

AN  
ANATOMICAL LECTURE

ON THE  
NEW CONSTITUTION,

AND THE  
BAD SUBJECTS TO WHOM IT OWES ITS PATERNITY.

DELIVERED IN THE "ROYAL AUSTRALIAN CIRCUS", YORK-STREET, SYDNEY,  
ON TUESDAY, 17TH JANUARY, 1854.

WITH NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS,

BY JOHN DUNMORE LANG, D.D.A.M.,

RECENTLY ONE OF THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE CITY OF SYDNEY, IN THE  
LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL OF NEW SOUTH WALES.

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Government is for the benefit of the people; and when rulers pervert the government to their own purposes, and oppress the people, then the remedy is with the people—peaceably if they can, by revolution if necessary. A Government perverted by cunning from its great ends is no longer binding upon its subjects.—KIRWAN.

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SYDNEY:

PRINTED BY F. CUNNINGHAME, AT THE "ALBION PRINTING  
OFFICE", 113, KING-STREET.

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1854.



## ANATOMICAL LECTURE, ETC.,

(From the "People's Advocate" of the 21st January, 1854.)

ON Tuesday evening last, pursuant to advertisement, the Rev. Dr. Lang delivered a lecture in the Royal Australian Circus, York-street, under the title of "An Anatomical Lecture on the New Constitution, and the bad subjects to whom it owes its paternity," the object being to "bell the two cats" that are just going home.\*

The large and commodious Circus was literally crowded in every part, there being not less than from 1800 to 2000 persons present. The Doctor was received with the loudest demonstrations of applause, and his lecture, which was a highly interesting one, was listened to throughout with the most marked attention, and the deepest interest.

We may here observe that the Circus has been fitted up in a very superior style since we last visited it, and great credit is due to Mr. Malcom for the arrangements which were made for the convenience of all parties on Tuesday evening last. The following is, as nearly as possible, a verbatim report of the lecture.

FELLOW COLONISTS AND FRIENDS,—About this time last year I happened to be in the City of Glasgow, where it was hastily arranged that I should deliver one or two lectures on the capabilities and prospects of Australia as a field for emigration from the mother country, in one of the public halls of that great city. My own idea on the subject was to deliver the lectures, as I propose doing now, *right off*, as Jonathan says, (laughter), and without any more ado about it. But the kind friends into whose hands I had fallen on the occasion, (and one has often more trouble with his friends on such occasions than with his enemies), these kind friends told me that it was absolutely necessary to have one of the notabilities of the place—the Lord Provost, or Mayor, if possible, and if not, one of the Baillies or Aldermen; and if even that were found impracticable, at all events one of the members of the City Council—to occupy the chair, or to preside at the meeting.

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\* The Honorable E. Deas Thomson, Colonial Secretary, and William Wentworth, Esq., one of the present members for the City of Sydney. These gentlemen are on the eve of embarking for England, where, it is expected, they will "move heaven and earth" to get the infamous measure, of which they are the authors here, passed into a law by the Home Government.

It was found, however, on making the requisite preliminary inquiries, that the Lord Provost was already engaged, agreeably to the phraseology of the place, "seventeen deep," that is, that for seventeen working days, at the very time I required him, which happened to be, what is called in Scotland, New Year's Day time, (a time of general gormandizing in my country, if there is any part of the Scotch year devoted to that purpose,) his lordship was either to dine out or to dine in for the good of the city; and Baillie This was, in like manner, to dine so often with Baillie That, and Baillie That with Baillie This, that the idea of getting a Baillie at all to preside at the meeting was almost hopeless. (Much and continued laughter.) In these circumstances, I requested my good friends to allow me to manage the matter in my own way, by dispensing with a chairman altogether; and I pledged myself that if they did so, we should get on as well as if we had all the Baillies in the city, and the Lord Provost to the bargain. They were rather curious to know how I should manage with this view, so as to do without such an indispensability as they considered a Baillie; but they were soon satisfied that I was in the right after all. For when the audience were assembled, consisting of about 1500 people, I got up and told them without further preface that I understood it was customary on such occasions for an entire stranger like myself, from a distance, to be introduced to the company by some one or other of the notabilities of the place, who would thereby give him a sort of certificate of character, and say a word or two in his favour to bespeak the countenance and support of the audience on his behalf. And no doubt, I acknowledged, all this was very advantageous for the obscure stranger. It gave him a sort of popularity which he might perhaps have very little chance of obtaining otherwise. It lifted him up into a sort of temporary notoriety, and made him attract the public gaze, much in the same way as a gentleman's flunkey does, when standing up behind his master's carriage, and shining from the light reflected from the great man who is riding before him. (Bursts of laughter, with loud and repeated cheers.) But, I confessed I greatly preferred having all such matters managed on what I designated for the moment, our Australian principle, which was that every tub should stand upon its own bottom, and every man tell his own story himself. (Renewed laughter and cheers.) Now, I can assure you that, after this introduction, which was received with a perfect burst of enthusiasm, my good friends acknowledged that there was no want of any civic notability in the case, any more than there is likely to be of any colonial notability, from the Governor-General downwards, to preside here this evening. (Renewed cheers.) To tell the honest truth, I have been disgusted, a hundred times, in this

fair city of ours, these thirty years past, at the unmanly, servile, crouching spirit so frequently evinced by men of fair standing otherwise, but who will on no account venture before the public on any subject, or cause, whatever be its merits, whether religious or secular, unless they have some colonial official, or other notability, to grace the assembly with his worthless presence, and to give it the whistle of his insignificant name. (Strong expressions of sympathy and approval.) In short, I am for every tub standing on its own bottom, and every man telling his own story himself. If it is worth telling, the people will find it out in time. If it is not, the longer it remains untold the better. (Renewed cheering.)

The story of this evening then, is to be an Anatomical Lecture on the New Constitution and its authors, or in other words, the bad subjects to whom it owes its paternity. (There was some disposition evinced here to disturb the proceedings, by one or two solitary individuals in different parts of the Circus, who seem to have been sent and paid by somebody for the express purpose; but the meeting very soon put them down and restored perfect order and propriety.) Now for the information of those who have not learned Greek, I would simply observe that the word Anatomical merely signifies what would be designated, in one of those great Haberdashery Establishments in George-street and Pitt-street—something in the Cutting-up Department. (Loud and repeated bursts of laughter and cheering.) And as some politicians make it their boast that their principle is Measures and not Men, I would simply protest against such a principle on the present occasion; for it is both measures and men that I would propose to cut up in the course of this Anatomical demonstration. (Renewed cheering.)

