not only amongst the Greeks, but eventually to all the human races, we will assist you."

And so they did assist, but not as he had desired. Great were his disappointments and humiliations, but none did he feel so acutely as the losses to Athens by means of Alcibiades, for he had loved him as a son, and believed him to be the one best able to forward the cause of freedom; nevertheless a grave blunder was here made by a thoroughly well intentioned friend of humanity, and simply because at that time there was but little biographical and historical science sufficiently authentic to teach him to be cautious with self-asserting and imaginative intellects.

Now Socrates well knows that in this generation his ancient labours will attain more perfect fruition than he in the old time had ever expected. He objected to election of officials by means of ballot with beans according to the Athenian custom, as related in history, because he could see plainly that inferior men were often chosen for the highest offices. What he wished for was a scientific classification, whereby people would with certainty fall into their proper places in life; but on account of reasons stated previously that great spiritual favour was never granted to him, and clever as he was yet was he unable to arrange such a system without Divine help.

A soldier once saw Socrates, when on guard, looking apparently at the moon and remaining in one position for a long time; now Socrates always discouraged astronomical science, because it was likely to draw away too much high intellect from Athens in her great need. No, he was not looking at the moon, but sorrowfully talking with his spirit friends on the necessities of Greece.

Readers of history must remember that on the return of the Athenian army from the defeat at Delium, the spiritually given advice of Socrates saved the lives of a few who took the road that avoided the pursuing enemy, while those who marched the other way were all cut off. Why were not the latter also saved? Because their lives were of no particular importance. But the safety of Socrates was of great spiritual value, for he was a thoroughly trained reasoning medium, who had then much philosophical work to do; and although his efforts in the cause of Grecian liberty were nearly all failures even at that time: yet had he been killed at Delium there was no one then ready to continue his work, and in accordance with the Divine will no more such as he were to be developed in Ancient Greece. Thus he and his friends were saved on that occasion, not for the sake of old Greece, but rather for that of modern Europe.

Now let me refer to a most important truth, even if it should be considered a repetition, it is as to the question of the possibility of salvation by faith alone before the justice of a God of perfect reason, and who *cannot do an unreasonable thing*; is it even possible, much less probable, that such a Being, the ruler of an universe composed of millions of millions of worlds, can care for what you or I believe (much less to be willing to take our advice inasmuch as he cannot possibly need it): the idea is totally unreasonable and absurd, it is simply one of those notions that have been encouraged by the spirit world for a good purpose, namely, to inflate man's self-esteem unconsciously, by causing him to suppose that he was individually of such vast importance. It is usually considered a scientific truth that all matter is based upon the unit or atom, yet the unit itself is as nothing, and even we as spiritual atoms, units or duals, eventually will constitute a portion of the spirit world or godhead, even each one of us when considered with reference to the universe; why, we are certainly of less importance to the Almighty than is a drop of water to the ocean that effects such wonders on this little planet. Nevertheless, individual future happiness is of much importance to each one, both in earth and spirit life, and the greater or lesser amount of that happiness depends to a certain and very important extent, not on what we believe, but on what each one of us does for ourselves and also to our fellows, for we can forget nothing in the

future state, the book of memory and also that of our friends can never be shut; it is not like the imperfect remembrance that in this life is sometimes in action and sometimes silent, there it is always speaking to us, whether we will or not, of everything we have done on earth. Also our friends here are, as a rule, friends for all eternity; thus friendship under a right system of selection and honourably kept is a most important matter, and there is also a reverse to this where evils are inflicted on friends by us.

Thus it is that God (the Spirit World) cares nothing for our belief, but much for what we do, both for our own sakes and also for the sake of others, and as to our stupid, wrong-headed disputes on theological points which have cost so much blood-shedding and suffering during the world's training; that probationary state being now finished, for God's sake and man's sake, let us bury all dogmatical ideas as soon as possible, *yet not doing things hurriedly*, and establish a pure, noble, religion without unnecessary theology, giving due thanks for favours received in accordance with the ideas of the higher minds of teachers now belonging to the various denominations; some prefer grandeur, and others simplicity; both, when not carried to ridiculous extremes, are good, *the higher reason* being our true divinely appointed guide. Let us force none, and try to love all men as God also loves us; let us endeavour to show our love by acting in accordance with the golden rule, which, however, as a matter of reason works two ways; thus, were I to have committed or to be likely to commit any of those fearful atrocities which at the present time are so commonly reported, I would most heartily wish to be hanged at once, as did Tuhi, the reasoning Maori lately executed in New Zealand. What I would in such a case desire should be done unto me, that am I most thoroughly anxious to see effectually carried out on others, thus preventing future fresh evils on the part of the malefactor and their eternal consequences, and I am convinced that this course is true mercy, *but only to be unhesitatingly applied to those who are either by training or natural disposition past the hope of reformation*. Rome say that while there is life, there is hope: I much doubt the truth of this saying as far as it may refer to the improvement of the more brutalised criminals of our generation.

It is mainly with the spiritual world of this planetary system that we, even in the future, shall probably have much to do with, and even that portion of it is a most incomprehensible power; also the whole of the united godhead is in unison with and if necessary always ready to cooperate, only such a necessity never occurs now: the main points of spirit rule having been planned long ago and brought into existence as matters of the purest and highest reason, they now belong to perfect formalism.

As to what may be the ultimate purposes and meanings of the Creation, shall we ever comprehend them? I believe that during the vast gulf of futurity that lies before each one of us perhaps we may understand thoroughly the general outlines relating to the universe, but no unit or dual will ever be able to say that he knows all that is to be known.

One spiritual suggestion to me on education was this, schoolmasters should classify their scholars according to the position of mind they appear to occupy at the time, such a system amongst the young would be simple enough, most English children being plain self-asserters some few formalists, some reasoning formalists and formal reasoners imaginatives. Let the examiners check the classification every year. When the lads pass from the primary to the higher schools they should take their classification with them, and thence, by means of scholarships or something similar, those who show particular intellect under any of the higher classifications should be entitled to a special training in the direction of their minds; also a scholar who seems to be a formal or other reasoner, should have as a reward a ticket entitling him to be entered as parliamentary candidate when of sufficient age. If this was carried out right through, commencing at the national primary schools, there could then be no objection against it on the score of family preferences, for the whole of those who could have any extra chance of being elected to Parliamentary honours must first enter fairly amongst the people's children. I think, and spirit friends also told me that for those distinctions none but the children of the people, or those who would enter school life on a footing of perfect equality with them, should be permitted as candidates for seats in the national councils, and that this would have a good effect in keeping out low-born rogues, as well as aristocratic blockheads, from parliaments. Then also intellect, from the highest to the lowest in the land, would be on one footing in that respect.

We see how well in many instances the old Chinese spirit planned system of civil service examinations has worked in modern England in selecting formalists, is it not possible that this newer idea, from the same source, may prove equally satisfactory. I leave it to others to think over. As to the nearly pure reasoners they are but very few indeed, and as children, boys or girls, show their form of intellect partly in asking pertinent questions, but still more in giving sensible replies to questions usually considered to be beyond the understanding of those of their age. Formalists are often good at putting questions, but to give a really original and useful answer on any important, subject requires a thinker: and such, when children are easily trodden under foot by the more self-assorting and formal, and the lad who can learn a lot of parrot phrases will often be thought by the master to be cleverer than he who while weaker in formalism, is yet vastly stronger in striking out an idea for himself.

The spirits say that the only two perfect systems (as far as perfection goes in this life) of government

are—1st that of a well established slavery under a good autocrat: and 2nd, republican and parliamentary freedom under a system similar to the one just proposed, and that all admixtures of republicanism and monarchy in so called constitutional governments have been advancements, and solid advancements on the road to freedom, yet are they not consistent with the liberty now spoken of, for there is always a certain amount of man worship in monarchy, and often it is applied to the wrong person; for if the Russians at one time bowed down to Peter the Great that was bad enough, though necessary at the time, but for Englishmen at the present age to worship even the incarnation of Mr. John Bull himself, would be supremely ridiculous. When such a classification has been properly carried out, both for jurymen and parliamentarians, the spirit world will trust all human governmental affairs to mankind as freemen with the absolute certainty that the greater blunders of past ages will never be repeated, and that as the world rolls on, even the smaller ones will hardly be possible.

Of course in making great alterations it is often necessary to take the will of the people; in England such is usually done by means of a general election, in other countries by a plebiscite; let all nations retain as much of the older forms as may be possible, but let none give a vote in Parliament except those who have passed from the peoples schools as reasoners of one class or the other mentioned in the list as Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, for Parliament, and Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, and 6 as Jurymen.

There should also, if possible, be an Upper House or board of pure thinkers to act as check on all legislation before appealing directly to the people, *the latter appeal being final*.

As to municipal affairs, they would of course remain much as now, on the hands of the ratepayers, and these will have better opportunities of selecting right men, and also public and parliamentary opinion will be vastly keener than it is now to keep corporation selfishness and jobbery in check.

That the truth and honesty of public opinion when rightly appealed to, is as solid as a rock, I myself have had personal experience; the public, rightly trained, never errs from intention of doing wrong; if it makes a blunder, it is nearly always from having been over persuaded by self-interested rogues or fools.

The trading in simulated love is often no spiritual crime on the part of the woman, but nevertheless is injurious to the mental and eternal happiness both of males and females; from its very nature it is degrading to men, and unfortunately doubly so to women, although if justice on this point was possible in our state of civilisation, the stigma should be equally divided between the sexes, indeed in the original seduction, from which most of it springs, common justice would tell us that the seducer ought to receive by far the larger share of it. Girls are usually brought up to be too simple minded in this respect, now the time is coming when all necessary sexual matters will have to be fully explained to them, either at schools or by duly appointed female teachers at suitable seasons.

When in the future time marriage shall have become nearly universal, then people will look back on these crimes of our generation with horror and disgust, similar to that with which we turn from legal slavery and New Zealand cannibalism.

All the important Media of ancient times have been men of large intellectual power, in accordance with the class of mind to which they have belonged; therefore the idea held by some spiritualists of note at the present day, that they may be able to obtain much that is excellent through the mediumship of the weaker minded or morally vicious, is opposed to religious and other history, and also to the present spiritual experience of the world. When such as Jesus, Moses, and Homer have received the Divine afflatus, we need not trouble ourselves as to whether Joseph Smith and Joanna Southcott were spiritually inspired, or only in the way mentioned in Hudibras, of Prynne and Vicars. If God required a great work to be done, He always selected a suitable mind to do it, mental classification being always kept in view; thus the business of a formalist is not to be handed to a self-assertionist, nor that of the latter to an imaginative, either by God or man.

If it should be necessary that a medium and his friends and well-wishers have to be burnt, crucified, or otherwise tortured to death for the benefit of humanity in the teaching of better forms of liberty or Divine worship, God (the Spirit World) holds the right of having such torture carried into effect, and those who have in former times suffered most, in similar ways by the cruelty of their fellow-men have always, on attaining to spirit life, fully acknowledged the justice, wisdom, and necessity for what had been Divinely permitted to be done to them.

That it should be submitted to scientific reasoners whether it be possible to invent English in place of Greek and Latin terms in some sciences, so that knowledge may be the more quickly imparted to the working classes, a far more important point in the present and future time, than even it has been in the past; and also can we not adopt a handy English name that shall include all but wilful drones and evil doers as members of one brotherhood of brain and hand workers.

In case of oppression on individuals or communities of any class, creed, or colour, our Anglo Celtic public opinion can now be depended on for enforcing justice with almost absolute certainty, provided each case is fairly put before the people so that the merits or demerits may be thoroughly explained to all by means of the press.

At the time of the war between the Northern and Southern States of America, did the poor sufferers in Lancashire demand the British Government to obtain cotton for them at the price of negro slavery? I think they only asked for bread during the hard times, and northern America nobly sent the "George Griswold to their assistance, and much help afterwards; Australia, New Zealand, and all other English-speaking people and friendly foreigners willingly cooperating in the good work, and equally liberal has been the help afforded to Ireland during several fearful famines. For these reasons it is that the spirit world fully sympathise with those who wish to extend political rights under just conditions to all our people; for now they are in a state of mental advancement, able with the help of the Press and other educating elements, to use those privileges correctly.

While speaking with so much pride of our kinsmen in the northern States, we need cast no slur on their countrymen of the south, who were not intentional traitors to the cause of dignity of labour; it was false training that had caused those who should have been their working classes to prefer the apparent, but not real, interests of a comparatively few slave owners to the solid advantage of the majority.

In the matter of payment of members of Parliament, jurymen, &c., the wealthy should, from love towards the nation, accept as expenses that which, when given to working men, would be considered full wages, thus an approximate equality may be maintained, and all classes be fairly represented.

Those who receive the school prize as entitling them to act as representatives, and also those who obtain the qualification for jurymen, should be invited to hold periodical political and scientific meetings in all parts of the country, their tickets giving them right to speak in the meeting rooms; such being to a certain extent private, *but the general public to be always admitted free*, and thus to act as a check and also for purposes of national instruction; any person (even though not qualified to be a member), nevertheless to be permitted to speak with consent of chairman and other leading men. Public meetings of course would have to be held as now, when required.

In establishing cooperative societies in the leading trades, such as shoe-making, iron working, &c., it would be advisable to ask the assistance of certain members of the fine arts, actors, painters, &c.; these are often very democratic in feeling, and clever in some kinds of business outside their professions; they are also sometimes careless in their money matters, and not acquisitive enough to lay by a suitable provision for old age; therefore their joining such companies *as full (not as honorary members)* would be to mutual advantage; they would have to take a money share, in accordance with the amount of their earnings *paid into the company*; thus they might be entitled to receive as much from that source as to equal the payments made to the foremen and trade managers, the same to be continued in old age. The working men need to bear in mind that genius is usually liberal, and what more money such men would earn and receive, a great part of it is almost certain to be spent in a generous manner amongst those whom they will be proud to own as fellow craft. They could also be office holders, but not to the exclusion, but rather to the assistance, of thinking men belonging to the trade. As to the shares of such societies they should be the property of the company, to be held by members for life or during good behaviour; no selling out, thus avoiding the chance of the introduction of unsuitable persons; exchange from one society to the other to be allowed with consent of each. Every one born in the company to be free of it if willing on the appointed terms to take up his freedom, and provided there is room for him, and his general conduct is decent, six months or less probation being allowed in doubtful cases.

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## Introduction.

BY MR. M. W. GREEN.

To the student of prophecy the Book of Daniel will of necessity occupy a most important place, and its realistic pictures of the events to occur in the latter days, will form a chief portion of study. Of Daniel himself very little more is known than is recorded in the Book itself. That he was descended from one of the highest of the Judean families, if not from royalty itself, seems clear from the statement in the first chapter of the Book (i, 3), and from Josephus (Ant. b. x. ch., § 1). The circumstances of his captivity in Babylon, with the eventful life he led there, will be known to every reader of the Bible; and the striking coincidences existing between the events described in the visions of Daniel and the facts of history, are too numerous and clear to escape the attention of even the most superficial reader of the Book.

One of the most interesting problems of the present day is as to the condition of the Israelites during the later periods of the present dispensation. In looking into the Scriptures we find certain very remarkable promises made in reference to them. It was said to Abraham that his seed should be as the stars for multitude, as the sand upon the sea-shore, and as the dust of the earth. No language could possibly more clearly indicate

immense multitudes than that which is used. On coming out of Egypt they numbered 603,550 fighting men over 20 years of age. Considering that the tribe of Levi was not included in this enumeration, and making reasonable allowance for the women and children, their number on leaving Egypt could not have been less than about *two millions*. In Deuteronomy (ch. i, 10-11) Moses speaks of them as already being as the stars for multitude compared with their small beginning, and then adds these very important words: "The Lord God of your fathers make you a *thousand times* so many more as ye are, and bless you, *as he hath promised you!*" Here, then, we have intimation that the promise of God to the Israelites involved their becoming at some period of their history at least *two thousand millions* in number.

But another remarkable promise made to the Israelites was that they should extend east, west, north, and south; that they should possess the gates, or strong places, of their enemies; that of them should arise a nation and a company of nations; and that in them, as the seed of Abraham, all the nations of the earth should be blessed. It needs little acquaintance with the past to know that by the people who have been looked upon as Israelites this comprehensive promise has never been realized; and taking into account the fact that we are now beyond doubt in the latter days of the dispensation when the promises should be fulfilled, it appears impossible that these promises can be fulfilled to the ten or twelve millions of Jews who are scattered over the world.

The question then arises, "Have the promises of God failed, or does the seed of Abraham exist now, having a national organisation, but ignorant of their ancient and noble origin?" The first part of the question cannot possibly be, but the second part may be true. How, then, can this be ascertained? Let us suppose a case. We find certain promises made in Scripture respecting a certain people, but having lost the means of identifying this people, we are unable to show that the promises have been fulfilled. In looking upon the nations around, however, we find *one* in whom all the promises which were made to this "certain people" are fulfilled, or seem on the point of being fulfilled, to the very letter. In seeking to know the origin of the nation in whom the predictions are fulfilled, we trace them to a certain place, and as living there at a certain time, and migrating thence westward. In looking now to the history of the people to whom the promises were made, we find this singular fact—viz., that they were transported as captives from their own land to the very place, and at the very time, where, and at which, we find the original ancestors of the *one nation* now in possession of the fulfilled promises. If our supposed case be a true one, would it not amount to a demonstration that the "certain people" to whom the promises were originally made, and the one nation in whom they were found fulfilled, were one and the same people. Such appears to be the only reasonable conclusion.

That the ancestors of the British nation are traceable up to the very point in place and time, where, and when, the ten tribes were carried captive by the King of Assyria, and from which captivity the body of them never returned, seems beyond doubt, and thus suggests a common origin. That the promises made to the Israelites are already in large measure fulfilled in the British, seems equally clear. That Britain possesses the gates or strong places of those who were the enemies of Israel may be learned from any map of the British possessions. That she has become a nation (America) and a company of nations (Britain and her Colonies) is equally well demonstrated. That by her mercantile and missionary agencies Britain is becoming a blessing to all the nations of the earth is an established fact of which every Briton may well be proud. That she is destined to exercise an overpowering sway among all the nations is supported by a comparison of her rapid development during the last decade. Her bank deposits in 1869 were £22,000,000; in 1879 they were nearly £40,000,000 sterling. The thrift of her people is shown by deposits in savings banks in 1869 of £51,000,000, and in 1879 of £76,000,000. The letters passing through the post office have increased from 874,000,000 in 1869 to 1,239,000,000 in 1879. Her population is increasing at the rate double that of any other nation in the world, and treble that of many. Her language is spoken in every part of the globe, and some of the learned *savans* of the most advanced nations predict that it will become the universal language of the earth. Her imports have steadily increased, so that notwithstanding the disturbed condition of Europe during the last few years, the difference from 1869 and in favour of 1879 is £12,000,000. The carrying capacity of the British and Colonially owned vessels is nearly twenty million tons, or about equal to the aggregate of that owned by all the other nations of the world. Statistics prove that crime and pauperism are decreasing within her boundaries, so that while in 1869 the number of convicted prisoners was 14,340, in 1879 it was 12,525; the number of paupers in 1869 being 1,281,000, and in 1879 1,037,000. At the same time education also is advancing, so that from 1869 to 1879 there is a difference of 122 per cent, in favour of the latter date. The data all seem clearly to indicate that a point of pre-eminent glory yet lies before Britain.

The purpose of the writer in the following pages has been to show that this pre-eminence of Britain is clearly indicated in the vision of the golden-headed image of Nebuchadnezzar and the stone cut out without hands. The subject is one of intense interest, and the writer has endeavoured to deal with it in a fair and dispassionate manner. The principle of interpretation suggested seems the only reasonable one, and causes the meaning of the entire vision to shine out as a sunbeam. The facts presented are the result of close reading and careful study, and seem conclusively to establish the position taken, that the fifth kingdom which the God of

Heaven was about to set up, and which, in its beginnings, is represented as a stone cut out without hands, which smites the image on its feet, and ultimately fills the whole earth, is none other than the British nation. Though the conclusion is one of startling import, and one from which those who have not considered the subject may shrink, yet a careful study of the several facts presented will amply repay the reader.

The author desires to acknowledge that in some instances he has worked upon suggestions and arguments, in these pages, found in the writings of the following contributors to British-Israel literature:—

Philo Israel, editor of "The Banner of Israel;"  
Rev. Dr. Joseph Wild, author of "The Lost Ten Tribes and 1882;"  
Edward Hine, editor of "Life from the Dead," &c.;  
J. G. Shaw, author of "Britain, the Fifth and Unconquerable Empire;"  
Cymru, "When did the Hebrews first settle in Britain?"  
Colonel Gawler, "Dan the Pioneer of Israel," &c.;  
Carpenter. The Israelites Found;"  
Rev. F. R. A. Glover, M.A., "The Remnant of Judah;"  
Rev. B. W. Savile, "Are we Israelites?"  
Bishop Titcomb. "The Israelitish Post Bag;"  
Professor Tanner, in "Life from the Dead;"  
J. W. Forrest—"The Saxons of the East and West;"  
And many others whose names are not within reach.

He also wishes to convey, in this form, his sincere thanks to Mr. M. W. Green, Christian Minister, of this city, for the excellent and concisely put argument, which introduces this pamphlet to the reader.

The Ancient World with Nebuchadnezzar's Image  
Nebuchadnezzar's Dream; or, Britain, the Universal and Last Empire.  
BY R. N. Adams.

With an Introduction by Mr. M. W. Green.

DANIEL II, 31-35, 44.—"Thou, O King, sawest, and, behold, a great image. This great image, whose brightness was excellent, stood before thee, and the form thereof was terrible. This image's head was of fine gold, his breast and his arms of silver, his belly and his thighs of brass (copper), his legs of iron, his feet part of iron and part of clay. Thou sawest till that a stone was cut out without hands, which smote the image upon his feet that were of iron and clay, and brake them to pieces. Then was the iron, the clay, the brass (copper), the silver, and the gold broken to pieces together, and became like the chaff of the summer threshing-floors; and the wind carried them away, that no place was found for them: and the stone that smote the image became a great mountain, and filled the whole earth. . . . . And the kingdom shall not be left to other people, but it shall break in pieces and consume all these kingdoms; AND IT SHALL STAND FOR EVER."

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# Nebuchadnezzar's Dream; or, Britain, the Universal and Last Empire.

## Chapter I.

### The Argument Stated.

*It is a rule, established by the best and most judicious interpreters, that in explaining the Sacred writings we ought never, without the most apparent and indispensable necessity, to allow ourselves the liberty of departing from the plain, obvious, and literal meaning of the words.—BISHOP PORTEOUS.*

*The Bible is sufficiently plain to those who search it with simplicity of faith, and with minds untainted with philosophy and science, falsely so called. Hold fast and inculcate those precious truths, which are written, as with a sunbeam: and which are plain to those whom Christ calls 'babes,' though contrary to the reasoning of the wise and prudent.—DR. WOODS.*

The prophetic portions of the books of Daniel, the Prophet of the Captivity, and of John, the Prophet of Patmos, are by the general readers of the Bible, perhaps the least consulted sections of the sacred volume. The

story of Daniel's life and the historical parts of the book are by no means neglected. In our earliest acquaintance with the Bible, these stories are among some of the most conspicuous. No story is more interesting in the ears of children than that of Daniel in the lion's den, or that of the three Hebrew youths cast into the fiery furnace. They are sublime themes for sermons, delighting subjects for Sunday school lessons, as well as consoling topics for the mind of a Christian in a time of trouble and distress, or for the bed of sickness. And what powerful warnings have been drawn from the hand-writing on the wall, which alarmed the king in the midst of his gay festivities. "Thou art weighed in the balances and found wanting" has been the text for thousands of arousing sermons. So is it with some portions of Revelation, notably the Epistles to the Churches. But the wonderful and sublime prophetic utterances of these two "holy men of old" who spake as the spirit directed them, have been looked upon as almost beyond the power of explanation, or at least beyond the comprehension of a common reader. It is impossible that this seeming difficulty can have arisen from any ambiguity of the text. That is distinct enough. But the whole affair has come about through the notions which have become prevalent throughout the entire range of acknowledged and celebrated commentators. They have missed the main current of the theme, and have tried to supply the last connecting link by one of their own manufacture. It is most wonderful to note how unanimously they have agreed on the nature of this link, in spite of their diverse opinions on questions of greater and lesser moment. Of course the ingenious inventor of the artificial connection had hit upon an idea which fitted tolerably well with a theory that had taken firm possession of what is called the "Christian mind."

In reality, this seems to have been a part of the amazing Divine scheme. The full meaning of certain portions of prophecy was not intended to be understood through all periods. These utterances have been sealed until the time should arrive when they should be useful in making known—when the beginning of the period approached—the nature of the events predicted in them. Both in Daniel and in Revelation certain passages are ordered by the spirit to be "sealed up" for a time. The end of this period is evidently near at hand, and even now at least one-half of Christendom acknowledges that we see the dawn of the long-expected era, creating the roseate hues of morning in the eastern horizon.

Although the seals now seem to be broken and removed, all the students of the Bible have not learned to read the words with the light of reason. Many are still in the condition of Saul of Tarsus before the scales fell from his eyes. These modern scales are caused by the chronic trouble known as the "spiritualizing mania." Those suffering from it labour under the hallucination that this great and Universal Kingdom, which is to succeed the four great, but only local and limited powers, is to be a development of Christianity through the entire system of human affairs to such an extent that all nations will acknowledge God, and be governed by His Divine rules. Certainly the worship of the true God is to cover the earth as the waters cover the bed of the ocean. There is a substratum of truth in this notion, but it is only one-half of the fundamental fact, and it acts as a veil or obscuring shade to prevent a realization of the beauty, and the delightful harmony which shines in splendour from this grandest of all prophetic visions. The seal has been broken, but many still cling to their eye-shades, and refuse to look on the vision with pure transparent lenses. They prefer the old and opaque obstructions to light. But the time has come for those who have, by the grace of God, cast aside the man-invented principles of interpretation for the plain consistent meaning of the words which record the sublime story, to use the power with which they have been intrusted, to impress upon their friends and the people generally the glorious fact in its true form, and thus aid in removing that defect which so seriously dims intelligence.

The great image, which appeared in a dream to the monarch of the most extensive of ancient empires, known as Nebuchadnezzar of Babylon, has in all ages of Bible study been an object of admiration and wonder. Its great lesson, however, has been only partially understood, notwithstanding its particular interpretation by the inspired writer. There is no material difference in the present day with reference to the current interpretations applied to the different parts of the metallic image, so far as the head of gold, arms and breast of silver, the body and thighs of brass, and the legs of iron are concerned. But when we consult the commentators and prophetic writers upon the feet of iron and clay," we are met with the commencement of the confusion, as difficult to harmonize as are the Chinese characters with the Roman letters. As, however, each of these sets of symbols are understood to represent a method of writing human language, so all interpretations of the imago agree in regarding these several parts as representatives of succeeding political powers or nations, the diversity being as to which historic or modern nation or nations may be selected as those specially referred to by the feet of the image.

The *argument* observable throughout the treatment of the *verses referring to the four parts of the image* supplies the basis which, from its consistency and appropriateness, commends itself to the truth-seeker as *the one to be acted upon for the remaining verses* of the vision. What I desire to be specially noted is, that *each particularised portion of the image is unhesitatingly taken to represent some particular political or imperial power, some individual nation*. Not a political principle such as Cæsarism, Romanism, Judahism, Communism,

or any spirit of opinions which might spread through many different nations. Nothing of this kind, but simply and distinctly "a nation" in the literal and practical sense of the term. A people owning one governing head.

Moreover, it is commonly accepted that the gold, the silver, the brass, and the iron which formed the distinguishing parts of the Colossus, were really peculiarities of the nations they are taken to represent. Not merely emblematic, but important distinctive features. Gold, for instance, was a singularly plentiful commodity in the realm of Nebuchadnezzar. Isaiah (xiv. 4) calls Babylon the "Golden City." Jeremiah (li. 13) speaks of it as "abundant in treasure." A Greek writer has written of Babylon as "abounding in gold." Barnes says: "The appellation, "head of gold," may have been given to him on account of the splendour of his capital, and the magnificence of his court." This king was the greatest conqueror of his day, and he levied tribute in "gold" from all his subjugated dependencies. Nothing in history is more striking than the fact that the dishes of this king's table were all of gold. The adornments of the city, effected by Nebuchadnezzar, are said to have been one of the wonders of the world.

Silver is the characteristic symbol of the Medo-Persian empire, which succeeded the Babylonian. It is a historical fact that during the dominancy of this power "silver" became a most common metal, because of the extensive and rich mines then opened up and worked in the very "home seat" of the empire, and which Gibbon tells us gave employment to many thousands of men, even after the Romans had taken possession of the eastern world, and brought a great revenue to the coffers of the Roman treasury. Many commentators have argued that silver is used as representative of the Medo-Persian empire, because, as silver is inferior to gold, so was the latter empire to the Babylonian. To me there is something quite irreverent in this view of the Divine Being, whom we all regard as the author of the symbols chosen. Were we commenting upon the imagery of some human poet there would be every excuse for the adoption of this system, for man does look upon the metals as differing in money value, but to Him who created all things they differ not in their intrinsic value. It is impossible to conceive that to Him one pure metal is superior to another, and we should never forget that the symbols are His choice, not man's. If it were that these selected metals stood before Him in a gradation of worth, how very unworthy and low must the "common stone" be when contrasted with the "pure gold!" Yet when we consider the Divinely given interpretation we find that the stone is chosen to represent the grandest, purest, sublimest of all the kingdoms! Consequently, it seems imprudent in the highest degree to suppose that these metals were chosen from their human standard of value. Human value changes with the scarcity or abundance of any article. Were gold more plentiful than silver they would change places in the market. Naturally, therefore, our argument concludes that silver represents Medo-Persia, not because it is inferior to gold, but because it was a conspicuous characteristic commodity in the prime of that second great empire.

For the same reason brass (or copper) is chosen to represent the third powerful empire, by whose power the silver state was overthrown. Brass was first used by the Greeks as a coat of mail and shield; their arrow and spear heads were often, if not generally, made of this metal—which was not the compound which we call brass, but is believed to have been hardened copper. History knows these Macedonian warriors as the "brazen coated Greeks." Brass, or copper, was more extensively used in the Greek nation than in any other, constituting it a notable characteristic of the people.

What brass was to the Greeks "iron" became to the Romans, which caused that material to become the chief distinction or characteristic metal of the fourth great empire of the world.

Will it not be wise, therefore, to carry this harmonizing principle of interpretation further, and apply it to the signification of the stone which "was cut out without hands?" Are we now to depart from the harmony evident in the interpretation of the Image, as we proceed to consider the meaning of the last part of the same vision? Is this stone, which is destined to crush the entire image to atoms, to be interpreted as representative of an individual person, or as a nation? No person will presume to deny that, so far as the power to crush the great political institutions of the Gentile world, being applied to Christ, the personal method of interpretation is quite compatible with the nature and prophetic description of the future mundane reign of our Lord. But is it not much more consistent to follow out the same principle which characterizes the prophecy of the image, and regard the "stone cut out of the mountain without hands," as representative, not of a person, but a nation? See how this would agree with Daniel's inspired interpretation (ii, 44)—"And in the days of those kings shall the God of Heaven set up a Kingdom which shall never be destroyed, and the kingdom thereof shall not be left to other people, but it shall break in pieces and consume all these kingdoms, and it shall stand for ever." No explanation could be more distinct. It is to be a people, a community, a nation, organized as a political energy. Moreover, it is to break in pieces all those antagonistic kingdoms which are represented in the Image. Now were not these kingdoms all composed of organised communities? Is the kingdom which the stone represents not also of a similar constitution? From history we know that the kingdoms representing the "Times of the Gentiles" have been for the greater part united in their nationality, not only by the powers of the government which ruled them, but more by ties of race, or consanguinity. Although they all vanquished other peoples and brought them under their sway, yet in their beginning they were all held together by their pride of ancestry.

Does Scripture indicate that the nation of the latter days is to originate in any different way? Is it to be composed of a people of a common history and fountain head, or of peoples of diverse histories, and many fountain heads, or sources of origin? Does it indicate that these kingdoms are to be overthrown by a gathering out from the midst of them of a special people or class, which shall form the kingdom of the great king? Daniel is not obscure in this matter. The Stone had no common origin with the Image. The Stone had its origin in the mountain, and was not there managed and controlled by human hands, being singular in this respect. The great Image must have been the work of the most skilful human artificer, for it was an artificial construction, in this being the antithesis of the Stone.

Nor does the Stone take its political rise in the midst of the Image, and gradually assimilate the entire fabric to itself. It is represented as commencing its course from the vantage ground of the mountain side, whence it descends to the plain with irresistible force, and dashing against the man-made power crushes it to atoms by the force of its impetuous velocity, and then, after its power has been manifested in this remarkable manner, it establishes a world-wide empire in which the nations of the Image-power form a portion.

There does not in this seem to be a prefigurement of the Christian church, or Christian dispensation, as we see it existing in these days, for it has never shown any tendency to break down and destroy the kingdoms of the world, but on the contrary, wherever a nation has become prominently Christian in its general character, its royal house and form of government have become more secure and prosperous. But this kingdom to be ushered in as the Stone Kingdom is to be established after the judgment has sat (vii. 26), when they or the people who form the empire "shall take away his (the beast's) dominion, to consume and to destroy it unto the end. And the kingdom and dominion, and the greatness of the kingdom under the whole heaven shall be given to the people of the saints of the Most High, and all dominions (margin, 'rulers') shall obey him."

It is of great importance to notice two other facts mentioned in Daniel's interpretation of the vision.

According to this the God of Heaven is to set up a kingdom "in the days of those kings." Which kings? Evidently the kings of the four great empires. It was to be a growth of many centuries, even from the days of Assyria's greatness to the decline and fall of haughty Rome, the gradual development of a solid and substantial nation. Then we are informed "the kingdom shall not be left to other people." On this passage Barnes has the following very appropriate remarks:—"No foreign power shall sway the sceptre of this kingdom. The government will never change hands. There *may* be an allusion to the fact that in respect to each of the other kingdoms mentioned, the power over the same territory *did* pass into the hands of other people. Thus, on the same territory, the dominion passed from the hands of the Babylonian princes to the hands of Cyrus, the Persian, and then to the hands of Alexander, the Macedonian; and then to the hands of the Romans. But this would never occur in regard to the kingdom which the God of Heaven would set up. In the region of empire appropriated to it it would never change hands; and this promise of perpetuity made this kingdom wholly unlike its predecessors." It shall not be transferred from them to another race. Surely this indicates very conclusively that the latter day kingdom is to be a people distinct in their nationality from others, and that although they subdue all other nations, they shall retain their supremacy throughout, (vii. 27, xii 1.)

If by this the Church of Christ is meant—which by all is acknowledged to be a company of all kindreds, tongues and nations—then the words of the prophecy are reduced to mere foolishness. If this "kingdom" means a community of all peoples, in which all nations form an equally important element, or in which all national and race differences are obliterated, as many suppose the great extension of Christian worship throughout the world will effect, then it would be absolutely absurd to speak of such a "kingdom" not being "left to another people," because already it embraces within its limits "all peoples," and there no longer exists any "other people." Amongst them there is no division and no distinction, for they are one people, and possess the kingdom.

To be logical, and to attribute common sense to the Divine Word—and surely this we are bound to do—we must regard this kingdom which the God of Heaven is to set up, as a literal ethnic people, one which is distinguished from all others by its family history and paternal origin. The passage most certainly does mean this. We must refrain from reducing the Bible to a compilation of grotesque incongruities. It is a reasonable book, and we are to examine it reasonably.

In the Seventh chapter of Daniel the plainness of this argument comes out very distinctly, for in verse If we read, "And there was given unto him dominion and glory, and a kingdom, that all peoples, and nations, and languages should serve him; his dominion is an everlasting dominion which shall not pass away, and his kingdom that which shall not be destroyed." In this there is a clear, unmistakable distinction made between his "kingdom" and his "dominion." His kingdom is surely a people or nation with whom he is immediately connected as their king, but all nations, tongues, &c., are to submit to, and be included in, his "dominion." He will be king of his own people, but also monarch of the world. In the 18th verse we are told that "The saints of the Most High shall take the kingdom, and possess the kingdom for ever and ever." The 21st verse informs us that there are, at this time, people who are not in the kingdom, for those under the influence of the *Horn* make war against the saints, but ultimately judgment is given to the saints, and the time arrives in which they "possess

the kingdom." But even then all men do not become saints, for many continue to show a strong opposition to the favoured ones. Subsequently the power of the horn is destroyed, then the greatness of the kingdom under the whole heaven is given to the *people of the saints* of the Most High, whose kingdom is an everlasting kingdom, and all dominions (rulers) shall serve and obey Him, who is its king. There can be no reason to doubt that this kingdom is nothing else than a natural, real, organised nation under the rulership of a king—a constitutional monarchy, to which all other monarchies willingly submit, as to the chief and perfect or Divinely modelled realm. There is nothing in the book of Daniel, or elsewhere in the Bible, requiring us to give a spiritualised interpretation to this kingdom; while order, logic, and common sense require a literal treatment.

## Chapter II.

### The Stone Cut Out.

Many persons, from different causes, never exercise their judgment upon what comes before them in the way of determining whether it be conclusive and holds. They are perhaps entertained with some things, and not so much with others; they like and they dislike; but whether that which is proposed to be made out be really made out or not—whether a matter be stated according to the real truth of the case, seems to the generality of the people merely a 'circumstance of no consideration at all.—BUTLER.

Have the Bible, that high and ultimate standard of appeal, perpetually in your eye; cultivate a growing acquaintance with this standard, it will keep all right and steady, and save you from being agitated by the ever varying winds of human doctrine and human speculation; your faith by hearing; your hearing by the Word of God. By pinning your creed to your minister, you change the heavenly institution for the earthly. . . . Keep fast by your Bibles; try if you can to outstrip us in the wisdom of the Word of Christ.—DR. CHALMERS.