“But what right,” I shall probably be asked by some objecter,—“what right have you, as a professed Minister of religion, to meddle with such subjects at all? Mind your own proper business, and leave these things to other people.” Now, instead of replying to such an objection with any thing of my own, which might perhaps be deemed unsatisfactory in the quarter I allude to, I shall reply in the words of one of the most distinguished Englishmen of his day—a man whose splendid genius was the admiration of his country, whose reverence for the Christian religion, of which he was a minister, was undoubted and profound, and whose great heart was filled with an ardent love for the cause of freedom and the rights of men. The distinguished writer I allude to was the late Robert Hall, of Leicester. (Cheers.) Here are his words:—

“Though Christianity does not assume any immediate direction in the affairs of government, it inculcates those duties, and recommends that spirit, which will ever prompt us to cherish the principles of freedom. \* \* \* \* He who

breaks the fetters of slavery, and delivers a nation from thralldom, forms, in my opinion, the noblest comment on the great law of love, whilst he distributes the greatest blessings which man can receive from man; but next to that is the merit of him, who, in times like the present, watches over the edifice of public liberty, repairs its foundations, and strengthens its cement, when he beholds it hastening to decay. It is not in the power of every one, it is true, to benefit his age or country, in this distinguished manner, and accordingly it is no where expressly commanded; but where this ability exists, it is not diminished by our embracing Christianity, which consecrates every talent to the public good.\*

(Strong expressions of sympathy at the close of the reading of this paper.) Without deeming it necessary therefore to make any apology for occupying the place and position I now do, I shall forthwith proceed to the proper business of this evening. (Cheers.)

To begin then at the beginning, and to lay down the first principle in our proposed series of matters, it appears to me to have been a great mistake all along, on the part of this community, to have taken it for granted, as it seems to have tacitly done, that the present Legislative Council has any right to frame a Constitution for the people of this Colony at all. (Strong and general expressions of sympathy.) I deny that it has any such right, whether inherent as a Colonial Legislature, or derivative in virtue of any Act of Parliament whatsoever. (Strong expressions of approval.) The Imperial Act of 1850, although notoriously inadequate to our wants and wishes, would nevertheless have been a great improvement on our previous condition, if it had only been honestly carried out. For it gave us a Ten Pound Franchise, which was certainly a step in advance at the time in the right direction—(cheers) and it left the elective portion of the Representation to be distributed by the collective wisdom of the day, agreeably to the principles of the British Reform Act—the latest Act of the Imperial Parliament at the time at all applicable to the case. Now, what, I would ask, were those principles of the British Reform Act? Why, they were simply that the representation of the country should be distributed as far as practicable, on the principles of population and property combined. (Cheers.) There were doubtless great obstacles in the way of carrying out such principles at the time in the United Kingdom. For the Representative System in the mother country had numerous and venerable abuses, of nearly a thousand years' duration, embedded in its very substance; and in many instances, in consequence of the vested interests and alleged rights of parties in the case, these abuses defied

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\* "There are moments in the fortune of States," says the Right Honorable Edmund Burke, "when particular men are called to make improvements by great mental exertion."—*Reflections on the Revolution in France*.

The particular reason for this is stated as follows, by another eminent writer, the justly celebrated Professor Heeren, of Gottingen:—"Nothing can be more jealous than the love of liberty, and, unfortunately for mankind, experience shows too clearly that it has reason to be so."—*Heeren's Greece*.

Reform. But everything that was actually done under the British Reform Act was done in accordance with the principles I have stated; and the only reason why no more was done in vindication of these principles, and why a second Reform Act is now loudly called for in the mother country, (loud cheers) and has been actually promised, on the part of the present Government by Lord John Russell, (cheers) is that it was impossible at the time to do more than was actually accomplished. It was impossible at once to clear away the whole of the abuses that had grown up in the representative system of the United Kingdom, in the course of a thousand years. But there were no such obstacles *here* in the way of applying the principles of the British Reform Act to this Colony. (Strong expressions of sympathy.) There were no vested rights or interests in our case; there were no ancient boroughs or corporations *here*, with their charters from the Henrys and Edwards of the olden time, to stand up against Reform, and to claim protection for the monstrous abuses they exhibited, and that had grown grey and venerable from the mere lapse of time. (Strong expressions of concurrence.) There was a fair field to act on here without injury to any party or interest whatsoever. (Cheers.) But how was the thing managed by the thoroughly unprincipled men who did the deed of injustice and iniquity of which we have all so much reason to complain? Why, instead of distributing the representation of the country on the principles of the British Reform Act—the principles of population and property combined—for they always go hand in hand in the colonies,—a system of representation was concocted for the Colony, of the most barefaced, impudent, and iniquitous description imaginable—a system of representation under which nearly one-half of the population had only one sixth part of the Representation assigned to it, while the other half had five-sixths.\*

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\* The men who perpetrated this piece of political villainy, pretend, of course, to be ultra loyal, and enthusiasts for British connection. Let them know, however, how their unworthy actions are characterized by honest men.

“A conspiracy,” says the distinguished American moralist, Dr. Channing, “a conspiracy against the rights of the human race, is as foul a crime as rebellion against the rights of sovereigns; nor is there less of treason in warring against public freedom, than in assailing royal power.”—*Dr. Channing's Essay on the Life and Character of Napoleon Buonaparte.*

And again:—

“The greatest crime against society, that of spoiling it of its rights, and loading it with chains, still fails to move that deep abhorrence, which is its due. Regarding freedom as the chief interest of human nature, as essential to intellectual, moral, and religious progress, we look on men, who have signalized themselves by their hostility to it, with an indignation at once stern and sorrowful.”—*Ibid.*

“There has always existed, and still exists, a mournful obtuseness of moral feeling in regard to the crimes of political life. The wrongdoing of public men, on a large scale, has never drawn upon them that sincere, hearty abhorrence which visits private vice. The true moral feeling in regard to the crimes of public men is almost to be created.”—*Ibid.*

(Loud and general expressions of indignation.) And this virtually disfranchised half of the Colony, comprised the whole population of this great city and neighbourhood; the political weight of every citizen of Sydney being reduced, under the Electoral Act of 1851, to the vulgar fraction of only one tenth of the political weight of a resident in the Maranoa and Burnett River District, on the remote northern frontier of the Colony. (Loud and repeated expressions of indignation from all parts of the Circus.) In short, the unprincipled authors of that iniquitous Act turned into an actual reality what has hitherto passed current in society, as a mere harmless joke at the expense of that respectable part of the community, the tailors—they made every citizen of Sydney only equal to the ninth part of a man in the remotest Squatting District in the Colony! (Great laughter, mingled with strong and general expressions of indignation.) Now, I maintain that it were equally monstrous and suicidal, to admit for one moment, that a Legislature constructed on such a system of downright fraud, can have the shadow of a right to frame a Constitution for us, the people of New South Wales. (Loud and repeated cheers.) The men who perpetrated this notorious fraud, and who now, with their friends and abettors, constitute the Thomson and Wentworth majority of the present Legislative Council, constituted under the Electoral Act of 1851, are, in my humble opinion, in no respect superior to a company of burglars who have effected an unlawful entrance into some quiet Englishman's house by the back windows,\* and who, after "bailing up" † the family in the kitchen, are swilling away at the wine, like jolly beggars, on the first floor, and dividing among themselves all the plate and money they can find in the house. (Loud and incessant bursts of laughter and applause for some minutes.) Let this then be our first principle, that the present Legislative Council has no right whatever to frame a Constitution for us, and that we will on no account recognize anything in that way as at all binding upon us and the colony at large. (Strong and general expression of concurrence.) But if you should think my authority of itself insufficient in such a case,

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\* *He that entereth not by the door into the sheepfold, but climbeth up some other way, the same is a thief and a robber, John x. 1.* Now this is just as true in politics as it is in religion. "I will relate to you," says Demosthenes, while opposing a law introduced by Timocrates, "what Solon once said against a man who proposed a bad law. The cities, said he to the judges, have a law, that he who counterfeits money shall be put to death. He thought this law was made for the protection of private persons and their private intercourse; but the laws he esteemed the coin of the State. They, therefore, who corrupt the laws must be much more heavily punished than they who adulterate the coinage, or introduce bad money."—*Heeren's Greece.*

† A well known colonial phrase, applied to the case of persons tied up or shut up, for the time being, by burglars or robbers.



take, by all means, that of one of the greatest men of his day, the late Robert Hall, whom I have already quoted. "Tame submission to usurped power," says that illustrious man,— "tame submission to usurped power has hitherto been the malady of human nature." (Strong and general expressions of concurrence.) Let us take special care then, that this malady shall not reach us.

The next thing which, in my humble opinion, is indispensably necessary on the part of the liberal portion of the inhabitants of this Colony, under existing circumstances, is to put forth, for our own mutual information and guidance, some declaration, embodying the principles on which any Constitution for this Colony must be based, in order to its being acceded to by us, the people of New South Wales.

Now there may be some difference of opinion as to the comparative importance of the different principles to be embodied in such a declaration ; but I believe there will be a very general agreement, among intelligent persons throughout the Colony, as to the following, on each of which I shall make a very few remarks.

1. The first principle, then, on which I would insist on having any Constitution for this Colony based, is that of Universal Suffrage, or the possession of the Elective Franchise by every adult male colonist who is neither a pauper nor a felon. (Loud and general expressions of concurrence.) I claim this as the natural and inherent right of men, of which no person or authority on earth can have the shadow of a right to deprive them.\* (Repeated cheers.) I claim it, moreover, as the right of Englishmen under the British Constitution, as explained and declared by Lord John Russell at the introduction into Parliament of the famous Reform Bill of 1832 : and I mention Englishmen particularly—including of course both Irishmen and Scotchmen—because it was in England that the foundations of the British Constitution, under which we now all live, were originally laid, and the noble fabric reared to its present state of comparative perfection. (Renewed cheers.) But I claim this right still further as a measure of absolute necessity in the present circumstances of this Colony. In the course of the past week, a respectable free immigrant, recently arrived in the Colony, called upon me upon some clerical business, and told me in the course of

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\* *God's thoughts*, we are told in Scripture, *are not as our thoughts, neither are his ways our ways*. Now what are God's thoughts in regard to the suffrage? Why, they are such as the following :—*Honour all men*. And how can we honour all men, if we deny, perhaps one-half or two-thirds of them, the political franchise?

Again : *Whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so unto them*. Now where is the man in the Legislative Council, that would like to be deprived of the Franchise himself?

conversation that, finding no other more eligible employment open for him on his arrival in Sydney, he had gone and hired himself, like an honest man, as a stonemason's labourer; in which comparatively humble employment he was receiving, to my utter astonishment, wages at the rate of eighteen shillings a day. Now will any man tell me that, in a country where the very humblest class of labourers are earning such wages as these, it would be at all practicable, even if it were proper, to deprive these classes of the Elective Franchise? The idea is utterly absurd, and Universal suffrage must therefore be the law of the land in New South Wales, whatever be the consequences. (Loud and general expressions of concurrence.) For my own part I have no fear of these consequences; and in expressing such an opinion, I am not proceeding on a mere theory or conjecture, but reasoning from actual history, from well known facts. The Puritans of New England, a body originally of about twenty thousand people, who left their native land for conscience' sake, and settled in the wilds of America, during the tyranny first of James, then of Charles the First and Archbishop Laud, between the years 1620 and 1640, framed their constitutions for the little colonies or states they formed in the American wilderness, on the principle of universal suffrage, which they conceived, and I think rightly, they had found in the Bible or Word of God. And, strange and incredible as it may appear to those who are at all acquainted with the history of the numerous Revolutions that have taken place in most other parts of the civilised world during the last two centuries and a-half, these constitutions have remained unchanged to the present day. I happened, when I was in America myself in 1840, to attend a meeting of the Legislature of one of these ancient colonies or states, along with a literary and clerical friend who was thoroughly acquainted with the history of his country; and he told me that the constitution under which that Legislature still sat, as the representative of a sovereign and independent state, had been originally drawn up at a meeting of the first emigrants held in Mr. Somebody's barn, on the banks of the beautiful river Connecticut, two hundred and thirty years ago, and had remained unchanged to the present day; the only change, if it could be called one even in form, to which it had ever been subjected, being the necessary substitution of the word *people* for the word *king*, when the country became free and independent. In short, these honest men, the old Puritans of the 17th century, did the right thing at first, by establishing universal suffrage, and a government based on that principle as the law of their land, and it required no mending afterwards.\* (repeated cheers.)