Let us now proceed with our attempt to elucidate the meaning of this passage by further applying to it the harmonising principle, which is commonly if not regularly, adopted in interpreting the meaning of the Image, but which, singularly enough, seems never to be thought of in reference to the "Stone." It is admitted that the several parts of the Image indicate certain special peculiarities of the nations they represent—that the gold the silver, the brass, and the iron, were really special and conspicuous characteristics of the nations they point to. If this be correct, what shall we say of the "Stone?" We have already seen the impropriety of supposing that it is merely a type of the Lord Jesus, or the spread of Christianity; that it is not consistent with common sense, much less is it logical to apply the passage to an individual; and that the only reasonable view in which to regard it is to look upon it as representing the rise and development of a national power, of one ethnic origin; a people of God's own selection, which He shall use for the manifestation of His glory. On this principle we shall require to discover a nation having some characteristic connection with a Stone.

If "gold" was the distinguishing characteristic of the first great prophetic empire, why should not "A Stone" be that of the last? If "gold" be "gold," in the one case, why should "a stone" be not "a stone" in the other? If gold be taken literally, why should we confine ourselves to spiritualise the stone? But it may be remarked, "A nation whose peculiar characteristic is an historical connection with a Stone is something so out-of-the-way, that on the very face of it the idea appears foolish to the degree of absurdity." Stay, reflecting friend, think once again—does not the very out-of-the-wayness of the fact, constitute it a more perfect peculiarity? "God hath chosen the foolish things of this world to confound the wise." Let the person who feels disposed to characterise this argument as absurd or foolish, withhold his conclusion for a while, and thoughtfully and sincerely having divested his mind of all prejudice—which always incapacitates for honest research—peruse the following suggestions and facts of history; having done this, let him then with the truth laid open before him form his own conclusion.

It would be futile for us to look for this nation amongst those which were constituent parts of the empires of the past prefigured in the Image. It must have nothing in its constitution in common with them. It must be found as a nation whose origin and development has been altogether distinct from them, and whose history is quite of a different kind. For it was "cut out of the mountain without hands." It was not cut out by the political quarryman, or fashioned by the deplomatic mason. It has been under the superintendency of a Divine Master Mason throughout its whole career. It has never been counted amongst the limbs of the mighty Gentile image, nor numbered with his vassals. But it is evident that it must have been in course of formation during the ages in which the four empires existed, and terrified the world by the power of their arms, and the cruel nature of their ambitious designs.

There is a nation, and only one on the face of the wide world, which exactly answers to these requirements. This nation's history, from its earliest days, is connected inseparably with a singular stone, which is as it were rolled up within the folds of its scroll of history, and firmly linked to the most central facts of the national life.

And while occupying this position it has been held in almost sacred veneration by priest, politician and peasant. That nation is the British! That stone is Jacob's pillow; or Britain's Coronation Stone!

Dean Stanley has written—"It is embedded in the heart of the English monarchy, an emblem of poetic, patriarchal, and heathen times." This process of embedding has been going on for a period of no less than 2460 years, during which time it has been used as the "throne seat." King Edward the First termed it "a precious relic," and the Dean of Westminster has asserted that "It is the one primeval monument which binds the whole empire together."

It is impossible to dispute the reality of the stone, and its long connection with the nation's history: and this makes it the more strange to contemplate—that a nation so far advanced in all the arts, sciences, and refinements of the world's most cultured age should continue to treasure up this ancient relic, which has no possible intrinsic value, and is absolutely devoid of either natural or artificial beauty. Even its mountings, its huge iron rings, tend to make it more uncouth. Its few chisel marks divest it of that natural rudeness which would impart to it a rough, rural interest. The great crack, which has almost parted in two its once solid mass, causes the student to feel still more surprised that it should be held in such veneration, and placed in the most important and honoured part of Westminster Abbey, where the coronation ceremony is always celebrated. It is while seated upon this old stone that all our monarchs are invested with the crown of authority and power. May it not be appropriately called "The foundation stone of the empire?"

It has been remarked that the story of this national stone is "very strange IF TRUE," to which the apt rejoinder was given, and still "more strange if not true." Strange, indeed, if not true, that it can be traced back through a consecutive line of historians, and historical events, which impose upon it a character applicable to no mythical story. Strange, if not true, that it is there to-day to speak for itself, and show what must really have been thought of it—the ugly Stone of Scone—when our ancestors placed it beneath the chair of royalty.

If a coronation stone were a requisite article in the august ceremony of inaugurating a monarch, we should have expected to see some piece of faultless and highly polished marble, and if any mountings were necessary, we should have looked for gold, possibly set with gems. But the British Coronation Stone is quite the reverse of all this. It is simply a block of partly dressed rough building stone with a great rift in it, and mounted with two uncouth iron rings. In every particular it is, to look at, one of the most unlikely stones to be selected for such a purpose. It is not even possessed of the rustic charm of a boulder whose unpolished roughness has been worn off by the mountain torrent for years rushing over it, gradually wearing it down to an uneven smoothness. Yet there it is occupying the most dignified position to which a stone could be appointed in the British realm.

Professor Ramsay, at the request of the Dean of Westminster, made an examination of it, and in his report said, "To my eye it appears that it had been prepared for building purposes but had never been used."

In his "Memorials of Westminster Abbey," Dean Stanley has written, "The chief object of attraction to this day to the innumerable visitors of the Abbey is probably that ancient Irish muniment of the Empire, known as the Coronation Stone.

There must, therefore, be something interesting, if not important in the history of this "precious relic" and "primeval monument," that it should thus be spoken of; for it has a history, curious, eventful and strange. The very Rev. Dean has devoted much attention to it; so has also the Rev. F. R. A. Glover, M.A. These both agree, with others, that the stone came to England from Ireland through Scotland. It has been called by different names. Its most ancient name in Ireland being "Lia Phail," or Fail, which has always clung to it. It wits known more recently in Ireland and Scotland as the "Stone of Destiny," but in England it has been chiefly known as "Jacob's Pillow" or "Pillar." For 2,400 years the following prophetic rune has been attached to it:—

*"Cioniodh scuit saor an fine,  
Man ha breag an Faisdine,  
Mar a oh fuighid an Lia Fail,  
Dlighid flaitheas do grabhail."*

which Sir Walter Scott has translated from the Irish Celtic dialect:—

*"Unless the fates have faithless grown,  
And prophets voice be vain,  
Where'er is found this wonderous stone,  
The wanderers' race shall reign."*

The meaning of the words which constitute the name of this stone are as peculiar as its history is singular.

"Lia" is simply Irish for stone, but the word "Fail" or "Phail" is not Irish at all but purely Hebrew, and means "wonderful" or "marvellous," it is frequently used in the Hebrew Scriptures, and is translated into English by one of these two words. So that the earliest name we find applied to this rude, half-dressed Stone, in Ireland, is "The Stone Wonderful." And never throughout those 2,400 years during which it has been a Coronation Stone, has it lost the reverential regard which first invested it with so strange a name.

Ancient records tell us that a ship from the Mediterranean under the command of Simon Breg, Brug, Bercus, or Baruch, having become leaky, was compelled to put ashore on the coast of Spain for repairs. The king of the country, hearing it was a ship of "goodly store," came down upon her, and amongst other things carried off a precious stone. When the ship was ready to sail, the men of the vessel succeeded in regaining the stone, put to sea, and ultimately arrived in the north of Ireland. After which, on the marriage of the Princess Tephí and the King Eochaid, they were inducted into office upon this same stone. From that time 580 B.C. "Lia Fail" was the Coronation Stone of Ireland to Fergus I., by whom it was removed to Scotland when he was crowned King of the Scots at Iona, 530 A.D. It hence became the Coronation Stone of the Scottish Kings, until Edward I. carried it away to England, and since then it has been used in the same capacity. In 1837 Queen Victoria was placed in the chair which rests upon it and invested with the nation's diadem.

*"It is thus," remarks the Very Rev. Dean, "embedded in the heart of the English monarchy, an element of poetic, patriarchal, heathen times, which like Araunah's rocky threshing-floor in the midst of the Temple of Solomon carries back our thoughts to races and customs now almost extinct—a link which unites Tara and Iona, and connects the charm of our complex civilisation with the forces of Mother Earth, the stocks and stones of savage nature."*

Our national veneration for the stone is a stern fact, its existence in Westminster Abbey is no myth, and its history from Tara to the Abbey is incontestable. It becomes, then, the duty of every honest reader to enquire, How did this singular ungainly stone become invested with such undying interest, which has now extended over a period of more than 2,400 years, while the people who have held it in their possession, have passed through various phases of political and religious life, heathen, Catholic, Protestant; and even in the present age, when they are perhaps farthest from any inclination to bow down in veneration to superstitious objects, the stone is still held in its ancient esteem. Stanley sought to find an answer in the fact that Bishop Columba chose this Stone to rest his head upon when dying in his abbey at Iona. But what of its 1000 years' history from Tara to Iona? Why was it held in such mysterious regard, and named the wonderful Stone, about 1000 years before Columba lived? Whence came its Hebrew name "Phail," the "Wonderful?" How came the prophetic rune to be attached to it for all those years:—

*"Where'er is found this wondrous stone,  
The wanderers' race shall reign?"*

It is indisputable that this forms a very prominent and distinctive feature of the British Nation. So much do the people feel interested in the ancient "pillar or witness" that 550 years ago it was thought of more value to the nation than the Royal regalia, Diamonds, Pearls, Emeralds, and Rubies. These articles, which are generally considered things worthy of an effort to retain when once possessed, were treated as things of a trifling importance compared with the broken, battered, uncomely stone, for which the Londoners were prepared to die rather than permit it to be removed from their city. As the Chronicles of Lanercost put it, "nevertheless the stone of Scone on which it was the custom of the Scottish kings to be set at their creation, the Londoners would on no account suffer it to be sent away." The old, valueless, ragged stone was thought worthy of dying for by our sturdy ancestors, whose patriotism was to their love of wealth as a river is to a streamlet.

From these fragments we can easily observe how thoroughly this 'Lia Fail'—this "wondrous stone"—this "Stone of Destiny," has become bound up in the history of the nation; and how strangely true it is that it has become a unique national treasure. The British nation might be well distinguished from all others by such a phase as "The Nation with the Stone."

Besides being thus historically connected with a real Stone, Britian is otherwise associated with a Stone figuratively. Since shortly after the Roman invasion, Britain has been represented by a small insulated rock, with Britannia sitting upon it. Turn up the reverse of one of our current pennies and the representation appears, though not so distinctly as it may be seen on more ancient coins. It was the Emperor Antoninus Pius who first seems to have given Britannia this position, the design being first found on a coin struck to commemorate his visit to and residence in the island, A.D. 160. The first money made by or for the people of Britain bore the same device.

Throughout the history of the fine arts Britannia has been thus personified, and as such has been perpetuated by the foremost of our poets. Our most celebrated dramatist in one of his brilliant pieces of word

painting, though one of his earliest efforts, has acknowledged the appropriateness and beauty of the figure. To most of us the object of special attraction is the picture of *Britannia* sitting on the rock. But to Shakespeare, the *rock* on which she sits is also the theme of his eulogy. The thought that Britain is "A Stone set in the silver sea," which separates it from the contending world, is the richest gem in the speech of the dying old John of Gaunt—

Methinks I am a prophet new inspired!

.....  
This royal throne of kings, this sceptred isle,  
This earth of majesty, this seat of Mars,  
This other Eden, demi paradise,  
This fortress built by nature for herself  
Against infection and the hand of war,  
This happy breed of men, this little world,  
This precious STONE set in the silver sea,  
Which serves it in the office of a wall,  
Or, as a moat defensive to a house,  
Against the envy of less happier lands,  
This blessed plot, this earth, this realm, this ENGLAND!  
This nurse, this teeming womb of royal kings,  
Feared by their breed, and famous by their birth,  
Renowned for their deeds, as far from home,  
For Christian service, and true chivalry,  
As is the sepulchre, in stubborn Jewry,  
Of the world's ransom, blessed Mary's son,  
This land of such dear souls, this dear, dear land,  
Dear for her reputation through the world.  
England bound in with the triumphant sea  
Whose rocky shore beats back the envious tide  
Of watery Neptune.—KING RICHARD II.

Another of our poets, impressed with the same idea, has written:—

*"As on her sea-beat rock Britannia sat."*

Hence that Britain is represented in history, the arts, and our national poetry, as a rock, or that the spirit of the genius of Britain is invariably personified as a female seated upon an insulated rock, is no fable, or creation of imagination, but a real fact. In one instance as long ago as 1720 years, and that by a Roman emperor.

These facts, coupled with some others, equally striking and singular in character, are surely sufficient to justify our effort to ascertain the distance to which this evidence will lead us in elucidating the sense of the grand prophetic panorama under consideration.

That Britain, in the present day, stands in the same relation to the world as did the great empires of the ages past, it is impossible to deny. Her power is the most important and wide-spread of all the "great powers." What is France? What is Germany? What Austria, Russia, Spain? What even is our fellow-blooded America compared to her? Each and all must own her superior. She hits but a little seat, a mere rock in the surging sea: but what nation can boast such an empire?

*"See! from her sea-beat throne in awful March  
Britannia towers: upon her laurel crest  
The plumes majestic nod; behold she heaves  
Her guardian shield, and, terrible in arms,  
For battle shakes her adamantine spear;  
Loud at her foot the British lion roars,  
Frighting the nations."*

Has not the nation which sprung from the "Stone Isle" already "become a great mountain and filled the

whole earth?" But the world which owns England the greatest—"the chief among the nations," does not regard her as it did the empires of old. They were dreaded, hated, abhorred: while she is revered and honoured, may we not say loved? Her sway is courted by the weak, who invite her occupation and government of their lands. Her good esteem is coveted by the strong, who well know the latent power for protection or destruction which lies between her extended arms.

## Chapter III.

### The Stone's Preservation.

*This great and dangerous impostor. PREJUDICE, who dressing up falsehood in the likeness of truth, and so dexterously hoodwinking men's minds as to keep them in the dark with a belief that they are more in the light than any who do not see with their eyes.—LOCKE.*

*Prejudices, I should think, would be a sort of property which, like paving stones in a man's pockets, it would be kind to free him from as soon as possible.—JAMES.*

Whether we regard the history of the Nation from the British-Hebrew view point or not, it perfectly agrees with the requirements of the vision of Nebuchadnezzar, in having an origin apart from, and outside of the Image powers, for we can trace the ancestral line of our monarchs to a period anterior to the date of the vision. Nor were the people, who have since that time united and formed the present noble empire, ever component parts of the nations which formed the antitype of the colossal image. Their migrations and unions form unique episodes in the history of nations. It would be impossible to find another people whose origin and progress is analogous. It was not so much by the force of arms as by the blending of tribes, and the coalescence of apparently strange peoples into one compact whole, that the "chief people" of the present age have become what they are.

The history of Britain is as unique as its origin. Trace it through the frequent changes of its religious and political career, and nothing appears more clearly, as the result of such a survey, than the fact that Britain's history is one prolonged story of divine control and protection. True enough her naval and military prowess have done much to make her feared and honoured. But her salvation from destruction in times of the most critical and serious danger, has been more frequently effected by the intervention of an invisible power than by the valour of her soldiers and seamen. Never has a foreign power been able to get a permanent footing on her shores, and most frequently, when her enemies had laid their grandest and most powerful schemes for her complete overthrow, has some severe storm, or placid calm, been the medium of her deliverance, and the destruction of the foe that sought to tread her down. There are many events which prove indisputably that Britain's preservation from foreign invasion was not always due to her own skill and power, but to an overruling providence, who was rearing up a people for his own glory in the last ages.

The glory of God is in the highest,  
His glory is also in the lowest,  
Guiding the worlds in their courses,  
And piloting the thistle-down, not less.  
He riseth on the wings of the storm,  
He lingereth in the perfume of the lily.  
He that raised up a Timour or a Cæsar,  
For judgment on the nations,  
Sitteth also by the school child  
As she singeth at her sampler.  
There is an intricate perfection,  
A minute fitness and completeness  
In everything about us:  
Providence, Grace, and Nature.—TUPPER.

No country has been so often menaced, yet so absolutely untouched, by kings whose wrath and hatred burned hot with disappointment, envy, and revenge, as England. For centuries, weak in herself, yet acting in such a manner as to provoke the strongest nations of the Continent to retaliation, she defied them all, though in numerical power of army and navy she was far behind her threatening antagonists. From the very first attempt of Philip, King of France, who undertook an expedition at the instigation of Pope Innocent, in the reign of King John (1213), to the effort of Napoleon I., some apparently singular event has occurred to frustrate each design.

Something beyond human power, or the freaks of fortune, chance, or luck, must have presided over the destinies of the British people, as a nation, in their numerous situations of peril. Britain was the "best hated" of European nations for centuries; had the most enemies; was the object of the most powerful of antagonistic leagues; of the most extensive armaments, and yet was *the only nation* absolutely preserved from the feet of the invader.

*"No people," says Hozier, "had ever so many enemies to confront, and yet we escaped or defeated them all. When war was declared we were always in a state of unpreparedness; and our fleets—whether as regarded the number of vessels, or the weight of metal—were greatly inferior to those of our antagonists. And not only so, but through a shameful niggardliness, they were very imperfectly provided with the munitions of war. And yet, notwithstanding these manifold drawbacks, the victory was constantly on our side! The armaments of our enemies melted away, and either sank in the mighty waters, or fell into the hands of British commanders. Yet, bravely as the British sailors fought, it was not to their prowess nor to our own counsels that we owed our success. We triumphed gloriously because He whom the winds and the waves obey was our helper and defender."*

Great deliverance hath He given, and shown great mercy to his people;  
He alone is to be praised, and unto Him alone will we pour thank offerings.  
Praise the Lord for avenging our Israel, all ye sons of war.  
And O thou Zoar of the plains, O thou Goshen in this Egypt,  
Island city of refuge for the nations of the Earth,  
England, happy shore, bill where the true light shineth,  
Home of real religion, freedom, tolerance, and truth,  
Rejoice, and shout the hymn of praise through all the countries round,  
From sea to sea, from land to land, where'er thy flag is flying,  
Let cannon roar thy thankfulness, and bells clang out thy joy!—TUPPER.

Some of our good friends tell us that England owes her freedom from invasion to her national Protestantism. Surely they must be wrong: for the apparent cause of this aversion of the great forces of the King of France was the pledge given by the fickle, faithless, and vile King John to acknowledge the supremacy of the Pope, and the authority of the Church of Rome. It was not, then, because England was Protestant, nor because she was powerful, that this invasion was turned away from the shores of Albion to vent its rage upon the people of Flanders. Nor was it the agency of blind chance, or of capricious fortune. Much as we may admire our nation for its Protestant principles, we are bound to recoil from the falsification of history for Protestant aggrandisement. England was not Protestant from 1213 A.D. to 1550 A.D. What then of her freedom from invasion during this period? For 900 years, while she was a Catholic country, she was as free from the scourge of the invader as she has been for the past 330 years, during which period she has been nominally Protestant. If protestantism has been a shield to Britain, why has it not been so to Germany, Denmark, or Holland? Was not Prussia a Protestant country when the iron heel of Napoleon I. passed through it, with blood and fire? Protestantism did not save Prussia. There is some other cause for Britain's long and strange preservation.

The Protestantism of England was partly the cause of the preparation of Spain's "Invincible Armada" in 1588 A.D. Philip II. was smarting under many defeats sustained at the hands of British vessels and armies. He had lost several heavy laden treasure-ships, and suffered the loss of much in war against his hated foe. Moreover, he was indignant at the treatment received at the hands of Britain's queen, who refused to accept his offer of marriage; and, above all this, he was anxious to see the Protestantism of Britain extinguished, sincerely believing it to be a revolt against God and the true Church. He had therefore several causes or reasons for undertaking this great enterprise; and for the execution of his purpose he literally impoverished his kingdom in the attempt to make everything a complete success. An immense armament was prepared, consisting of 150 vessels of great size, so that they were capable of carrying 20,000 soldiers, besides several thousands of marines. Europe unanimously declared the day of England's judgment was come, and that her utter destruction was a matter of certainty.

England trembled, but did not succumb to despair; many a fervent prayer was then uttered by as many earnest men and women, that the Great Governor of nations should interpose on her behalf. Her little army was got ready; her impoverished navy was fitted up and sent out to watch the advancing enemy, while not a heart within that island home but beat with a more rapid pulsation through fear of the result. But He who destroyed the Assyrian hosts near the walls of His holy city was not unmindful of the little nation of the Isle. The storms were in His power, and after allowing the ships of Britain to inflict the first blow upon the ponderous ships of haughty Spain, He undid the storm-locks and scattered them upon the coasts, so that out of the 150 vessels

which sailed from Corunna, only 54 battered and dismantled hulls returned to their own waters. Well might Queen Elizabeth cause a medal to be struck, bearing the inscription:—

*"Flavit Jehovah, et dissipati sunt":  
Jehovah blew and they were scattered.*

And but natural were the words of Philip when the remains of his greatest enterprise returned to him from their humiliating devastation. "I sent it to combat the English, *not the elements*. God be praised the calamity is not greater." From that time the navy of Spain generally sank into insignificance, while Britain's has ever increased in strength. We are always most interested in *narrow* escapes from danger, while we take little notice of less hair-breadth deliverances. We take more interest in England's escape from the attack of the "Invincible Armada" than of her preservation from the gigantic and skilfully-planned designs of Napoleon I., simply because the former approached the shores of the country and was engaged in battle in British waters, after which the greater portion of the fleet was wrecked upon the rock-bound coast of the impregnable island; while the other never succeeded in starting to cross the Channel, although the ships were fully equipped, and had sailed to the West Indies to decoy the British from the Channel defence. Notwithstanding the latter was the more formidable of the two, only the power which controlled the elements on previous occasions controlled men's actions and resolutions in this, so that the plot exploded before it reached fruition, and therefore He proved in this case more truly the great Benefactor, in keeping the danger so far off.

It is scarcely correct to speak of the arrival of the Prince of Orange as an invasion. He came not to subjugate Britain to a foreign power. He was not led to descend upon the British coast, by a desire to humble the nation, or to inflict a punishment upon it. William was not the enemy, but the friend of the British. He merely led a few more of the same race from the Continent to the island, which had in centuries preceding poured in under the names of Saxons, Danes, and Normans. His banner bore the device, *I will maintain the liberties of England*. Moreover, he came at the invitation of some of the most patriotic of England's nobles to assume a crown to which many considered he had a just claim. And unlike all other attempts to invade England, he was enabled to land all his forces in comfort, weather and other circumstances all favoring him.

By what theory can we account for this strange immunity from foreign invasion, in which our nation stands quite alone in the universal history of the world? It is vain to say her position gives her an unassailable advantage. If fleet after fleet, destined to invade Britain, found it impossible to cross the Channel because of its tempestuous nature, how does it happen that these tempests were never injurious to the British fleets, but invariably in their favor? It is contrary to fact to assert that the winds were sent against all invading fleets: for Britain's invading expeditions were never baffled by tempestuous weather. Why, then, has England been preserved in this singular manner? Surely there must be some reason for so prominent a fact. We can find no answer to the question in the natural or physical features of the surroundings. And yet by attributing it to the action of providence or divine care, does it not seem strange that the British should be the subjects of such exceptional treatment, while more populous, more powerful, more refined nations were disregarded? If indeed Britain is a Gentile nation, are other Gentile nations not as worthy of providential interference? Why should Germany, where the great Protestant Reformation first took firm hold and prospered, be not preferred to one smaller in numbers, and less closely connected with the great nations of the world?

## Chapter IV.

### Smiting the Image..

Have they then forgot,  
So soon forgot, the great, the immortal day,  
When rescued Sicily with joy beheld  
The swift-winged thunder of the British arms  
Disperse their navies? When their coward bands  
Fled, like the raven from the bird of Jove;  
From swift impending vengeance fled in vain?

.....

Descend, ye guardian heroes of our land!  
Scourges of Spain, descend!—AKINSIDE.

Having now seen that Britain answers in her origin, history, and singular characteristic, exactly to the description of the "Stone cut out of the mountain without hand," we shall take a step farther, and endeavour to learn whether, in its intercourse with the nations of Europe, it has borne out the character of that wondrous Stone. It had a great mission to fulfil in the world. It was apparently insignificant in its commencement—small and comparatively powerless, but watch the change as it develops. From its position in the mountain it begins its course, and gradually gathering force, it descends to the plain, upon which stand the feet of the gigantic image, and striking those feet with all the power of its increased velocity it brings the Colossal figure prone to the earth, and the work of grinding to powder has commenced.

It would be erroneous to suppose that the meaning is, that with one blow the whole mass of the image is to be reduced to powder. Some of the most evangelical Commentators tell us that this is not the idea embodied in the original words. In fact we could not reasonably suppose that one terrific blow would grind to powder a tough material such as iron. A process of repeated and successive blows is required to reduce a hard, tenacious substance to powder, and we have already determined that the method of interpretation must be according to the analogy of nature. The Rev. Alfred Barnes, in his "Notes on Daniel," says:—"The word here used means '*to strike,*' '*to smite,*' without reference to whether it is a single blow, or whether the blow is often repeated. . . The connection here and the whole statement would seem to demand the sense of a continual or prolonged smiting, or of repeated blows, rather than a single concussion. . . . A fall would only have broken it into large blocks or fragments, but this continual smiting reduced it to powder. This would imply, therefore, not only a single shock, or violent blow, but some cause continuing to operate until that which had been overthrown was effectually destroyed; like a vast image reduced to impalpable powder. The concussion on the feet made it certain that the colossal frame would fall, but there was a longer process necessary before the whole effect should be accomplished."

We know where the head, shoulders, and arms, the body and the legs of this image were, what part of the country they represented. Now where were the feet? This is the important issue of this stage of our argument. This decided, we must ascertain whether history shows that the nation we have been endeavouring to identify with the Stone has struck and pulverised the powers represented by these parts of the the figure—that representation of the human governments of the world, and thus maintain its character, or whether here it suddenly breaks down.

For the idea contained in the following outline, I am indebted to a very carefully written series of articles by Mr. J. G. Shaw, in Mr. E. Hines' "Glory Leader," Vol. VI., and which are worthy of a careful perusal by any one interested in scripture prophecy

Let us glance at the geographical position of the ancient empires, Babylon, Medo-Persia, Greece, and Rome. For this purpose, dear reader, refer to the map of the "Ancient World" in the front part of this pamphlet; then carefully note the "home country" of each of these successively dominating powers. By this means you will observe that they lie in a direct line from Babylon to Rome. Then the golden head of the representative figure lies upon Babylon, with his body extending in the direction of Rome, the breast and shoulders of silver rest upon the Medo-Persian country, the body and thighs of brass come as far as the land of the Greeks, and the legs of iron extend across the Italian Peninsula. Hence the sublime vision supplies us not only with a characteristic and historic representation of the four empire, but also with an accurate geographical outline of their position. Now if these be the correct proportions of the four indicated parts of the image, where shall we find the feet? and how shall we decide their position? I presume we shall simply produce the figure to its extremities to settle this matter. By doing this we find them resting on Spain and France!

Now the fact cannot be denied, that each of those mighty empires rose successively by and upon the overthrow of the preceeding one. The successor being the means of destroying the previous. Did not the Gaul and the Goth cause the overthrow of the Roman Empire, and established themselves in the countries upon which we discover the feet of the image to stand? Another verification of the correctness of our proposition, since the analogy still holds. We now observe that the colossal image covered this large and direct line of country stretching from East to West of the ancient world, and it is worth noting that Nebuchadnezzar is said to have ruled the whole extent of that area. He who was the "head of gold," was in reality the head of all the peoples who at the date of the vision inhabited that great tract of country lying between the Persian Gulf and the western extremity of Europe—the exact extent of the image seen in his dream.

The historical importance of France and Spain is quite sufficient to entitle them to occupy the position thus assigned them. They have neither occupied the proud prominence which the four preceding powers were called

upon to hold, yet they have both written a very conspicuous chapter in the history of nations. They, at all events, are more prominent, and, therefore, better fitted to discharge the offices of the feet than any other modern nations of Europe since the fall of Rome.

Seeing then that all these circumstances unite in pointing out those two nations as the representatives of the feet we gain a powerful argument thereby, in confirmation of Britain being the representative of the Stone. Daniel represents the Stone as commencing its operations by falling upon the feet of the image, not the legs. The feet are marked out as the vulnerable point, and with their destruction or overthrow the gigantic image was to commence its dissolution.

Then does our analogy still continue? Can we discover that the Stone has maintained its character here? Spain still is; France yet flourishes! Yes, they are still existing! We do not for a moment suppose, however, that the material of which the nation was composed was to be reduced to *nothing*. But what is Spain? Where is her glory, where her might? Spain is, but Spain's greatness is no more. France is still populated and thriving, but France of 1881 is not at all like France of 1600. Monarchy can no longer live upon French soil, much less can despotic sway hold the reins of government. France is French! Government is popular, not autocratic. The autocratic power has been rushed out of France, and the people are governed by their own chosen rulers. France, as well as Spain or Greece, has undergone a radical change. To crash the governing power or system of government does not mean to annihilate the people governed. The people may remain under a succeeding system, as well as under a succeeding king. The Babylonians remained under the Medo-Persian rule, though Nebuchadnezzar's throne was destroyed.

How then has Britain acted upon these two nations to entitle her to the character of the Stone, which crushed and ground to powder the image seen by the Monarch of Babylon? British arms have a long and interesting story to relate respecting this matter, and her moral and political influence has acted upon the governments of the Continent in such a manner as to completely change the entire nature and method of exercising control over the inhabitants of the civilized world, so that the old forms have been reduced to dust, and have almost already been swept away. Military or imperial authority can no longer be tolerated, and where it still seeks to assert its power the people are up in arms against it, and are ready to expel it from the face of the earth. Britain's example in the representative system of government—of permitting the people in reality to be their own rulers—is spreading far and wide, crushing the ancient and tyrannical forms of the past's despotic rule.

But it is by the force of her arms that Britain has most powerfully made herself felt upon Spain and France. Mr. Shaw has shown this fact most emphatically, by means of an extended and minute statement of all Britain's victories over them, in a tabulated form, which challenges refutation. What blows, what crushing, grinding defeats those countries have suffered at our hands! With what force and continued repetition has the Stone smote those devoted feet, until the giant form has been brought down to the earth! As it is evident from history that it was by their power to conquer, that each of the four great empires was able to establish itself and overthrow the elder one, so, according to our method, must the Stone do in its establishment, and the destruction of its predecessors.

Mr. Shaw shows that Britain has gained the surprising number of 219 victories by land and sea over France, and 35 over Spain, making a total of 254 between the two. While she has, notwithstanding all her Continental wars, only gained 33 victories over all the other powers of Europe put together. Our victories over the nations which form the feet of the image have therefore been over SEVEN TIMES MORE than over all other European powers together. Is there nothing remarkable in this? Is it not also strange that Turkey is the only other nation forming a part of the image at which Britain has struck a blow, and that over her we have only obtained two victories? The mission of the Stone was to direct its force against the feet. Britain's mission seems to have been to reduce Spain and France. How thoroughly she has executed her commission! Has she not really been the Lord's "battle-axe and weapon of war" in this mission of breaking in pieces the image, or "the nations?"

The process has been a thing of time. The act of reducing the power and systems of nations could not be effected in a day, or a year, or even in a century. It had to be effected by often repeated and continued assaults, as strokes falling from a hammer of gigantic proportions, whose movements were comparatively slow but whose force was tremendous.

It is not generally supposed that the text requires that the pulverising of the image should be effected suddenly, or even within the limits of a very short time. The blows are struck in succession, but at distant intervals, each one causing the mighty mass to crumble finer, and into smaller parts, until its original form becomes lost, and nothing appears in view but a mound of dust, while the Stone stands out in the most amazing prominence.

The manner in which the ancient empires destroyed their predecessors was rapid, and the work was accomplished in a short period; but then the work was of a very different nature. In reality it was merely

removing the seat of Government from one place to another, and into the hands of new officers. The spirit of the mode of government was not changed: despotism and military oppression characterised them all. The king and his army were the dread of the populace; military power was master of the State. The rights, privileges, and comforts of the people were as nothing compared with the king and his army. Instead of the king being the umpire of right and justice to all, he saw merely his own authority and power. There was no change in these things, when one empire eclipsed another and established itself, hence a short time was sufficient to transact the business. So that, in passing through a land like a devastating conflagration, one man deposed another and assumed his position, and the work was done.

But this last of earthly empires has arisen upon a totally different foundation. No monarchical despotism, no military superiority, *the people are in it the power*. In it the sovereign is the servant and officer of the people, and the army is their instrument. Such a system could not grow to fruition in haste; time only can complete such a substantial fabric. It is only the eflux of time which can break down old customs, by the evidence of superiority in those which are new. Thus has it been with modern improvements and national changes. Our wars with Spain and France lasted over a long period of years—from A.D. 1346 to 1819, nearly 500 years, from the battle of Cressy, fought and won under Edward III., until the battle of Barossa, under the leadership of General Graham. All that time had the stone been pounding the composite image, and now we can only see it existing in historical panorama, its reality having almost entirely vanished. It is interesting to notice that our most destructive blows were struck during the latter part of the period—most of the work having been done in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. From Dan. ii., 44, it will be seen that this "Stone Empire" is "to break in pieces and *consume* all these kingdoms." The idea latent in the word "consume" is that of gradual destruction; it immediately suggests duration of time, and so time has been required for the accomplishment of the work.

## Chapter V.

### The Development.

Act but an honest and a faithful part,  
Compare what then thou wast with what thou art,  
And God's disposing providence confessed,  
Obduracy itself must yield the rest;  
Then thou art bound to serve Him and to prove,  
Hour after hour thy gratitude and love.  
Has He not hid thee in thy favour'd land,  
For ages safe beneath His sheltering hand;  
Given thee His blessings on the clearest proof,  
Bid nations leagued against thee stand aloof,  
And charged hostility and hate to roar  
Where else they would, but not upon thy shore?  
His power secured thee when presumptuous Spain,  
Baptized his fleet invincible in rain;  
Her gloomy monarch, doubtful and resigned  
To every pang that racks the anxious mind,  
Asked of the waves that broke upon his coast—  
What tidings? And the surge replied—all lost!  
Peculiar is the grace by Thee possessed,  
Thy foes implacable, thy land at rest;  
Thy thunders travel over earth and seas.  
And all at home is pleasure, wealth, and ease.  
'Tis thus extending His tempestuous arm,  
Thy Maker fills the nations with alarm,  
While His own Heav'n surveys the troubled scene,  
And feels no change, unshaken and serene;  
Freedom, on other lands scarce known to shine,

Pours out a flood of splendour upon thine.

.....

A world is up in arms, and thou, a spot  
Not quickly found if negligently sought;  
Thy soul as ample as thy bounds are small,  
Endur'st the brunt and durst defy them all.  
Now ask of history's authentic page—  
Call up the evidence from every age,  
Display with a busy and laborious hand  
The blessings of the most indebted land:  
What nation will you find whose annals prove  
So rich an interest in Almighty love?—COWPER.

As the consumption of the kingdoms was a process of time, so the development of the Stone into a mountain that filled the whole earth was also an operation of time. The little stone did not suddenly become a great mountain, nor did the great mountain in one convulsion convert all the other mountains into its own gigantic mass. The whole affair was a gradual growth. Nothing surprising or mysterious; it was all a matter of natural expansion. The narrative does not read as if the dream appeared to be a passing picture, a mere flash across the imagination, but a panorama in which Nebuchadnezzar beheld the course of ages revolve and pass away—change succeeding change, and events following each other in a natural order. Daniel, in describing it to the king, used these suggestive words: "Thou *sawest till* that a stone was cut out of the mountain without hands." Surely those words convey the idea of a gradual disengagement of the Stone from the mountain in a sort of evolution process! It was not shot out from the mountain with force; it did not occur as a thing of a strange or terribly supernatural action. The dream revealed a process, a growth, a development from the embryo to the perfect creature. The thought is retained and exemplified in what follows while speaking of the effects of the Stone which smote the image upon his "feet of iron and clay, and break them in pieces. Then was the iron, the clay, the brass, the silver, and the gold broken to pieces together, and *became* like the chaff of the summer threshing-floors, and the wind carried them away, so that no place was found for them. And the stone that smote the image *became* a great mountain, and filled the whole earth."

Thus, first of all the Stone is seen making its appearance in the mountain side, emerging, as it were, from a rocky face; the spectator gazes until it becomes free from its parent rock-bed; from that moment it commences its impetuous career, in the course of which it comes against that which gives a show of resisting its progress, and must be destroyed or removed, else the Stone must be stopped. The strongest proves the victor. The Stone has obtained an irresistible velocity, and in striking against the obstructing feet of the brilliant and majestic image at length brings the proud figure to the ground. Not obstructed, the Stone goes on, growing in volume as in power, and frequently coming in contact with the recumbent form of the beautifully polished and exquisitely worked metal Colossus, each time grinding the broken fragments into smaller particles, until at last there only remains a heap of fine powdered dust which, by a mighty wind, is scattered to the far corners of the sea and land. Yet still the increase of the Stone continues, and is seen equal in size to a great mountain not long after it has completed the work of demolition. Its course is still onward and expanding, until at last the whole earth is covered by its greatness. A long period must surely have appeared to elapse between the time it first commenced to evolve from the mountain face, and the time it was seen by the spectator to cover the whole habitable globe.

Now, IF BRITAIN IS THIS STONE, how does her history and growth tally with this view of the dream? Behold what a little thing she was at the date of the Roman invasion. Britain was then reckoned as but a small and barbarous people. Such was the first view obtained of her by the dreamer. But though small and looked upon as most insignificant, she taught Cæsar that she was no despicable foe. The Stone was only appearing in the mountain side, but its course could not be obstructed. Although Rome, as if by a strange pre-moition of the greatness to which Britain was destined, made strenuous efforts to prevent her improvement, the oppressor's iron hand was powerless to defeat her destined purpose. Yet she grew slowly, though gradully coming into national prominence.