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\* The permanence and stability of these old Colonial Constitutions and Govern-

2. A second principle, equally important and indispensable as the basis of a Constitution for this Colony, is that of Equal Electoral Districts, or a representation based on the principle of population. (Cheers.) In a long interview with which I was honoured in London, shortly before embarking on my return to the Colony, by these two distinguished patriots and statesmen, Mr. Richard Cobden and Mr. John Bright, members of Parliament, I was telling these gentlemen, at their own desire, how I had endeavoured to get this principle recognised and established in our electoral system, when the infamous Electoral Act of 1851 was on the tapis in our Legislative Council, of which I happened to be a member at the time, as one of the two representatives of the City of Sydney ; and how all my efforts on the occasion were defeated, through the jugglery of our Colonial Prime Minister, who represented the Government on the occasion, (the Honourable E. Deas Thomson, Colonial Secretary,) backed up, as it was, by the downright treachery of some, and the downright servility of others of the members of our Legislature at the period. I was telling these gentlemen this circumstance, and illustrating the propriety and justice of my proposal for the establishment of equal electoral districts, based on the principle of population, by shewing that, in the Colonies, where there are none of those political obstacles in the way of the general distribution of wealth that exist at home, it was notorious (the thing having been satisfactorily ascertained) that equal numbers of the population, whether in town or country—such numbers respectively as would form a proper constituency, for a representative of the people, in any country—were possessed of equal amounts of property or wealth ; so that the principle of population with us, actually implied the principle of property also—when Mr. Bright told me (to my utter astonishment, for I had thought such a state of things was peculiar to the Colonies,) that the very same result had been ascertained and established, from actual examination, even in England, notwithstanding all the obstacles to the general distribution of wealth or property that existed there ; equal amounts of the population, whether in town or country, implying equal amounts of property or wealth. This principle of Equal Electoral Districts, therefore, is one which I would insist on as the basis for any Constitution for this Colony, and which I would never surrender. (Much cheering and strong expressions of concurrence.)

3. The third principle which I would have embodied as

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ments is just another illustration of the principle that *God's thoughts are not as our thoughts* in these matters. "Such a Constitution will never stand," our Macquarie-street Legislators would exclaim : and yet these New England Constitutions have stood for more than two centuries.

the basis of a Constitution, in any such declaration as I have suggested, is a Legislature to consist of Two Houses, both exclusively elective. (Loud and general cheering.) I do not by any means attach the same importance to the principle of having a Legislature of Two Houses, as to either of those already enumerated, viz., Universal Suffrage and Representation based on population exclusively. Some of the greatest names in France were very lately of opinion that a single House of Legislature was all that was needed even in that great country; and in my opinion a single House might have been sufficient for all purposes here for a considerable time to come. But as Two Houses would assimilate us in this particular, not only to Great Britain, but to the United States, (cheers) I would willingly follow the precedent afforded us in these two great countries—on this condition, however, that both Houses should be exclusively elective, and the principle of nomineeism excluded at once and for ever from both Houses of the Legislature. (Loud and general cheering.)

4. A fourth principle on which I would insist, with the utmost tenacity, in any declaration setting forth the basis of a Constitution for this Colony, is the Repeal of the Squatting Act of 1846, so that all the waste lands of the Colony should thenceforth be open for purchase, and no rights of pre-emption be either recognised or allowed, beyond one square mile on each run; all Acts of Parliament, Orders in Council, and Colonial Regulations to the contrary, notwithstanding. (General cheering.) I think it is right and proper in such cases to tell all one's mind at once, and to state plainly and explicitly, without any ambiguity whatever, how far one would insist upon having the levelling principle carried on behalf of the people of these Colonies; for this is a question in which our fellow Colonists of Port Phillip are, perhaps, still more deeply interested than we are, and in which, therefore, they will be glad of our sympathy and concurrence. I would, therefore, insist, on the part of the people, on having all past legislation, whether Imperial or Colonial, on the subject of the waste lands of these Colonies swept away, and these lands left as free for purchase and settlement, with the exception I have mentioned, for all future immigrants from Great Britain, as well as for all actually in the Colonies at present, as the air we breathe or the light of heaven. (Cheers.) At the same time, I would by all means, leave the actual Squatters in undisturbed possession of their respective runs, so long as they are not required for permanent occupation and settlement, on some such terms as these runs were held on during the administration of Sir Richard Bourke, one of the ablest and best men we have ever had in this Colony. (Cheers from the old Colonists.) As I shall have occasion, however, to refer to

this point in the sequel, under a different aspect of the case, I shall say nothing further on the subject at present.

5. A fifth principle I should like to see embodied in any declaration setting forth the basis of a Constitution for this Colony, but to which I would by no means attach so much importance as to some of those I have already enumerated, is that of No Government Support for the clergy of any denomination. (General cheers.) This, I feel assured, will be the necessary and inevitable result of the natural progress of events in these Colonies, within a very short period—(General expressions of concurrence)—and, looking forward, as I do, with perfect confidence, to such a consummation, I would not insist very strongly on a recognition of the principle for the present, as part of a basis for our future Constitution. Only let us have a popular Government established, that is, a Government by and for the people, on the principles already enumerated, and the Holy Alliance of Church and State will very soon be disposed of in the right way, and that for ever.\* (General cheers.)

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\* The boasted alliance between Church and State, on which so many encomiums have been lavished, seems to have been little more than a compact between the priest and the magistrate, to betray the liberties of mankind, both civil and religious. To this the clergy, on their part at least, have continued steady, shunning enquiry, fearful of change, blind to the corruptions of Government, skilful to *discern the signs of the times*, and eager to improve every opportunity, and to employ all their art and eloquence to extend the prerogative and smooth the approaches of arbitrary power.—*Robert Hall*.

Independently of all the other reasons that may be pleaded for the entire separation of Church and State in Australia, there is a moral and religious one which has hitherto been but little adverted to. It was a principle of the Mosaic Law that the price of a dog or the hire of a prostitute should not be received into the Treasury of the Lord, or in other words, that money received from such impure sources should not be devoted to religious purposes. And we know that when Judas the traitor threw down the thirty pieces of silver which he had received for betraying innocent blood, the conscientious priests who had paid him the amount in the first instance, would not receive it again for religious purposes, when he brought it back to them, as it was the price of blood. But we have become, it seems, a great deal more liberal in these Christian times, both in Italy and in Australia. In the former of these countries, for instance, it is notoriously the practice of the better class of prostitutes in the great cities of Venice, Florence, Palermo, and Naples, to consecrate a fixed portion of their gains to the service of Madonna, their chosen patroness; and in Australia, where the revenue is almost exclusively derived, from duties on intoxicating liquors, we employ a portion of the fund, thus derived from the general intemperance of the country, or in other words from legalised drunkenness, for the support of religion and the maintenance of the clergy!!! No wonder if the interests of morality and religion should suffer under such a system. But what are we to think of the clergy of all the State—supported communions themselves anxiously desiring the continuance of that system? Only think of the Apostle Paul and his brother apostles supported, as preachers of the Gospel, from the proceeds of a tax on drunkenness! In short the present system degrades both religion and its ministers of all communions alike. In such circumstances, as those of a country deriving its revenues from intoxication, it is the plain and obvious duty of all ministers of religion to *touch not, taste not, handle not, the accursed thing*—State pay. What better is the ordinary Revenue, from which they draw their salaries, than the price of a dog or the hire of a prostitute?

Arrived as we now are at the third stage of our progress, let us look for a moment at what the present Legislative Council have done for us, under the infamous Electoral Act of 1851, both in the way of framing a new Constitution for us, and otherwise. I have already compared the men who have fraudulently got possession of that house of ours in Macquarie-street to a band of burglars, who have effected an entrance into some quiet citizen's house by one of the back windows, and are sharing among themselves all the plate and money they can find in the house. Now, I appeal to you all, as to whether this is not an accurate description, and no caricature, of what the Thomson and Wentworth majority of the Legislative Council have been doing with the money of the people of this Colony, for the last two sessions—creating offices that are in no way requisite for the public service; establishing exorbitant rates of salary for all the higher offices, and leaving the subordinates to subsist on a mere starvation allowance—(Strong expressions of concurrence)—creating retiring pensions in cases in which such a thing was never heard of before in any Colony; and last, but not least, in the four acts of this drama of legalised iniquity, voting away the public money in thousands, under the pretext of additional back salaries, in the case of men who had been treated in the most liberal manner as to salary before, and who only repaid this liberality by betraying the cause of the people whose bread they were eating all the while. (Loud and general expressions of indignation from all parts of the meeting.) And all this, you will recollect, was done while the public interests were neglected in a thousand instances—while the roads and bridges throughout the Colony were left in a state of shameful disrepair, and “moving accidents, by flood and field,” on all the highways and byeways of the Colony, were of daily occurrence. (Repeated expressions of concurrence.) In short, there is no denying the fact that these Legislative Councillors—I had almost called them burglars—(laughter) have been making very free of late with the people's money.

I will not waste your time upon the franchise system of the New Constitution, by contrasting its inconsistencies, its glaring deficiencies, and its cunning expedients to perpetuate the reign of injustice, with the state of things which, I have shewn already, both reason and justice, as well as the present state of the Colony, imperiously demand, viz., a representation based on universal suffrage, as being the only basis on which the franchise can now be placed, either with safety or with propriety. But I will say a word or two on the iniquitous electoral system of the Act of 1851, which, it seems, is to be perpetuated under the New Constitution, and rendered still more intolerable by the singularly cunning but

contemptible expedient of rendering any change, under that Constitution, virtually hopeless and impracticable.\* The object of all this, however, is too obvious to escape the notice of any person of the slightest discernment. It is evidently designed to perpetuate the thoroughly unprincipled system of government, with which the Colony is at present cursed—to subject the great body of the people throughout the Colony, to the domination of a particular and privileged class—to make the voice of the Colonists utterly powerless for the future, and to force “the iron into their very soul.” (Strong and general expressions of sympathy.) In addition to all these enormities, we are to have an Upper House of Nominees, appointed first for five years, and then for life, to serve as a millstone to be hanged around the neck of the Colony, to drag it down to utter perdition. (Strong expressions of indignation.)

But the whole case of this vile conspiracy, against the rights and liberties of the people of this land, becomes clear as daylight in the arrangements contemplated in regard to the waste lands of the Colony, viz., the perpetuation of the present Squatting system, with its renewable leases, and its rights of pre-emption—a principle which virtually confiscates the public property of the country, which sacrifices the rights and interests of the vast majority of the Colonists, to the grasping cupidity of a contemptible minority, and which places one part of the community, for all time coming, at daggers drawn towards another. (Strong and repeated expressions of indignation.) And the last crowning act of that superlatively unprincipled and worthless government that has brought all this iniquity to pass, has just, it seems, been consummated in the issuing of the leases that have been so long withheld from the squatters, from some compunctious feelings which, it appears, are now all gone. This, in short, is the last kick which that famous trio of conspirators against the rights and liberties of the people of this land—the Governor-General, the Colonial Secretary, and the Honourable and Learned Member for Sydney—are giving the people before they leave it, I trust for ever, at least as public men in any capacity whatsoever.

Now I have no hesitation in expressing my belief and conviction, that this land-question, treated as it is so much as a matter of course, by our legislators, and slept over by the colonial public, is nevertheless destined to become the great battlefield of this Colony, on which the grand struggle for the rights of the people will, ere long, be engaged in with might

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\* No change, in the Representative system provided by the New Constitution, is to be practicable, unless assented to by two-thirds of the forthcoming Legislature: and with a Legislature so constituted as that Constitution provides, such an assent would be utterly hopeless. (See Abstract of Constitution in Appendix).

and main; and on which the Standard of Freedom and Independence for Australia will at length be reared, amid the acclamations of thousands, in the sight of the whole civilized world. (Loud and continued cheering.) This land question of ours is merely a modern and Australian edition of the old world-famous agrarian struggle of ancient Rome—the struggle of the great body of the Roman people against the enormous cupidity and intolerable domination of a particular and privileged class, like that of our colonial squatters. And let it be remembered, that this ancient struggle, between the two great opposite classes of the Roman commonwealth, not only convulsed the Roman State again and again, but gave existence to a state of things, which involved, at last, the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire. The senators of ancient Rome occupied precisely the same position, in regard to the great body of the Roman people, as the modern squatters do, in regard to the great body of the people of Australia. By downright fraud and usurpation, they had succeeded in monopolizing, for their order, the public lands of the State, throughout the whole Roman world; and they had each enormous estates, like the runs of our squatters, all over Europe, for which they paid the merest trifle to the public treasury by way of Rent or Squatting License, and which they cultivated, when they were cultivated at all, by means of vast hordes of slaves. In this way the settlement of the different European provinces of the Roman Empire, with “a bold yeomanry, their country’s pride,” was entirely prevented; the small farmers who would have risen up into comfort and comparative independence, and formed a bulwark for the State, in seasons of emergency, under a different system, were virtually driven into the towns, and transformed into an abject semi-pauper town population; and the vast estates or runs of the Roman Squatters were inhabited only by slaves—Chinamen, Coolies, Cannibal Islanders, and Convicts, I suppose, purchased with the money of these Hereditary Titles-men. (Great laughter.) And as these slaves had no interest in the country, and no inducement to defend it, the provinces, in which they were located in hundreds of thousands, were successively overrun by vast hordes of barbarians from the north—the slaves the meanwhile merely passing from one master to another, without striking a single blow—and the empire thereby fell at last, almost in one day.