*"For centuries ran their course and time grew grey;  
The earth had gathered to her womb again*

*And yet again, the myriads that were born  
Of her, uncounted unremembered tribes,"*

While the Stone was in process of formation. But at last her population having been gathered together out of the mountain "Europe" in a most uncommon manner, and she having come to her maturity, and consolidated into a compact nation under a single acknowledged crown and a code of the most exquisite laws which it has been the honour of a nation to possess, she commenced her work of smiting the feet of the image. The origin of the people composing the British nation, be it observed, is one of a very singular nature. There is an old tradition of the Britons that the island was connected with the continent by an isthmus, and that the action of the sea upon the chalk cliffs caused the formation of the channel which now separates it from the mainland—many geologists maintain the same as a fact. If this were proved it would be a very striking evidence of her severance from the mountain "without hand," but I think the vision refers more to the people than the country. Just review the gathering of the people. How strange was their manner of growing into one. First we find some trading with the island, about 1000 years B.C., and then settling upon it, forming one of its earliest colonies. Later, it is visited by Danish seamen from Ireland, and other adjacent coasts. Subsequently, many arrive through Scotland from Ireland, and centuries roll on, during which the great Iron Empire endeavours to incorporate her in vain. Then, because of internal weakness and dissention, the Britons invite the Saxons to become their allies, and own a small island on the coast. They comply, but decline to withdraw, and instead take possession of a very large part of the country, in time almost completely deserting their possessions on the opposite coast of Europe. The Danes followed by stealth and cruelty to settle upon the land, after whom arrived the Normans, under the Conqueror, who all merged into the one race of ancient Britons and less ancient Saxons. This gathering together and coalescing of people who appeared to be quite distinct and even antagonistic races, went on for hundreds of years, until the British nation was evolved from the seemingly strange mixture which came out of the mountain "Europe" in such a peculiar and surprising manner. It was not the scheme of a diplomatist, or the plan of an ambitious conqueror. Those who contributed to the population of Britain entered it from the Continent gradually, and in comparatively small detachments. Yet, in the end, they have produced the purest, noblest, mightiest empire which the world has seen, of which the poet Young sings in the following lines:—

*"The Atlantic surges round our shore,  
German and Caledonian, roar;  
Their mighty genii hold us in their lap.  
Hear Egbert, Edgar, Ethelred;  
'The Seas are ours' the monarchs said—  
The floods their hands, their hands the nation's clap.  
Whence is a rival, then, to rise?  
Can he be found beneath the skies?  
No! there they dwell that can give  
Britain fear. The powers of earth by rival aim  
Her grandeur but the more proclaim,  
And prove their distance most as they draw near."*

But it is only within the last three centuries that she has really given evidence of her grand destiny by the truly noticeable rapidity of her increase. It was in the year 1346 that she first made a blow at the feet of the image; this was followed in 1347 and 1356. This latter was when the Black Prince dealt such a blow upon France at the battle of Poitiers. There then succeeded a rest of 59 years, when Henry V. took the pride out of the French army with his little band of soldiers in the ever memorable battle of Agin court. But not again for nearly a hundred years was the work of demolition resumed. In the sixteenth century four blows were struck, and another four in the seventeenth, but the eighteenth century was one continued succession of blows, increasing in power and rapidity towards the close, so that in the decade 1790 to 1800 Britain gained no less than 60 victories over the two powers composing the feet of the image.

It is interesting to observe that while the first four empires grew by usurping the territory which their enemies had possessed, Britain's growth has not been so. She has increased while she was busy overthrowing her enemies, but not by spreading her power and rule over their lands. She owns not an acre of their ground. She does, it is true, occupy some of the most useful and important positions upon the coasts of her enemies, but not so much for the sake of extending her own dominions as for the peace and comfort of all. Britain does not

hold Gibraltar as a means of swelling her own revenue, nor is that the reason for her occupation of Malta. It is not for the sake of securing large payments of tribute that she has laid her hands on the gates of her enemies. Her object is the free flow of trade and the augmentation of commerce. As much for the benefit of France or Russia as for herself. Her policy is so far out of the ancient groove that it is not more national than it is cosmopolitan. She serves, if she does not directly seek the good of all men. Her ports are closed to none. All may pass through her markets and trade in her fares. Most truly has one of the great blessings promised to Abraham been fulfilled in her. "In thee shall all nations of the earth be blessed," not only in a material or commercial aspect, but also in a spiritual sense. The British race is pre-eminently the missionary people. All other lands together do not send out so many missionaries to carry the light of the Love of Jesus to the benighted inhabitants of the earth. Britain's increase has not been by oppression, or tyranny, but by the liberation of the down-trodden and the overthrow of despotism. She has carried liberty and light wherever she has planted her standard, so that she has now come to be looked upon by the weaker nations as the pledge of safety against sterner powers.

The previous empires having destroyed their predecessors, assimilated their population to their own body. Britain has not done so. No portion of the image now forms a part of her dominions—although it shall. Already she has established her protectorate over a very large portion of that image country. But though protecting it she has not yet commenced incorporating it. As Mr. Shaw remarks, "There is no hurry." Yet, while avoiding that portion of the earth over which the mighty image stretched his power, Britain has grown in all other directions. All over the world we find her possessions. Her sun never sets. The benign rays of the sun are always fructifying some portion of the soil owned by this vast empire. And as the remaining atoms of the great four-fold empire are departing from sight, the British dominion, even against her will, and despite her desire to refrain from extension, is still becoming more universal; tribe after tribe, and people after people, are petitioning to be taken under her protecting wing. Oh, Britain, "What nation is like unto thee?" Thou art highly favoured, but remember that it is written, "To whom much has been given shall much be required." Thy power is great, and thy responsibility is commensurate therewith. The lines of Young, thy patriotic poet, wisely warns thee:—

*"O Britain! often rescued, often crowned  
Beyond thy merit and most sanguine hopes,  
With all that's great in war, and sweet in peace!  
Know from what source thy signal blessings flow,  
Though blessed with spirits ardent in the field,  
Though cover'd various oceans with thy fleets,  
Though fenced with rocks, and moated by the main,  
Thy trust repose in a far stronger guard;  
In Him, who thee, though naked, could defend;  
Though weak, could strengthen; ruin'd could restore."*

Compare the rate of Britain's increase with other nations of the world, and see the amazing difference. Russia now numbers about 86 millions, and is found to increase at a rate which will double her population in 100 years. Germany has 42 millions, and is increasing at the same rate; Turkey, 47 millions, and will double in 550 years; France, 36 millions, will double in 140 years; Italy, 27 millions, will double in 125 years; Egypt, 17 millions, will double in 150 years; Spain, 16 millions, will double in 112 years. Now mark—Britain with 33 millions, actually, notwithstanding her crowded condition, and the great stream constantly pouring out into her colonies, is doubling her population every 55 years! And still more, her Colonies, and her great off-shoot America, are doubling every 25 years!

The Rev. Dr. Wild, basing a calculation upon these figures, shows that in a hundred years from now, if things go on as at the present time, the population of Russia, Germany, Turkey, France, Austria, Italy, Egypt, and Spain, will in the aggregate amount to 543 millions, while that of Britain and her offshoots will reach the amazing total of 937 millions! "Where then," he inquires "will be the balance of power?" And why should this certain law come into operation at this time, if it be not the blessing conferred by the Prophets?"

The little people, who in the days of Julius Cæsar were not able to maintain their own independence and absolute possession of the one little inland off the coast of Europe, so coveted by the ambitious Roman, now owns one fourth of the entire land surface of the whole earth! Britain, with America, owns an area of 13,000,000 out of the 51,340,800 square miles land surface of the world, and upon the sea she possesses a more enviable distinction. Even during the last ten years, a period which has been one of exceptionally bad trade, Britain's shipping has increased by 900,000 tons. This increase being mostly in the construction of steamships,

the actual comparative carrying capacity is increased by five and a-half million tons. Britain, in fact, owns over half the mercantile fleet of the world. Then, what does this all mean? If the gospel of Jesus Christ is covering the face of the earth, more emphatically so is the British nation. If the little stone was to become a great mountain and fill the whole earth, the British nation is the only one of the age which answers to this development. For two centuries she has been growing in every department which adds greatness to an empire. Not merely a greatness like those of the past. Hers is a more solid, a more sublime greatness. Notwithstanding her many faults and blemishes, she inspires confidence and veneration in the weaker peoples who come under her protection and care: not suspicion and terror as did the conquering empires of old.

In the universality of her language also the growing greatness of Britain is evident. It is a language possessing capabilities belonging to no other tongue. Men who have studied this branch of knowledge inform us that the English language is "the one destined to become the language of mankind of every race." It is a strangely mixed method of speech, but so full, so copious, so expressive, so cosmopolitan, that it can and does assimilate into its own texture words from every other tongue with which it comes into contact. It has gathered of every kind; yet, while it has been enriching its store from so many sources it has at the same time been carrying on a work of terrible devastation. Into whatever land it goes, it expels from thence the language of the native inhabitants. Dr. Wild says, "It is the lion of languages. It will grow anywhere, by reason of its tenacity when once it gets a foothold it abides. It is peculiarly suited to the humanities of every race, clime, and condition; there is no limit to its expansive capability. It is in a special manner voracious in the destruction of other languages, wherever it goes it sounds the death knell of all the rest."

Like the nation to which it belongs, it is growing in importance in all directions. A good illustration of this is found in the fact that only a few years ago every person wishing to travel the continent of Europe with comfort required to know French, but to-day the master of the English speech is in the better case, Our tongue is now spoken in every large hotel, and French is falling into disuse. I believe that French ships are now the only vessels that have not their papers made out in English. That most learned philologist, Professor Grimm, although a German, says of the English—"It has a thorough power of expression such as no other language ever possessed. *It may be truly called a world language*, for no other can compare with it in richness, reasonableness, and solidity of texture." It is a conceded point with the most eminent philologists that the English language is destined to eclipse all others. Already it is spoken by 19 millions of people more than any other, and those who speak it bear rule over 255,000,000 who do not yet use it, but are sure to adopt it, and desert their own as crude and unsuitable. Compared with this, the seven other important European languages—Russian, German, French, Spanish, Italian, Portuguese and Scandinavian, are already far in the rear, for they collectively govern only 75 millions outside themselves. If we exclude Russia from the calculation, we shall see that the remaining six nations govern in the aggregate, territory to the extent of 2,215,060 square miles less than Britain, America being classed with the British speaking people, for in language and national origin we are one.

China, the most conservative nation on the face of the earth, is enriching her vocabulary by the introduction of a large number of English words. What will this seed be able to accomplish? It will go on forcing the incorporation of other lists of words until the original is only a remnant. Our letters will next be employed, and the fabric of their ancient tongue will be a matter of history. Japan is, to day, teaching our language to her children in 50,000 state schools. One writer has wisely remarked that the Anglo-Saxon speech would still live and flourish if the country of the Saxons were entirely to disappear. Even in Syria we find the way being made plain for the introduction of English as the language of the people. "The Board of Directors of the Syrian Protestant College at Beyrout have shown their appreciation of the new era of British influence in the guardianship of the country by England by a recent vote to the effect that from the 1st January, 1879, all instruction in the college should be given through the medium of the English language. Their previous Arabic being treated in the same category as dead languages."

No wonder that our poet, viewing the majestic beauties of the language which was at his command for the purpose of giving expression to the pictures of his imagination, should utter the following exquisite comparison:—

*"Greek's a harp we love to hear;  
Latin is a trumpet clear;  
Spanish like an organ swells;  
Italian rings its bridal bells;  
France with many a frolic mien,  
Tunes her sprightly violin;*

*Loud the German rolls his drum,  
When Russia's clashing cymbals come;  
But British sons may well rejoice,  
For English is the human voice."*

In every department we find our nation is taking the lead. Britain is the chief among the nations—and that in such a manner as no other nation ever has been chief. She stands alone in her magnificent stateliness! Most unquestionably the nation which is to fill the whole earth. Surely of no other people was it said—"The God of heaven shall set up a kingdom which shall never be destroyed, and the kingdom shall not be left to another people . . . and it shall stand forever." Glorious destiny! But not because of her own goodness; not as a reward for righteousness. Alas! she could never claim that, but simply because it is Jehovah's good pleasure to give her the kingdom, in fulfilment of his promise to her ancestor, whom he called "the friend of God."

*"I saw this England break the shameful bands,  
Forged for the souls of men by sacred hands;  
I saw each groaning realm her aid implore;  
Her sons the heroes of each warlike shore;  
Her naval standard (the dire Spaniard's bane)  
Obeyed through all the circuit of the main.  
Then, too, great commerce for a late-found world,  
Around your coast her eager sails unfurled:  
New hopes, new passions, thence the bosom fired,  
New plans, new arts, the genius thence inspired—  
Thence every scene which private fortune knows  
In stronger life, with bolder spirit rose.*

\* \* \* \*

*Oh! blest at home with justly envied laws,  
Oh! long the chief of Europe's general cause,  
Whom heaven hath chosen at each dangerous hour  
To check the inroads of barbaric power,  
The rights of trampled nations to reclaim,  
And guard the social world from bonds and shame."*

—AKENSIDE.

## **Chapter VI.**

### **Israel's Position.**

Thrice happy days! thrice happy man who saw  
Their dawn! . . . . .  
. . . . . and like  
A cedar, nourished well, Jerusalem grew  
And towered on high, and spread, and flourished fair;  
And underneath her bows the nations lodged;  
All nations lodged, and sang the song of peace.

. . . . .  
How fair the daughter of Jerusalem then!  
How gloriously from Zion hill she looked!  
Clothed with the sun, and in her train the moon,  
And on her head a coronet of stars;

And girdling round her waist, with heavenly grace,  
The bow of mercy bright; and in her hand  
Immanuel's cross, her sceptre and her hope.  
Desire of every land! the nations came  
And worshipped at her feet; all nations came  
Flocking like doves."—POLLOK.

Nothing is more plainly affirmed in the Divine Word of prophecy than the fact that this pre-eminence which we have been reviewing is promised to Israel. It was first promised to Abraham, repeated to Isaac, and solemnly confirmed to Jacob, in unconditional and irrevocable language. No terms were enjoined; no conditions named. The words were definite, emphatic, eternal. The same promise is often repeated throughout the Bible, and its immutability established. Then, if Britain is now inheriting the promise, and executing the commission given only to God's people Israel, Who can the British be if not Israel? If Britain be not Israel, where will be the faithfulness of God's promise to his chosen race? When from her "sea-beat throne, in awful march Britannia towers" along in her peaceful triumph, and fills the whole earth, establishing herself as the last of the prophetic empires: how shall Israel find room to occupy the whole earth if she be not Britain? There can be no clashing in the Divine management of the universe. He moves all things in harmony. Signs innumerable tell us that the day of Israel's recovery is at hand. When the glory of her morning bursts in upon the world she shall be known as a power in the earth. The notion so prevalent that Israel is to emerge from her long obscurity as a small, rude, and feeble race, unknown in the activity of the world, is one foreign to the spirit of prophecy. Israel shall be known as a giant for strength, and as a fair virgin for beauty, in the day when the Lord shall bring again the dispersed of Jacob. Her history shall be known to the world, and her integrity shall be to the nations as a source of confidence and esteem. But we shall seek in vain for a people to occupy this position if we deny to Britain the privilege. To my mind, viewing history and prophecy in a candid, faithful spirit, I can see no way of avoiding the conclusion that Britain is Israel.

The kingdom of Israel has been long unknown to the world, and her children have forgotten their ancestry, but the all-seeing eye of her king Jehovah has never lost sight of her, although he cast her off for a season; she had acted wickedly and required correction; but the Divine hand which guides the brilliant orbs through the depths of the unfathomable universe, was still guiding her, and preparing her for her final and glorious destiny. He saw that chastisement was good, and he applied the rod in merciful justice and wisdom. And now, as the days approach, when it shall be known that the "saints are to possess the kingdom," we behold Him bringing forth His people from their concealed condition, in honour and praise throughout the whole earth. But we see not yet all sin and evil put away from the people—not far off however is that day. Then "all shall know the Lord, from the least even unto the greatest." The Lord's people shall be a people "all glorious in holiness"

It is absolutely impossible to dispute the fact that the last great empire is to be constituted by the descendants of the Hebrew patriarchs as the chief nation—the ruling people. It is also as clear that it is the power of the Israelites which is raised by God for the destruction of the "kingdoms of the worlds." How distinct is Jeremiah upon this point (li. v. 20), speaking to Jacob, Jehovah says "Thou art my battle axe and weapons of war, for with thee will I break in pieces the nations, and with thee will I destroy kingdoms." This breaking in pieces is significant, and singularly parallels the prophecy of Daniel, and I have no doubt that Daniel ii. 38 and 44 refers to the same breaking in pieces, which Daniel was already acquainted with, being mentioned *nine several times* in that one chapter of Jeremiah, *each time being predicated of Israel*. Israel is therefore the instrument used by God to execute these designs in the world. We have already seen that this was the commission given to the "Stone cut out of the mountain without hands," and literally accomplished by the British nation.

In the seventh chapter we are very carefully instructed concerning the nationality of the people who are to compose the rulers of the last empire. Verse 18th says, "but the saints of the most High shall take the kingdom, and possess the kingdom for ever and ever." Verse 22nd continues, "Until the ancient of days came, and judgment was given unto the saints of the Most High: And the time came that the saints possessed the kingdom." Verse 27th—"And the kingdom and the dominion, and the 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 ever-lasting kingdom, and all dominions (rulers) shall serve and obey Him." Again in chapter eight, verse 24, the same word is used to indicate God's Israel; also in chapter twelve, verse 7th, the people of Israel are called the "holy people" or saints. That the expression here repeatedly used refers to the *nation Israel* is generally admitted, and therefore scarce calls for argument, still one standard authority may aid the doubtful.

In Smith's Dictionary of the Bible we find this term unhesitatingly referred to *Israel the literal nation* in

these words: "In the majority of cases it seems to be used in a theocratic rather than a moral sense, so that while having often a secondary reference, more or less marked, to holiness as the prescribed and appropriate character of those who bear it; *it is applied indiscriminately* (especially in the later books) *to the Israelites as a nation consecrated to God.*" And the passages already quoted are referred to as being so understood. It seems to be used in the sense of the separated, consecrated or chosen people nationally. However, it is evident that the nation of Israel is to hold the dominion of the world in the last days, and that, so long as human rule obtains, it shall not pass from them to another people. Consequently, since we gather from every source of evidence that Britain has taken up the commission, and possesses every mark of that magnificent and final empire, so far as time has yet evolved, the only conclusion open for us is that Britain and Israel are the same.

Moreover, since the last empire, which was to be one of Universal dominion was to be "set up by the God of heaven"—to be one specially chosen by Divine wisdom for that purpose, Can we possibly suppose that He who promised perpetuity of seed and supremacy of race to Abraham, can have withdrawn from that voluntary, unconditional, covenant—can have cast aside and rejected the nation of His early choice, notwithstanding His frequent asseverations that He would fulfil the articles of the covenant, in language as emphatic and absolute as that affirming the original agreement, and having done so, at last select a Gentile people on whom to bestow the privileges which He had solemnly conferred, in irrevocable terms, upon the Hebrews, thus nullifying thousands of His prophetic messages to the Hebrew nation? The facts are:—(1.) God promised the final dominion of the world to the Hebrew people. (2.) Daniel represents this world-wide empire under the symbol of a little stone becoming detached from the mountain, and ultimately filling the whole earth. (3.) History, ancient, modern, and contemporary, show that Britain is the only nation which can be recognised in the vision of the Stone. (4.) Modern history shows that to Britain alone have the promises to the Hebrews been given. (5.) And by her only is the commission given to Israel being fulfilled. Consequently, the unavoidable conclusion is that Britain is the chosen nation, and if the chosen nation, then Israel.

It is most surprising to notice how in the life of the British some of the more important promises to the Patriarch and his descendants are being fulfilled; even a century ago our poets sang of it unconsciously. Just notice one instance which shows how the words of Young harmonise with the language of Isaiah Ix. 5, "The abundance of the sea shall be converted unto thee, and the wealth of the Gentiles (nations) shall come unto thee." Showing that such is in fact the glory of Britain, the Poet sings:—

*"Luxurious Isle! what tide that flows,  
Or stream that glides, or wind that blows,  
Or genial sun that shines, or shower that pours,  
But flows glides, breathes, shines, pours for thee?  
How every heart delates to see  
Each land, each season blending on thy shore!*

*All these one British harvest make!  
The servant Ocean for thy sake  
Both sinks and swells; his arms thy bosom wrap,  
And fondly give, in boundless dower  
To mighty Georges growing power,  
The wafted world into thy loaded lap.*

*Vast naval ensigns strewed around  
The wandering foreigner confound!  
How stands the deep-awed Continent aghast  
As her proud sceptred sons survey  
At every port, on every quay,  
Huge mountains rise of anchor, cable, mast!*

*The unwieldy tun, the ponderous bale!  
Each prince his own clime sets to sale  
Sees here, by subjects of a British king.  
How Earth's abridged! All nations range  
A narrow spot,—our thronged exchange;  
And send their streams of Plenty from their spring.*

*Nor earth alone, all Nature bends  
In aid of Britain's glorious ends!  
Toils she in trade, or bleeds in honest wars?  
Her keel each yielding sea enthralls,  
Each willing wind her canvas calls,  
Her pilot into service 'lists the stars.*

*Pregnant with blessings, Britain! Swear,  
No sordid son of thine shall dare  
Offend the Donor of thy wealth and peace.  
Who now His whole creation drains  
To pour into thy tumid veins  
That wealth of Nations—Commerce and Increase:*

*Commerce brings riches; riches crown  
Fair Virtue with the first renown.  
A large revenue, and a large expense,  
When hearts for others' welfare glow,  
And spend as free as gods bestow,  
Gives the full bloom to moral excellence."*

THE END.

Annual Address Delivered at the Positivist School.

Religion of Humanity. The Annual Address Delivered at the Positivist School,  
19 Chapel Street, Lamb's Conduit Street, W.C. on the Festival of Humanity,  
1 Moses, 92 (January 1, 1880).

By Richard Congreve.

LOVE, OUR PRINCIPLE;

ORDER, THE BASIS;

PROGRESS, THE END.

LIVE FOR OTHERS—LIVE OPENLY.

'Ainsi, la maladie occidentale exige un traitement plus affectif qu'intellectuel, depuis que l'esprit a rempli son principal office en construisant la philosophie positive d'après la fondation de la sociologie, appuyée sur l'ensemble des sciences préliminaires. Quoique les\* positivistes aient dû d'abord monter de la foi vers l'amour, ils doivent désormais préférer la marche plus rapide et plus efficace, qui descend de l'amour à la foi. Le sentiment étant moins troublé que l'intelligence, c'est surtout de lui que dépendra le rétablissement de l'ordre occidental. Seul capable de compléter et consolider les convictions émanées de l'esprit, le cœur peut même en dispenser à beaucoup d'égards, du moins envers l'assistance générale qu'exige toute grande construction.'—AUGUSTE COMTE, 6ème *Circulaire Annuelle*.

C. Kegan Paul & Co London 1 Paternoster Square. 1880

**Service For The Festival Of Humanity.**

## The Invocation.

THE SACRED FORMULA: LOVE, OUR PRINCIPLE;  
ORDER, THE BASIS;  
PROGRESS, THE END.  
LIVE FOR OTHERS. LIVE OPENLY.

Reading from the Imitation of Christ, by Thomas à Kempis, Book III. c. 5, Sections 3 to 8.

## A Prayer.

Great Power, whom we here acknowledge as the Highest, Humanity, whose children and servants we are; from whom we derive everything, and to whom we are bound to render everything; may we all seek to know thee better that we may love and serve thee better; and to this end may our affections become more pure, true, and deep, our thought larger and more vigorous, our action firmer and more energetic, that so, according to our measure, in our generation, we may hasten the time when thou shalt, visibly to all, take to thee thy great power and reign; when all kindreds and nations, all the members of the human family now so torn by discord, shall, by the power of the unity of thy Past, place themselves under thy guidance, the living under the government of the dead, and bound together by mutual understanding and affection, each take their due part in the work of human advancement, in peaceful union moving forwards through the coming ages to a more and more perfect state, to thy glory and the common welfare of the countless generations of men and man's dependents who shall in succession possess this thy beautiful Planet, the Earth, which is thy home.

In communion with thee, in communion with thy Past, and with thy Future, may we keep this great aim ever in our sight, to strengthen and ennoble our whole life and work.—AMEN.

Holy and Glorious Humanity, on this thy High Day, at the beginning of a new year, we are met in praise, in prayer, in thanksgiving, to celebrate thy coming, in the fulness of time, for the visible perfecting of thy as yet unseen work.

PRIEST. We bow before thee in thankfulness;

PEOPLE. AS children of thy Past.

PRIEST. We adore thee in hope;

PEOPLE. AS thy ministers and stewards for the Future.

PRIEST. We would commune with thee humbly in prayer;

PEOPLE. As thy servants in the Present.

ALL. May our worship, as our lives, grow more and more worthy of thy great name.

## The Sermon.

A passage from some poet, most frequently from one of the poets in the Positivist Library.

## Concluding Prayer.

Praising thee, Holy Humanity, as is most meet, for all the blessings which thy past has accumulated for us; for the rich treasures of knowledge, beauty, and wisdom which it has handed down; for its long roll of great exemplars, our cloud of witnesses, which ministers comfort, support, and guidance in our need; lastly, as we are here more especially bound to do, for the full liberty to speak and act which we enjoy; we pray that we may not be found unworthy of such benefits, but that, day by day, in all humility and singleness of purpose, with all boldness, and yet tenderness for others, we may magnify thee, and attain for ourselves, and help others to attain, the great blessings which only communion with thee can give: Union, Unity, Continuity.—AMEN.

The Faith of Humanity, the Hope of Humanity, the Love of Humanity, bring you comfort and teach you sympathy, give you peace in yourselves, and peace with others now and for ever.—AMEN.

NOTE.—We read the Imitation of Christ by Thomas a Kempis, so strongly recommended by our founder, as the most universally received manual of devotion and of a holy life; but it may be wise here, in order to avoid ambiguity or any doubt as to our use of it, to say that, in using it, we substitute Humanity for God; the social type for the personal type of Jesus; our own inward growth in goodness for outward reward; the innate benevolent instincts for grace; our selfish instincts for nature. So used, its lessons of devotion and humility, of intimate communion with the type we adore, of unceasing moral culture, of self-denying service, of the service not of ourselves but of others, are not the less available because they are clothed in the language of an older faith, and sanctioned by the experience of many generations of faithful and devout men.

# Religion of Humanity.

WITH all centres of our faith, wheresoever they exist; with all its scattered disciples; with the members of all other religious organisations or beliefs, Monotheist, Polytheist, or Fetichist, all lesser distinctions being absorbed in the one bond of community of religious aim; with the whole human race; with, man, that is, wherever found and in whatever condition, again all lesser distinctions being absorbed in the one bond of our common humanity; and with the animal races which, during the long effort of man to raise himself, have been, as they still are, his companions and helpers, we on this occasion, on this Festival of Humanity, would be in conscious sympathy.

Nor with our contemporaries alone are we in sympathy, but even more with the larger portion of the race which constitutes the Past. We gratefully commemorate the services of all the generations whose labour we inherit and wish to hand down with increase to our successors. We acknowledge the sway of the Dead.

We gratefully commemorate also the services of our common mother, the Earth, the planet which is our home, and with her the orbs which form the solar system, our world. We may not separate from this last commemoration that of the milieu in which we place that system, the Space which has ever been of great service to man, and is destined to be of greater, by his wise use, as it becomes the recognised seat of abstraction, the seat of the higher laws which collectively constitute the Destiny of man, and is introduced as such in all our intellectual and moral training.

From the Present and the Past we extend our sympathies to the Future, to the unborn generations which, with happier lot, shall follow us on this earth: the thought of whom should be constantly present to our minds, in order to complete the conception of Humanity as revealed to man by the Founder of our Religion, by the full recognition of the continuity which is her noble characteristic. The memory of her greatest servant, Auguste Comte, finds a fitting place in this her greatest Festival, consecrated as it is by its very idea to the remembrance of all her servants, known or nameless—to the remembrance of all the results they have achieved and by which they live.

Wisest and noblest of teachers! may all of us who avow ourselves thy disciples, animated by thy example, supported by thy doctrine, guided by thy construction, face all the obstacles which indifference or hostility throws in our way, and in the midst of this revolutionary age, undebased by any hope of reward, undeterred by the ill success of our efforts, in a spirit of submissive veneration, carry forward the great work to which thy life was devoted—the work of human regeneration, by and through the Worship of Humanity.

We met last night to commemorate the dead and so to place ourselves under the weight of one of the two great subjective constituents of Humanity, that one which must always most affect us. To-day we stand more directly in presence of both her subjective constituents—her Past and her Future—and would from both gain insight and strength for our conduct in the Present, which thus completes our conception and connects it with our practice. Yet even for this Present, such are the circumstances of our small nascent church, in a sense the subjective element is uppermost, the absent members are more numerous, that is, than those who are with us, and will therefore, in a great degree, direct my course in this Address. If in some parts there should appear a repetition to those who attend our regular meetings, or a statement of things with which they are already familiar, they must not forget this consideration. It brings with it a good in its power to brace us by the thought of those who are with us in spirit, and would most gladly be with us in person, were it not for the obstacles of health, means, or distance. In proportion as we train ourselves in the practice of our worship, private and public, this spiritual communion, annihilating the separation in space, will become more easy and more useful. Those who live constantly with the dead and the unborn will find it no hard matter to call absent friends to share in what they are doing; so closely do all parts of our true, our religious life, fit into one another with a strong cohesion.

Last night our communion with the dead could not but have much of sadness in it—sorrow without gloom—from the thought of all the trouble through which Humanity had had to pass before her Advent—the labour and the waste of her seed time—though after all allowance the good had prevailed, as we saw reason to admit. To-day, when we turn to her in her more proper existence, we might hope to throw aside all hesitation—all thought of allowance to be made—to be able, by a right interpretation of her in the Past, to dwell on the confident expectation of her glorious Future, with a fair satisfaction in an imperfect, but yet visibly advancing Present. It is not so, however. It can hardly be so for some time to come, if we call our judgment into council and face the actual with deliberate courage. Here, again, but in no gloomy spirit, we must admit a large admixture of trouble—we must admit that the advent of Humanity is destined to no exemption from the general law which we trace in all previous similar changes. when I say this, I would not be for a moment understood to imply that it is her Advent, as—placing myself in a more or less distant future which shall call this time old, I

make bold to speak of her ushering in into the hearts and language of men—the hearts of a few, the language of many—I say I would not be understood to imply that the disturbed state of the world which we recognise as a fact, is in any way due to this new truth which is just touching the summits of human thought. No; it is as yet true of her what was said of her predecessor, she cometh not by observation—less true, perhaps, but still, in a great measure, true. But when we examine the disturbance which we see around us, we shall not be slow to feel that over and above the evil in it which has no connection with the new religion, it is by its origin and character such as to oppose every kind of negative obstacle to the acceptance of that religion, such, moreover, as to be likely to issue in the most active attempt to crush it when it is seen to be gaining power. Be this as it may, it is certain that, immediately, we are on this, as on former occasions, confronted on all sides by the gravest difficulties, that we cannot escape the consciousness of great trouble.

The past year does not leave us with any feeling that the sum of our embarrassments as a nation has been lessened. In its whole course, its political, industrial, and moral history has been too much in keeping with its gloomy physical constitution. It has brought us again, as a nation, certain successes as they are called; but I am not aware that in any one of them we can feel any pleasure: with scarcely an exception, our moral nature recoils from them more than it would from defeats. They all demand reparation; and we are but too sure that none will be given. I mean—in order to leave no room for doubt—that the honour of England demands the reversal of the decision taken as to the Transvaal; and here there is a gleam of hope, for one public man stands committed to such reversal by his language. I mean, again, that her sense of right should lead, after due punishment of Sir Bartle Frere, to the restoration of the Zulu king: a measure also, I feel convinced, which policy would dictate, under the peculiar circumstances of our South African colonies. I mean, lastly, that England should retrace her steps in Afghanistan—fall back on the frontier from which she started on this unjust war, punish the authors of the brutal vengeance taken on a nation in consequence of its legitimate resistance, whatever place those authors occupy—be they foreign or Indian secretaries, viceroy, or general—and by every subsequent act recognise the independence of the Afghan people. So we might, in some measure, nationally atone for our disgraceful success.

So much for the Past, where great brevity is allowed as others have spoken during the year, and the unity of the Positivist judgment, which stands out amidst passing differences, renders it unnecessary for me to recur to the points treated. I allude to the condemnation of the Zulu war by Dr. Bridges, the condemnation of our conduct in Afghanistan by Mr. Harrison and Mr. H. Crompton, and the general judgment of the latter on the dominant tendency of our national feeling in relation to what is called Imperialism.

On any present complications, again, I shall touch but slightly. In many cases, there is no marked change, and I could therefore but repeat what I have said before. This is true of all industrial questions, not even excepting that of the land—great as the movement is seen to be in this last case, so great as to call for a separate treatment on an occasion better suited to it. It is true, with one exception, of any that can be properly called political questions, with which now, as before, we here are not bound to concern ourselves much, as we look for, trust in, no political solution of the disorder of society. Less than any can we be bound to interest ourselves in the political agitation which is going on around us. We may and must watch it, for we cannot wish to abstract ourselves from our social surroundings; and it is possible, moreover, that it may be leading us to more critical issues than what are in the contemplation of its promoters—our social order is old and strained, with many anomalies and weaknesses in it, and strong as is the element of conservation, there may come a pressure beyond its strength. But I cannot see that any Englishman who objects as we do to the whole bearing of his country's policy in this matter of Eastern or African States can bestir himself—I put aside all religious differences—when he is morally sure that no real abandonment of that policy is probable. The utterances of our public men seem to leave no doubt that there is substantial agreement in what may be termed the root of the matter between the party politicians on both sides. Why then excite ourselves about a change? To the disciples of our human religion no portion of the troubles of Humanity can be alien, least of all that which concerns our own country; but when the accepted doctrines are such as to make our active intervention absolutely fruitless, we are justified in refusing to waste our energies.

I said that there was one exception in the case of strictly political questions. It is that of Ireland, which is again, after the expiry of a generation, face to face with distress of unquestioned magnitude; and apart from that distress, is again calling upon Great Britain to revise the existing relations between the two countries, the two points being further complicated by their close interdependence. The moral aspects of the Irish problem are what most concern us at present; they resolve themselves into the one question, What is the duty of the more powerful kingdom towards the weaker. We know how widely various would be the answers given. The Positivist answer would, I think, be in complete agreement with that which the nation would give, often over-hastily, in a similar case where there was no national interest touched. It would be then to the effect, that the Irish nation should be allowed to revoke the assent—given, extorted, or bought—to the existing connection, and modify it as seemed good to it—establish, that is, Home Rule, if that seemed the best course, or repeal the

Union, if that were deemed preferable; that the sole arbitrament lay in a reference to the interests of Ireland with no admixture of those of England. Such is the sense in which we can accept the formula of one of our politicians: Justice to Ireland, rejecting his qualifications, which deprive it of reality.

But here, as elsewhere, if violent remedies are avoided, only a moral change, a change in our whole mode of regarding such points, affords any hope. For the truth is, that the capital sources of our actual difficulties and prospective dangers in this Irish, as in our other external relations, must be looked for elsewhere than in any party or government. I suggest two for consideration. The first is the peculiar conviction which seems rooted in the English mind, that we can set all the world right, that we, and we only, are the true governors, competent to deal successfully with all the problems of Asiatic or African social existence. This conviction seems to have taken hold of us in a degree scarcely consistent with mental sanity; and no judgment from without, no failure from within, seems able to shake it. Historically, I believe it is one of the pernicious consequences of our successful intrusion of ourselves on India, and of our illusion as to the permanence and utility of that dominion. Certainly it is of comparatively recent growth; but whencesoever it comes, there it is. If we could but Anglicise the world all would be well. Are not the words of ancient wisdom but too applicable to us—A deceived heart hath turned him aside, that he cannot deliver his soul, nor say, Is there not a lie in my right hand?

The second source is our excessive increase of population, that difficult and delicate question which meets us at every turn. On it I only touch here so far as regards its disturbing power without. It is at the bottom of that commercial hunger for new markets which overbears all other considerations but too frequently. It is at the bottom of that rapacious colonial expansion which cannot consent to take others' claims into account, when they are in competition with the requirements of our colonists, not merely as to subsistence but as to wealth.

I add that the combination of these two impulses, which are amenable really to none but a religious treatment, has this evil effect amongst many, as amongst all this talk is apparently becoming visible, that it denies us that quiet which is so wanted for the wise settlement into the new order which all thinkers recognise as imminent.

I add further that it takes from us the disinterestedness and independence of conception which are requisite for our wise intervention in the general direction of the Western world, an intervention which no repugnance to the results actually attained should lead us to regard as other than a duty, bound upon us, if by nothing else, by the obligations contracted by our interference in the past. But there is much else to bind us, and it were greatly to be wished that we were so placed as to be able rightly to respond to this call. The trouble of the West is great, and the wholesome influence towards quieting its agitation, which under any true statesmanship our country might exercise, is not exerted; and in its absence the equilibrium of Europe remains most unstable. Our hands are tied by our own internal and external difficulties; and worse than that, all our political insight is perverted or dimmed.

Not that we are singular in this. Each of the great European States is, equally with us, debarred by its internal condition, in most cases by its exposure, from all but the most purely interested and national participation in the general concert. So completely is this so, that a general fact, which ought to be a matter of regret, is exalted to a theory, and to all appearance affords satisfaction to its upholders. The internal condition is such that in no case can the careful observer be without misgivings as to the permanence of the existing order. France, Italy, Spain, Germany—is not this true of each of them?

And if we pass out of Europe proper to the Eastern constituents of that geographical expression, disorganisation is no longer an anticipation but a reality, and a reality in growth rather than in decay. Internal disquiet is well nigh universal. Turkey, Russia, and the new intermediate States, do they not justify my language?

In the international relations of Europe, however, one important change has been made in the last year on which I will briefly touch. I allude to the Austro-German alliance, which has been so loudly welcomed in this country. All such outward changes must occupy for us so subordinate a position, and are in the present condition of human affairs so easily reversed, that a more temperate judgment seems more in place. Still, it is an event of considerable importance, and we may see that there lie in it very great possibilities. If turned to right purpose by those who are immediately concerned in it, and wisely accepted by the other Powers of Europe, the alliance may be a great step to a sounder European order. If really guided by the spirit which should inspire the powerful organs of Humanity, those two great military monarchies might facilitate the peaceful transition of Europe through its difficulties in a degree which it would seem a dream almost to state. Strong in the sense of security derived from their close union, they might aid Italy by satisfying her substantially legitimate demands, whilst they left those which are for the time unreasonable to settle themselves; they might foster the peaceful development of the new communities formed to the East of them; and they might reconstitute, by their co-operation, a Poland of greater promise than the old. Unaggressive themselves, they might discourage all aggression on the part of others; and whilst by a quiet pressure they thus imposed peace, they might watch in composure the action of those internal agencies in their own and other European countries, which are slowly

moulding Europe to a different social organisation.