And so will it be some of these days with the British empire in Australia, if the Imperial Parliament are only sufficiently left to themselves to pass the New Constitution of Thomson, Wentworth, and Co., into a law, and to perpetuate the monstrous grievance of this country, the existing monopoly of its waste lands. I have no desire to assume the character



of a prophet by pretending to foretell future events; but to any person, even of the commonest discernment, it must be clear as daylight, from the vast accumulation of combustible materials now in progress all over Europe,\* that ere many years go round, there will be some great European war, in which, if we can anticipate the future from the uniform experience of the past, Great Britain and France will be ranged on opposite sides of the question, and their forces arrayed against each other in all the deadly hostility of war. (Expressions of concurrence.) Now as it is gold that supplies the sinews of war, there can be no doubt that the fame of the great gold fields of Australia will attract the future combatants to our immediate neighbourhood, and change the scene of European warfare from the narrow seas of the old world to the bosom of the vast Pacific. In such an event—taking it for granted that the New Constitution has, in the mean time, been established, and the present land system perpetuated by Act of Parliament—strenuous efforts will doubtless be made, by the future local government of the day, to arouse the colonists generally to defend the country against hostile aggression and French invasion. And will you, the colonists of New South Wales, be such consummate fools as to respond to any such call, to arm for any such purpose? (Indignant cries of No!) What will you have to defend in such a case? Not the country surely, for you will have very little interest of any kind in it; but the vilest system of government imaginable, including the rights of the squatters to their runs, under the New Constitution. (Strong and indignant expressions of concurrence.) Oh no! I am quite sure you will arm for no such purpose—you will defend no such cause. On the contrary, you will say, “The oppressor’s extremity is Australia’s opportunity; now’s the day, and now’s the hour, for Freedom and Independence.” (Great and continued applause.)

Besides, through the gross mismanagement and the culpable neglect of our interests, as British colonists, on the part of the Imperial authorities, the French have, in the mean time, got two of the principal keys of the Pacific into their hands—Tahiti on the one hand, and New Caledonia on the other.

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\* The state of Europe at this moment, is pretty much like that of Germany in the time of Luther. Il y aura bientôt dans l’Empire, un tumulte qui entrainera pele-mele princes, magistrats, eveques—*Le peuple a des yeux; il ne veut, il ne peut etre mené par la force.*—*Luther, D’Aubigné.*

And again: Les peuples ne sont plus maintenant ce qu’ils ont ete jusqu’ a cette heure. Le glaive des guerres civiles est suspendu sur la tete des rois.—*Luther, D’Aubigné.*

There will soon be a tumult in the Empire that will involve princes, magistrates, and bishops, and turn them all topsy turvy. The people have eyes; they neither will nor can be dragged along by main force. \* \* \* The nations are no longer what they have been hitherto. The sword of civil wars is suspended over the heads of kings.

(Strong expressions of indignation.) Now although the French are no great shakes at colonizing, they are a notable people for "playing at soldiers"; and they have just secured a position in our immediate neighbourhood that will enable them to command our whole line of coast. No man, indeed, knows better than that shrewd fellow, Louis Napoleon, that it would be hopeless either for him, or for any other power in Christendom, to seize and hold these Australian Colonies against the power of Britain, and without the concurrence of the colonists themselves: and I have no hesitation in expressing my own opinion in the case, viz., that any Australian colonist who would seriously propose anything of the kind—who would propose to transfer the sovereignty of these colonies to France, to Russia, or even to America—would richly deserve to be hanged and quartered for his pains. (Strong expressions of concurrence.) But it would be a totally different question for Louis Napoleon, in the event of a great European war that would place England and France on opposite sides, whether he should not assist the liberal portion of the inhabitants of Australia to get a thoroughly liberal government of their own, instead of the New Constitution and the Squatting monopoly, protected, as we are supposing both to be, by the British flag. (Renewed expressions of concurrence.) Let it not be forgotten that the French contributed materially to obtain Freedom and Independence for the United States of America, in their great struggle with Great Britain: (cheers) and it would surely be a feather in the cap of Louis Napoleon to follow the same noble example—to assist in precisely the same way, from his Colony of New Caledonia, in giving Freedom and Independence to Australia. (Renewed cheers.) It would be a most effectual way, in the estimation of the whole civilized world, of repaying a portion of the great debt of Waterloo. (Strong sensation.) Do not be alarmed, therefore, about the New Constitution and the squatters' monopoly, even though the Imperial Government should realise all the fond anticipations of the Thomson and Wentworth majority of the Legislative Council, and thereby do its worst for us, by binding both of these millstones about the neck of Australia. The womb of futurity is already big with Freedom and Independence for this community: and be assured that if nothing else should bring about the wished-for consummation beforehand, the first hostile shot on the Pacific will be the signal of the illustrious birth to the whole civilized world, provided we are still to be subjected, in the mean time, through the expected connivance of the Imperial parliament with the Thomson and Wentworth majority of the present Legislative Council, to a government of injustice and oppression. (Prolonged cheering.)