It can be no object for any of us with our belief to quarrel with the source from which indisputable advantages are derived. If the course of European history seemed to fix on other Powers as better qualified for the task undertaken by these Eastern empires, such other Powers failing we may well accept the substitute. But I am speaking of what is entirely problematical. I but submit for your thought the observations I have made. And we must not forget that the true work to be done, the most difficult part of that work, at any rate, is of another kind. For us, and we are not alone—for all religious men—the work to be done in Europe is spiritual, not temporal. Outward order is but the condition of healthy spiritual advance, and it may be the most economical arrangement of the European forces that the task of upholding outward order should, in a preponderating extent, devolve on those who are certainly, by common confession and as a result of their past, not the best qualified for taking the first part in the spiritual renovation. It were to be desired, then, that some distribution of this kind should be generally acquiesced in, and that with due provision against any abuse of military power. Latin and Western Europe—I use the terms which are familiar—should devote itself to the right use of its peculiar strength. Any abuse of the kind I have indicated might be most effectually guarded against by that which still remains the most indispensable requisite for, as it is the greatest difficulty in, the establishment of a really firm European order; I mean by the close alliance of England and France, again with no tendency to aggression or exclusion, but as the basis for future unions, for the gradual welding of the whole West into one solid unity.

For the rest, that the European ferment is working towards some good result, that the greatness and duration of the convulsive struggles which usher in the new order are in correspondence with the surpassing value of that order when established, that the suffering attendant on a disunited, is giving force to the aspiration for an united, Humanity—these and similar conclusions we are ready to accept, we fully believe: if more than on others our faith forces on us interest in and sorrow for the suffering, it also gives us firmer support, a stronger, more rational hope, resting on the clearer insight it affords us into the nature of the evil. Confidence in the future of mankind is our inalienable possession. The present gloom should not unduly discourage us. It should but stimulate us to more activity in the creation and application of the remedy.

Our strength must lie in the due shaping of our efforts within the limited sphere in which it is given us to work, omitting nothing which can add force to them, but not over anxious as to the result. Gradually the sphere will enlarge—it is in the nature of things that it should do so. Even now, perhaps, it is larger than we see—nor is what we see so limited as we at first imagine. A survey of the whole of our position would correct any inadequate first impression. The indirect action of the Philosophy and the Religion on the world in which they are circulating is allowed to be considerable; but it is not of that I wish to speak. I have rather in view the direct Positivist action in the most comprehensive sense of the term. In saying this I do not underrate the help derived from candid and thoughtful opponents, much less that given us by those who, without being Positivists, work on the same lines, as it were, and move in the same direction as we. I take Professor Caird as an example of the former, Miss Bevington of the latter. It is useful to study the opposition, and it is encouraging from all points of view to see its changed tone. It is most useful to have support on such an important question as that of the existence and value of a morality independent of any theological sanction. Neither do I underrate the value to us of attacks of a very different kind which rest on unfairness and ridicule. They become increasingly useful as the system, as a whole, gathers way. The ridicule, for instance, which was a deterrent, and is often so even yet, is also often a stimulant. It is always a dangerous weapon, and it is peculiarly weak as against religious conviction. The foibles of mankind are its proper sphere, and even against them it is more amusing than effectual.

As regards direct Positivist action I wish to be as comprehensive as possible. We have perhaps been too little so in the past. It will be well perhaps if in the spirit of this great festival, the spirit of human unity, we take in, in our survey of Positivist action, all who in whatever degree claim that honourable name. It will then include all those, and they are numerous, whom we should not be wrong in describing as followers of M. Littré, as well as those who in various groups profess, in its full completeness, the discipleship of Auguste Comte. There have been solid reasons why these two great divisions have stood apart, perhaps they may not for long altogether fuse, but there are indications of a change in this respect. Perhaps we shall find, or our successors will find, that there has been side by side with much hindrance traceable to the Littréan school a considerable amount of preparatory work done by it. The very assertion of the name Positivism is a service of its kind as familiarising the European mind with the existence of a new doctrine. In any case it is certain that the progress of thought is leading some of those who have hitherto been content with this more negative aspect of the doctrine to inform themselves on it more positively, to examine the teachings of the disciple by the teachings of the master, and to pass from imperfect to complete assent, from philosophical to religious Positivism. The time seems coming, in short, when the religion of Humanity will gather in many of the minds which have hitherto stood aloof from it, absorbed in contemplation of its scientific basis, but which have yet derived benefit from

their preparatory condition. The process has been a roundabout one, but it comes in the end to the right conclusion. And those who have gone through it will have a special use of their own due to their previous connections. They will be able to forward the fusion of the two divisions by their knowledge of both.

The difficulty, however, in regard to them remains great, interwoven as it is with the facts of the history of our movement. But time is bearing us away from those facts and their influence, from the conflict they have engendered. If without weakness, in spite of certain considerations, we can recognise a faint underground of unity throughout, a growing unity in the present and the future, it may have a salutary bearing in the advance of our religion. Few perhaps will have a stronger conviction of the need of that religion than they who have lingered some time in the colder region outside, and have tested its unsatisfactory action on themselves.

There need be, there should be, no difficulty in an ample mutual recognition as between the different bodies or unities, for there are some who stand alone as units, which together constitute the second division, the believers in whatever degree in the Religion of Humanity. Full union may be unattainable, but its absence need not prevent the consciousness of an unity of purpose as well as an unity of belief. I speak, I am sure, the feeling of all members of our particular group, present or absent, when I say that, without any concealment of differences, their one great object is to forward the cause of our common religion, and to regard as fellow-workers all who have that cause at heart. All useful work done, by whomsoever done, we shall recognise openly, whilst we persevere in the particular form of work which we think the most desirable. This attitude will be a great help, for by holding it we are enabled to spare ourselves labour. On the questions on which other Positivists speak or write we can afford to be silent, adopting their utterance as the expression of the community, if I may use the word. I have already acted on this in the earlier part of this address. There is so much to be done and the labourers are so few that economy is to be studied. From this point of view we may look with satisfaction on the doubling of our centre here in London, on the organisation of a systematic course, or of courses, of lectures expounding the doctrine. In fine, whilst we regret that we are not at one in our judgment any more than in the form of our action, we may avail ourselves to the utmost of such agreement as does exist.

Looking back on the year in its results for us who are here to-day, estimating very briefly and without any exaggeration our advance, there are one or two subjects of satisfaction. Our numbers have increased, however slow the rate of increase; our religious services have been kept up, with one interval only; our other meetings have been cordial. There is, I cannot doubt it, in most of us a greater activity perceptible—more readiness for all exertion.

Indications of this may be seen around us, in the temporary and permanent decorations of this room, on which I feel it a pleasure to say a word. We owe most of the pictures to the liberal conduct of Mr. Harrison. The valuable additions which so nearly complete the series in the early months are the contribution of an American friend, who has occasionally attended here, and has a considerable sympathy with us. Other gifts are coming in. M. Comte's tomb is now something that we can all realise by the sketch which is before us. The spirit in which others have worked and given deserves all recognition on my part. With a slight effort, all our roll of worthies might be now completed. The library, too, is advancing to completion. There remains the one great want—music—hymns, and instrumental music. That, too, will come in time I suppose, but it seems long. This, however, is the only very real gap: and in all other respects we may rejoice in what has been done and is doing.

The particular points I will notice are: first, the increase of adhesion from the proletariat, above all from the most important of all the parts of that body, from the proletary women. This is the fact in the year's history which I record with the greatest pleasure. The difficulties used to seem so great that I had almost despaired of such a thing in my life-time. It is, therefore, a peculiar satisfaction to see them disappear in even a few cases. Here as elsewhere too, the beginning is so much. Consequent on this step has been the introduction into the Church in the Sacrament of Presentation of a proletary family—an example which I hope will bear fruit. In connection, again, with this movement, I would mention the special contribution to our cause of a Positivist tale, which many testimonies warrant me in regarding as likely to be most serviceable.

The other most noticeable fact is the extension of our action to another great centre of English industrial life, the formation of a Positivist nucleus in Liverpool. I do not mean the simple existence of one or more Positivists there, but the establishment of regular meetings, which will grow, having a real element of vitality in them, from the completely religious attitude of those around whom the movement naturally gathers. This is another very great step, and all the circumstances which attended it, the more they are examined, the more they show the decay of force in the opposition we have to encounter against us, the advance made by our religion, the preparation of the soil for its reception.

What more is there which those who are at a distance might wish to know? We have had several courses of lectures, but the attendance at them has been small. We shall continue them this year, for it is incumbent on us to do what we can, but at present it is not from them that we can gain much strength. Our whole experience hitherto has been that lectures proper have not helped us. It is, perhaps, felt that a system such as ours, which

claims to have in it the power of reorganising the whole frame of society, must begin by showing its competence in other ways than in mere teaching. Certain it is that, as our Founder saw, the advance which is at once most rapid and most stable is made by a direct appeal to the feelings of men. Hence I look with more hope to the various forms of social meeting which for both sexes have had a beginning this last year. After all, teaching proper is for the young; the reminder—the enforcement of the obligations which the teaching has established—is for the adult. Such are the two permanent institutions of the church under this aspect when established—the modes of action of its priesthood. They will rely, no doubt, for much of their efficacy on the series of ceremonies which are the sacraments of domestic worship, the importance of which, even in our present early stage, we have felt, all of us; and still more on the general prevalence of the habit of private prayer. But in the formation of the church, the gathering of new members—mainly adult members it must be understood—apart from the power of example—the influence of life and character as shown in action—social intercourse holds the first place; for in it the work of oral propagation—the superiority of which over reading I am every day led to feel, and which I therefore press on you all as the truest instrument at our disposal—this work finds the freest scope. Reading should be entirely subsidiary as a rule to thought and conversation.

I have confined myself to our own more immediate action. The circular affords me the opportunity of dealing with the larger whole. In the limits thus self-assigned, I have given my reasons for looking with some satisfaction on the year, as having been a real progress. I would wish to avoid any overestimate—no one feels more acutely how slow our growth is—and I do not want to mislead anyone into thinking that it is as yet anything but extremely slow. I expect that it will continue so for some time: the next few years will try us all probably; drawing on our force of persistence, as we see that the course in which we persist, whilst it involves so much effort, seems to lead to so little result, and in consequence is by some judged premature. Fully prepared to face this strain on our patience as I believe we are, it is wise not to overlook any just ground for encouragement, and such ground I have found in the quality of the last year's work.

There is another ground in the growing conviction that the most open putting forward of the Religion of Humanity, its direct preaching, is the true policy. I cannot be mistaken, I feel, on this. There have been too many independent signs of this growth of late to admit of any doubt. I am still speaking, remember, of our own special English body. I am not so confident as to a similar state of feeling in regard to our rudiments of a cultus, yet on that head too, allowing for differences of judgment as to this or that particular form—I have always considered the forms we have as tentative—with this allowance I say, I think that on the principle that our cultus should take some practical shape—should appear in act, and not in more or less remote prospect—our agreement is becoming more complete.

It should be so, I am sure. Nothing is essential, remember, but that we have meetings which are of a definitely religious character. Experience in our sectarian country shows us what a wide latitude such an expression allows; it would take in the Quaker and the Ritualist; and between these two, what a variety of assemblies, all succeeding in giving an impression of being religious. Our own increase of forms has been most cautious and gradual, and must continue so; but occasions will call for additions, and the want must be met.

I would gladly take all with me on this point, for in any case—with the most perfect assent that is—any new step is a great effort; and where I feel that there is considerable hesitation as to its desirability it becomes doubly oppressive, even if I have confidence that when taken it will shortly be accepted. In the twenty-five years which I have now spent in Positivist action, nothing has cost me so much as the slight initial steps in a liturgical direction. All is so old and yet so new, and the right combination of the two is such a problem. Less in degree, but still most sensible, is the pressure in regard to preaching, to direct religious utterances. For the administration of the Sacraments, there is greater help given in the short but pregnant instructions left by our Master. No one can realise more fully than I do the advantage of following, not leading. If I dwell on the disadvantage of leading, it is not without a practical purpose. I have of late spoken more often and more freely on the duty of those who are disciples of our religion to make a habit of their attendance on our religious meetings. There are other valid reasons for this habit; but the one which I have just now uppermost is the support to which I feel I have a claim in what all must see is an arduous task. Each can help in lightening it.

We are all fellow-disciples, all followers of one Master, all fellow-believers in one religion—fellow-students, as a secondary point, of one doctrine. We are in a condition, that is, in which mutual help and counsel are the paramount want, by virtue of the particular period of our movement in which we are living. It is active communication, active concert, to which we should feel called, so evoking a general sense of life and energy. And this, I am bound to say, is evidently felt by most of us. It needs but steadiness—the high quality of perseverance in a word, which in our times is but too rare, from the conflict of opinions, and the absence of any clear insight into the relative value of the objects of pursuit—evils from which we need not suffer. Intellectual stay is supplied us in abundance. The impulse to use it should not be wanting to any believer in Humanity. The result of enduring persistence should spring naturally from the union of these two antecedents.

Where we are weak, it is the weakness of the impulse which is in fault, I suspect. We do not feel ourselves driven forward by any irresistible power on the path which our reason is fully persuaded we are right in choosing. We have a conviction, but it is languid and given to rest in itself. It is not strange that it should be so; the very greatness of the change which we see before us is alone enough to account for this passivity. And there is so much else. All around us is alien to vigour. Our attention is so called off, our intellect so frittered away, our sympathies so distracted. Children of anarchy, how should we be strong. It is much if our intellectual conclusions reject that anarchy and place us in a state in which we lie open to the impact of some powerful and constraining motive.

When we are not weak to this extent we most of us probably feel that our impulse is not as strong as we wish it. Is it not that with all of us we are stronger in our turning away from our older beliefs than in our turning to our new? We are too much, perhaps, in the condition of Christian, when he had escaped from the City of Destruction but not entered within the gate. The love which our new service should rest on has not yet mastered us. We accept that service, and fully, but we accept it rather too coldly. It takes time, it takes thought, it takes a certain habit in regard to our conduct of life to work ourselves out of this coldness. This will be the general rule. There are cases where a sudden or very rapid possession of our being by the new impulse will be traceable; but at present they will be rare, and in view of the obstacles in our path it is well that they should be rare.

Convictions, feelings, habits—this is the threefold process of our complete conversion. We have long had the first, comparatively speaking, have contentedly acquiesced in the satisfaction they are charged with, and have not been over anxious to develop their consequences. Feelings—these are growing in some, in most I hope, but they have been as yet of unequal growth, are by nature, if unsupported, unstable, and by the slow action of our environment lose their first power. They want the sustaining force of habits—the habits, especially, of their deliberate and unintermitting cultivation. The stress then of the whole process is on habits. They are the capital, the decisive test of its perfect accomplishment, and to these we must, I fear, all of us feel and allow that we have not as yet paid sufficient attention. A change is visible even here; but it was high time that it should come. On the resolute formation of habits of devotion in the first place, of habits in conduct in the second, and on the equally resolute perseverance in them when formed, principally depends—it is our Master's judgment, not my own, which I am giving—the progress of our religion.

The world on which that religion is working, the disciples in whom it is working—these have been my general subjects. How best to strengthen the disciples, so that they may most effectually act on the world, has been the underlying thought which connects the two.

We have no hesitation as to our object. In the prevalence of our religion we see the salvation of the race, as we know that its adoption by ourselves has the promise of our own salvation; the promise I say, for we are alive to the imperfection which clings to our adoption. We are not yet wholly moulded into the new type. As so judging we would spread it in its full completeness to the utmost of our power. Worship, doctrine, and life—no part would we neglect, if we accord a certain precedence to the first. But all three imply, require, and rest upon something prior to them all—one central truth as the ground of their existence. All three look to Humanity. In her should centre our feelings; in her should we condense our knowledge; to her should we consecrate our life. The more we identify ourselves with her, the more we bring all the parts of our complex nature into close relation with her, the more apt shall we be for our task of enlarging her sway. It cannot be too often repeated that we are bound by the same conditions as our predecessors, that in principle our growth must be by the same means as theirs; that if we set forth a new object for the acceptance of all men, that object must hold the first place in all our preaching; that Catholicism and Islam as they are seen in their founders' conception are necessarily but our models in this method, their failure in no way depending on their method, but on their doctrine; that they were the first solutions, the rudimentary embodiments of the religion which is to absorb them and supersede them; that we return on them and learn from them; finally, that they both agreed on this, the exclusive consecration of their efforts to the presentation to mankind of one all-absorbing existence—the source of all other life, the supreme end of all devotion.

For Humanity to take her place as such supreme end, we must, of course, believe that she is. This is really not difficult, and men are getting to see that it is not difficult. The absence of vagueness, the perfect reality of the elements which compose her, the simplicity of the earlier elementary notions with which, in mastering the conception, we come into contact, rapidly remove the difficulty which at first seemed to beset her existence. On our last anniversary, I went at some length into certain trains of thought which might render the process easier. I have been lately led to approach the subject from another side. Our historical study brings before us, in mutual relation to one another, several distinct societies of men, each an independent constituent of the whole they collectively form. Each one of such independent national existences is to the families and individuals of which it is successively, or at any one time composed, to all intents and purposes a Humanity. Each member of a great historic nation looks back through the past centuries to the origin of that nation, traces its growth, dwells upon its unity, is intimately convinced of the reality of the existence he is contemplating, sees in it the ground and

rule of his life and action. It is no abstraction to him; it is, in the strictest sense, a personality—a collective personality, on which his own personality rests—by virtue of which, in a word, he is what he is. Generation follows generation, but the people which they compose is not changed by their succession. It is still, as the case may be, Israel, or Greece, or Rome. But though independent in a sense, these several nations are not wholly so: their relation to others is a fact controlling their national independence. They are but co-existent collective persons, and each borrows from the other, and in an ever-increasing proportion, something which goes to augment its perfection. They still stand apart—as men stand apart—but they are sensible of a more comprehensive existence, of which they are but portions. Apply the reasoning which we have used for the one section to the collective personality formed by them all, and you will see that the whole in which they merge, and by virtue of which they come to be what they are, is, again, no abstraction, but a most real existence; and that whole is Humanity.

It is the comprehensiveness of this whole which daunts us. As some rise not above themselves, as some rise not above the family, as most, unfortunately, cannot rise above their country, so we all find it difficult to rise to Humanity. It is the barrier of individualism, so strengthened by all our previous associations and training, which precludes our rising. It is not, then, in the domain of pure intellect, but in the mixed intellectual and moral difficulty that the obstacle is situated.

We will suppose it overcome; and we are in presence of a new hindrance—the gap between our feelings and the conclusion of our intellect: a common and formidable impediment. It will take time to overcome it. But it need take no time to turn it. The service of others—for my present purpose, of our race—is not, fortunately, dependent for its claim upon us on our feelings consenting to it. It is an obligation which, in some form or other, is meeting with increased recognition. It has always been part of the NOBLE PATH, to borrow from an Eastern source. But it has always been, too, over closely connected with our individual nature; it needs the social stamp more firmly impressed upon it; it needs to be of direct, not of indirect application, to be given, that is, to Humanity in her own right, not because she is the creature of another power. To us, that other power is her creation; and is at once set aside by her when known. But it has not hitherto been so thought; and in the inversion, the necessary inversion, of the true relations, lies the explanation of the failure of the many beautiful religions of the Past.

The true relations once acknowledged, the advent of Humanity accepted, a collective and social personality has taken the place of her individual personal representatives, and the whole character of our service feels the change with the clearness due to the removal of all interference between the worshipper and the being worshipped. He sees his service become one in kind and complete in rationality. We have perhaps taken that service upon us before, we take it now with all the satisfaction of a fuller assent. Its grounds, its limits, its object—all gain in clearness; no division is any longer sensible; our duty to man is all in all. If we freely accept it, and bend ourselves to discharge it, it will naturally react on our convictions and feelings, so that faith and love will gain vigour from action. It may not be so in some cases, such is the peculiar mental constitution which centuries of revolution have transmitted to us; but in most it is probable that it will be so. When it is not, there the religion of duty, a noble form in itself, must take the place of that of Humanity, and in the identity of result we must seek consolation for the discrepancy as to belief or sentiment.

I must leave much unsaid—much but imperfectly said. My aim is always, as you are aware, chiefly suggestion—a stimulus to your own meditation, that silent work which stands first in our estimate, and for that sufficient has been said. The cause we have in hand is worthy of all meditation. The evil is great, the remedy is single, if we press into the innermost heart of the problem. The remedy is in religion. I say not in ours necessarily. Let some other vindicate its claim. We here believe in ours, for we have felt the others fail us. As so believing, let us not be slow to draw out for ourselves its strength, its clearness, its beauty, its majesty; let us seek, that is, its full support, breathe its living breath, stir ourselves by past achievement to future action, justify our faith to man by its visible power over us, and hand over to others the noble heritage we have received, not impaired, but in due measure augmented. So shall we have lived up to the standard of our high calling.

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What Must we do to be Saved? A Lecture

[REPRINTED FROM THE CHICAGO TRIBUNE.]

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MDCCCLXXXI

# What Must we do to be Saved?

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—

Fear is the dungeon of the mind, and superstition is a dagger with which hypocrisy assassinates the soul. Courage is liberty. I am in favor of absolute freedom of thought. In the realm of the mind everyone is a monarch; everyone is robed, sceptred, and crowned—everyone wears the purple of authority. (Applause.) I belong to the republic of intellectual liberty, and only those are good citizens of that republic who depend upon reason and upon persuasion; and only those are traitors who resort to brute force. Now, I beg of you all to forget just for a few moments that you are Methodists, or Baptists, or Catholics, or Presbyterians, and let us for an hour or two remember only that we are men and women. (Applause.) And here allow me to say, man and woman are the highest titles that can be bestowed upon humanity. Man and woman! And let us, if possible, banish all fear from the mind. Don't imagine there is some being in the infinite expanse who is not willing that every man and woman should think for him or herself. (Applause.) Don't imagine that there is any being who would give to his children the holy torch of reason, and then damn them for following where the sacred light may lead. (Applause.) Let us have courage. Priests have invented a crime called blasphemy, and behind that crime hypocrisy has crouched for thousands of years. There is but one blasphemy, and that is injustice. There is but one worship, and that is justice. (Applause.) You need not fear the anger of a God whom you cannot injure. Rather fear to injure your fellow-man. (Applause.) Don't be afraid of the crime that you cannot commit. Rather be afraid of the one that you may commit. There was a Jewish gentleman who went into a restaurant to get his dinner, and the devil of temptation whispered in his ear, "Eat some bacon." (Laughter.) He knew that if there was anything in the universe calculated to excite the wrath of the Infinite Being who made every shining star, it was to see a gentleman eat bacon. (Laughter.) He knew it (laughter), and he knew this Infinite Being was looking (laughter), and that he was the infinite eavesdropper of the universe. (Great laughter.) But his appetite got the better of his conscience, as it often does with us all, and he ate that bacon. (Great laughter.) He knew it was wrong. When he went into that restaurant, the weather was delightful,—the air was as blue as June,—and when he came out, the sky was covered with angry clouds, the lightning leaping from one to the other, and the earth shook beneath the voice of thunder. And he went back into that restaurant with a face as white as milk, and he said to one of the keepers, My God, did you ever hear such a fuss about a little bit of bacon?" (Great laughter.) As long as we harbour such opinions of infinity—as long as we imagine the heavens to be filled with such tyranny—so long the sons of men will be cringing, intellectual cowards. (Applause.) Let us think, and let us honestly express our thought. Do not imagine for a moment that I think the people who disagree with me are bad people. I admit, and I cheerfully admit, that a very large proportion of mankind—a very large majority, a vast number—are reasonably honest. I believe that most Christians believe what they teach—that most ministers are endeavouring to make this world better. I do not pretend to be better than they are. It is an intellectual question. It is a question, first, of intellectual liberty, and after that a question to be settled at the bar of human reason. I do not pretend to be better than they are. Probably I am a good deal worse than many of them. But that isn't the question. The question is, bad as I am, have I a right to think? And I think I have, for two reasons: First, I can't help it (laughter), and secondly, I like it. (Laughter.) And the whole question is right at a point. If I have not the right to express my thought, who has? "Ah," they say, "we'll allow you to think; we'll not burn you." How kind! Why won't you burn me? "Because we think a decent man will allow others to speak and express his thought." Then the reason

## You don't Persecute Me

for my thought is that you believe it would be infamous in yourselves, and yet you worship a God who will, as you declare, punish me forever. (Applause and laughter.)

The next question, then, is, Can I commit a sin against God by thinking? If God did not intend that I should think, why did He give me a thinker? (Laughter and applause.)

Now, then, we have got what they call the Christian system of religion, and thousands of people wonder how I can be wicked enough to attack that system. There are many good things about it; and I shall never attack anything that I believe to be good. (Applause.) I shall never fear to attack anything I honestly believe to be wrong. (Applause.) We have, I say, what they call the Christian religion; and, I find just in proportion that nations have been religious, just in that proportion they have gone back to barbarism. I find that Italy, Spain, and Portugal are the three worst nations in Europe. I find that the nation nearest infidel is the most prosperous—France. And so I say there can be no danger in the exercise of absolute intellectual freedom. I find among ourselves the men who think at least as good as those who don't. (Laughter.) We have, I say, the Christian system, and that system is founded upon what they are pleased to call the New Testament. Who wrote the New Testament? I do not know. Who does know? Nobody. (Laughter.) We have found some fifty-two manuscripts, containing portions of the New Testament. Some of these manuscripts leave out five or six

books,—many of them; others more, others less. No two of these manuscripts agree. Nobody knows who wrote these manuscripts. They are all written in Greek. The Disciples of Christ knew only Hebrew. (Applause.) Nobody ever saw, so far as we know, one of the original Hebrew manuscripts; nobody ever saw anybody who had seen anybody who had heard of anybody that had seen anybody that had ever seen one. (Loud and continued laughter and applause.) No doubt the clergy of your city have told you these facts thousands of times (laughter and applause), and they will be obliged to me for having repeated them once more. (Laughter.) These manuscripts are written in what are called capital Greek letters; they are what are called "uncial copies;" and the New Testament was not divided into chapters and verses even until the year of grace 1551. Recollect it! In the original manuscripts, the Gospels are signed by nobody; the Epistles are addressed to nobody, and they are signed by the same person. (Laughter.) All the addresses, all the pretended earmarks, showing to whom they were written, and by whom they were written, are simply interpolations, and everybody that has studied the subject knows it. It is further admitted that even these manuscripts have not been properly translated; and they have a syndicate now

## Making a New Translation;

And I suppose that I cannot tell whether I really believe the Testament or not until I see that new translation. (Applause and laughter.) You must remember also one other thing. Christ never wrote a solitary word of the New Testament,—not one word. There is an account that He once stooped and wrote something in the sand, but that has not been preserved. (Applause.) He never told anybody to write a word. He never said, "Matthew, remember this;" "Mark, don't forget to put that down" (laughter); "Luke, be sure that in your gospel you have this;" "John, don't forget it." (Laughter.) Not one word. And it has always seemed to me that a being coming from another world with a message of infinite importance to mankind should at least have verified that message by his own signature. (Applause.) "Why was nothing written?" I will tell you. In my judgment, they expected the end of the world in a very few days. (Laughter.) That generation was not to pass away until the heavens should be rolled together as a scroll, and until the earth should melt with fervent heat. That was their belief. They believed that the world was to be destroyed,—that there was to be another coming, and that the saints were then to govern the world. And they even went so far among the Apostles, as we frequently do now before election, as to divide out the offices in advance. (Applause and laughter.) This Testament was not written for hundreds of years after the Apostles were dust. The facts lived in the open mouth of credulity. They were in the waste-baskets of forgetfulness. They depended upon the inaccuracy of legend. And for centuries these doctrines and stories were blown by the inconstant wind; and, finally, when reduced to writing, the same gentleman would write by the side of a passage his idea of it; and the next copyist would put that in as part of the text, and finally, when it was made, and the Church got into trouble and wanted a passage to help it out, one was interpolated to order. So that now it is among the easiest things in the world to pick out at least 100 such interpolations in the New Testament. And I will pick some of them out before I get through. (Laughter.) And let me say here once for all, that for the man Christ I have infinite respect. (Applause.) Let me say once for all that the place where man has died for man is holy ground. (Applause.) Let me say once for all: to that great and serene man I gladly pay—I *gladly* pay the tribute of my admiration and my tears.

## He was a Reformer

in his day. He was an infidel in his time. He was regarded as a blasphemer, and His life was destroyed by hypocrites who have in all ages done what they could to trample freedom out of the human mind. (Applause.) Had I lived at that time I would have been His friend. (Applause.) And should He come again He will not find a better friend than I will be. (Applause.) That is for the man. For the theological creation I have a different feeling. If He was in fact God, He knew there was no such thing as death; He knew that what we call death was but the eternal opening of the golden gates of everlasting joy. And it took no heroism to face a death that was simply eternal life. (Applause.) When a poor boy 16 years of age goes upon the field of battle to keep his nag in heaven, not knowing but that death ends all, not knowing but that when the shadows creep over him the darkness will be eternal, there is heroism. (Applause.) And so for the man who in the darkness said, "My God, why hast Thou forsaken me?"—for that man I have nothing but admiration, respect, and love. (Applause.)

A while ago I made up my mind to find out what it was necessary for me to do in order to be saved, (Laughter.) If I have got a soul, I want it to be saved. (Renewed laughter.) I don't wish to lose anything (laughter) that is of value. For thousands of years the world has been asking the question, "What shall we do to be saved?" Saved from poverty? No. Crime? No. Tyranny? No. But "What shall we do to be saved from the eternal wrath of the God who made us all?" If God made us. He will not destroy us. (Applause.) Infinite wisdom never made a poor investment. (Renewed applause.) And upon all the works of an infinite God a

dividend must finally be declared. (Applause.) The pulpit has cast a shadow even over the cradle. The doctrine of endless punishment has covered the cheeks of this world with tears. I despise it, and I defy it.

I made up my mind, I say, to see what I had to do in order to save my soul according to the Testament, and thereupon I read it. I read the Gospels of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John, and I found that the Church had been deceiving me. I found that the clergy did not understand their own book. I found that they had been building upon passages that had been interpolated. I found that they had been building upon passages that were entirely untrue, and I will tell you why I think so.

## The First of These Gospels

was written by St. Matthew, according to the claim. Of course he never wrote a word of it (laughter), never saw it (more laughter), never heard of it. (Roars.) But for the purpose of this lecture I will admit that he wrote it. (Great laughter.) I will admit that he was with Christ for three years; that he heard much of His conversation during that time; and that he became impregnated with the doctrines, the dogmas, and the ideas of Jesus Christ. Now let us see what Matthew says we must do in order to be saved. And I take it that if this is true, Matthew is as good authority as any minister in the world.

The first thing I find upon the subject of salvation is in the fifth chapter of Matthew, and is embraced in what is commonly known as the "Sermon on the Mount." It is as follows: "Blessed are the poor in spirit, for theirs is the Kingdom of Heaven." Good. "Blessed are the merciful, for they shall obtain mercy." Good. Whether they belong to any church or not; whether they believe the Bible or not. "Blessed are the merciful, for they shall obtain mercy." Good. "Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God. Blessed are the peacemakers, for they shall be called the children of God. Blessed are they which are persecuted for righteousness' sake"—that's me a little (great laughter)—"for theirs is the Kingdom of Heaven." (Applause and laughter.)

And in the same sermon he says: "Think not that I am come to destroy the law or the prophets. I am not come to destroy but to fulfil." And then He makes use of this remarkable language, almost as applicable to-day as it was then: "For I say unto you that except your righteousness shall exceed the righteousness of the Scribes and Pharisees, ye shall in no case enter into the Kingdom of Heaven." Good.

## In The Sixth Chapter

I find the following, and it comes directly after the prayer known as the "Lord's Prayer: "For if ye forgive men their trespasses, your Heavenly Father will also forgive you; but if ye forgive not men their trespasses, neither will your Heavenly Father forgive their trespasses." I accept the conditions. There is an offer. I accept it. "If you will forgive men that trespass against you, God will forgive your trespasses against Him." I accept, and I will never ask any God to treat me better than I treat my fellow-men. (Applause.) There's a square promise. There's a contract. "If you will forgive others, God will forgive you." And it doesn't say that you must believe in the Old Testament, nor be baptised, nor join a church, nor keep Sunday. It simply says, "if you will forgive others, God will forgive you." And it must of necessity be true. No God could afford to damn a forgiving man. (Applause, and a voice, "Forgive Democrats?" at which there was great laughter.) On, certainly. Let me say right here that I know lots of Democrats (laughter), great, broad, whole-souled, clever men, and I love them (applause), and the only bad thing about them is that they vote the Democratic ticket. (Laughter and applause) And I know lots of Republicans so mean and narrow that the only decent think about them is that they vote the Republican ticket. (Great applause and laughter.) Now, let me make myself on that subject perfectly plain. (Laughter.) For instance: I hate Presbyterianism, but I know hundreds of splendid Presbyterians; understand me? I hate Methodism, and yet I know hundreds of splendid Methodists. I dislike a certain set of principles called Democracy, and yet I know thousands of Democrats that I respect and like. (Applause.) I like a certain set of principles—that is, most of them—called Republicanism, and yet I know lots of Republicans who are a disgrace to those principles. (Applause.) I do not war against man. I do not war against persons.

## I War Against Certain Doctrines

that I believe to be wrong (cheers), and I give to every other human being every right that I claim for myself. (Applause.) Of course I did not intend to-day to tell what we must do in the election for the purpose of being saved.

The next thing I find is in the seventh chapter and the second verse: "For with what judgment ye judge, ye shall be judged; and with what measure ye mete it shall be measured to you again." Good. That suits me. (Laughter.) And in the twelfth chapter of Matthew, "For whosoever shall do the will of my Father which is in Heaven, the same is my brother, and sister, and mother;" "For the Son of Man shall come in the glory of His

Father with His angels, and then He shall reward every man according"—To the Church he belongs to? No. To the manner in which he was baptised? No. (Laughter.) According to his creed? No. "Then he shall reward every man according to his works." Good. I subscribe to that doctrine.

In the sixteenth chapter: "And Jesus called a little child unto Him, and set him in the midst, and said. 'Verily I say unto you, Except ye shall be converted and become as little children, ye shall not enter into the Kingdom of Heaven.' I do not wonder that a reformer in his day, that met the Scribes and Pharisees, and hypocrites—I do not wonder that he at last turned to children and said, "Except ye become as little children." I do not wonder: and yet, see what children the children of God have been! What an interesting dimpled darling John Calvin was! (Laughter and applause.) Think of that prattling babe known as Jonathan Edwards! Think of the infants who invented the inquisition—(laughter)—that invented instruments of torture to tear human flesh! They were the ones who had become as little children.

So, I find in the nineteenth chapter: "And behold one came and said unto Him, 'Good Master, what good thing shall I do that I may have eternal life?' And he said unto him, Why callest thou Me good? There is none good but one that is God; but if thou wilt enter into life, keep the commandments." And he said unto Him, "Which?"

Now, there is a pretty fair issue. Here is a child of God asking God what is necessary for him to do to inherit eternal life, and God says to him: "Keep the Commandments," and the child said to the Deity, "Which?" Now, if there ever was an opportunity given to the Almighty to furnish a

## Gentleman With an Inquiring Mind

with the necessary information upon the subject (laughter), there was the opportunity. (Laughter and applause.) He said unto Him, Which? Jesus said: "Thou shalt do no murder; thou shalt not commit adultery; thou shalt not steal; thou shalt not bear false witness; honour thy father and thy mother; and thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself." He did not say to him: "You must believe in me, that I am the only begotten Son of the ever Living God." He did not say: "You must be born again." He did not say: "You must believe the Bible." He did not say: "You must remember the Sabbath day to keep it holy." He simply said: "Thou shalt do no murder; thou shalt not commit adultery; thou shalt not steal; thou shalt not bear false witness; honour thy father and thy mother; thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself." And thereupon the young man—I think he was a little fresh (laughter), and probably mistaken—saith unto Him, "All these things have I kept from my youth up." I don't believe that. (Laughter and applause.)

Now comes in an interpolation. In the old times, when the Church got a little scarce of money, they always put in a passage praising poverty. So they have this young man ask, "What lack I yet? and Jesus said unto him: "If thou wilt be perfect, go and sell that thou hast, and give to the poor, and thou shalt have treasures in Heaven." (Laughter.) The Church has always been willing to swap off treasures in Heaven for cash down. (Roars of laughter and applause.) When the next verse was written the Church must have been dead broke. (Laughter.) "And, again I say unto you, It is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter the Kingdom of God." Did you ever know a wealthy disciple to unload on account of that verse? (Laughter and cheers.)

And then comes another verse, which I believe to be an interpolation: "And every one that hath forsaken houses, and brethren, and sisters, or father, or mother, or wife, or children, or lands, for My name's sake, shall receive an hundredfold, and shall inherit everlasting life." Christ never said it (applause); never. "Whosoever will forsake father or mother!" Why, He said to this man that asked Him, "What shall I do to inherit eternal life?" among other things, "Honour thy father and thy mother;" and we turn over the page, and he says again, "If you will desert your father and mother, you shall have everlasting life." It will not do. "If you will desert your wife, your little children, and your lands,"—the idea of putting a house and lot on an equality with wife and children! Think of that? I do not accept the terms. I will never desert the one I love for the promise of any God. (Loud applause.) It is far more important that we should love our wives than that we should love God, and I will tell you why: You cannot help him; you can help her. (Applause.) You can fill her life with the perfume of perpetual joy. It is far more important that you love your children than that you love Jesus Christ, and why? If He is God, you cannot help Him; but you can plant a little flower of happiness in every footstep of the child, from the cradle until you die in that child's arms. (Loud applause.) Let me tell you to-day that it is far more important to build a house than to erect a church. (Applause.) The holiest temple beneath the stars is a home that love has built. (Applause.) And the most sacred altar in all the wide world is the fireside, around which gather father, mother, and children. (Applause.) There was a time when people believed that infamy. There was a time when they did

## Desert Fathers and Mothers

and wives and children. St. Augustine says to the devotee, "Fly to the desert. Though your wife put her arms about your neck, tear her hands away. She is a temptation of the devil. Though your father and mother throw their bodies athwart your threshold, step over them; though your children pursue with weeping eyes beseeching you to return, listen not, it is a temptation of the Evil One; fly to the desert and save your soul." Think of such a soul being worth saving! (Applause.) While I live I propose to stand by the folks. (Laughter and applause.)

Here, then, is another condition of salvation. I find in the twenty-fifth chapter, "Then shall the King say unto them on His right hand, Come, ye blessed of My Father, inherit the Kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world. For I was an hungered, and ye gave me meat; I was thirsty and ye gave me drink; I was a stranger, and ye took me in; naked, and ye clothed me? I was sick, and ye visited me; I was in prison, and ye came unto me." Good! And I tell you to-night that God will not punish with eternal thirst the man who has put a cup of cold water to the lips of his neighbor (applause); God will not allow to live in the eternal nakedness of pain the man who has clothed others. For instance: Here is a shipwreck, and here is some brave sailor who stands aside to let a woman whom he never saw before take his place in the boat. He stands there, great and serene as the wide sea, and he goes down. Do you tell me there is any God who will push the boat from the shore of eternal life when that man wishes to step in. (Applause.) Do you tell me that God can be unpitying to the pitiful: that He can be unforgiving to the forgiving? I deny it. And from the aspersions of the pulpit I seek to rescue the reputation of the Deity. (Applause.)

Now, I have read you everything in Matthew on the subject of salvation. (Laughter.) That is all there is. Not one word about believing anything. It is the gospel of deed, the gospel of charity, the gospel of self-denial, and if only that gospel had been preached persecution would never have shed one drop of blood. (Applause.) Not one.

Now, according to the testimony, Matthew was well acquainted with Christ. According to the testimony, he had been with Him and His companion for years. If it was necessary to believe anything in order to get to Heaven Matthew should have told us. But he forgot it, or he didn't believe it, or he never heard it. You can take your choice. (Laughter.)

The next is Mark. Now, let us see what he says. For the purpose of this lecture it is sufficient for me to say that Mark agrees substantially with Matthew.—that God will be merciful to the merciful, that He will be kind to the kind, that He will pity the pitying. It is precisely or substantially the same as Matthew until I come to the sixteenth verse of the sixteenth chapter, and then I strike an interpolation put in by hypocrisy, put in by priests who longed to grasp with bloody hands the sceptre of universal authority. (Applause.) Let me read it to you. It is the most infamous passage in the Bible. Christ never said it. No sensible man ever said it. "And He said unto them" (that is unto His disciples), "go ye into all the world and preach the gospel to every creature. He that believeth and is baptised shall be saved; but he that believeth not shall be damned." Now, I propose to prove to you that this is an interpolation. How will I do it? In the first place, not one word is said about belief in Matthew. In the next place, not one word about belief in Mark, until I come to that verse; and where is that said to have been spoken? According to Mark it is a part of the last conversation with Jesus Christ, just before, according to the account,

## **He Ascended Bodily Before Their Eyes.**

If there ever was any important thing happened in this world that is one. If there is any conversation people would be apt to recollect it would be the last conversation with a God, before He rose through the air and seated Himself upon the Throne of the Infinite. We have in this Testament five accounts of the last conversation happening between Jesus Christ and His Apostles. Matthew gives it, and yet Matthew does not state that in that connection He said: "Whosoever believeth and is baptised shall be saved, and whosoever believeth not shall be damned." If He did say these words, they were the most important that ever fell from His lips. Matthew either didn't hear it, or didn't believe it, or forgot it. Then I turn to Luke, and he gives an account of this same last conversation, and not one word does he say upon that subject. Now, it is the most important thing, if Christ said it, that He ever said. Then I turn to John, and he gives an account of the last conversation, but not one solitary word upon the subject of belief or unbelief,—not one solitary word on the subject of damnation. Not one. Then I turn to the first chapter of the Acts, and there I find an account of the last conversation, and in that conversation not one word upon this subject. Now, I say that that demonstrates that the passage in Mark is an interpolation. What other reason have I got? That there is not one particle of sense in it (Laughter.) Why? No man can control his belief. You hear evidence for and against, and the integrity of the soul stands at the scales and tells which side rises and which side falls. (Applause.) You cannot believe as you will. You must believe as you must. And He might as well have said, "Go into all the world and preach the gospel, and whosoever has red hair shall be saved (laughter), and whosoever hath not shall be damned." (Renewed laughter.) Then I have

another reason. I am much obliged to the gentleman who interpolated those passages; I am much obliged to him that he put in some more—two more. Now hear: "And these signs shall follow them that believe." Good! "In my name they shall cast out devils; they shall speak with new tongues; they shall take up serpents; and if they drink any deadly thing it shall not hurt them; they shall lay hands on the sick and they shall recover." Bring on your believer. (Applause and laughter.) Let him cast out a devil. I don't claim a large one. (Laughter.) Just a little one for a cent. (Renewed laughter.) Let him take up serpents. (A voice—"Copperheads.") If he drink any deadly thing it shall not hurt him. Let me mix up a dose for an average believer (laughter), and if it doesn't "hurt" him, I will join a church. (Laughter and applause.) Oh, but they say that those things lasted only through the Apostolic age. Let us see. "Go into all the world and preach the Gospel, and whosoever believes and is baptised shall be saved, and these signs shall follow them that believe." How long? I think at least until they had gone into all the world. (Applause.) Certainly those signs should follow until all the world had been visited. If that declaration was in the mouth of Christ, He then knew that one-half of the world was unknown, and that He would be dead 1492 years before

## His Disciples Would Know

that there was another world. (Applause.) And yet He said, "Go into all the world and preach the Gospel." And He knew then that it would be 1492 years before anybody went. (Laughter.) Well, if it was worth while to have signs follow believers in the Old World, assuredly it was worth while to have the signs follow the believers in the New World. And the only reason that signs should follow would be to convince the unbeliever; and there are as many unbelievers now as ever. And the signs are as necessary to-day as they ever were. (Applause.) I would like a few myself. (Laughter.) This frightful declaration, "He that believeth and is baptised shall be saved, but he that believeth not shall be damned," has filled this world with agony and crime. Every letter of this passage has been sword and fagot; every word has been dungeon and chain. And that passage made the sword of persecution drip with innocent blood for ten centuries. That passage made the horizon of 1000 years lurid with the fagot's flames. That passage contradicts the Sermon on the Mount. That passage travesties the Lord's Prayer. That passage turns the splendid religion of deed and duty into the cruel, cruel superstition of creed and cruelty. I deny it. It is infamous. Christ never said it.

Now I come to Luke. (Laughter.) And it is sufficient to say that Luke substantially agrees with Matthew and with Mark. But let us first read. I like it. "Be ye therefore merciful as your Father is also merciful." Good! "Judge not, and you shall not be judged; condemn not, and you shall not be condemned; and forgive and you shall be forgiven" Good! "Give and it shall be given unto you" good measure, pressed down, shaken together, and runniug over. Good. I like it. "For with the same measure that ye mete withal, it shall be measured to you again." He agrees substantially with Mark, he agrees substantially with Matthew.

And I come at last to the nineteenth chapter: "And Zaccheus stood, and said unto the Lord, 'Behold, Lord, the half of my goods I give to the poor; and if I have taken anything from any man by false accusation, I restore him fourfold.' And Jesus said unto him, 'This day is salvation come to this house.'" That's good doctrine. He didn't ask Zaccheus what he believed. He didn't ask him, "Do you believe in the Bible? Do you believe in the five points? Have you ever been baptised? (Roars.) Sprinkled? Oh! immersed?" (Great laughter.) "Half of my goods I give to the poor, and if I have taken anything from any man by false accusation, I restore him fourfold," and Christ said "This day is salvation come to this house." Good. (Applause.)

I read also in Luke that Christ, when upon the cross, forgave his murderers; and that is considered the shining gem in the crown of His mercy—that He forgave His murderers; that He forgave those that drove the nails in His hands and in His feet; that planted the spear in His side; the soldier that, in the hour of death offered him in mockery the bitterness to drink.

## He Forgave Them all Freely There,

yet, although He forgave them, He will in the nineteenth century damn to eternal fire an honest man for the expression of his honest thought. (Applause.) That won't do. (Laughter.)

I find, too, in Luke the account of two thieves that were crucified at the same time. The other Gospels speak of them. One says that both railed upon Him. Another says nothing about it. In Luke we are told that one did, but one of the thieves looked and pitied Christ, and Christ said to that thief: "This day shalt thou meet Me in Paradise." Why did He say that? Because the thief pitied Him, and God cannot afford to trample beneath the feet of His infinite wrath the smallest blossom of pity that ever shed its perfume in the human heart. (Applause.) Who was this thief I To what Church did he belong? (Laughter.) I don't know. The fact that he was a thief throws no light upon that question. (Roars.) Who was he? What did he believe? I don't know. Did he believe in the Old Testament and the miracles? I don't know. Did he believe that Christ was God? I don't know. Why,

then, was the promise made to him that he should meet Christ in Paradise? Simply because he pitied innocence suffering upon the cross. God cannot afford to damn any man capable of pitying anybody. (Applause.)

And now we come to John; and that's where the trouble commences. (Laughter.) The other Gospels preach the doctrine that God will be merciful to the merciful, forgiving to the forgiving, kind to the kind, loving to the loving, just to the just, merciful to the good. Now we come to John. And here is another doctrine. And let me say that John wasn't written until centuries after the others. This the Church made up. (Laughter.) "And Jesus answered and said unto him: Verily I say unto you, except a man be born again, he cannot see the kingdom of God." Why didn't He tell Matthew that? Why didn't He tell Luke that? Why didn't He tell Mark that?

## **They Never Heard of it,**

or they forgot it, or they didn't believe it. "Except a man be born of water and of the spirit, he cannot enter into the Kingdom of God." Why? "That which is born of the flesh is flesh, and that which is born of the spirit is spirit. Marvel not that I said unto thee, ye must be born again. That which is born of the flesh is flesh, and that which is born of the spirit is spirit," and He might have added, "That which is born of water is water. (Laughter.) Marvel not that I said unto thee, ye must be born again." (Renewed laughter.) And then the reason is given, and I admit that I didn't understand it myself until I read the reason, and when I read the reason you all will understand it as well as I do. And here it is. "The wind bloweth where it listeth, and thou hearest the sound thereof, but canst not tell whence it cometh and whither it goeth." (Great laughter.)

So I find in the book of John the idea of the real presence. So I find in the book of John that in order to be saved we must eat of the flesh and we must drink of the blood of Jesus Christ, and if that Gospel is true the Catholic Church is right. (Great applause.) But it isn't true. (Laughter.) I cannot believe it, and yet, for all that, it may be true. But I don't believe it. Neither do I believe there is any God in the universe who will damn a man simply for expressing his belief. (Applause.) "Why," they say to me, "suppose all this should turn out to be true, and you should come to the Day of Judgment and find that it was all true, what would you do then?" I would walk up like a man and say, "I was mistaken." (Applause and laughter.) "And suppose God was about to pass judgment upon you, what would you say?" I would say to Him, "Do unto others as you would have others do unto you." (Applause.) Why not? I am told that I must render good for evil. I am told that if smitten upon one cheek I must turn the other. I am told that I must overcome evil with good. I am told that I must love my enemies, and will it do for this God, who tells me, "Love your enemies," to say, "I will damn mine?" (Applause.) No, it will not do. It will not do. (Renewed applause.)

## **Upon the Book of John**

all this doctrine of regeneration, all this doctrine that it is necessary to believe on the Lord Jesus Christ, all the doctrine that salvation depends upon belief,—in the Book of John all these doctrines find their warrant; nowhere else; nowhere else. Read these three Gospels, and then read John, and you will agree with me that the Gospels teach that we must be kind, we must be merciful, we must be forgiving, and thereupon that God will forgive us,—and then say whether or not that doctrine is better than the doctrine that somebody else can be good for you, that somebody else can be bad for you, and that the only way to get to Heaven is to believe something that you don't understand. (Applause.)

Now, upon these Gospels that I have read the Churches rest, and out of those things that I have read they have made their creeds. And the first Church to make a creed, so far as I know, was the Catholic. I take it, that is the first Church that had any power. That is the Church that preserved all these miracles for us. (Laughter.) That is the Church that preserved the manuscripts for us. That is the Church whose word we have to take. That Church is the witness that Protestantism brings to the bar of history to prove miracles that happened 1800 years ago (applause); and, while the witness is there, Protestantism takes the pains to say: "You can't believe one word that the witness says now." That Church is the only one that keeps up a constant communication with Heaven (laughter) through the instrumentality of a large number of decayed Saints. (Roars.) That Church has an agent of God on earth; that Church has a person who stands in the place of Deity; that Church, according to their doctrine, is infallible. That Church has persecuted to the exact extent of her power, and always will. In Spain that Church stands erect, that Church is arrogant; in the United States that Church crawls: but the object in both countries is precisely the same, and that is the destruction of intellectual liberty. (Great applause.) That Church teaches us that we can make God happy by being miserable ourselves. That Church teaches us that a nun is holier in the sight of God than a loving mother with her child in her thrilled and thrilling arms. That Church teaches you that a priest is better than a father. That Church teaches you that celibacy is better than that passion of love that has made everything of beauty in this world. (Applause.) That Church tells the girl of 16 or 18 years of age, with eyes like dew and light—that girl with the red of health in the white of her beautiful

cheeks—it tells that girl: "Put on a veil woven of death and night, kneel upon stone, and you will please God." I tell you that

## No Girl Should be Allowed by Law

to take the veil and renounce the beauties of the world (loud applause) until she is at least 25 years of age. (Laughter.) Wait until she knows what she wants. (Laughter and applause.) I am opposed to allowing these spider-like priests to weave webs to catch the flies of youth. (Applause.) There ought to be a law appointing Commissioners to visit such places at least twice a year and release every person who expresses a desire to be released. (Loud applause.) I do not believe in keeping penitentiaries for God. (Applause.) No doubt they are honest about it; that is not the question. Now, this Church, after a few centuries of thought, made a creed, and that creed is the foundation of orthodox religion. Let me read to you:

"Whosoever will be saved, before all things it is necessary that he hold the Catholic faith. Which faith, except every one do keep entire and inviolate, without doubt he shall perish everlastingly. Now the Catholic faith is this: That we worship one God in Trinity, and Trinity in Unity." Of course you understand how this is done, and there is no need of my explaining it. (Laughter.)

Neither confounding the persons, nor dividing the substance." You see what a predicament that would leave the Deity in,—if you divide the substance. (Laughter.) "For one is the person of the Father, another of the Son, and another of the Holy Ghost. But the godhead of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, is all one, the glory equal, the majesty coeternal. Such as the Father is, such is the Son, and such is the Holy Ghost. The Father is uncreated, the Son is uncreated, and the Holy Ghost is uncreated. The Father incomprehensible, the Son incomprehensible, and the Holy Ghost incomprehensible." And that is the reason we know so much about them. (Laughter.)

*"The Father Eternal, the Son Eternal, and the Holy Ghost Eternal. And yet there are not three Eternals, but one Eternal. As also there are not three uncreated, nor three incomprehensibles, but one uncreated, and one incomprehensible, In like manner the Father is Almighty, the Son Almighty, and the Holy Ghost Almighty. And yet there are not three Almighty's, but one Almighty. (Laughter.) So the Father is God, the Son is God, and the Holy Ghost is God. And yet there are not three Gods, but one God. So, likewise, the Father is Lord, the Son is Lord, and the Holy Ghost is Lord. And yet there are not three Lords, but one Lord. For, as we are compelled by the Christian truth to acknowledge every person by himself to be God and Lord, so we are forbidden by the Catholic religion to say there are three Gods or three Lords. The Father is made of no one, neither created nor begotten. The Son is from the Father alone,—not made, nor created, but begotten. The Holy Ghost is from the Father and the Son, not made nor begotten, but proceeding. So there is one Father, not three Fathers;" why should there be if there is only one Son? (Laughter.) "One Son, not three Sons; one Holy Ghost, not three Holy Ghosts. And in this Trinity there is nothing before or after; nothing greater or less; but the whole three persons are coeternal to one another and coequal. So that in all things the Unity is to be worshipped in Trinity, and the Trinity in Unity. He, therefore, that will be saved must thus think of the Trinity. Furthermore, it is necessary to everlasting salvation that he also believe rightly the incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ. Now the right faith is, that we believe and confess that our Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, is both God and Man. He is God of the substance of his Father, begotten before the world"—that is, a good while before his mother lived (laughter); "and He is a man of the substance of His mother born in the world. Perfect God and perfect Man; of a rational soul and human flesh subsisting; equal to the Father according to His Godhead, and less than the Father according to His manhood; who, although He be both God and Man, yet He is not two but one Christ; one, not by the conversion of the godhead into flesh, but by the taking of the manhood unto God." You see, that is a great deal easier than the other way. (Laughter.) "One altogether, not by confusion of substance, but by unity of person, For as the rational soul and the flesh is one man, so God and man is one Christ, who suffered for our salvation, descended into Hell, rose again the third day from the dead. He ascended into Heaven; He sitteth at the right hand of God the Father Almighty; thence He shall come to judge the living and the dead."*

In order to be saved it is necessary to believe this. What a mercy it is that man can get to Heaven without understanding it! (Laughter and applause.) In order to compel the human intellect to get upon its knees before that infinite absurdity, thousands and millions have suffered all agonies, thousands and millions have perished in dungeon and in fire; and if all the bones of all the victims of the Catholic Church could be gathered together, a monument higher than all the pyramids would arise, in the presence of which the eyes even of priests would be suffused with tears. (Applause.) That Church covered Europe with Cathedrals and dungeons; that Church robbed man of the jewel of the soul; that Church had ignorance upon its knees; that Church went in partnership with the tyranny of the throne and between these two vultures, the altar and the throne, the heart of man was devoured. (Applause.)

Of course I admit—cheerfully admit.—that there are thousands of good Catholics But catholicism is

contrary to human liberty; Catholicism bases salvation upon belief; Catholicism teaches man to trample his reason under foot; and for that reason it is wrong.

Now the next Church that comes along in the order that I wish to speak is the Episcopalian. That was founded by Henry VIII.—now in Heaven. (Laughter.) He cast off Queen Katherine and Catholicism together, and he accepted Episcopalianism and Anne Boleyn at the same time. (Laughter.) That Church if it had a few more ceremonies, would be Catholic; if it had a few less, nothing. (Laughter.) We have an Episcopalian Church in this country, and it has all the imperfections of a poor relation. (Laughter.) It is always boasting of its rich relative. In England, the creed is made by law, the same as we pass statutes here; and when a gentleman dies in England, in order to determine whether he shall be saved or not, it is necessary for the powers of Heaven to read the acts of Parliament. (Laughter.) It becomes a question of law; and sometimes a man is damned on a very nice point—(laughter)—lost on demurrer! (Laughter and applause.) A few years ago a gentleman by the name of Seabury—Samuel Seabury—was sent over to England to get some apostolical succession. We hadn't a drop in the house. (Laughter.) It was necessary for the Bishops of the English Church to put their hands upon his head. They refused; there was no act of Parliament justifying it. He had then to go to the Scotch Bishops, and, had the Scotch Bishops refused, we never would have had any apostolic succession in the New World. God would have been driven out of half the world, and the true Church never could have been founded. But the Scotch Bishops put their hands on his head; and now we have an unbroken succession of heads and hands, from St. Paul to the last Bishop. (Laughter.) In this country the Episcopal Church has done some good; and I want to thank that Church for having on the average less religion than the others (laughter); on the average you have done more good to mankind. (Laughter and applause.) You preserved some of the humanities, you did not hate music; you did not absolutely despise painting; and you did not abhor architecture. You finally admitted that it was no worse to keep time with your feet than with your hands; and some went so far as to say that people could play cards, and that God would overlook it all, or look the other way. (Laughter.) For all these things, accept my thanks. When I was a boy, the other churches looked upon dancing as the mysterious sin against the Holy Ghost; and they used to teach that when four boys got together in a hay-mow playing seven-up, that the eternal God stood whetting

## **The Sword of His Eternal Wrath,**

waiting to strike them down to the lowest hell. (Laughter and applause.) So that Church has done some good.

After a while, in England, a couple of gentlemen by the name of Wesley and Whitfield said, "If everybody is going to Hell, somebody ought to mention it." (Laughter.) The Episcopal clergy said: "Keep still, don't tear your gown." (Laughter.) Wesley and Whitfield said: "This frightful truth ought to be proclaimed from the housetop on every opportunity, and from the highway on every occasion." They were good, honest men; they believed their doctrine, and they said: "If there is a Hell, and there is a Niagara of souls pouring over the eternal precipice of ignorance, somebody ought to say something." They were right, somebody ought if such a thing is true. Wesley was a believer in the Bible. He believed in the actual presence of the Almighty. God used to do miracles for him. (Laughter.) He used to put off a rain several days to give his meeting a chance. He used to cure his horse of lameness. He used to cure Mr. Wesley's headaches. Mr. Wesley also believed in the actual existence of the Devil. He believed that Devils had possession of people. He talked to the Devil when he was in folks, and the Devil told him that he was going to leave, and that he was going into another person, and that he would be there at a certain time (laughter); and Wesley went to that other person, and there the Devil was prompt to the minute. (Laughter and applause.) He regarded every conversion as an absolute warfare between God and the Devil for the possession of that man's soul. Honest, no doubt, Mr. Wesley did not believe in human liberty; honest, no doubt, he was opposed to the liberty of the colonies,—Honestly so. Mr. Wesley preached a sermon entitled, "The Cause and Cure of Earthquakes" (laughter), in which he took the ground that earthquakes were caused by sin, and the only way to stop them was to believe in the Lord Jesus Christ. (Great laughter.) No doubt an honest man. Wesley and Whitfield fell out on the question of predestination. Wesley insisted that God invited everybody to the feast. Whitfield said He didn't invite those whom He knew wouldn't come. (Laughter.) Wesley said he did. Whitfield said, Well, he didn't put plates for them, anyway. (Great laughter.) Wesley said he did, so that when they were in Hell he could show them that there was a seat left for them. And that Church that they founded is still active. Probably no Church in the world has done as much preaching for as little money as the Methodist. (Great laughter.) Whitfield believed in slavery, and advocated the slave trade. And it was of Whitfield that Whittier made the two lines:—

*He bade the slaveships speed from coast to coast,  
Fanned by the wings of the Holy Ghost.*

We had a meeting of the Methodists, and I find by their statistics that they believe that they have converted 130,000 folks in a year. And in order to do this they have 26,000 preachers, 226,000 Sunday-school scholars, and about \$100,000,000 invested in church property. I find, in looking over the history of the world, that there are forty or fifty million people born a year, and if they are saved at the rate of 130,000 a year,

## **About How Long Will it Take**

for that doctrine to save this world? (Laughter.) Good, honest people; they are mistaken. In old times they were very simple. Their churches used to be like barns. They used to have them divided—the men on this side, the women on that—a little fortress. They have advanced since then, and they now find as a fact demonstrated by experience that a man sitting by the woman he loves can thank God as heartily as though sitting between two men that he has never been introduced to. (Applause and laughter.) There is another thing the Methodists ought to remember, and that is that the Episcopalians were the greatest enemies they ever had. And they should remember that the Free-thinkers have always treated them kindly and well. There is one thing about the Methodist Church in the North that I like, but I find that it is not Methodism that does it. I find that the Methodist Church in the South is as much opposed to liberty as the Methodist Church North is in favour of liberty. So it is not Methodism that is in favour of liberty or slavery. They vary a little in their creed from the rest. They don't believe that God does every thing. They believe that He does His part, and that you must do the rest, and that getting to Heaven is a partnership business.

The next Church, the Presbyterian, in my judgment, is the worst of all (laughter and applause), so far as creed is concerned. This Church was founded by John Calvin, a murderer. (Sensation.) John Calvin, having power in Geneva, inaugurated human torture. Voltaire abolished torture in France. (Applause.) The man who abolished torture, if the Christian religion is true, God is now torturing in Hell; and the man who inaugurated torture, he is now a glorified angel in Heaven. (Laughter.) It won't do. (Renewed laughter.) John Knox started this doctrine in Scotland; and this is the peculiarity about Presbyterianism: It grows best where the soil is poorest. (Laughter.) I read the other day an account of a meeting between John Knox and John Calvin. Imagine a dialogue between a pestilence and a famine. (Convulsive laughter.) Imagine the conversation between a block and the axe. As I read their conversation it seemed to me as though John Knox and John Calvin were made for each other, and that they fitted one another like the upper and lower jaws of a wild beast. They believed happiness was a crime. They looked upon laughter as blasphemy. And they did all they could to destroy every human feeling, and to fill the mind with the infinite gloom of predestination and eternal damnation (Applause.) They taught the doctrine that God had a right to damn us because He made us. That is just the reason He has not a right to damn us. There is some dust—unconscious dust. What right has God to change that unconscious dust into a human being, when He knows that human being will live—when He knows that human being will suffer eternal agony? Why not leave Him in the unconscious dust? (Applause.) What right has an infinite God to add to the sum of human agony? Suppose I knew that I could change that piece of furniture (pointing to a chair) into a living, happy, sentient human being, and I knew that being would suffer untold agony for ever. If I did it I would be a fiend. I would leave that being in unconscious dust. And yet we are told that we must believe such doctrine or we are to be eternally damned. It won't do. Why, in 1839 there was a division in this church. They had a lawsuit to see which was the Church of God. (Laughter.) And they tried it before a judge and jury, and the jury decided that the New School

## **Was The Church of God.**

Then they got a new trial, and the next jury decided that the Old School was the Church of God, and that settled it. (Great laughter.) And that Church teaches that infinite innocence was sacrificed for me. I don't want it. I don't wish to go to Heaven unless I can settle by the books, and go there because I have a right to go there. I have said, and I say again, I don't wish to be a charity angel. (Laughter.) I have no ambition to become a winged pauper of the sky. (Roars.)

The other day a young gentleman—a Presbyterian, who had just been converted—came to convert me. (Shouts of laughter.) He gave me a tract, and told me that he was perfectly happy. Humph! (Laughter.) Said I, "Do you think a great many people are going to hell?" "O yes." "And you are perfectly happy?" "Well, he didn't know as he was—quite." (Laughter.) "Wouldn't you be happier if they were all going to Heaven?" "O yes."

"Well, then you are not perfectly happy?" "No, he didn't think he was." (Laughter.) Said I, "When you go to Heaven you will be perfectly happy?" "Oh, my! yes." "Now, when we are only going to hell you are not quite happy, but when we are in hell and you in Heaven then you will be perfectly happy. You won't be as decent when you get to be an angel as you are now, will you?" (Laughter.) Well, he said, that wasn't exactly it. (More laughter.) "Well," said I, "suppose your mother was in hell, would you be happy in Heaven then?" "Well," he says, "I suppose God would know the best place for mother." (Shouts on shouts of laughter.) And I thought to myself then if I was a woman I would like to have five or six boys like that. (Great laughter.) It will not do; Heaven is where those we love and those who love us are (applause), and I wish to go to no world unless I can be accompanied by those who have loved me here. (Applause.) Talk about the consolation of this infamous doctrine,—the consolation of a doctrine that makes a father say, "I can be happy, with my daughter in hell;" that makes a mother say, "I can be happy, with my generous, brave boy in hell;" that makes a boy say, "I can enjoy the glory of Heaven, with the woman who bore me, the woman who would have died for me, in eternal agony." (Great applause.) And they call that "tidings of great joy." (Great applause and laughter.)

I have no time to speak of the Baptists (laughter), that Jeremy Taylor said were as much to be rooted out as anything that was the greatest pest and nuisance on earth (laughter); nor of the Quakers, the best of all, and abused by all. I cannot forget that George Fox, in the year of grace 1640, was put in the pillory, whipped from town to town, scarred, put in a dungeon, beaten, trampled upon, and what for? Simply because he preached the doctrine, "Thou shalt not resist evil with evil. Thou shalt love thine enemies." Think of what the Church must have been in that day. To scar the flesh of that loving man; just think of it! I say I have no time to speak of all these sects, and of the varieties of Presbyterians, and of the Cambellites (laughter),—the people who think you must dive in order to get up. (Great laughter.) There are hundreds and hundreds of these sects all founded upon this creed that I read, differing simply in degree. "Ah," but they say to me, "you are fighting something that is dead. Nobody believes this now."

## The Preachers Don't Believe

what they preach in the pulpit. The people in the pews don't believe what they hear preached." "Oh," they say to me, "you are fighting something that is dead—that is all form. We don't believe a solitary creed. We signed it, and swore that we believed it, but we don't, and none of us do." (Laughter.) "And all the ministers," they say, "in private admit that they don't believe in it—not quite." I don't know whether it is so or not; I take it that they believe what they preach. I take it that when they meet and solemnly agree to a creed, I take it that they are honest, and believe in that creed. The Evangelical Alliance, composed of all the orthodox denominations in the world, met only a few years ago, and here is their creed: "The Divine inspiration, authority, and sufficiency of the Holy Scriptures; the right and duty of private judgment in the interpretation of the Holy Scriptures." But if you interpret wrong, you are damned. They believe in the unity of the Godhead, and the trinity of the persons therein. They believe in the utter depravity of human nature; and there can be no more infamous doctrine than that. They look upon a little child as a lump of depravity; I look upon it as a bud of humanity—(applause)—that will, under proper circumstances, blossom into rich and glorious life. (Applause.) Total depravity of human nature! Here is a woman whose husband has been lost at sea, and the news comes that he has been drowned by the ever-hungry waves. She waits, and something in her heart tells her he is alive. She waits, and years afterwards, as she looks down towards the little gate, she sees him; he has been given back by the sea, and she rushes to his arms, covering his face with kisses and with tears. If that infamous doctrine is true, every tear is a crime and every kiss a blasphemy. It will not do. (Applause.) According to that doctrine, if a man steals, and repents, and takes back the property, the repentance and the taking back of the property are two other crimes, if he is totally depraved. It is an infamy. What else do they believe? The justification of the sinner by faith alone; not any works, just faith—believing something that you do not understand. Of course, God cannot afford to reward a man for believing anything that is reasonable; publicans and sinners believe what is reasonable; God rewards you only for believing something that is unreasonable. If you believe something that you know is not so, you are a saint. (Laughter.) But what else? They believe in the eternal blessedness of the righteous and in the eternal punishment of the wicked. Tidings of great joy! They are so good that they will

## Not Associate With Universalists;

they will not associate with Unitarians: they will not associate with Scientists; they will only associate with those that believe that God so loved the world that He made up His mind to damn the most of us. (Laughter and applause.)

But then they say to me, "What do you propose? You have torn down our hope, what do you propose to

give in the place of it?" I have not torn it down; I have only endeavored to trample out the ignorant and cruel fires of Hell. I do not tear away the passage, "God will be merciful to the merciful." I do not destroy the promise, "If you will forgive others, God will forgive you." (Applause.) I would not for anything blot out the faintest star that shines in the horizon of human despair, nor in the horizon of human hope; but I will do what I can to get that infinite shadow out of the heart of man. (Loud applause.) "What do you propose in place of this?" Well in the first place, I propose good fellowship—good friends all round. No matter what we believe, shake hands, and say, "Let it go; that is your opinion, this is mine; let us be friends." Science makes friends; religion, superstition, makes enemies. They say, belief is important; I say, no I actions are important; judge by deeds, not by creeds. Good fellowship! We have had too many of these solemn people. Whenever I see an exceedingly solemn man, I know he is an exceedingly stupid man. (Laughter.) No man of any humor ever founded a religion—never. Humor sees both sides; while reason is the holy light, humor carries the lantern; and a man with a keen sense of humor is preserved from the solemn stupidities of superstition. I like a man that has got good feeling for everybody. Good fellowship! One man said to another, "Will you take a glass of wine!" "I don't drink." "Will you smoke a cigar?" "I don't smoke." "Maybe you will chew something?" "I don't chew." "Let us eat some hay?" (Laughter.) "I don't eat hay." "Well, then, good bye—you are no company for either man or beast." (Laughter and applause.)

I believe in the gospel of cheerfulness; the gospel of good nature; in the gospel of good health. Let us pay some attention to our bodies; take care of our bodies, and our souls will take care of themselves. Good health! I believe the time will come when the public thought will be so great and grand that it will be looked upon as infamous to perpetuate disease. I believe the time will come when men will not fill the future with consumption and with insanity. I believe the time will come when with studying ourselves and understanding the laws of health, we will say we are under obligations to put the flags of health in the cheeks of our children. (Applause.) Even if I got to heaven, and had a harp, I would hate to look back upon my children and see them diseased, deformed, crazed, all suffering the penalty of crimes that I had committed. (Loud applause.) I, then, believe in

## **The Gospel of Good Health,**

and I believe in the gospel of good living. You cannot make any God happy by fasting. (Laughter.) Let us have good food, and let us have it well cooked; it is a thousand times better to know how to cook it, than it is to understand any theology in the world. (Loud applause.)

I believe in the gospel of good clothes. I believe in the gospel of good houses; in the gospel of water and soap. (Laughter.) I believe in the gospel of intelligence; in the gospel of education. The school-house is my cathedral; the universe is my Bible. (Loud applause.) I believe in the gospel of justice,—that we must reap what we sow. I do not believe in forgiveness. If I rob Mr. Smith, and God forgives me, how does that help Smith? (Laughter.) If I by slander cover some poor girl with the leprosy of some imputed crime, and she withers away like a blighted flower, and afterwards I get forgiveness, how does that help her? If there is another world, we have got to settle; no bankrupt court there. (Laughter and applause.) Pay down. Among the ancient Jews if you committed a crime you had to kill a sheep; now they say, "Charge it. (Laughter.) Put it on the slate." (Renewed laughter.) It won't do. For every crime you commit you must answer to yourself and to the one you injure. And if you have ever clothed another with unhappiness as with a garment of pain, you will never be quite as happy as though you hadn't done that thing. (Applause.) No forgiveness; eternal, inexorable, everlasting justice—that is what I believe in. And if it goes hard with me, I will stand it. (Laughter.) And I will stick to my logic, and I will bear it like a man. (Applause.) And I believe, too, in the gospel of liberty,—of giving to others what we claim. And I believe there is room everywhere for thought, and the more liberty you give away the more you will have. In liberty extravagance is economy. Let us be just, let us be generous to each other. I believe in the gospel of intelligence. That is the only lever capable of raising mankind. Intelligence must be the saviour of the world. (Applause.) Humanity is the grand religion. And no God can put a man into hell in another world who has made a little heaven in this. (Applause.) God cannot make miserable a man who has made somebody else happy. God cannot hate anybody who is capable of loving his neighbour. So I believe in this great gospel of generosity. "Ah," but they say, "it won't do. You must believe." I say no. My gospel of health will prolong life; my gospel of intelligence, my gospel of loving, my gospel of good-fellowship will cover the world with happy homes. My doctrine will put carpets upon your floors, pictures upon your walls. My doctrine will put books upon your shelves, ideas in your mind. My doctrine will relieve the world of the abnormal monsters born of the ignorance of superstition. My doctrine will give us health, wealth, and happiness. That is what I want. That is what I believe in. (Applause.) Give us intelligence, and in a little while a man will find that he cannot steal without robbing himself; he will find that he cannot murder without assassinating his own joy. He will find that

## **Every Crime is a Mistake.**

He will find that only that man carries a cross who does wrong, and for the man who does right the cross changes into wings on his shoulders and bears him upwards for ever. He will find that intelligent self-love embraces within its mighty arms all the human race. (Applause.) Ah, but they say to me, you take away immortality. I do not. If we are immortal, it is a fact in nature. We are not indebted to priests for it, nor to Bibles for it, and it cannot be destroyed by unbelief. As long as we love we will hope to live, and when one dies we will say we hope to meet again. (Applause.) And whether we do or not, it will not be the work of theology. It will be a fact in nature. I would not, for my life, destroy one star of human hope; but I want it so, that when a poor woman rocks the cradle and sings a lullaby to the dimpled darling, she will not be compelled to believe that ninety-nine chances in a hundred she is making kindling-wood for hell. (Laughter and applause.)

One world at a time. That is my doctrine. (Applause.) It is said in this Testament, "Sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof." And I say, sufficient unto the world is the evil thereof. And suppose, after all, that death does end all. Next to eternal joy, next to being for ever with those we love and those who have loved us, next to that is to be wrapped in the dreamless drapery of eternal peace. (Applause.) Next to eternal life is eternal death. (Applause.) Upon the shadowy shore of death the

## Sea of Trouble Casts no Wave.

Eyes that have been curtained by the everlasting dark will never know again the touch of tears. Lips that have been touched by the eternal silence will never utter another word of grief. Hearts of dust do not break. The dead do not weep. And I had rather think of those I have loved, and those I have lost, as having returned to earth, as having become a part of the elemental wealth of the world. I would rather think of them as unconscious dust. I would rather think of them as gargling in the stream, floating in the cloud, bursting into light upon the shores of worlds. I would rather think of them thus than to have even a suspicion that their souls had been clutched by an orthodox God. (Great applause.) But for me I will leave the dead where nature leaves them, and whatever flower of hope springs up in my heart I will cherish. But I cannot believe that there is any being in this universe who has created a soul for eternal pain, and I would rather that every God would destroy himself, I would rather that we all should go back to the eternal chaos, to the black and starless night, than that just one soul should suffer eternal agony. (Great applause.) I have made up my mind that if there is a God He will be merciful to the merciful. Upon that rock I stand. (Applause.) That He will forgive the forgiving; upon that rock I stand. That every man should be true to himself, and that there is no world, no star, in which honesty is a crime; and upon that rock I stand. An honest man, a good, kind, sweet woman, or a happy child, has nothing to fear, neither in this world nor in the world to come; and upon that rock I stand. (Loud applause.)