In the meantime, the practical question for us to answer is, What ought the liberal portion of the inhabitants of this Colony to do in the present emergency? Shall we re-enact the stale farce of petitioning her Majesty the Queen and the High Courts of Parliament against the New Constitution and the Land Grievance? For my own part, from what I have seen myself these many years past, I am heartily sick of all such petitioning, and would renounce it entirely for the future. (Expressions of concurrence.) I am persuaded that a totally different course would be far more effectual, both in strengthening the position and influence of the really liberal portion of the Colonists here, and in obtaining for us all we want from home. In one word, it appears to me to be the true policy of the liberal portion of the inhabitants of all these Australian colonies, under existing circumstances, to unite together in a mutual League for the achievement of Freedom and Independence for Australia. (Great cheering.) This, at all events, is the right way to "bell the Two Cats" that are just going home. (Laughter, and expressions of concurrence.) Not that I have any idea that the great object to be kept in view, the entire political freedom and national independence of Australia, is to be accomplished immediately or very speedily; for all great changes in society, that are destined to be permanent, must be preceded by a time of preparation.\* Not that I have any idea that the pursuit of this object will imply either violence or insurrection. On the contrary, the movement, in so far as I can anticipate its nature and character, will be one of enlightened reason, of calm deliberation, and perfect peace.† But, circumstanced as we are in these colonies at present, there can be no doubt that it will

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\* Almost all great enterprises are accomplished gradually, and by methods which have been learned from many unsuccessful trials, from a slow accumulation of experience.—*Dr. Channing.*

And again: Who that understands human nature, does not know that old associations are not broken up in a moment; that to minds, plunged in a midnight of error, truth must gradually open like the dawning day; that old views will mingle with the new; that old ideas, which we wish to banish, will adhere to the old words to which they were formerly attached; and that the sudden and entire eradication of long rooted errors, would be equivalent to the creation of a new intellect?—*Dr. Channing's Essay on the Life and Writings of Milton.*

And again: Nothing is more beautiful than to behold a new idea shine upon the horizon of human intelligence; nothing is so legitimate as to cause it to combat and conquer prejudice, customs, and the vicious institutions which resist it.—*Lamartine's History of the Girondists.* III. 296.

† This is the only rational mode of procedure, as witness Dr. Channing again. He who, by an intellectual and moral energy, awakens kindred energy in others, touches springs of infinite might, gives impulse to faculties to which no bounds can be prescribed, begins an action which can never end. One great and kindling thought from a retired and obscure man, may live when thrones are fallen, and the memory of those who filled them obliterated, and like an undying fire, may illuminate and quicken future generations.—*Dr. Channing's Essay on the Life and Character of Napoleon Buonaparte.*

at once attract the attention of the whole civilized world, and procure us the sympathies of millions on both sides of the Atlantic. (Much cheering.) Nay, I am persuaded that it is the only effectual means of bringing the Imperial Parliament to its senses, and urging it to do us speedy and complete justice. In the words of the poet, a little altered for the occasion,

“The League’s the thing

Will touch the conscience of the King.”

(Renewed cheering.) As I should be sorry, however, even to seem to wish to take any person by surprise in a matter of such importance to this entire community, I have no intention to make any formal proposal for the establishment of the League, until the whole subject shall have been explained to the public more fully. With the concurrence, therefore, of the proprietor of the Circus, I propose, if nothing unexpected should interfere, delivering a Second Lecture in this place, next Tuesday evening, the subject of which will be **THE RIGHTS OF COLONIES**, and especially the Right of these Australian Colonies, to entire political freedom and national independence. (Renewed cheering.) In the meantime, I beg to thank you most sincerely for the very patient and decorous attention you have shewn me throughout this long lecture, and to express the hope that I shall have the pleasure of meeting with a large portion of your number next Tuesday evening. (Prolonged cheering.)

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# THE NEW CONSTITUTION.

## ABSTRACT OF A BILL,

*To confer a Constitution on New South Wales, and to grant a Civil List to Her Majesty.*

WITH NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

PREAMBLE.—Setting forth the authority of the Council to frame a Constitution for the Colony under the Imperial Act of 1850.

I. II. III. The future Legislature to have power to originate Bills on all subjects; but any Bill or Act affecting Imperial questions or interests may be disallowed by Her Majesty, although passed by the Local Legislature; the Privy Council to determine, in case of any difference of opinion on the subject, what are Imperial questions or interests and what are not, and the disputed Bill or Act to be in abeyance till that determination is given. Bills on the following subjects are declared to involve Imperial questions and interests\*; viz.:

1. Bills touching the allegiance of the inhabitants of this colony to Her Majesty's Crown.

2. Bills touching the naturalisation of aliens.

3. Bills relating to treaties between the Crown and any foreign power.

4. Bills relating to political intercourse and communications between this colony and any officer of a foreign power or dependency.

5. Bills relating to the employment, command, and discipline of Her Majesty's sea and land forces within this colony, and whatever relates to the defence of the colony from foreign aggression, including the command of the Municipal Militia and Marine.

6. Bills relating to the crime of High Treason.

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\* The following is the deliberate opinion of an illustrious Colonist, of far higher standing throughout the civilized world than any of our late Constitution Mongers in New South Wales, as to this distinction of Imperial and Colonial subjects.

"Many perhaps will be surprised to see the Legislative authority of the British Parliament over the Colonies *denied in every instance*. These the writer informs, that, when he began this piece, he would probably have been surprised at such an opinion himself. For it was the result, not the occasion, of his disquisitions. He entered upon them with a view and expectation of being able to trace some constitutional line between those cases in which we ought, and those in which we ought not, to acknowledge the power of Parliament over us. In the prosecution of his enquiries he became fully convinced that *such a line doth not exist*; and that there can be no medium between acknowledging and denying that power IN ALL CASES."—*Considerations on the Nature and the Extent of the Authority of the British Parliament: by Dr. Benjamin Franklin. New York, 1774.*

The question as to Imperial and Colonial subjects will be somewhat similar to the famous question as to Spiritual and Temporal subjects in the Dark Ages. The Clergy of those times having got the principle recognized that the Secular Power had no right to intermeddle with spiritual subjects, all subjects whatsoever were eventually made spiritual subjects, and the Church became the Legislator for the world. The question in such a case as ours would simply resolve itself into this other knotty question, which of the Two Powers in collision will prove the strongest—the Imperial or the Australian—and that question can only be answered in one way <sup>the best</sup>.

IV. V. The future Legislative Council or Upper House to consist exclusively of Nominees, first for five years, and afterwards for life; one-fifth of their whole number to be officers of Government.\*

VI. VII. Vacating of seats by Resignation or Absence.

VIII. IX. X. Regulations as to Trial of Questions, Appointment and office of President, Quorum, Divisions and Casting Vote in the Legislative Council.

XI. XII. A Legislative Assembly, or Lower House, to be constituted, and to consist of fifty-four Members in the first instance.