## Hereafter.

MY FRIENDS: I tell you to-night, as I have probably told many of you dozens of times, that the orthodox doctrine of eternal punishment in the hereafter is an infamous one! I have no respect for the man who preaches it, or pretends to you he believes it. Neither have I any respect for the man who will pollute the imagination of innocent childhood with that infamous lie! And I have no respect for the man who will deliberately add to the sorrows of this world with this terrible dogma: no respect for the man who endeavors to put that infinite cloud and shadow over the heart of humanity. I will be frank with you and say, I hate the doctrine; I despise it; I defy it; I loathe it—and what man of sense does not? [Applause.] The idea of a Hell was born of revenge and brutality on the one side, and arrant cowardice on the other. In my judgment the American people are too brave, too generous, too magnanimous, too humane to believe in that outrageous doctrine of eternal damnation. [Applause.]

For a great many years the learned intellects of Christendom have been examining into the religions of other countries and other ages, in the world—the religions of the myriads who have passed away. They examined into the religions of Egypt, the religion of Greece, that of Rome and the Scandinavian countries. In the presence of the ruins of those religions, the learned man of Christendom insisted that those religions were baseless, false and fraudulent, But they have all passed away.

Now, while this examination was being made, the Christianity of our day applauded, and when the learned men got through with the religions of other countries, they turned their attention to our religion, and by the same methods, by the same mode of reasoning and the same arrangements that they used with the old religions they were overturning the religion of our day. How is that? Because every religion in this world is the work of man. Every book that was ever written was written by man. Man existed before books. If otherwise, we might reasonably admit that there was such a thing as a sacred Bible. [Applause.]

I wish to call your attention to another thing. Man never had an original idea, and he never will have one,

except it be supplied to him by his surroundings. Nature gave man every idea that he ever had in the world; and nature will continue to give man his ideas so long as he exists. No man can conceive of anything, the hint of which he had not received from the surroundings. And there is nothing on this earth, coming from any other sphere whatever.

As I have before said, man has produced every religion in the world. Why is this? Because each generation sends forth the knowledge and belief of the people at the time it was made, and in no book is there any knowledge formed, except just at the time it was written. Barbarians have produced barbarian religions, and always will produce them. They have produced, and always will produce, ideas and belief in harmony with their surroundings, and all the religions of the past were produced by barbarians. We are making religions every day; that is to say, we are constantly changing them, adopting them to our purposes, and the religion of to-day is not the religion of a few months or a year ago. Well, what changes these religions? Science does it, education does it; the growing heart of man does it. Some men have nothing else to do but produce religions; science is constantly changing them. If we are cursed with such barbarian religions to-day—for our religions are really barbarous—what will they be an hundred or a thousand years hence? [Applause.]

But friends, we are making inroads upon orthodoxy that orthodox Christians are painfully aware of, and what think you will be left of their fearful doctrines fifty or a hundred years from to-night? What will become of their endless Hell—their doctrine of the future anguish of the soul; their doctrine of the eternal burning and never-ending gnashing of teeth. Man will discard the idea of such a future—because there is now a growing belief in the justice of a Supreme Being. [Applause.]

Do you not know that every religion in the world has declared every other religion a fraud? Yes, we all know it. That is the time all religions tell the truth—each of the other. [Laughter.]

Now, do you want to know why this is? Suppose Mr. Johnson should tell Mr. Jones that he saw a corpse rise from the grave, and that when he first saw it, it was covered with loathsome worms, and that while he was looking at it, it suddenly was re-clothed in healthy, beautiful flesh. And then, suppose Jones should say to Johnson, "Well, now, I saw that same thing myself. I was in a graveyard once, and I saw a dead man rise and walk away as if nothing had ever happened him!" Johnson opens wide his eyes and says to Jones, "Jones, you are a confounded liar?" And Jones says to Johnson, "You are an unmitigated liar!" "No, I'm not; you lie yourself!" "No! I say *you* lie!" Each knew the other lied, because each man knew he lied himself. Thus when a man says, "I was upon Mount Sinai for the benefit of my health, and there I met God, who said to me, 'Stand aside, you, and let me drown these people,'" and the other man says to him; "I was upon a mountain, and there I met the Supreme Brahma." And Moses steps in and says, "That is not true!" and contends that the other man never did see Brahma, and the other man swears that Moses never saw God; and each man first utters a deliberate falsehood, and immediately after speaks truth.

Therefore, each religion has charged every other religion with having been an unmitigated fraud. Still, if any man had ever seen a miracle himself, he would be prepared to believe that another man had seen the same or a similar thing. Whenever a man claims to have been cognizant of, or to have seen a miracle, he either utters a falsehood, or he is an idiot. Truth relies upon the unerring course of the laws of nature, and upon reason. [Applause.]

Observe, we have a religion—that is, many people have. I make no pretensions to having a religion myself—possibly you do not. I believe in living for this beautiful world—in living for the present, to-day; living for this very hour, and while I do live to make everybody happy that I can. I can not afford to squander my short life—and what little talent I am blessed with—in studying up and projecting schemes to avoid that seething lake of fire and brimstone. Let the future take care of itself, and when I am required to pass over "on the other side," I am ready and willing to stand my chances with you howling Christians.

We have in this country a religion which men have preached for about eighteen hundred years, and men have grown wicked just in proportion as their belief in that religion has grown strong; and just in proportion as they have ceased to believe in it, men have become just, humane and charitable. And if they believed in it to-night as they believed it for instance at the time of the immaculate Puritan fathers, I would not be permitted to talk here in the city of New York. It is from the coldness and infidelity of the churches that I get my right to preach; and I thank them for it, and I say it to their credit. [Laughter.]

As I have said, we have a religion. What is it? In the first place, they say this vast universe was created by a God. I don't know, and you don't know, whether it was or not. Also, if it had not been for the first sin of Adam, they say there would never have been any Devil, in this world, and if there had been no Devil, there would have been no sin, and if no sin, no death. As for myself I am glad there is death in the world, for that gives me a chance. [Laughter.] Somebody has to die to give me room, and when my turn comes I am willing to let some one else take my place. But if there is a Being who gave me this life, I thank him from the bottom of my heart—because this life has been a joy and a pleasure to me. Further, because of this first sin of Adam they say, all men are consigned to eternal perdition! But, in order to save man from that frightful Hell of the hereafter,

Christ came to this world and took upon himself flesh, and in order that we might know the road to eternal salvation, He gave us a book called the Bible, and wherever that Bible has been read men have immediately commenced throttling each other: and wherever that Bible has been circulated they have invented inquisitions and instruments of torture, and commenced hating each other with all their hearts. Then we are told that this Bible is the foundation of civilization but I say it is the foundation of Hell and damnation! and we never shall get rid of that dogma until we get rid of the idea that the book is inspired. Now, what does the Bible teach? I am not going to ask this preacher or that preacher what the Bible teaches; but the question is, "Ought a man be sent to an eternal Hell for not believing this Bible to be the work of a merciful God?" A very few people read it now; perhaps they should read it, and perhaps not; if I wanted to believe it, I should never read a word of it—never look upon its pages, I would let it lie on its shelf until it rotted! Still, perhaps, we ought to read it in order to see what is read in schools that our children might become charitable and good; to be read to our children that they may get ideas of mercy, charity, humanity and justice! Oh, yes! Now read:

"I will make mine arrows drunk with blood and my sword shall devour flesh." Deut. xxxii. 42.

Very good for a merciful God! (Laughter.)

"That thy foot may be dipped in the blood of thine enemies, and the tongue of the dogs in the same."

Psalms Ixviii. 24.

Merciful Being! I will quote several more choice bits from this inspired book, although I have several times made use of them.

But the Lord thy God shall deliver them unto thee, and shall destroy them with a mighty destruction, until they be destroyed.

And he shall deliver their kings into thine hand, and thou shalt destroy their name from under heaven; there shall no man be able to stand before thee, until thou have destroyed them. Deut. vii. 23, 24.

And Joshua did unto them as the Lord bade him; he houghed their horses, and burnt their chariots with fire.

And Joshua at that time turned back, and took Hazor, and smote the king thereof with the sword; for Hazor beforetime was the head of all those kingdoms.

And all the cities of those kings, and all the kings of them, did Joshua take, and smote them with the edge of the sword, and he utterly destroyed them, as Moses the servant of the Lord commanded.

And they smote all the souls that were therein with the edge of the sword, utterly destroying them; there was not any left to breathe; and he burnt Hazor with fire.

(Do not forget that these things were done by the command of God!)

But as for the cities that stood still in their strength, Israel burnt none of them, save Hazor only: that did Joshua burn.

And all the spoil of these cities, and the cattle, the children of Israel took for a prey unto themselves; but every man they smote with the edge of the sword, until they had destroyed them, neither left they any to breathe. (As the moral and just God had commanded them!)

As the Lord commanded Moses his servant, so did Moses command Joshua, and so did Joshua; he left nothing undone of all that the Lord had commanded Joshua.

So Joshua took all that land, the hills, and all the south country, and all the land of Goshen, and the valley, and the plain and mountain of Israel, and the valley of the same;

Even from the mount Halak, that goeth up to Seir, even unto Baalgad in the valley of Lebanon under Mount Hermon; and all their kings he took, and smote them, and slew them.

Joshua made war a long time on all those kings.

There was not a city that made peace with the children of Israel, save the Hivites, the inhabitants of Gibeon; all the others they took in battle.

So Joshua took the whole land, according to all that the Lords said unto Moses; and Joshua gave it for an inheritance unto Israel according to their divisions by their tribes. And the land rested from war. Josh. xi. 7—23.

When thou comest nigh unto a city to fight against it, then proclaim peace unto it.

And it shall be, if it makes 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 thine 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 those nations.

But of the cities of those people, which the Lord thy God doth give thee for an inheritance, thou shalt save

alive nothing that breatheth.

But thou shalt utterly destroy them.

(Neither the old man nor the woman, nor the beautiful maiden, nor the sweet dimpled babe, smiling upon the lap of its mother.)

And he said unto them, Thus saith the Lord God of Israel (a merciful God, indeed), pat every man his sword by his side, and go in and out from gate to gate throughout the camp, and slay every man his brother, and every man his neighbor. Ex. xxxii. 29.

(Now recollect, these instructions were given to an army of invasion, and the people who were slayed were guilty of the crime of fighting for their homes and their firesides. Oh, most merciful God! The Old Testament is full of curses, vengeance, jealousy and hatred, and of barbarity and brutality. Now, do you, for one moment believe that these words were written by the most merciful God? Don't pluck from the heart the sweet flower of piety and crush it by superstition. Do not believe that God ever ordered the murder of innocent woman and helpless babes. Do not let this superstition turn your heart into stone. When anything is said to have been written by the most merciful God, and the thing is not merciful, then I deny it, and say He never wrote it. I will live by the standard of reason, and if thinking in accordance with reason takes me to perdition, then I will go to Hell with my reason, rather than to Heaven without it.) (Applause.)

Now, does this Bible teach political freedom; or does it teach political tyranny? Does it teach a man to resist oppression? Does it teach a man to tear from the throne of tyranny the crowned thing and robber called king? Let us see. (Reading.)

Let every soul be subject to the higher powers: For there is no power but God; the powers that be are ordained of God. Rom. xiii. 1.

Therefore ye must needs be subject not only for wrath, but also for conscience sake. Rom. viii. 4,4.

(I deny this wretched doctrine. Where-ever the sword of rebellion is drawn to protect the rights of man, I am a rebel. Where-ever the sword of rebellion is drawn to give men liberty, to clothe him in all his just rights, I am on the side of that rebellion.)

Does the Bible give woman her rights? Does it treat woman as she ought to be treated, or is it barbarian? We will see:

Let woman learn in silence with all subjection. 1 Tim. ii. 11.

(If a woman should know anything let her ask her husband. Imagine the ignorance of a lady who had only that source of information.) (Laughter.)

But suffer not a woman to teach, nor to usurp authority over the man, but to be in silence. For Adam was first formed, then Eve. (Indeed!)

And Adam was not deceived, but the woman being deceived, was in the transgression. (Poor woman!)

Here is something from the Old Testament:

When thou goest forth to war against thine enemies, and the Lord thy God hath delivered them into thine hands, and thou hast taken them captives:

And seest among the captives a beautiful woman, and hast a desire unto her, that thou wouldest have her to be thy wife;

Then thou shalt bring her home to thine house; and she shall shave her head, and pare her nails. Deut. xxi. 10,11,12.

(That is self-defence, I suppose!) (Cheers and laughter.)

I need not go further in Bible quotations to show that woman, through out the Old Testament, is a degraded being, having no rights which her husband, father, brother, or uncle is bound to respect. Still, that is Bible doctrine, and that Bible is the word of a just and omniscient God!

Does the Bible teach the existence of devils? Of course it does. Yes, it teaches not only the existence of a good Being, but a bad Being. This good being has to have a home; that home was Heaven. This bad being had to have a home; and that home was Hell. This Hell is supposed to be nearer to earth than I would care to have it, and to be peopled with spirits, spook, hobgoblins, and all the fiery shapes with which the imagination of ignorance and fear could people that horrible place; and the Bible teaches the existence of Hell and this big Devil and all these little devils. The Bible teaches the doctrine of witchcraft and makes us believe that there are sorcerers and witches, and that the dead could be raised by the power of sorcery. Does any body believe it now?

Then said Saul unto his servants, seek me a woman that hath a familiar spirit, that I may go to her and inquire of her. And his servants said to him, Behold, there is a woman that hath a familiar spirit at En-dor.

In another place he declares that witchcraft is an abomination unto the Lord. He wanted no rivals in this business. (Laughter.) Now what does the New Testament teach:

Then was Jesus led up of the Spirit into the wilderness to be tempted of the devil.

And when he had fasted forty days and forty nights, he was afterwards a-hungered.

And when the tempter came to him, he said if thou be the Son of God, command these stones to 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 on 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; and in *their* hands they shall bear thee up, lest at any time thou dash thy foot against a stone.

Jesus said unto him, it is written again, Thou shalt not tempt the Lord, thy God, and him only shalt thou serve. Matt. iv. 1—7.

(Is it possible that anyone can believe that the Devil absolutely took God Almighty, and put him on the pinnacle of the temple, and endeavored to persuade him to jump down? (Great Laughter.) Is it possible?

Again, the Devil taketh him into an exceedingly high mountain, and showeth him all the kingdoms of the world, and the glory of them:

And saith unto him, All these things will I give thee, if thou wilt fall down and worship me.

Then saith Jesus unto him, Get thee hence Satan, for it is written, Thou shalt worship of the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve. Matt. iv. 8—11.

(Now the Devil must have known at that time that He was God, and God at that time must have known that the other was the Devil, who had the impudence to promise God a world in which he did not have a tax-title to an inch of land.)

Now, what of the Sabbath—the Lord's day? Why is Sunday the Lord's day? If Sunday alone is the Lord's day, whose day is Monday, Tuesday, Friday, etc.? No matter! The idea, that God hates to hear your child laugh on Sunday! On Sunday let your children play games. I see a poor man who hasn't money enough to go to a big church, and he has too much independence to go to the little church which the big church built for charity. If he enters the portals of the big church with poor clothes on, the usher approaches him with a severe face, and "Brother, I'm sorry, but only high-toned servants of the living God congregate in this church for worship, and with that seedy suit on we cannot admit you. All the seats in this magnificent edifice are owned and represented by 'solid' men, by men of capital. We pay our pastor \$5,000 a year—the annual eight weeks' vacation thrown in—and it would not be profitable for us to seriously encourage the attendance of so significant a person as yourself. Just around the corner there is a little cheap church with a little cheap pastor, where they can dish up Hell to you in an approved style—in a style more suitable to your needs and condition; and the dish will not be as expensive to you, either!"

If I had chanced to be that poor man in the seedy garments, and had been endeavoring to serve my Maker for even half a century, I would have felt like muttering audibly, "You *go* to Hell!" (I am not much given to profanity, but when I am sorely aggravated and vexed in spirit, I declare to you that it is *such* a relief to me, *such* a solace to my troubled soul, and gives me such heavenly peace, to now and then allow a word or phrase to escape my lips which can serve me no other earthly purpose, seemingly, than, to render emphatic my otherwise mildly expressed ideas. I make this confession parenthetically, and in a whisper, my friends, trusting you will not allow it to go further.) (Laughter.)

Now, I tell you, if you don't want to go to church, go to the woods and take your wife and children and a lunch with you, and sit down upon the old log and let the children gather mowers, and hear the leaves whispering poems like memories of long ago! and when the sun is about going down kissing the summits of the distant hills, go home with your hearts filled with throbs of joy and gladness, and the cheeks of your little ones covered with the rose-blushes of health! There is more recreation and solid enjoyment in that than putting on your Sunday clothes and going to a canal-boat with a steeple on top *of* it (laughter,) and listening to a man tell you that your chances are about ninety-nine thousand nine hundred and ninety-nine to one for being eternally damned! (Applause.)

Oh, strike with a hand of fire, weird musician, thy harp, strung with Apollo's golden hair! Fill the vast cathedral aisles with symphonies sweet and dim, deft toucher of the organ's keys! Blow, bugler, blow, until thy silver notes do touch and kiss the moonlit waves, and charm the lovers wandering mid the vine-clad hills!—but know your sweetest strains are but discord compared with childhood's happy laugh—the laugh that fills the eyes with light and every heart with joy! O, rippling river of laughter; thou art the blessed boundary line between beasts and men, and every wayward wave of thine doth drown some fretful fiend of care. O, Laughter, rose-lipped daughter, of joy, there are dimples enough in thy cheek to catch and hold and glorify all the tears of grief! (Applause.)

Do not make slaves of your children on Sunday. Don't place them in long, straight rows, like fence-posts, and "Sh! children, it's Sunday!" when by chance you hear a sound or a rustle. Let winsome Johnny have light and air, and let him grow beautiful; let him laugh until his little sides ache, if he feels like it; let him pinch the cat's tail until the house is in an uproar with his yells—let him do anything that will make him happy. When I

was a little boy, children went to bed when they were not sleepy, and always got up when they were. (Laughter.) I would like to see that changed—we may see it some day. It is Really easier to wake a child with a kiss than a blow; with kind words than with harshness and a curse. Another thing: let the children eat what they want to. Let them commence at whichever end of the dinner they please. They know what they want much better than you do. Nature knows perfectly well what she is about, and if you go a-fooling with her you may get into trouble.

The crime charged to me is this: I insist that the Bible is *not* the word of God; that we should not whip our children; that we should treat our wives as loving equals; that God never upheld polygamy and slavery; deny that God ever commanded his generals to slaughter innocent babes and tear and rip open women with the sword of war; that God ever turned Lot's wife into a pillar of salt (although she might have deserved that fate); that God ever made a woman out of a man's, or any *other* animal's rib! And I emphatically deny that God ever signed or sealed a commission appointing His Satanic Majesty Governor-General over an extensive territory popularly styled Hell, with absolute power to torture, burn, maim, boil, or roast at his pleasure the victims of his master's displeasure! I deny these things, and for that I am assailed by the clergy throughout the United States!

Now, you have read the Bible romance of the fall of Adam? Yes, well, you know that early or quite all the religions of this world account for the existence of evil by such a story as that! Adam, the miserable coward, informed God that his wife was at the bottom of the whole business!—"She did tempt me and I did eat!" And then commenced a row, and we have been engaged in it ever since! You know what happened to Adam and his wife for *her* transgressions?

In another account of what is said to have been the same transaction,—which is the most sensible account of the two,—the Supreme Brahma concluded, as he had a little leisure, that he would make a world, and a man and woman. He made the world, the man, and then the woman, and then placed the pair on the Island of Ceylon. (Bear in mind, there were no ribs used in this affair.) This island is said to be the most beautiful that the mind of man can conceive of. Such birds you never saw, such songs you never heard! and then such flowers, such verdure! The branches of the trees were so arranged that when the wind swept through, there floated out from every tree melodious strains of music from a thousand Æolian harps! After Brahma put them there he said: "Let them have a period of courtship, for it is my desire and will that true love should forever precede marriage." And, with the nightingale singing, and the stars twinkling, and the little brooklets murmuring, and the flowers blooming, and the gentle breezes fanning their brows, they courted, and loved! What a sweet courtship. Then Brahma married the happy pair, and remarked, "Remain here; you can be happy on this island, and it is my will that you never leave it." Well, after a little while the man became uneasy, and said to the wife of his youth, "I believe I'll look about a little." He determined to seek greener pastures. He proceeded to the western extremity of the island, and discovered a little narrow neck of land connecting the island with the mainland, and the Devil—they had a genuine Devil in those days, too, it seems, who is always "playing the devil" with us—produced a mirage, and over on the mainland were such hills and vales, such dells and dales, such lofty mountains crowned with perpetual snow, such cataracts clad in bows of glory, that he rushed breathlessly back to his wife, exclaiming: "O, Heva! the country over there is a thousand times better and lovelier than this; let us migrate." She, woman-like, said; "Adami, we must let well enough alone; we have all we want; let us stay here." But he said, "No we will go." She followed him, and when they came to this narrow neck of land, he took her up on his back and carried her across. But at the instant he put her down there was a crash, and looking back they discovered that this narrow neck of land had fallen into the sea. The mirage had disappeared, and there was nothing but rocks and sand, and the Supreme Brahma cursed them to the lowest Hell. Then Adami spoke—and it showed him to be every inch a man—"Curse me, but curse not her; it was not her fault, it was mine." (*Our Adam* says, with a pusillanimous whine, "Curse her, for it is *her* fault: *she* tempted me and I did eat!" The world to-day, is teeming with just such cowards!) Then said Brahma, "I will save her but not thee." And then spoke his wife, out of the fullness of the love of a heart in which there was enough to make all her daughters rich in holy affection, "If thou will not spare him, spare neither me; I do not wish to live without him. I love him." Then magnanimously said the Supreme Brahma, "I will spare you both, and watch over you and your children forever!"

Now, tell me truly, which is the grander story? The book containing this story is full of good things; and yet Christians style as heathens those who have adopted this book as their guide, and spend thousands of dollars annually in sending missionaries to convert them!

It has been too often conceded that because the New Testament contains, in many passages, a lofty and terse expression of love as the highest duty of man, Christianity must have a tendency to ennoble his nature. But Christianity is like sweetened whisky and water—it perverts and destroys that which it should nourish and strengthen.

Christianity makes an often fatal attack on a man's morality—if he happens to be blessed with any—by substituting for the sentiments of love and duty to our neighbors, a sense of obligation of blind obedience to an

infinite, mysterious, revengful, tyrannical God! The real principle of Christian morality, is servile obedience to a dangerous Power! Dispute the assertions of even your priest as to the requirements, dislikes, desires and wishes of the Almighty, and you might as well count yourself as lost, sulphurically lost! If you are one of God's chosen, or in other words, have been *saved* and are even so fortunate as to attain to the glories and joys of the gold-paved streets of Heaven, you are expected, in looking over the bannisters of Heaven down into the abyss of eternal torture, to view with complacency the agonized features of your mother, sister, brother, or infant child—who are writhing in Hell—and laugh at their calamity! You are not allowed to carry them a drop of water to cool their parched tongue! And if you are a Christian, you at this moment believe you will enjoy the situation!

If a man in a quarrel cuts down his neighbor in his sins, the poor, miserable victim goes directly to Hell! The murderer may reasonably count on a lease of a few weeks of life, interviews his pastor, confesses the crime, repents, accepts the grace of God, is forgiven and then smoothly and gently slides from the rudely-constructed scaffold into a haven of joy and bliss, there to sing the praises of the Lamb of God forever and forever! Poor, un-fortunate victim! Happy murderer!

Ah, what a beautiful religion humanitarianism and charity

The following incident, showing Col. Ingersoll's disposition to practice what he preaches whenever the opportunity presents itself, we have never before seen in print: One day, during the winter of 1863—1864, when the Colonel had a law office in Peoria, Ill.,—and before the close of the late war of the rebellion,—a thinly clad, middle-aged, lady like woman came into his office and asked assistance. "My good woman, why do you ask it?" "Sir, my husband is a private in—the Illinois Infantry, and stationed somewhere in Virginia, but I do not know where, as I have not heard from him for nearly six months, although previous to that time I seldom failed to Whenever he received his pay the most of his money came to me. To tell the truth, I do not know weather he is living or not. But one thing I *do* know, I do not hear from him. I have seven children to provide for, but no money in the house, not a particle of bread in the pantry, nor a lump of coal in the shed, and the landlord threatening to turn us out in the storm. This city pledged itself to give wives a certain sum monthly, providing they consented to their husband's responding to the call of the President for troops, but, disregarding these pledges, we and our children are left to starve and freeze, and to be turned out of our houses and homes by relentless landlords. Now, sir, can you tell me what I am to do?"

The Colonel drew his bandanna from his great coat pocket, lightly touched his eyes with it, and rising to his feet, pointed to a chair—"Sit down, madam, and remain till I return. I will be back in a few minutes." He picked up a half-sheet of legal cap and a pencil, and departed for the law and other offices of the building—of which there were several. Entering the first that appeared, "Good morning, Smith; give me half-a-dollar." "Well, now, Colonel, you are—" "Nevermind if I am—I must have it!" It came. He entered another. "Hallo! Colonel, what's new?" "I want a half-dollar from you!" "What for?" "None of your business—I want the money." He got it. He entered a third. "Hallo, Bob! Anything new on eter—" "Never mind, I must have fifty cents!" "But—," "But nothing, Jones, give me what I ask for." Of course he got what he asked for. So on through fourteen offices from which he obtained 87. Returning to his office he put his hand in his own pocket and drew forth a \$5 note, and handed the woman \$12. "Take this, my good woman, and make it go as far as you can. If you obtain relief from no other source, call on me again and I will do the best I can for you!" And still Col. Ingersoll is styled by hell-fire advocates an

might become! To do so sweet a thing as to love our neighbors as we love ourselves; to strive to attain to as perfect a spirit as a Golden Rule would bring us into; to make virtue lovely by living it, grandly and nobly and patiently the outgrowth of a brotherhood not possible in this world where men are living away from themselves, and trampling justice and mercy and forgiveness under their feet!

Speaking of the different religions, of course they are represented by the different churches; and the best hold of the churches, and the surest way of giving totally depraved humanity a realizing sense of their utterly lost condition, is to talk and preach Hell with all its horrible, terrible concomitants. True, the different priests advocate the doctrine, only when they see that it is the only thing to rouse the sinners from their lethargy; for where is the man who will not accept the grace of Jesus Christ, if he becomes convinced that his fate in the hereafter is a terrible one! The ministers of the different churches know full well which side of their bread is buttered. A priest is a divinity among his people—a man around whom his parishioners throw a glamour of sanctity, and one who can do no wrong; albeit, his chief and growing characteristics are tyranny, arrogance, self-conceit, deception, bigotry and superstition! Tyrannical do I call them? Most assuredly! Suppose, for example, the Methodist, or Presbyterian Church had the power to decide whether you, or I, or any other man should be a Methodist or Presbyterian, and we should decline to follow the path pointed out to us, or either of us, what, I solemnly and candidly ask you, would be the result? Our fate would be more terrible than their endless Hell! The inquisition would rise again in all its horrid blackness! Instruments of torture would darken our vision on every hand! But, thank god—not that terrible Being whom Christians would have us believe is

our Maker—this is a free land—free as the air we breathe; and you and I can partake of the orthodox waters of life freely, or we can let them alone! (Applause.) When I see a man perched upon a pedestal called a "pulpit"—a man who is one of nature's noblemen, physically, and fully able to breast the storms of life and to earn his honest living—telling his hearers with perspiring brow and all his might and main of the terrors of the seething cauldron of Hell, and how certain it is that they are to be unceremoniously dumped there-in to be boiled through all ages, yet *never boiled done*,—unless they seek salvation—when I look upon that man, honor bright, I pity him, for I cannot help comparing him with the lower animals! Then there is a reaction, and I feel an utter contempt for him, for he may know, when he declares Hell is a reality, that he is lying!

Now, of the deception of the preacher. At the close of a sermon in an orthodox Church, Rev. Mr. Solemnface steps to the side of Bro. Everbright, who has been absent from the *brimstone-mill* for several months:

"Ah! Bro. Everbright, how do you do? Long time since I have seen you; how's your family? Quite well? Is it well with thee today? Rather lukewarm, eh? Sorry, sorry. Well, Brother, can you do something for us financially, to-day? Our people think my pulpit is to common, and say a couple hundred will put it in good shape, and make it desirable and attractive. Can you contribute a few dollars to the fund?"

"Well, Bro. Solemnface, for four long months I have been ill; not a day's work have I done, and not a cent of money have I that I can call my own. Next year I trust I can do something for the cause of my maker."

"Ah-h-h-h-h!" and Bro. S.'s face assumes a terrible look of disappointment, and he is gone in a moment

Out upon such a fraud! The pulpits of the land are full of them. The world is cursed with them! They possess all the elements of *vagabonds*, dead beats, falcifiers, beggars, vultures, hyenas and jackals!

In past ages the cross had been in partnership with the sword, and the religion of Christ was established by murderers, tyrants and hypocrites. I want you to know that the Church carried the black flag, and I ask you what must have been the civilizing influence of such a religion? (Applause.)

Of all the selfish things in this world, it is one man wanting to get to Heaven, caring nothing what becomes of the rest of mankind, saying: "If I can only get my little soul in!" [Laughter.] I have always noticed that the people who have the smallest souls make the most fuss about getting them saved. [Laughter.] Here is what we are taught by the church of to-day. We are taught by them that fathers and mothers can all be happy in Heaven, no matter who may be in Hell; that the husband could be happy there, with the wife that would have died for him at any moment of his life, in Hell. But they say, "Hell, we don't believe in fire. [Laughter.] I don't think you understand me. What we believe in now is remorse." What will you have remorse for? For the mean things you have done when you are in Hell? Will you have any remorse for the mean things you have done when you are in Heaven? Or will you be so good then that you won't care how you used to be? I tell you to-day, that no matter in what Heaven you may be, no matter in what star you are spending the summer, if you meet another man whom you have wronged, you will drop a little behind in the tune. [Laughter.] And, no matter in what part of Hell you are, you will meet some one who has suffered, whose nakedness you have clothed, and the fire will cool up a little. [Laughter.] According to this Christian doctrine, you won't care how mean you were once. Is it a compliment to an infinite God to say that every being He ever made deserved to be damned the minute He had got him done, and that He will damn everybody He has not had a chance to make over? Is it possible that somebody else can be good for me, and that this doctrine of the atonement is the only anchor for the human soul?

We sit by the fireside and see the flames and sparks fly up the chimney—everybody happy, and the cold wind and sleet beating on the window, and out on the doorstep a mother with her child on her breast freezing. How happy it makes a fireside, that beautiful contrast. And we say God is good, and there we sit, and she sits and moans, not one night, but forever. Or we are sitting at the table with our wives and children, everybody eating, happy and delighted, and Famine comes and pushes out its shriveled palms, and, with hungry eyes, implores us for a crust; how that would increase the appetite! And that is the Christian Heaven. Don't you see that these infamous doctrines petrify the human heart? And I would have every one who hears me swear that he will never contribute another dollar to build another church, in which is taught such infamous lies. [Applause.] Let every man try to make every day a joy, and God cannot afford to damn such a man. Consequently humanity is the only real religion. [Loud applause.]

*"Man's inhumanity to man  
Makes countless millions mourn."*

## "Christian Religion." A Lecture.

By Whung Chung Foo, A Buddhist Missionary.

WONG CHUNG FOO—A worshiper of Buddha and a disciple of Confucius, a kind of bronze Bob Ingersoll, gave his views upon religious topics at Hershey Music-Hall last evening to an audience of several hundred people. Mr. Foo was dressed in the picturesque garb of his country. He spoke the English language fluently with almost faultless accent,—with graceful action and gesture. Foo is not a mandarin, or a prince of the blood; nor is he a peasant or a copper-colored tramp. He is a young man of about 30 years of age, evidently belonging to the middle class, and possessing considerable sprightliness of intellect. He managed to keep his audience interested in what he was saying, but now and then gave the representatives of modern civilization and Christianity, as the Europeans are fond of styling themselves, some severe thrusts from a heathen's standpoint.

He began his remarks by apologizing for his imperfect pronunciation of some of the long words of the English language, and accounting for this by informing them that he was not an American-born citizen. Having set himself right as to his nativity, he stated that he had a great many things to say, which announcement his subsequent remarks fully demonstrated. He was here to set the American people right concerning many ideas relative to his people, their politics, and their social life. For the past half century American Christians had been in the habit of sending missionaries to the heathen nations of the world and especially to China. Of all these heathen nations none had been so grateful as the Chinese. The kindness of the Americans had struck them so forcibly that they did not know what to do to reciprocate. Finally they concluded that the compliment should be returned by sending Chinese missionaries to this country. (Laughter.) He did not come himself as a missionary, out he came as a forerunner of missionaries. He did not come here to advocate his truths from the same standpoint as Christian missionaries did in China. He did not come to ask his hearers to believe on Buddha. He did not ask them to forswear their own religion. Christians had been making a mistake for the last 1,900 years. They were beginning to understand that they are not infallible.

They were beginning to discover their mistakes within the last few years. There was great confusion of believe among Christian believers. Some believed baptism by immersion; some in baptism by sprinkling, some believed in neither of these, and some believed in predestination, or the doctrine that before one was born he was destined to be consigned to eternal damnation. The doctrine of Confucius was a deep philosophy. Christians had a deep pride among themselves. They claimed that they were the most favored of all God's children. They were the only ones that God had guided on, whilst these other nations were the small fry of the world. (Laughter.) Could such a great, loving Cheated—omniscient and omnipresent,—this magnanimous Creator have such a small idea about the principles of humanity that he would create more than one half of his creatures to be neglected. He said of the 999 Chinese who heard of the Christian religion from the lips of the missionaries, not more than two or three became sincere believers. All the balance must be condemned to Hell, because they had heard the word and did not believe. So the missionaries who came to China only endangered the salvation of the souls of their hearers. Buddha was known to the world thousands of years before Christ, and Confucius 550 years before Christ. He scouted the idea that the Chinese worshiped idols. They were no more addicted to the worship of idols than Christians. He had seen Protestants break bread and drink wine. They called the bread the body of Christ, and the wine His blood. He had seen strong men moved to tears while participating in this ceremony. He had been into a Catholic church and had seen the worshipers there kneel before the image of the Virgin and bow before the picture of Christ. This was not more than the heathens did. The Chinese liked symbols as well as the Christians to bring to their minds the realization of holy things. The Bible was a big book, but the Christians would have a murderer who had never read it, believe it five minutes before his death, and then go to Heaven. For his part, he thought if such a man were to go to Heaven, he would kill a man there yet. (Laughter.) He believed there were many things in the writings of Confucius which were equal to the teachings of the Bible.

Confucius did not teach his followers that it was necessary to hold up an arm in one position until it withered, or to hold their bodies in one position until they became crooked, or to fill their shoes with nails, the sharp points upwards, or to do any of those things which caused them suffering and misery. The heathen were taught to make themselves happy. The Christians had an idea that Heaven was a place paved with gold. He wondered what a converted Indian would do when he got there. He would find no trees, no flowing streams, no beautiful islands, and no herds of buffalo to shoot. He would be miserable. It was a fact worthy of notice that the Christian's Heaven must be lined with gold. (Sarcastic smiles.) Mr. Foo then gave an account of the Creation according to Confucius. The man and woman were made out of the same piece of clay. It was not necessary to take away the rib of a man to make a woman. She was made of the same material as the man. They were placed on a beautiful island, where the sun shone all day, and where the songs of birds charmed the ears, and beautiful plants and flowers enchanted the sight. They were told by Bramah that they must not leave the island, but that when the population of it became too dense that he would prepare a place for them. They saw other islands across the waters more beautiful than their own And they longed to visit those shores. The man wanted to go there, but the woman reminded her husband of the command. "We will come back pretty quick,"

said he, and he took his wife and went across. Then they saw an island beyond still more beautiful than the one they were on. "Let us go there," said the man. "Remember the command," said the woman. But, said the man, "We will come back pretty quick." So they went over to the farther island, when they saw beyond an island still more magnificent than anything they had yet seen. "Let us go there," said the man. "Remember the command," said the woman. "We will come back pretty quick," said the man. Suddenly they saw a beautiful bridge rise over the water leading to the lovely land. The man dragged the woman over, and when they had got on the other side the magic bridge disappeared behind them, and they looked up and found themselves in a desolate place.

Then they began to mourn, not that they had broken the command, but that they had come over the bridge and could not get back. Mr. Foo asked here, as compared with the Bible account of the fall of Adam, which was the most creditable to the woman? He thought Christians prayed too much. If he had a child which was always running to him and falling down upon its knees and asking for something it did not need, he would feel like throwing it into the lake. He wouldn't be troubled with such a nuisance. (Laughter.) The speaker then read further extracts from Confucius' teachings. One precept was that a man should not mourn because he had not a high place and honors, but rather that he had not the ability which would command high place and honors. He wanted to know how that rule would work in Christian America among the politicians. (More laughter.)

Mr. Foo made himself very merry with other little foibles, and absurdities, and vanities of Christian people, all of which was listened to with much interest and good nature by the audience. After closing his remarks he brought out two Chinese musicians, who played a kind of Mongolian "Old Dan Tucker" on a queer-shaped instrument, something like a banjo. This concluded the exercises of the evening, and the crowd walked out of the hall evidently well pleased with what they had heard and seen.

## A Letter from Prof. J. Syphers.

Of Carbery, Ill.,

To the Editor of the American Christian Review, A Campbellite Paper, Published at Cincinnati, O.

MR. EDITOR: Brother A. Ellmore, of Frankfort, Ind., says that the "American Christian Review has open columns, and that it has never shut out a man, no matter how able nor to what extent he may differ from its editors."

Well, we shall see if this herald of the gospel as taught by Alexander Campbell, is correct or not in this declaration, which he made in the Review of May 20th.

This Brother Ellmore seems to be a strange fellow. From his writings you would be led to think that he himself was the very personification of all "authority." Now, authority is a big thing. Kings and popes and bishops and all priests and preachers generally, think so. They all love authority. It is so much easier to shut a man's mouth by *authority*, than to do it by reason, argument and demonstration.

This Indiana brother, I have no doubt, is called by many of his brethren a sharp critic and a profound *common-tater*, especially on the functions and duties of a preacher and "pastor!" This term "pastor" originally referred directly and alone to grass, cows and sheep. It always did sound *sheepish* to me, and always will. This brother seems to be greatly worried about organs and choirs in the church. Those churches which are so unfortunate as to have such furniture about their meeting houses, had better keep a sharp look-out or old "authority" might accidentally call around when they are not looking for him, and by the authority of his lord proceed to *smash things!* There is no telling what these men, who are so completely panoplied with *authority*, might do. Authority to do what? I would ask. To disorganize churches that have them, I suppose. I think the poet must have had this brother in his eye when he said: "Man, proud man, clothed with a little brief *authority*, cuts such fantastic tricks before high heaven, as make the angels weep." In glancing my prophetic eye forward and casting the future horoscope of this organ hating brother, I fancy that I see him traveling through the country with a hand-organ and a monkey, grinding out sweet melodies for the lord, his monkey skipping around with his little cap in hand, begging for money to be used by his master in building churches, which are neither to be graced or *disgraced with organs or choirs.*

But one of the greatest troubles with this Frankfort divine is, he knows too much about God. He is so well acquainted with the mind of the Lord, that he can tell at a glance what will please him, or what would be an abomination in his sight, He certainly must have lived with the Lord and boarded in his family for many, many years! I would infer that at some past time he must have belonged to the Lord's cabinet and acted as his secretary of state and chairman of his privy council, and special committee on music! And so it all comes to this at last, that the church which my old friend Alexander Campbell, ordained and established on earth, and which he thought he had so firmly cemented together in the holy bonds of truth, is about to be bursted wide open by the noise made by a little piece of musical furniture containing only 6 stops and its notes running through but 5

octaves. It was taught us from Bethany, the great fountain head, of modern theological knowledge, that the very *gates of hell* itself, could not prevail against a church if it was only founded upon a certain rock!

But then music hath charms, you know, to sooth a savage, split a rock and bust a camp-bellite church into atoms! Now, my theory is, that the man who has no music in his soul, either vocal or instrumental, is only fit for stratagem, for treason and for spoils. Such men should ne'er be trusted.

But the brother informs us that he has a book an antiquated book—a book of destiny that *fixes things!* He even affirms that the destiny of a world hinges upon said book. I would call his veneration for this old book *sublime idolatry!* A kind of fetish worship. I believe that it is barely *possible*, if not absolutely certain, that this brother has been an idolator all his life, and never been sharp enough until now to discover the fact. Will the scales never drop from his eyes in this life? scales that are larger in circumference, more of them and much thicker through, than were those scales which fell from the eyes of Paul when he received that knock-down argument of his! Some say that his horse, or ass was knocked blind at the same time? but others affirm that he was blind when he was taken from the livery stable in Damascus!

The brother laughs at the idea of an infallible pope; but has strong faith in his infallible book, although it was written by fallible men and has been copied and translated by fallible men ever since, and to-day it contains many interpolations, and over 40 thousand errors! A sublime specimen of infalibility, indeed! I can go into almost any house and tell to what sect the inmates belong, by looking through their bible. If you find many little dog-ears turned down at the corners of the leaves and many dirty spots and greasy linger marks on certain pages that speak much about water, he is a campbellite or a baptist. If you find the book of Daniel and the book of Revelations all dirty and smeared over, the people are adventists and look kind of wild out of their eyes! They are fast becoming monomaniacs and will do well if they escape the crimes of the baptist in Tennessee, who shot his neighbor dead in his tracks at broad noon-day, declaring that *he had to do it*, for without the shedding of blood there was no remission of sins! Or like Mr. Freeman, of Pocasset, Massachusetts, who became infatuated with the story of old Abraham, that old lunatic, who felt so very certain that the lord commanded him to oiler up his beautiful little blue-eyed, curly-headed, sweet and innocent child Isaac, as a sacrifice upon an altar, *for god's sake!* They say the old fool did let the child escape, on a pinch; but was sorry for it ever afterwards. The history of this disgusting piece of heathenistic lunacy and outrageous wickedness, written up and published in that *took*, which my Indiana friend worships so devoutly, has caused hundreds of religious enthusiasts to slay their innocent children. The latest case of murder outright and deliberate, resulting from that Abrahamic story which is read and commented upon so beautifully every Sunday to our children in the Sunday school, is that of this man Freeman, who cut the throat of his own child, an innocent little girl of five years and let her warm blood stream out upon a rude altar of his own making, *a la* Abraham, believing that god would resurrect her and restore her to life in three days! Altars and priests and resurrections and 3d days, have been the curse of the world in all ages, even down to the present.

But our brother claims that the church to which he belongs *is not a sect!* This is the hugest joke of all! Alexander Campbell founded the campbellite sect, just as John Wesley founded the methodist church, or as John Calvin founded the presbyterian. Not one particle of difference. How half a dozen organizations, all holding precisely the same elements and history, can be five of them sects and the other one *not a sect*, is something I leave for an Indiana logician to explain! Every sect thinks its founder was the greatest man alive. The pet expression of the campbellite is something like this: "He is the greatest theologian of modern times; the greatest man that has lived since the days of the apostles," &c., &c. Now, I believe that he was a great man, such as the race only produces once in many long ages.

I used to read the bible through his eyes and study the logic under his direction for many years. But I have got hold of something deeper and sweeter than campbellism now, so I *cannot* use that particular form of sectarianism any more. He emphasized very strongly upon a few material ordinances, and of them he made his hobby. His very special pet ordinance was *water baptism*. It seemed to me that he had taken out a patent, and completely monopolized all the water privileges of the new testament. His sacred hydraulic and hydropathic salvation exceed any theological invention of either ancient or modern times! He could take the dry est passage of scripture in the whole bible and before he had given it half a dozen theological *twists*, you could see the water begin to come! By his eloquence he could cheat the people into the belief that by faith, repentance and baptism, they could have their sins remitted! Bogus receipts for the forgiveness of sin have been the bane of the whole world in all ages. Catholic priests barter them to their dupes for so much cash in hand! But, still I love the name of Alexander Campbell and I rever his memory, but well knowing at the same time that it takes great men to make great mistakes. But I discover that my old campbellite brethren are getting over their debating mania. The time was when a campbellite preacher thought his mission a complete failure unless he had at least half a dozen debates in soak at any given time, and not less than one maturing every three months! This debating mania was transmitted to them from their leader, Alexander Campbell, he being the greatest debater the world has ever produced up to date.

And there is poor Sweeney, anxious to be considered a campbellite debating star of the first magnitude, and has shone so brilliantly upon the campbellistic map of the theological heavens! He has talked his voice all away He is now reduced to mere whispers, as a punishment for the physiological law. All *real* sins are of a physiological character. Theological sins are purely *imaginary*. Sins which are really sins indeed, are violations of some physical law. They may be outgrown, but never can be forgiven.

I take notice that the old stereotyped subjects of the debate, such as the mode, the subject and the design of bapbism, have become stale and obsolete. They have lost their grip and their interest upon the public mind. They are all worn out, and no preachers however eloquent, can retain the ear of the public to listen to them any longer. New questions have now come to the surface. Questions more progressive and more in harmony with the spirit of this advanced and still advancing age, such as evolution, materialism, spiritualism and Ingersollism are now receiving the public attention. This age has now progressed so far that mere authority establishes nothing. Men now look to reason, to logic, to demonstration from scientific and natural principles, and what these cannot settle must remain unsettled until we have progressed further. The people have now grown so bold that they demand of these *authority* preachers how they know that their authorities are correct? The mere *ipse dixit* of these old bald heads of ancient days *establishes nothing*. The people now *will* take a peep behind the returning boards!

But many readers of the Review will no doubt ask, who is this man from Illinois who presumes to speak so boldly? Has a modern Daniel come to judgment? *We answer yes!* He is a Daniel, too, who does not wait to be thrown into the lion's den, but leaps right down in among the animals, (preachers,) defying the best of them! So let the Lye-ings whet their teeth and come on, yea, all ye compbellites, hittites, jebesites and *blatherskites*, in Indiana, for behold a David from Illinois single-handed and alone will fight the whole host!

Behold we stand  
With pen in hand.  
Already for to take command,  
Thrice ready for the fray!

JOHN SYPHERS.

## [unclear: The Lecture].

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 those 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.

## What the Deities Demanded.

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 lost 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 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 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 those gods, or failed to feed and clothe his priests (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.

## How the Gods Differed.

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 all 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 worshipped, 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 servo 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, thou shalt 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.

## The Penalty for Refusing to Worship.

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 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 recognized in our Constitution as the source of all authority and justice!

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 happy 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.

## What our Ancestors Did.

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. The devils have always been on our side.

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 remorselessly devoured by the shore-less 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 for ever.

According to this, a man was given liberty upon condition that he would desert for ever 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?

## **What the Gods Threatened.**

All these gods threatened to torment for ever 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.

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 earning, 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 civilisation.

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 modelled them after himself, and has given them hands, heads, 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, and 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 Egyptians represented their deities with black skins and curly hair. The Mongolians 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 love looked as though a member of the Roman Senate. The gods of Egypt had the patient face and 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 trimmers, 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 classes, generally treated as the real gods, and these images and idols they addressed prayers and offered sacrifice.

## **Why Most Gods are Males.**

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 rulers 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 goods that man has made.

## **Worn-Out Beliefs.**

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 mean time 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 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 a 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.

## **What Christians Claim.**

The Christians now claim that Jesus was God. If He was God, of course the devil knew that fact, and yet, according to the account, the devil took the omnipotent God and placed him upon a pinnacle of the temple, and endeavored to induce Him to dash Himself against the earth. Failing 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?

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 religion 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.

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 moon stop in the heavens in order that General Joshua may 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 enamored 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.

## People Beginning to Reason.

The people are beginning to think, to reason and to investigate. The first doubt was the womb and cradle of progress. Don't keep back your doubts cherish them; they are the source of all your know ledge. Slowly, painfully, but surely, the gods an being driven from the earth. Only upon [*unclear: ran*] occasions are they, even by the most religious, supposed to interfere in the affairs of men. In mos 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. No and then they kill a child because it is idolized by [*unclear: iparents*]. As a rule they have given up accidents railroads, exploding boilers, and bursting [*unclear: kerosé lamps*]. Cholera, yellow fever, and small-pox are [*unclear: st*] considered heavenly weapons; but measles, itch, [*unclear: aague*] are now attributed to natural causes. As general thing, the gods have stopped drowning children, except as a punishment for violating the Sabath. They still pay some attention to the affair 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 recognizing 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?"

## What Religionists Believe.

Even the advanced religionist, although disbelieving in any great amount of interference by the gods of 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 only have 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 marvellous 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?

## What the Church Wishes.

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 heard 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 [unclear: th] 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 [unclear: losall] interest in that little speech so eloquently delivered by Balaam's inspired donkey. It is [unclear: wor] than useless to show us fishes with money in the 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 for ever 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 [unclear: mos 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 mirac—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 [unclear: ocause] and effect proves exactly the contrary.

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 mouthpiece of some pretended deity, but the interpreter of nature. From that moment the church ceases to exist. The tapers will die out upon the lusty 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.

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 his 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.

## What Man Must Do.

If abuses are destroyed, man must destroy them, of slaves are freed, man must free them. If new rights 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 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 just be won by man, and by man alone.

During that frightful period known as the "Dark [unclear: ges]," Faith reigned, with scarcely a rebellious subject. Her temples were "carpeted with knees," and the wealth of nations adorned her countless [unclear: hrines]. The great painters prostituted their genius 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 tanning instruments of pain. She built cathedrals or God, and dungeons for men. She peopled the clouds with angels and the earth with slaves.

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, [unclear: gnorant], 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 [unclear: y] an infinite being, what reason have we for saying that he will render it nearer perfect than it now is? 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 field 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?

## A Supposition.

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 labour 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 windows 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, afterward abandoned? Can the intelligence of man discover the least wisdom in covering the earth with crawling, creeping horrors, that live only upon the agonies 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?

## A Question for Parents.

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 neighbourhood 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.

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.

I hold that the man who roots up the thorns and tares from out the path of life confers some benefit, even if he never sows a seed of good.

## A Clerical Balance.

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 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 storm, the ship-wrecked 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 [*unclear*: nging] to aid the imploring and distressed. Their eyes are blinded; their ears are stopped, and their hearts 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 crowning 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.

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 religions 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.

## The Crusade.

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 Mahommed. 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 honour, 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!"

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 Christna, 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 stones, sleep in the mystery of a language lost and dead. Odin, the author of life and soul, Vili and We, and the mighty giant Ymir, strode long ago from the icy halls of the North; and Thor, with iron glove and glittering hammer, dashes mountains to the earth no more. Broken are the circles and [unclear: romlechs] of the ancient Druids; fallen upon the summits of the hills, and covered with the centuries' [unclear: noss], are the sacred cairns. The divine fires of Persia and the Aztecs have died out in the ashes of the past, and there is none to rekindle, and none to [unclear: eed] 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, out in the forest aisles no dryads dance. The gods have flown from high Olympus. Not even the beautiful women 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 tend realities have taken their places. The supernatural has almost gone, but the natural remains. The gods have fled, but man is here.

## Religion Like Nations.

Nations, like individuals, have their periods of youth, of manhood, and decay. Religions are the same. The same inexorable destiny awaits them 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 [unclear: re] the by-words of the next. The religion of our [unclear: lay] 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 throne. Who will be his successor?

Day by day, religious conceptions grow less and [unclear: ess] 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 wornout 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 forefathers 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.

## The Trinity of Science.

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.

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 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."

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; and when Reason throned upon the world's brain, shall be the King [unclear: o] Kings, and the God of Gods.?

## Ingersoll's Latest Oration on Thomas Paine..

Ladies and Gentlemen—It so happened that the first speech, the very first public speech, I ever made I took occasion to defend the memory of Thomas Paine.

I did it because I had read a little something of the history of my country. I did it because I felt indebted to him for the liberty I then enjoyed; and, whatever religion may be, ingratitude is the blackest of crime. And whether there is any God or not, in every star that shines, gratitude is a virtue.

The man who will tell

### Truth About the Dead.

is a good man; and, for one, about this man I intend to tell just as near the truth as I can.

Most history consists in giving the details of things that never happened; most biography is usually the lie coming from the lips of flattery, or the slander coming from the lips of malice; and whoever attacks the religion of a country will in his turn be attacked. Whoever attacks a superstition will find that superstition defended by all the meanness of ingenuity. Whoever attacks a superstition will find that there is still one weapon left in the arsenal of Jehovah—slander.

I was reading on yesterday a poem called the "Light of Asia," and I read in that how a Boodh, seeing a tigress perishing of thirst, with her mouth upon the dry stone of a stream, with her two cubs sucking at her dry and empty dugs, this Boodh took pity upon this wild and famishing beast; and throwing from himself the yellow robe of his order, and stepping naked before this tigress, said:—"Here is meat for you and for your cubs." In one moment the crooked daggers of her claws ran riot in his flesh, and in another he was devoured. Such, during nearly all the history of this world, has been the history of every man who has stood in front of superstition.

Thomas Paine, as has been so eloquently said by the gentleman who introduced me, was

### A Friend of Man,

and whoever is a friend of man is also a friend of God—if there is one. But God has had many friends who were the enemies of their fellow-men. There is but one test by which to measure any man who has lived:—Did he leave this world better than he found it? Did he leave in this world more liberty? Did he leave in this world more goodness, more humanity, than when he was born? That is the test. And whatever may have been the faults of Thomas Paine, no American who appreciates liberty, no American who believes in true democracy and in pure republicanism, should ever breathe one word against his name. Every American, with the divine mantle of charity, should cover all his faults, and with a never-tiring tongue should recount his virtues. He was a

common man. He did not belong to the aristocracy. Upon the head of his father God had never poured the divine petroleum of authority. He had not the misfortune to belong to the upper classes. He had the fortune to be born among the poor, and to feel against his great heart the throb of the toiling and suffering masses. Neither was it his misfortune to have been educated at Oxford. What little sense he had was not squeezed out at Westminster. He got his education from books. He got his education from contact with his fellow-men, and he *thought*; and a man is worth just what nature impresses upon him. A man standing by the sea, or in a forest, or looking at a flower, or hearing a poem, or looking into the eyes of the woman he loves, receives all that he is capable of receiving; and if he is a great man the impression is great, and he uses it for the purpose of benefiting his fellow-man.

Thomas Paine was not rich. He was poor, and his father before him was poor? and he was raised a stay-maker, a very lowly profession; and yet that man became

## One of the Mainstays of Liberty

in this world. At one time he was an exciseman, like Burns. Burns was once—speak it softly—a gauger; and yet he wrote poems that will wet the cheek of humanity with tears as long as this world travels in its orb around the sun.

Poverty was his brother, necessity his master. He had more brains than books, more courage than politeness, more strength than polish. He had no veneration for old mistakes; no admiration for ancient lies. He loved the truth for truth's sake and for man's sake. He saw oppression on every hand, injustice everywhere, hypocrisy at the altar, venality on the bench, tyranny on the throne; and, with a splendid courage, he espoused the cause of the weak against the strong, of the enslaved man against the titled few.

In England he was nothing. He belonged to the lower classes—that is, the usual people. England depended for her prosperity upon her mechanics and her thinkers, her sailors and her workers; and they are the only men in Europe who are not gentlemen. The only obstacles in the way of progress in Europe were the nobility and the priests, and they are the only gentle-men.

This, and his native genius, constituted his entire capital; and he needed no more. He found the colonies clamouring for justice, whining about their grievances; upon their knees at the foot of the throne, imploring that mixture of idiocy and insanity—George III., by the grace of God—for a restoration of their ancient privileges. They were not endeavouring to become free men, but were trying to soften the heart of their master. They were perfectly willing to make brick if Pharaoh would furnish the straw. The colonists wished for, hoped for, and prayed for reconciliation. They did not dream of independence.

Paine gave to the world his "Common Sense." It was the first argument for separation, the first assault upon the British form of government, the first blow for a republic; and it aroused our fathers like a trumpet's blast. He was the first to perceive the destiny of the New World. No other pamphlet ever accomplished such wonderful results. It was filled with arguments, reason, persuasion, and unanswerable logic. It opened a new world. It filled the present with hope and the future with honour. Everywhere the people responded, and in a few months the Continental Congress declared the colonies free and independent States.

A new nation was born.

It is simple justice to say that Paine did more to cause the Declaration of Independence than any other man. Neither should it be forgotten that his attacks upon Great Britain were also attacks upon monarchy; and while he convinced the people that the colonies ought to separate from the mother-country, he also proved to them that a free government is the best that can be instituted among men.

In my judgment, Thomas Paine was

## The Best Political Whiter That Ever Lived.

"What he wrote was pure nature, and his soul and his pen ever went together." Ceremony, pageantry, and all the paraphernalia of power, had no effect upon him. He examined into the why and wherefore of things. He was perfectly radical in his mode of thought. Nothing short of the bed-rock satisfied him. His enthusiasm for what he believed to be right knew no bounds. During all the dark scenes of the revolution, never for a moment did he despair. Year after year his brave words were ringing through the land, and by the bivouac fires the weary soldiers read the inspiring words of Common Sense," filled with ideas sharper than their swords, and consecrated themselves anew to the cause of freedom.

Paine was not content with having aroused the spirit of independence, but he gave every energy of his soul to keep that spirit alive. He was with the army. He shared its defeats, its dangers, and its glory. When the situation became desperate, when gloom settled upon all, he gave them the 'Crisis,' It was a cloud by day and a pillar of fire by night, leading the way to freedom, honour, and glory. He shouted to them—

## **"These are the Times That Try Men's Souls."**

The summer soldier and the sunshine patriot will, in this crisis, shrink from the service of his country; but he that stands it now deserves the love and thanks of man and woman."

To those who wished to put the war off to some future day, with a lofty and touching spirit of self-sacrifice, he said—"Every generous parent should say, 'If there must be war let it be in my day, that my child may have peace.'" To the cry that Americans were rebels he replied—"He that rebels against reason is a real rebel; but he that, in defence of reason, rebels against tyranny, has a better title to 'Defender of the Faith' than George III."

Some said it was to the interest of the colonies to be free. Paine answered this by saying—"To know whether it be the interest of the colonics to be independent we need only ask this simple, easy question: Is it the interest of a man to be a boy all his life?" He found many who would listen to nothing, and to them he said that "to argue with a man who has renounced his reason is like giving medicine to the dead." This sentiment ought to adorn the walls of every orthodox church.

There is a world of political wisdom in this—"England lost her liberty in a long chain of wrong reasoning from right principles;" and there is real discrimination in saying—"The Greeks and Romans were strongly possessed of the spirit of liberty, but not the principles; for at the time that they were determined not to be slaves themselves they employed their power to enslave the rest of mankind."

In his letter to the British people, in which he tried to convince them that war was not to their interest, occurs the following passage, brimful of common sense:—"War never can be the interest of a trading nation, any more than quarrelling can be profitable to a man in business. But to make war with those who trade with us is like setting a bulldog upon a customer at the shop-door.

The writings of Paine fairly glitter with simple compact, logical statements that carry conviction to the dullest and most prejudiced. He had the happiest possible way of putting the case, in asking questions in such a way that they answer themselves, and in stating his premises so clearly that the deduction could not be avoided.

Day and night he laboured for America. Month after month, year after year, he gave himself to the great cause, until there was "a government of the people and for the people," and until the banner of the stars floated over a continent redeemed and consecrated to the happiness of mankind.

At the close of the revolution no one stood higher in America than Thomas Paine. The best, the wisest, the most patriotic were his friends and admirers; and had he been thinking only of his own good he might have rested from his toils and spent the remainder of his life in comfort and in ease. He could have been what the world is pleased to call "respectable." He could have died surrounded by clergymen, warriors, and states-men; and at his death there would have been an imposing funeral, miles of carriages, civic societies, salvos of artillery, a nation in mourning, and, above all,

## **A Splendid Monument Covered With Lies**

He chose rather to benefit mankind.

At that time the seeds sown by the great infidels were beginning to bear fruit in France.

The eighteenth century was crowning its grey hairs with the wreath of progress.

On every hand science was bearing testimony against the Church. Voltaire had filled Europe with light; D'Holbach was giving to the *elite* of Paris the principles contained in his "System of Nature." The encyclopaedists had attacked superstition with information for the masses. The foundation of things began to be examined. A few had the courage to keep their shoes on and let the bush burn. Miracles began to get scarce. Everywhere the people began to enquire. America had set an example to the world. The word liberty was in the mouths of men, and they began to wipe the dust from their superstitious knees.

The dawn of a new day had appeared.

Thomas Paine went to France. Into the new movement he threw all his energies. His fame had gone before him, and he was welcomed as a friend of the human race and as a champion of free government.

He never relinquished his intention of pointing out to his countrymen the defects, absurdities, and abuses of the English government. For this purpose he composed and published his greatest political work,

## **"The Rights of Man."**

This work should be read by every man and woman. It is concise, accurate, rational, convincing, and unanswerable. It shows great thought, an intimate knowledge of the various forms of government, deep insight into the very springs of human action, and a courage that compels respect and admiration. The most difficult political problems are solved in a few sentences. The venerable arguments in favour of wrong are refuted with a question—answered with a word. For forcible illustration, apt comparison, accuracy and clearness of statement,

and absolute thoroughness it has never been excelled.

The fears of the administration were aroused, and Paine was prosecuted for libel and found guilty; and yet there is no sentiment in the entire work that will not challenge the admiration of every civilised man. It is a magazine of political wisdom, an arsenal of ideas, and an honour not only to Thomas Paine but to human nature itself. It could have been written only by the man who had the generosity, the exalted patriotism, the goodness to say—"The world is my country, and to do good my religion."

There is in all the utterances of the world no grander, no sublimer sentiment. There is no creed that can be compared with it for a moment. It should be wrought in gold, adorned with jewels, and impressed upon every human heart.

## ***"The World is my Country, and to Do Good my Religion."***

In 1792 Paine was elected by the department of Calais as their representative in the National Assembly. So great was his popularity in France that he was selected about the same time by the people of no less than four departments.

Upon taking his place in the Assembly he was appointed as one of a committee to draft a constitution for France. Had the French people taken the advice of Thomas Paine there would have been no "Reign of Terror." The streets of Paris would not have been filled with blood in that Reign of Terror. There were killed in the city of Paris not less, I think, than 17,000 people; and one night, in the massacre of St. Bartholomew, there were killed by assassination over 70,000 souls—men, women, and children. The revolution would have been the grandest success of the world. The truth is that Paine was too conservative to suit the leaders of the French revolution. They, to a great extent, were carried away by hatred and a desire to destroy. They had suffered so long, they had borne so much, that it was impossible for them to be moderate in the hour of victory.

Besides all this, the French people had been so robbed by the Government, so degraded by the Church, that they were not fit material with which to construct a republic. Many of the leaders longed to establish a beneficent and just government, but the people asked for revenge.

Paine was

## **Filled with a Real Love for Mankind.**

His philanthropy was boundless. He wished to destroy monarchy—not the monarch. He voted for the destruction of tyranny, and against the death of the tyrant. He wished to establish a government on a new basis—one that would forget the past, one that would give privileges to none, and protection to all.

In the Assembly, where all were demanding the execution of the king,—where to differ with the majority was to be suspected, and where to be suspected was almost certain death—Thomas Paine had the courage, the goodness, and the justice to vote against death. To vote against the execution of the king was

## **A Vote Against his own Life.**

This was the sublimity of devotion to principle. For this he was arrested, imprisoned, and doomed to death. There is not a theologian who has ever maligned Thomas Paine that has the courage to do this thing.

When Louis Capet was on trial for his life before the French Convention, Thomas Paine had the courage to speak and vote against the sentence of death. In his speech I find the following

## **Splendid Sentiments:**

"My contempt and hatred for monarchical governments are sufficiently well known, and my compassion for the unfortunate, friends or enemies, is equally profound.

"I have voted to put Louis Capet upon trial because it was necessary to prove to the world the perfidy, the corruption, and the horror of the monarchical system.

"To follow the trade of a king destroys all morality, just as the trade of a jailer deadens all sensibility.

"Make a man a king to-day and to-morrow he will be a brigand.

"Had Louis Capet been a farmer he might have been held in esteem by his neighbours, and his wickedness results from his position rather than from his nature.

"Let the French nation purge its territory of kings without soiling itself with their impure blood.

"Let the United States be the asylum of Louis Capet, where, in spite of the over-shadowing miseries and crimes of a royal life, he will learn by the continual contemplation of the general prosperity that the true system of government is not that of kings, but of the people.

"I am an enemy of kings, but I cannot forget that they belong to the human race.

"It is always delightful to pursue that course where policy and humanity are united.

"As France has been the first of all the nations of Europe to destroy loyalty, let it be the first to abolish the penalty of death.

*"As a true republican, I consider kings as more the objects of contempt than of vengeance."*

Search the records of the world and you will find but few sublimer acts than that of Thomas Paine voting against the king's death. He, the hater of despotism, the abhorer of monarchy, the champion of the rights of man, the republican, accepting death to save the life of a deposed tyrant—of a throneless king! This was the last grand act of his political life—the sublime conclusion of his political career.

All his life he had been the disinterested friend of man. He had laboured not for money, nor for fame, but for the general good. He had aspired to no office. He had no recognition of his services, but had ever been content to labour as a common soldier in the army of progress, confining his efforts to no country, looking upon the world as his field of action. Filled with a genuine love for the right, he found himself imprisoned by the very people he had striven to save.

Had his enemies succeed in bringing him to the block, he would have escaped the calumnies and the hatred of the Christian world. And let me tell you how near they came getting him to the block. He was in prison; there was a door to his cell—it had two doors, a door that opened in and an iron door that opened out. It was a dark passage, and whenever they concluded to cut a man's head off the next day an agent went along and made a chalk-mark upon the door where the poor prisoner was bound. Mr. Barlow, the American minister, happened to be with him and the outer door was shut, that is, open against the wall, and the inner door was shut, and when the man came along whose business it was to mark the door for death he marked this door where Thomas Paine was, but he marked the door that was against the wall, so when it was shut the mark was inside, and

## **The Messenger of Death Passed by**

on the next day. If that had happened in favour of some Methodist preacher they would have clearly seen, not simply the hand of God, but both hands. In this country, at least, he would have ranked with the proudest names. On the anniversary of the declaration his name would have been upon the lips of all orators, and his memory in the hearts of all the people.

Thomas Paine had not finished his career, He had spent his life thus far in destroying the power of kings, and now he turned his attention to the priests. He knew that every abuse had been embalmed in Scripture—that every outrage was in partnership with some holy text. He knew that the throne skulked behind the altar, and both behind a pretended revelation from God. By this time he had found that it was of little use to free the body and leave the mind in chains. He had explored the foundations of despotism, and had found them infinitely rotten. He had dug under the throne, and it occurred to him that he would

## **Take a Look Behind the Altar.**

The result of this investigation was given to the world in the "Age of Reason." From the moment of its publication he became infamous. He was culminated beyond measure. To slander him was to secure the thanks of the church. All his services were instantly forgotten, disparaged, or denied. He was shunned as though he had been a pestilence. Most of his old friends forsook him. He was regarded as a moral plague, and at the bare mention of his name the bloody hands of the church were raised in horror. He was denounced as the most despicable of men.

Not content with following him to his grave, they pursued him after death with redoubled fury, and recounted with infinite gusto and satisfaction the supposed horrors of his death-bed; glorified in fact that he forlorn and friendless, and gloated like fiends over what they supposed to be the agonising remorse of his lonely death.

It is wonderful that all his services were thus forgotten. It is amazing that one kind word did not fall from some pulpit; that some one did not accord to him, at least—honesty. Strange that in the general denunciation some one did not remember his labour for liberty, his devotion to principle, his zeal for the rights of his fellow-men. He had, by brave and splendid efforts, associated his name with the cause of progress. He had made it impossible to write the history of political freedom with his name left out. He was one of the creators of light; one of the heralds of the dawn. He hated tyranny in the name of kings, and in the name of God, with every drop of his noble blood. He believed in liberty and justice, and in the sacred doctrine of human equality. Under these divine banners he fought the battle of his life. In both worlds he offered his blood for the good of man. In the wilderness of America, in the French Assembly, in the sombre cell waiting for death, he was the same unflinching, unwavering friend of his race; the same undaunted champion of universal freedom. And for this he has been hated; for this

## **The Church has Violated Even his Grave.**

This is enough to make one believe that nothing is more natural than for men to devour their benefactors. The people in all ages have crucified and glorified. Whoever lifts his voice against abuse, whoever arraigns the past at the bar of the present, whoever asks the king to show his commission, or question the authority of the priest, will be denounced as the enemy of man and God. In all ages reason has been regarded as the enemy of religion. Nothing has been considered so pleasing to the Deity as a total denial of the authority of your own mind. Self-reliance has been thought deadly sin; and the idea of living and dying without the aid and consolation of superstition has always horrified the church. By some unaccountable infatuation, belief has been and still is considered of immense importance. All religions have been based upon the idea that God will forever reward the true believer, and eternally damn the man who doubts or denies. Belief is regarded as the one essential thing. To practice justice, to love mercy, is not enough;

## **You Must Believe**

in some incomprehensible creed. You must say—"Once one is three, and three times one is one." The man who practised every virtue but failed to believe was execrated. Nothing so outrages the feelings of the Church as a moral unbeliever; nothing so horrible as a chanta ble atheist.

When Paine was born the world was religious. The pulpit was the real throne, and the Churches were making every effort to crush out of the brain the idea that it had the right to think.

He again made up his mind to sacrifice himself. He commenced with the assertion, "That any system of religion that has anything in it that shocks the mind of a child cannot be a true system." What a beautiful, what a tender sentiment! No wonder the Church began to hate him.

## **He Believed in one God, and in no More.**

After this life he hoped for happiness. He believed that trae religion consisted in doing justice, loving mercy, in endeavouring to make our fellow-creatures happy, and in offering to God the fruit of the heart. He denied the inspiration of the Scriptures. This was his crime.

He contended that it is a contradiction in terms to call anything a revelation that comes to us at second hand, either verbally or in writing. He asserted that revelation is necessarily limited to the first communication, and that after that it is only an account of something which another person says was a revelation to him. We have only bis word for it, as it was never made to us. This argument never has been, and probably never will be, answered. He denied the divine origin of Christ, and showed conclusively that the pretended prophecies of the Old Testament had no reference to him whatever. And yet he believed that Christ was a virtuous and amiable man; that the morality he taught and practised was of the most benevolent and elevated character, and that it had not been exceeded by any. Upon this point he entertained the same sentiments now held by the Unitarians, and in fact by all the most enlightened Christians.

In his time the Church believed and taught that every word in the Bible was absolutely true. Since his day it has been proven false in its cosmogony, false in its astronomy, false in its chronology and geology, false in its history, and—so far as the Old Testament is concerned—false in almost everything. There are but few, if any, scientific men who apprehend that the Bible is literally true. Who on earth at this day, would pretend to settle any scientific question by a text from the Bible? The old belief is confined to the ignorant and zealous. The Church itself will before long be driven to occupy the position of Thomas Paine. The best minds of the orthodox world to-day are endeavouring to prove the existence of a personal Deity. All other questions occupy a minor place. You are no longer asked to swallow the Bible whole,

## **Whale, Jonah, and All.**

You are simply required to believe in God and pay your pew-rent. There is not now an enlightened minister in the world who will seriously contend that Samson's strength was in his hair, or that necromancers of Egypt could turn water into blood and pieces of wood into serpents. These follies have passed away, and the only reason that the religious world can now have for disliking Paine is that they have been forced to adopt so many of his opinions.

Paine thought the barbarities of the Old Testament inconsistent with what he deemed the real character of God. He believed the murder, massacre, and indiscriminate slaughter had never been commanded by the Deity. He regarded much of the Bible as childish, unimportant, and foolish. The scientific world entertained the same opinion. Paine attacked the Bible precisely in the same spirit in which he had attacked the pretensions of the

kings. He used the same weapons. All the pomp in the world could not make him cower. His reason knew no "Holy of Holies," except the abode of truth. The sciences were then in their infancy. The attention of the really learned had not been directed to an impartial examination of our pretended revelation. It was accepted by most as a matter of course. The Church was all-powerful; and no one else, unless thoroughly imbued with the spirit of self-sacrifice, thought for a moment of disputing the fundamental doctrines of Christianity. The infamous doctrine that salvation depends upon belief—upon a mere intellectual conviction—was then believed and preached. To doubt was to secure the damnation of your soul. This absurd and devilish doctrine shocked the common sense of Thomas Paine, and he denounced it with the fervour of honest indignation. This doctrine, although infinitely ridiculous, has been nearly universal, and has been as hurtful as senseless. For the overthrow of this infamous tenet Paine exerted all his strength. He left few arguments to be used by those who should come after him, and

## **He Used None That Have Been Reputed.**

The combined wisdom and genius of all mankind cannot possibly conceive of an argument against liberty of thought. Neither can they show why any one should be punished, either in this world or another, for acting honestly in accordance with reason; and yet a doctrine with every possible argument against it has been, and still is, believed and defended by the entire orthodox world. Can it be possible that we have been endowed with reason simply that our souls may be caught in its toils and snares, that we may be led by its false and delusive glare out of the narrow path that leads to joy into the broad way of everlasting death? Is it possible that we have been given reason simply that we may through faith ignore its deductions and avoid its conclusions! Ought the sailor to throw away his compass and depend entirely upon the fog? If reason is not to be depended upon in matters of religion—that is to say, in respect of our duties to the Deity—why should it be relied upon in matters respecting the rights of our fellows? Why should we throw away the law given to Moses by God himself, and have the audacity to make some of our own? How dare we drown the thunders of Sinai by calling the eyes and noses in a petty legislature? If reason can determine what is merciful, what is just, the duties of man to man, what more do we want either in time or eternity? Down, for ever down, with any religion that requires upon its ignorant altar its sacrifice of the goddess Reason; that compels her to abdicate for ever the shining throne of the soul, strips from her form the imperial purple, snatches from her hand the sceptre of thought, and makes her the bond-woman of a senseless faith.

If a man should tell you he had the most beautiful painting in the world, and after taking you where it was should insist upon having your eyes shut, you would likely suspect either that he had no painting or that it was some pitiable daub. Should he tell you that he was a most excellent performer on the violin, and yet refused to play unless your ears were stopped, you would think, to say the least of it, that he had an odd way of convincing you of his musical ability. But would his conduct be any more wonderful than that of a religionist who asks that before examining his creed you will have the kindness to throw away your reason? The first gentleman says:—"Keep your eyes shut; my picture will bear everything but being seen." "Keep your ears stopped; my music objects to nothing but being heard." The last says:—"Away with your reason; my religion dreads nothing but being understood."

So far as I am concerned, I most cheerfully admit that most Christians are honest and most ministers sincere. We do not attack them;

## **We Attack Their Creed.**

We accord to them the same rights that we ask for ourselves. We believe that their doctrines are hurtful, and I am going to do what I can against them. We believe that the frightful text—"He that believeth shall be saved, and he that believeth not shall be damned," has covered the earth with blood. You might as well say all that have red hair shall be damned. It has filled the heart with arrogance, cruelty, and murder. It has caused the religious wars, bound hundreds of thousands to the stake, founded Inquisitions, filled dungeons, invented instruments of torture, taught the mother to hate her child, imprisoned the mind, filled the world with ignorance, persecuted the lovers of wisdom, built the monasteries and convents, made happiness a crime, investigation a sin, and self-reliance a blasphemy. It has poisoned the springs of learning, misdirected the energies of the world, filled all countries with want, housed the people in hovels, fed them with famine; and but for the efforts of a few brave infidels it would have taken the world back to the midnight of barbarism, and left the heavens without a star.

The maligners of Paine say that he had no right to attack this doctrine, because

## **He Was Unacquainted With the Dead Languages,**

and for this reason it was a piece of pure impudence in him to investigate the Scriptures.

Is it necessary to understand Hebrew in order to know that cruelty is not a virtue, that murder is inconsistent with infinite goodness, and that eternal punishment can be inflicted upon man only by an eternal fiend? Is it really essential to conjugate the Greek verbs before you can make up your mind as to the probability of dead people getting out of their graves? Must one be versed in Latin before he is entitled to express an opinion as to the genuineness of a pretended revelation from God? Common sense belongs exclusively to no tongue. Logic is not confined to, nor has it been buried with, the dead languages. Paine attacked the Bible as it is translated. If the translation is wrong let its defenders correct it.

The Christianity of Paine's day is not the Christianity of our time. There has been a great improvement since then. It is better now, because there is less of it. One hundred and fifty years ago the foremost preachers of our time—that gentleman who preaches in this magnificent hall—would have perished at the stake. Lord, Lord, how John Calvin would have liked to have roasted this man! and the perfume of his burning flesh would have filled heaven with joy. A Universalist would have been torn in pieces in England, Scotland, and America. Unitarians would have found themselves in the stocks, pelted by the rabble with dead cats; after which their ears would have been cut off, their tongues bored, and their foreheads branded. Less than one hundred and fifty years ago the following law was

## **In Force in Maryland.**

"Be it enacted by the Right Honourable the Lord Proprietor, by and with the advice and consent of His Lordship's Governor and the Upper and Lower Houses of the Assembly, and the authority of the same:

*"That if any person shall hereafter, within this province, willingly, maliciously and advisedly, by writing or speaking, blaspheme or curse God, or deny Our Saviour Jesus Christ to be the Son of God, or shall deny the Holy Trinity, the Father, Son, and the Holy Ghost, or the Godhead of any of the three Persons, or the unity of the Godhead, or shall utter any profane words concerning the Holy Trinity or the Persons thereof, and shall therefor be convicted by verdict, shall for the first offence be bored through the tongue, and fined £20, to be levied of his body. As for the second offence the offender shall be stigmatised by burning in the forehead the letter B, and fined £40. And that for the third offence the offender shall suffer death without the benefit of clergy."*

The strange thing about this law is that it has never been respected, and was in force in the District of Columbia up to 1875. Laws like this were in force in most of the colonies and in all countries where the Church had power.

In the Old Testament the death penalty was attached to hundreds of offences. It has been the same in all Christian countries. Today, in civilised governments, the death penalty is attached only to murder and treason and in some it has been entirely abolished. What a commentary upon the divine systems of the world!

La the day of Thomas Paine

## **The Church Was Ignorant, Bloody, and Relentless.**

In Scotland the "kirk" was at the summit of its power. It was a full sister of the Spanish Inquisition. It waged war upon human nature. It was the enemy of happiness, the hater of joy, and the despiser of liberty. It taught parents to murder their children rather than to allow them to propagate error, if the mother held opinions of which the infamous "kirk" disapproved, her children were taken from her arms, her babe from her very bosom, and she was not allowed to see them or write them a word. It would not allow shipwrecked sailors to be rescued from drowning on Sunday.

Oh, you have no idea what a muss it kicks up in heaven to have anybody swim on Sunday. It fills all the wheeling worlds with sadness to see a boy in a boat, and the attention of the recording secretary is called to it. In a voice of thunder they say "Upset him."

It sought to annihilate pleasure, to pollute the heart by filling it with religious cruelty and gloom, and to change mankind into a vast horde of pious, heartless fiends. One of the most famous Scotch divines said—"The kirk holds that religious toleration is not far from blasphemy." And this same Scotch kirk denounced beyond measure the man who had the moral graudeur to say—"The world is my country, and to do good my religion." And this same kirk abhorred the man who said—"Any system of religion that shocks the mind of a child cannot be a true system."

At that time nothing so delighted the Church as the beauties of endless torment, and listening to the weak wailing of damned infants struggling in the slimy coils and poison folds of the worm that never dies.

About the beginning of the eighteenth century a boy by the name of Thomas Aikenhead was indicted and tried at Edinburgh for having denied the inspiration of the Scriptures, and for having on several occasions,

when cold, wished himself in hell that he might get warm. Notwithstanding the poor boy recanted and begged for mercy, he was found guilty and hanged. His body was thrown in a hole at the foot of the scaffold and covered with stones; and though his mother came with her face covered with tears, begging for the corpse, she was denied and driven away in the name of charity. That is religion; and in the velvet of their politeness there lurk the claws of a tiger. Just give them the power, and see how quick I would leave this part of the country. They know I am going to be burned for ever; they know I am going to hell; but that don't satisfy them. They want to give me a little foretaste here.

Prosecutions and executions like these were common in every Christian country, and all of them based upon the belief that an intellectual conviction is a crime.

No wonder the Church hated and traduced the author of the "Age of Reason."

England was filled with Puritan gloom and Episcopal ceremony. The ideas of crazy fanatics and extravagant poets were taken as sober facts. Milton had clothed Christianity in the soiled and faded finery of the gods—had added to the story of Christ the fables of mythology. He gave to the Protestant Church the most outrageously material ideas of the Deity. He turned all the angels into soldiers, made Heaven a battle-field, put Christ in uniform, and described God as a militia general. His works were considered by the Protestants nearly as sacred as the Bible itself; and the imagination of the people was thoroughly polluted by the horrible imagery, the sublime absurdity, of the blind Milton. Heaven and hell were realities—the judgment day was expected—books of account would be opened. Every man would hear the charges against him read. God was supposed to sit upon a golden throne, surrounded by the tallest angels, with harps in their hands and crowns on their heads. The goats would be thrust into eternal fire on the left, while the orthodox sheep on the right were to gambol on sunny slopes for ever and for ever. So all the priests were willing to save the sheep for half the wool.

The nation was profoundly ignorant, and consequently extremely religious so far as belief was concerned.

In Europe liberty was lying chained in the Inquisition, her white bosom stained with blood. In the new world the Puritans had been hanging and burning in the name of God, and selling white Quaker children into slavery in the name of Christ, who said—"Suffer little children to come unto Me."

Under such conditions progress was impossible.

## **Some one Had to Lead the Way.**

The Church is, and always has been, incapable *of* a forward movement. Religion always looks back. The Church has already reduced Spain to a guitar, Italy to a hand-organ, and Ireland to exile.

Some one not connected with the Church had to attack the monster that was eating out the heart of the world. Some one had to sacrifice himself for the good of all. The people were in the most abject poverty; their manhood had been taken from them by pomp, by pageantry, and power.

Progress is born of doubt and enquiry.

The Church never doubts—never enquires. To doubt is heresy; to enquire is to admit that you do not know. The Church does neither.

More than a century ago Catholicism, wrapped in robes red with the innocent blood of millions, holding in her frantic clutch crowns and sceptres, honours and gold, the keys of Heaven and Hell, trampling beneath her feet the liberties of nations, in the proud moment of almost universal dominion felt within her heartless breast the deadly dagger of Voltaire. From that blow the Church can never recover. Livid with hatred, she launched her eternal anathema at the great destroyer, and ignorant Protestants have echoed the curse of Rome.

In our country the Church was all-powerful; and, although divided into many sects, would instantly unite to repel a common foe. Paine did for Protestantism what Voltaire did for Catholicism.

## **Paine Struck The First Grand Blow.**

The "Age of Reason" did more to undermine the power of the Protestant Church than all other books then known. It furnished an immense amount of food for thought. It was written for the average mind, and is a straightforward honest investigation of the Bible and of the Christian system.

Paine did not falter from the first page to the last. He gives you his candid thought, and candid thoughts are always valuable.

The "Age of Reason" has liberalised us all. It put arguments in the mouths of the people; it put the Church on the defensive; it enabled somebody in every village to corner the parson; it made the world wiser, and the Church better; it took power from the pulpit, and divided it among the pews.

Just in proportion that the human race has advanced, the Church has lost its power. There is no exception to this rule. No nation ever materially advanced that held strictly to the religion of its founders. No nation ever gave itself wholly to the control of the Church without losing its power, its honour, and existence.

Every church pretends to have found the exact truth. This is the end of progress. Why pursue that which you have? Why investigate when you know?

Every creed is a rock in running water; humanity sweeps by it. Every creed cries to the universe—Halt! A creed is the ignorant past bullying the enlightened present.

The ignorant are not satisfied with what can be demonstrated. Science is too slow for them, and so they invent creeds. They demand completeness. A sublime segment, a grand fragment, are of no value to them. They demand the complete circle—the entire structure.

In music they want a melody with a recurring accent at measured periods. In religion they insist upon immediate answers to the questions of creation and destiny. The alpha and omega of all things must be in the alphabet of their superstition. A religion that cannot answer every question and guess every conundrum is in their estimation, worse than worthless. They desire a kind of theological dictionary, a religious ready-reckoner, together with guide-boards at all crossings and turns. They mistake impudence for authority, solemnity for wisdom, and pathos for inspiration. The beginning and the end are what they demand. The grand flight of the eagle is nothing to them. They want the nest in which he was hatched, and especially the dry limb upon which he roosts. Anything that can be learned is hardly worth knowing. The present is considered of no value in itself. Happiness must not be expected this side of the clouds, and can only be attained by self-denial and faith; not self-denial for the good of others, but for the salvation of your own sweet self.

Paine denied the authority of Bibles and creeds. This was

## His Crime,

and for this the world shut the door in his face, and emptied its slops upon him from the windows.

I challenge the world to show that Thomas Paine ever wrote one line—one word—in favour of tyranny, in favour of immorality; one word against what he believed to be for the highest and best interest of mankind; one line—one word—against justice, charity, or liberty; and yet he has been pursued as though he had been a fiend from hell. His memory has been execrated as though he had murdered some Uriah for his wife, driven some Hagar into the desert to starve with his child upon her bosom, defiled his own daughters, ripped open with the sword the sweet bodies of loving and innocent women, advised one brother to assassinate another, kept a harem with seven hundred wives and three hundred concubines, or had persecuted Christians even unto strange cities.

The Church has pursued Paine to deter others. The Church used painting, music, and architecture simply to degrade mankind. But there are men that nothing can awe. There have been at all times brave spirits that dared even the gods. Some proud head has always been above the waves. Old Diogenes, with his mantle upon him, stiff and trembling with age, caught a small animal bred upon people, went into the Pantheon, the temple of the gods, and took the animal upon his thumbnail, and, pressing it with the other, he "sacrificed Diogenes to all the gods!" Just as good as anything. In every age some Diogenes has sacrificed to all the gods. True genius never cowers, and there is always some Samson feeling for the pillars of authority.

Cathedrals and domes, and chimes and chants; temples frescoed, and groined, and carved, and gilded with gold; altars, and tapers, and paintings of virgin and babe; censer and chalice; chasuble, paten, and alb; organs, and anthems, and incense rising to the winged and blest; maniple, amice, and stole; crosses and crosiers; tiaras and crowns; mitres, and missals, and masses; rosaries, relics, and robes; martyrs, and saints, and windows stained as with the blood of Christ—never, never for one moment awed the brave, proud spirit of the infidel. He knew that all the pomp and glitter had been purchased with liberty—that priceless jewel of the soul. In looking at the cathedral he remembered the dungeon. The music of the organ was not loud enough to drown the clank of fetters. He could not forget that the taper had lighted the fagot. He knew that the cross adorned the hilt of the sword; and so,

## Where others Worshipped, he Wept and Scorned.

He knew that across the open Bible lay the sword of war; and so, where others worshipped, he looked with scorn and wept. And so it has been through all the ages gone.

The doubter, the investigator, the infidel, have been the saviours of liberty. The truth is beginning to be realised, and the truly intellectual are honouring the brave thinkers of the past.

But the Church is as unforgiving as ever, and still wonders why an infidel should be wicked enough to endeavour to destroy her power. I will tell the Church

## Why I Hate It.

You have imprisoned the human mind; you have been the enemy of liberty; you have burned us at the stake, roasted us before slow fires, torn our flesh with irons; you have covered us with chains, treated us as

outcasts; you have filled the world with fear; you have taken our wives and children from our arms; you have confiscated our property; you have denied us the right to testify in courts of justice; you have branded us with infamy; you have torn out our tongues; you have refused us burial. In the name of your religion you have robbed us of every right; and after having inflicted upon us every evil that can be inflicted in this world you have fallen upon your knees, and with clasped hands implored your God to finish the holy work in hell.

Can you wonder that we hate your doctrines, that we despise your creeds, that we feel proud to know that we are beyond your power—that we are free in spite of you, that we can express our honest thought, and that the whole world is grandly rising into the blessed light? Can you wonder that we point with pride to the fact that infidelity has ever been found battling for the rights of man, for the liberty of conscience, and for the happiness of all? Can you wonder that we are proud to know that we have always been disciples of reason and soldiers of freedom; that we have denounced tyranny and superstition, and have kept our hands unstained with human blood!

I deny that religion is the end or object of this life. When it is so considered it becomes destructive of happiness. The real end of life is happiness. It becomes a hydra-headed monster, reaching in terrible coils from the heavens and thrusting its thousand fangs into the bleeding, quivering hearts of men. It devours their substance, builds palaces for God (who dwells not in temples made with hands'), and allows His children to die in huts and hovels. It fills the earth with mourning, heaven with hatred, the present with fear, and all the future with fire and despair. Virtue is a subordination of the passions to the intellect. It is to act in accordance with your highest convictions. It does not consist in believing, but in doing. This is the sublime truth that infidels in all ages have uttered. They have handed the torch from one to the other through all the years that have fled. Upon the altar of reason they have kept the sacred fire, and throughout the long midnight of faith they fed the divine flame. Infidelity is liberty; all superstition is slavery. In every creed man is the slave of God, woman is the slave of man, and the sweet children are the slaves of all. We do not want creeds; we want some knowledge—we want happiness.

And yet we are told by the Church that we have accomplished nothing; that we are simply destroyers; that we tear down without building again.

## **Is it Nothing to Free the Mind?**

Is it nothing to civilise mankind? Is it nothing to fill the world with light, with discovery, with science? Is it nothing to dignify man and exalt the intellect? Is it nothing to grope your way into the dreary prisons, the damp and dripping dungeons, the dark and silent cells of superstition, where the souls of men are chained to floors of stone; to greet them like a ray of light, like the song of a bird, the murmur of a stream; to see the dull eyes open and grow slowly bright, to feel yourself grasped by the shrunken and unused hands, and hear yourself thanked by a strange and hollow voice?

Is it nothing to conduct these souls gradually into the blessed light of day—to let them see again the happy fields, the sweet, green earth, and hear the everlasting music of the waves? Is it nothing to make men wipe the dust from their swollen knees, the tears from their blanched and furrowed checks? Is it a small thing to reave the heavens of an insatiate monster, and write upon the eternal dome, glittering with stars, the grand word

## **Liberty?**

Is it a small thing to quench the thirst of hell with the holy tears of piety, break all the chains, put out the fires of civil war, stay the sword of the fanatic, and tear the bloody hands of the church from the white throat of progress? Is it a small thing to make men truly free, to destroy the dogmas of ignorance, prejudice, and power, the poisoned fables of superstition, and drive from the beautiful face of the earth the fiend of fear?

It does seem as though the most zealous Christians must at times entertain some doubt as to the divine origin of his religion. For eighteen hundred years the doctrine has been preached. For more than a thousand years the church had, to a great extent, the control of the civilised world, and what has been the result? Are the Christian nations patterns of charity and forbearance? On the contrary, their principal business is to destroy each other. More than five millions of Christians are trained and educated and drilled to murder their fellow-Christians. Every nation is groaning under a vast debt incurred in carrying on war against other Christians, or defending itself from Christian assault. The world is covered with forts to protect Christians from Christians, and every sea is covered with iron monsters ready to blow Christian brains into eternal froth. Millions upon millions are annually expended in the effort to construct still more deadly and terrible engines of death. Industry is crippled, honest toil is robbed, and even beggary is taxed to defray the expenses of Christian murder. There must be some other way to reform this world. We have tried creed and dogma and fable, and they have failed—and they have failed in all the nations dead.

Nothing but education—scientific education can benefit mankind. We must find out the laws of nature and conform to them.

## **We Need Free Bodies and Free Minds.**

free labor and free thought, chainless hands and fetterless brains. Free labor will give us wealth. Free thought will give us truth.

We need men with moral courage to speak and write their real thoughts, and to stand by their convictions, even to the very death. We need have no fear of being too radical. The future will verify all grand and brave predictions. Paine was splendidly in advance of his time, but he was orthodox compared to the infidels of to-day.

Science, the great iconoclast, has been very busy since 1809, and by the highway of progress are the broken images of the past. On every hand the people advance. The vicar of God has been pushed from the throne of the Cæsars, and upon the roofs of the Eternal city falls once more the shadow of the eagle. All has been accomplished by the heroic few. The men of science have explored heaven and earth, and with infinite patience have furnished the facts. The brave thinkers have aided them. The gloomy caverns of superstition have been transformed into temples of thought, and the demons of the past are the angels of to-day.

Science took a handful of sand, constructed a telescope, and with it explored the starry depths of heaven. Science wrested from the gods their thunderbolts; and now, the electric spark freighted with thought and love flashes under all the waves of the sea. Science took a tear from the cheek of unpaid labor, converted it into steam, and created a giant that turns with tireless arm the countless wheels of toil.

Thomas Paine was one of the intellectual heroes, one of the men to whom we are indebted. His name is associated forever with the great republic. He lived a long, laborious, and useful life. The world is better for his having lived. For the sake of truth he accepted hatred and reproach for his portion. He ate the bitter bread of neglect and sorrow. His friends were untrue to him because he was true to himself and true to them. He lost the respect of what is called society, but kept his own. His life is what the world calls failure, and what history calls success.

If to love your fellow-men more than self is goodness, Thomas Paine was good. If to be in advance of your time, to be a pioneer in the direction of right, is greatness, Thomas Paine was great. If to avow your principles and discharge your duty in the presence of death is heroic. Thomas Paine was a hero.

At the age of seventy-three

## **Death Touched His Tired Heart.**

He died in the land his genius defended, under the flag he gave to the skies. Slander cannot touch him now; hatred cannot reach him more. He sleeps in the sanctuary of the tomb, beneath the quiet of the stars.

A few more years, a few more brave men, a few more rays of light, and mankind will venerate the memory of him who said:

"Any system of religion that shocks the mind of a child cannot be a true system.

*"The world is my country, and to do good my religion."*

The next question is:

## **Did Thomas Paine Recant?**

Mr. Paine had prophesied that fanatics would crawl and cringe around him during his last moments. He believed that they would put a lie in the mouth of death. When the shadow of the coming dissolution was upon him, two clergymen. Messrs. Milledollar and Cunningham, called to annoy the dying man. Mr. Cunningham had the politeness to say: "You have now a full view of death; you cannot live long; whoever does not believe in the Lord Jesus Christ will assuredly be damned." Mr. Paine replied: "Let me have none of your popish stuff. Get away with you. Good morning." On another occasion a Methodist minister obtruded himself, Mr. Willett Hicks was present. The minister declared to Mr. Paine that "unless he repented of his unbelief he would be damned." Paine, although at the door of death, rose in his bed and indignantly requested the clergyman to leave the room. On another occasion, two brothers by the name of Pigott sought to convert him. He was displeased and requested their departure. Afterward, Thomas Nixon and Captain Daniel Pelton visited him for the express purpose of ascertaining whether he had, in any manner, changed his religious opinions. They were assured by the dying man that he still held the principles he had expressed in his writings.

Afterward, these gentlemen, hearing that William Cobbett was about to write a life of Paine, sent him the following note:

I must tell you now that it is of great importance to find out whether Paine recanted. If he recanted then the

Bible is true—you can rest assured that a spring of water gushed out of a dead dry bone. If Paine recanted there is not the slightest doubt about that donkey making that speech to Mr. Baalam—not the slightest; and if Paine did not recant, then the whole thing is a mistake. I want to show that Thomas Paine died as he had lived, a friend of man and without superstition, and if you will stay here I will do it.

## The Letter.

NEW YORK, April 24, 1818.—Sir: Having been informed that you have a design to write a history of the life and writings of Thomas Paine, if you have been furnished with materials in respect to his religious opinions, or rather of his recantation of his former opinions before his death, all you have heard of his recanting is false. Being aware that such reports would be raised after his death by fanatics who infested his house at the time it was expected he would die, we, the subscribers, intimate acquaintances of Thomas Paine since the year 1776. went to his house. He was sitting up in a chair, and apparently in full vigor and use of all his mental faculties. We interrogated him upon his religious opinions, and if he had changed his mind, or repented of anything he had said or wrote on that subject. He answered, "Not at all," and appeared rather offended at our supposition that any change should take place in his mind. We took down in writing the questions put to him and his answers thereto, before a number of persons then in his room, among whom were his doctor, Mrs. Bonne-ville, &c. This paper is mislaid and cannot be found at present, but the above is the substance, which can be attested by many living witnesses.

THOMAS NIXON.

DANIEL PELTON.

An old man in Pennsylvania told me once that his father hired

## An old Revolutionary Soldier

by the name of Thomas Martin to work for him. Martin was then quite an old man and there was an old Presbyterian preacher used to come there, by the name of Crawford, and he sat down by the fire and he got to talking one night, among other things, about Thomas Paine—what a wretched, infamous dog he was; and while he was in the midst of this conversation the old soldier rose from the fireplace, and he walked over to this preacher, and he said to him: "Did you ever see Thomas Paine?" "No." "Well," he says, "I have. I saw him at Valley Forge. I heard read at the head of every regiment and company the letters of Thomas Paine. I heard them read the 'Crisis,' and I saw Thomas Paine writing on the head of a drum, sitting at the bivouac fire, those simple words: that inspired every patriot's bosom, and I want to tell you, Mr. Preacher, that Thomas Paine did more for liberty than any priest that ever lived in this world."

And yet they say he was afraid to die! Afraid of what? Is there any God in heaven that

## Hates a Patriot?

If there is, Thomas Paine ought to be afraid to die. Is there any God that would damn a man for helping to free three millions of people? If Thomas Paine was in hell tonight, and could get God's attention long enough to point him to the old banner of the stars floating over America, God would have to let him out. What would he be afraid of? Had he ever burned anybody? No. Had he put anybody in the inquisition? No. Ever put the thumb-screw on anybody? No. Ever put anybody in prison, so that some poor wife and mother would come and hold her little babe up at the grated window that the man bound to the floor might get one glimpse of his blue-eyed babe? Did he ever do that?

Did he ever light a faggot? Did he ever tear human flesh? Why, what had he to be afraid of? He had helped to make the world free. He had helped create the only republic then on the earth. What was he afraid of? Was God a tory? It won't do.

One would think from the persistence with which the orthodox have charged for the last seventy years that Thomas Paine recanted, that there must be some evidence of some kind to support those charges. Even with my ideas of the average honor of the believers in superstition, the average truthfulness of the disciples of fear, I did not believe that all those infamies rested solely upon poorly-attested falsehoods. I had charity enough to suppose that something had been said or done by Thomas Paine capable of being tortured into a foundation of all these calumnies. What crime had Thomas Paine committed that he should have feared to die? The only answer you can give is that he denied the inspiration of the Scriptures. If that is crime, the civilized world is filled with criminals. The pioneers of human thought, the intellectual leaders of this world, the foremost men in every science, the kings of literature and art, those who stand in the front of investigation, the men who are civilising and elevating and refining mankind,

## Are all Unbelievers

in the ignorant dogma of inspiration. Why should we think that Thomas Paine was afraid to die? and why should the American people malign the memory of that great man? He was the first to advocate the separation from the mother country. He was the first to write these words: "The United States of America." Think of maligning that man! He was the first to lift his voice against human slavery, and while hundreds and thousands of ministers all over the United States not only believed in slavery, but bought and sold women and babes in the name of Jesus Christ, this infidel, this wretch who is now burning in the flames of hell, lifted his voice against human slavery and said: "It is robbery, and a slaveholder is a thief: the whipper of women is a barbarian; the seller of a child is a savage." No wonder that the thieving hypocrite of his day hated him?

I have no love for any man who ever pretended to own a human being. I have no love for a man who would sell a babe from the mother's throbbing, heaving, agonised breast. I have no respect for a man who considered a lash upon the naked back as a legal tender for labor performed. So write it down, Thomas Paine was

## The First Great Abolitionist

of America.

Now let me tell you another thing. He was the first man to raise his voice for the abolition of the death penalty in the French convention. What more did he do? He was the first to suggest a federal constitution for the United States. He saw that the old articles of confederation were nothing; that they were ropes of water and chains of mist, and he said, "We want a federal constitution, so that when you pass a law raising 5 per cent, you can make the States pay it." Let us give him his due. What were all these preachers doing at that time?

He hated superstition; he loved the truth. He hated tyranny; he loved liberty. He was the friend of the human race. He lived a brave and thoughtful life. He was a good and true and a generous man, and he died as he lived. Like a great and peaceful river with green and shaded banks, without a murmur, without a ripple, he flowed into the waveless ocean of eternal peace. I love him; I love every man who gave me, or helped to give me the liberty I enjoy to-night; I love every man who helped put our flag in heaven. I love every man who has lifted his voice in any age for liberty, for a chainless body and a fetterless brain. I love every man who has given to every other human being every right that he claimed for himself. I love every man who has thought more of principle than he has of position. I love the men who have trampled crowns beneath their feet that they might do something for mankind, and for that reason I love Thomas Paine.

I thank you all, ladies and gentlemen, every one,—every one, for the attention you have given me this evening.

The Finding, Hunting, & Running to Earth of the Ritualistic Fox

A Tract for all Places Infested by This Animal.

By A Chip of the Old Evangelical Block.

decorative feature Published by the Otago Bible, Tract, and Book Society Dunedin 28, George Street, MCCCCLXXXI

angel

## The Finding, Bunting, and Running to Earth of the Ritualistic Fox

HE is the most cunning rogue under the sun—this ritualistic fox. He is a disguised enemy of the good old Evangelical Church of England, and a firm ally of the Church of Rome. He says, "pon my honour I have nothing to do with the Church of Rome," and the Church of Rome says, "pon my honour I don't for a moment acknowledge him;" but *sub rosa* they embrace each other as true friends doing the same work—as the jackal to the lion, and the pilot-fish to the shark, so is the ritualistic fox to Rome.

This ritualistic fox appears in various shapes and guises. Sometimes he is seen to ape the garb of a Romish priest—then he will prepare you for the Romish mass, and so he speaks and writes of the "altar" and the "real presence," terms carefully excluded from the book of Common Prayer by our good and true old Reformers; now he will sing his prayers in melancholy monotone, and presently he will provide a skilled musician to play to the people as they kneel down to pray.

At first the good folks are somewhat taken alack, and are indignant at these proceedings of the ritualistic fox, but they soon get accustomed to it all, and, declaring they see no harm in it, sit down very nearly if not

quite content, and fall asleep—and the fox, delighted, wags his ritualistic tail and says, "I have them."

Foxes are both impudent and cunning, and the ritualistic fox is no exception. With the utmost effrontery he will blandly disavow all complicity with the Roman fox, while all the time, under the term of "Catholic usage," he is adopting and disseminating his Roman brother's principles and practices, which are contrary to Scripture, were long since repudiated and laid aside by the reforming fathers, and are distinctly opposed to the teaching and practice of the true Church of England.

Now the fox comes smartly up and says, "I'll write books and send them broadcast among the people, and that will do the business." So he says to his Roman brother, "Now sit at my elbow and tell me what to write." Then a marvellous concoction comes out—all are pressed into the service—Roman Breviary, Roman Missal, Roman Rites and Ceremonies, Roman Bishops, Roman Saints, Sarum-use, York-use, Hereford-use; long-buried and forgotten musty records are disinterred, and all are laid under contribution and (with foxy cunning) mixed up with a misapplied fragment of Bible truth here and there that the bait may be more readily taken.

One or two of these traitorous productions were, it was rumoured, sent to Dunedin on trial—indeed some people were wicked enough to say that they were *sent for*—but the local ritualistic fox thought it better to let oral instruction pave the way and prepare the people for the full introduction of Rome. So these manuals are kept back a little, the fox biding his time—'cute fellow. He knows that if the hoodwinked people got a sight of these too soon his game would be spoiled; so again he complacently wags the ritualistic tail and says, "wait a wee, the net is closing on them; after a little more of my *handling* they will take it all in—they cannot escape."

Ah! silly people! can't you perceive the meaning and tendency of all this? Are you content to have the full-blown Romish mass, with its transubstantiation, thus stealthily fastened round your necks? If not, then separate yourselves from the unhealthy Rome-coquetting tendency wherever you see it.

In hundreds of Episcopal Churches in the home country men called Clergymen of the Church of England are, dishonestly and unblushingly, inculcating every Romish doctrine, and introducing every Romish practice.

The manuals previously alluded to are full of Romish teaching—of course, designedly so—and these, together with the instruction of men whose tastes and sympathies are Romewards, will gradually and imperceptibly lead you on until you step from the true Protestant Church of England into the Anglican Church, and from the Anglican Church into the Church of Rome.

Friends, be on your guard lest the ritualistic fox fasten on you ere you are aware of it the old yoke of bondage which our forefathers were so little able to bear that they gave up their very lives in witnessing against it.

Depend upon it that Cranmer, Latimer, Ridley, Hooper, Rodgers, and a host of others did not die at the stake for a mere sentiment, but in defence of God's blessed truth as opposed to soul-destroying error.

Oh! then, think not lightly of the liberty then brought to you, sealed by the blood of martyrs. "Prove all things; hold fast that which is good" and according to the truth of the Gospel; bring all you see and hear to the light of God's Word, and let not the wily ritualistic fox mesmerise you with his tricks till he has you fast in downright Romish bondage.

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## The Means of Escape, or Existing Evils and Their Cure,

By John Nicholson.

An Elder of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints.

*"Now learn a parable of the fig tree: When his branch is yet tender, and putteth forth leaves, ye know that summer is nigh; So likewise ye, when ye shall see all these things, know that it is near, even at the doors."—Matt, xxiv, 32—33.*

WE live in strange times. Human affairs are hastening to a crisis. International struggles are imminent, "nation rising against nation," for supremacy and existence. Civilized governments are threatened by an internal and destructive agency, in the form of communism. This secret combination assumes different names and forms, according to the fancy of its devotees and the various stages of its advancement. It is Communism in France, Socialism in Germany, Internationalism in Spain and Italy, Nihilism in Russia, and similar sentiments and principles are cloaked under a variety of titles in America and the United Kingdom of Great Britain. These societies are opposed in spirit to all the restraints of law; they, are an increasing power, causing thrones to totter and soon through their agency, governments will crumble and fall.

On February 9th, 1831, the great Prophet of the latter-days received a revelation from God, on this subject. He was told to instruct the elders of the Church who should go to the east, to "teach them that shall be

converted to flee to the west, and this in consequence of that which is coming upon the earth, and of *secret combinations*." The prophecies in the Book of Mormon are plain on this subject, stating that "secret combinations to get power and gain," should be among the nations in the latter times, and would be a sign that the destruction of those governments in which they should exist would be near at hand.

The prevailing conflict between capital and labor is irrepressible, strikes being of almost daily occurrence. The increase of labor-saving machinery is creating over-stocked markets. This and other causes create a decline in trade for which there is no cure. Consequently the condition of the poorer classes grows from bad to worse. They will continue in that situation until driven, by desperation, to deeds of violence, scenes of anarchy and bloodshed will ensue and Babylon shall fall. "The merchants of the earth shall weep and mourn over her; for no man buyeth her merchandise any more" (see Rev. chap, xviii.)

Secularism and infidelity are sweeping over the nations like a mighty flood. Having broken through the restraining influence of religious feeling, the masses are plunging into a vortex of ruin, by indulgence in every species of iniquity. Crime is increasing with such rapidity that the cities of the world are fairly reeking with corruption. The earth is in "commotion" with the news of "famines, pestilence, wars and rumors of war." It has almost come to the point when "men's hearts are failing them for fear, and for looking after those things which are coming on the earth." Luke xxi—26. The present phase of things is because the world has been for centuries and is now in apostacy from the true order of the Gospel. Isaiah (xxiv. 5,) being enabled to behold, by prophetic power, the existing" condition of affairs, said: "The earth also is defiled under the inhabitants thereof; because they have transgressed the laws, changed the ordinance, broken the everlasting covenant."

Speaking of what should be previous to the second coming of Christ, Paul said (ii. Thess. ii. "Let no man deceive you by any means; for that day shall not come, except there come a *falling away* first, and that man of sin be revealed, the son of perdition."

The reader may say: "I can clearly see the perplexing dilemma the world has reached, but it is easier to point out an evil than the means of escape from it." It is not our intention to leave the matter in a maze of doubt, for as surely as God, through His servants, predicted the "falling away," when men should have "a form of godliness but denying the power thereof;" so also, by the voice of revelation, did he proclaim, that, in the latter times it would be restored. (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, kindred, tongue and people." Also, in telling his disciples what should be the signs, of his coming, Christ gave as one of them: (Matt. xxiv. 14.) "And this Gospel of the kingdom shall be preached in all the world for a witness unto all nations; and then shall the end come."

We make the solemn declaration that the fullness of the everlasting Gospel, with all its gifts, authority, and blessings has been restored, through the instrumentality of the Prophet Joseph Smith, in this age. This restoration came not by the will or power of man, but by the power of the Living God.

We extract the following from an article under the head of "Church History," written in 1842, by Joseph, the Prophet:

"I was born in the town of Sharon, Windsor county, Vermont, U. S. A., on the 23d of December, A. D. 1805. When ten years old my parents removed to Palmyra, New York, where we resided about four years, and from thence we removed to the town of Manchester, U. S. A.

"My father was a farmer and taught me the art of husbandry. When about fourteen years of age, I began to reflect upon the importance of being prepared for a future state, and, upon inquiring the plan of salvation, I found that there was a great clash in religious sentiments. Believing the word of God, I had confidence in the declaration of James, 'If a man lack wisdom let him ask of God, who giveth to all men liberally and up-braideth not, and it shall be given him,' I retired to a secret place in a grove and began to call upon the Lord. While fervently engaged in supplication, my mind was taken away from the objects with which I was surrounded, and I was enwrapped in a heavenly vision, and saw two glorious personages who exactly resembled each other in features and likeness, surrounded with a brilliant light, which eclipsed the sun at noon-day. They told me that all religious denominations were believing in incorrect doctrines, and that none of them was acknowledged of God as His Church and Kingdom. And I was expressly commanded to 'go not after them at the same time receiving a promise that the fullness of the Gospel should at some future time be made known unto me,'"

On the 21st of September, A. D., 1823, Joseph Smith was visited by an angel from the courts of glory, who instructed him further regarding the coming forth of the work of the Lord in the last days. This heavenly messenger informed him concerning certain plates that were hid in a hill, and on which was recorded the history of two races of people who had inhabited the American Continent, one descended from a small colony that was led out of Jerusalem about 600 years B. C.; and the other from a company that was led to the American Continent by the power of God, at the time the Lord confounded the language of the people who built the Tower of Babel. Those records, together with the Urim and Thummim, by means of which sacred instruments he was enabled to translate them, were committed to him, producing what is known as the Book of Mormon.

This record is in exact harmony with the doctrine and principles contained in the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments, and embodies many prophecies that have been fulfilled, many that are now being verified and others relating to events still in the future.

On the 15th of May, 1829, Joseph Smith and Oliver Cowdery were visited by John the Baptist, an angelic messenger from God, by whom they were ordained to the Aaronic Priesthood, which holds the keys of the ministering of angels and the gospel of repentance and of baptism by immersion for the remission of sins. Subsequently, by direct revelation from God, they were ordained to the Melchisedek Priesthood, which holds the keys of the laying on of the hands for the reception of the Holy Ghost. They were also commissioned to ordain others to the same great authority and to organize the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, which was done on the 6th day of April, 1830, in the town of Fayette, Seneca County, State of New York, United States of America. From that time the work spread in every direction, the word being confirmed by signs following the believers, as it was anciently, when holy men of old went forth administering among the people by the power and authority of the God of Israel.

In ancient times nearly the whole of the Prophets, and the Saviour himself and His Apostles, were the objects of bitter persecution. The introduction of the same principles, in this age, has produced the same effect. From the time Joseph Smith received his first vision till now, the work which he was the honored instrument in establishing has met with the most intense opposition. The Saints were robbed, plundered, and many of them slain by ruthless mobs in the States of New York, Ohio, Missouri and Illinois, the Prophet himself and his brother, Hyrum Smith, having been martyred in cold blood, on the 27th of June, 1844, in the last named State. Finally the Saints, being driven from the haunts of civilization sought out a home in the north-western wilds of America, which, by the practical working out of the principles for the espousal of which they were derided, driven, and "everywhere spoken evil against," they are fast causing "blossom as the rose," by the blessing of God.

The Saints, under the organization of the Church of Christ, as it existed anciently, with Apostles and Prophets, High Priests, Seventies, Elders, Bishops, Priests, Teachers, Deacons, Helps, Governments, etc., are establishing a purer and better order of society than exists anywhere else on the earth. They are progressing, by the application of measures for the benefit of the whole people, to that unity that will prepare them to receive the Lord Jesus Christ, whose coming we declare to be near at hand. Strikes and other evils that are distracting the social systems abroad are unknown among them. The Saints are nearing a union of sentiment and action that causes peace to abound among them and comparative plenty to prevail. Under the guiding spirit of inspiration from God, the people are being educated to a higher standard of morality in its broadest sense, including the business relations of life. By the gradual introduction of co-operative institutions, involving mutual interests, they are successfully progressing to the desirable point of unity in temporal as well as spiritual things. They are building up settlements, towns and cities, in which peace prevails and the hum of industry and song of rejoicing are heard. They are erecting Temples and Tabernacles for the administration of the sacred ordinances and the worship of the True and Living God. This noble work is being done by people of a great variety of nationalities, heretofore of different customs and habits, speaking different languages, but infused with one spirit, into which they have been baptized, which is the Spirit of Christ.

The Elders of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints are not hirelings, who "divine for money." At the call of the Saviour, they cheerfully sacrifice the interests of business and the comforts and endearments of home, going forth, like the disciples of old, to every part of the world where they can find an opening. Their message is to call upon the people to believe in God, the Eternal Father and in his Son, Jesus Christ; to repent of their sins, be baptized in water, by immersion, for the remission of the same, receive the laying on of hands for the reception of the Holy Ghost and obey the great command—"Come out of her, my people, that ye be not partakers of her sins and that ye receive not of her plagues." (Rev. xviii., 4.)

Many thousands are heeding the warning and are gathering from the nations with the Church year by year, for this is the ark of safety provided for the righteous from the abominations and calamities of the last days.

Hear it, O ye inhabitants of the earth, for we bear witness, in the name of Jesus Christ, that God has again spoken from the heavens and revealed the everlasting Gospel, for the salvation of all who believe and obey. It is a law of the scriptures that "in the mouths of two or three witnesses shall every word be established," and there are tens of thousands who can testify to the truth of these things.

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