XIII. Qualifications of Electors—Twenty-one years of age, a natural born or naturalized subject, having a clear estate of one hundred pounds value, or renting a house of not less than ten pounds yearly rent, or holding a Leasehold estate of that value, or a Squatting License to pasture stock, or being a lodger paying for board and lodging not less than forty pounds a year.

XIV. Provision for entitling Joint-owners or occupiers to the franchise in certain cases.

XV. The present Electoral Division of the Colony to remain in force, with a few insignificant exceptions, and these calculated to increase the Squatting influence.

XVI. Provision as to the exhibition of Electoral Lists.

XVII. Electoral system provided by the Bill not to be susceptible of alteration in future unless two-thirds of the Legislative Assembly and a majority of the Upper House shall concur in such alterations.†

XVIII. No property qualification different from that of Electors required.

XIX. XX. XXI. XXII. XXIII. Clauses disqualifying certain public officers, pensioners or persons holding offices of profit under the Crown, ministers of religion‡ and Government contractors from

\* A Nominee Upper House, consisting first of Five years' men, and then of Botany Bay Lifers, to resemble the British House of Peers, forsooth, and to give us something more of the British Constitution,—as if there were the least resemblance in the two cases!! Hear what the justly celebrated Professor Gervinus, of the University of Heidelberg, one of the ablest writers on matters of History and Government of the present age, says on that subject.

“*The British Constitution is not fitted to be a formula for any other; it may rather serve as a lesson to a people who in an equally patriotic spirit, and desirous of making the same use of old and new institutions, might form one adapted to their nature and peculiar character, which might rival the British most in excellence, when it resembled it least in form.*”—Gervinus' *Introduction to History of 19th Century.*

† It was natural for Botany Bay Lifers in expectancy to wish to see the whole Colony besides once more in double irons. It would have been something like the old blessed system of convictism restored with a vengeance. To prevent the future Legislature from effecting any change on the proposed Constitution, without two-thirds of a majority in favour of such a change, in an Assembly with a decided majority of its members under the Squatting influence and therefore opposed to any change, was indeed a sentence of degradation to this entire community.

‡ The object of this provision was simply to exclude Dr. Lang from any further Colonial Legislature in New South Wales. The Squatting influence, which is now all-powerful, must of course be maintained and kept pure as the <sup>given</sup> snow from the contact of every thing like liberalism or democracy. <sup>But</sup> if the New Constitution should actually become the law of the land in the Colony, its authors may rest assured that it will never break Dr. Lang's <sup>to</sup> find himself exclud-

being eligible in the Lower House; and rendering their election null and void.

XXIV. Places and time of holding Parliament.

XXV. XXVI. XXVII. One Session of the Legislature or Parliament to be held yearly; each Assembly to continue for five years, unless dissolved previously; and the first meeting to be held within six months from the proclamation of the New Constitution.

XXVIII. XXIX. XXX. XXXI. XXXII. Clauses regulating Election of Speaker, Quorum, Division and Casting Vote of Assembly; power of Assembly to sit and vote although all the writs not returned; and all members to take the oath of allegiance in the prescribed form.

XXXIII. XXXIV. XXXV. Clauses regulating Resignation of seats in Assembly; vacating seats in certain cases, and elections on vacancies.

XXXVI. XXXVII. XXXVIII. XXXIX. XL. Clauses regulating Standing Rules and Orders; presentation of Bills to the Governor for Assent, and procedure in the case of disallowed and reserved Bills.

XLI. No change to be effected in the Constitution unless assented to by two-thirds of the members of Assembly.

XLII. The Governor in certain cases to conform to Her Majesty's Instructions.\*

XLIII. Clause regulating appointments to subordinate offices in the Colony.

XLIV. XLV. XLVI. Judges to continue in office during good behaviour; but to be removeable on the address of Parliament, and their salaries to be secured during their continuance in office.

XLVII. XLVIII. XLIX. All existing Laws, Courts of Justice, Commissions &c. at present existing to remain in force.

L. LI. No duties to be imposed on supplies for troops; but duties, not differential, may be imposed although contrary to Acts of Parliament.

LII. LIII. Clauses regulating the boundaries of the Colony, leaving the northern one to be settled by Her Majesty; and providing that no abstraction of Territory shall be made in future from the three conterminous colonies without the consent of their respective Legislatures.

LIV. LV. Revenues of all kinds, including Territorial, to form a

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ed from any Legislature to be constituted under it. On the contrary, the duty of every honest man, in such a case, will, instead of knocking like a suppliant for admission into the future Colonial Legislature, be to do his utmost, in whatever way he can, to blow up the whole concern *sky-high*, as speedily as possible, by means of some such *Moral Force* Gunpowder Plot as the AUSTRALIAN LEAGUE for Freedom and Independence; which, the reader is hereby informed, was successfully inaugurated on the 26th of January 1854, while these pages were passing through the press. Looking at the New Constitution, therefore, on the one hand, and at the Australian League on the other, the colonists will exclaim with the poet *cur bane and antidote are both before us*.

\* As it were necessary to provide for any thing of the kind. It is a piece of downright and unmitigated flunkeyism, shewing that its authors are not only accustomed to wear double irons, but that they are proud of them and glory in them.

Consolidated Fund and to be charged with the expense of collection.

LVI. LVII. A Civil List of £64,300 to be payable to Her Majesty, including £28,000 for public worship, in lieu of all the Crown Revenues to be surrendered to the Legislature.

LVIII. LIX. Clauses establishing Pensions to be payable to certain officers after a certain period of service.

LX. The whole administration of the Waste Lands to be in the hands of the Legislature.\*

LXI. LXII. LXIII. Consolidated Fund to be charged with interest on Government Debentures, and no money bills to be proposed to the Legislature, or money issued, without the sanction and warrant of the Governor.

LXIV. LXV. LXVI. How the Act is to be proclaimed, and the word Governor to be understood.

LXVII. The foregoing provisions not to come into force, unless certain Acts of Parliament are repealed and the present Land system, with all its intolerable abuses, confirmed and perpetuated!!!†

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\* † These are the two Clauses that contain the whole essence of the New Constitution—the present Land System to be maintained and perpetuated. It is a gross outrage upon the common sense and right feeling of this entire community.

*FINIS.*

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BY THE SAME AUTHOR.

PREPARING FOR PUBLICATION,

THE FUTURE AUSTRALIAN REPUBLIC:

A SOCRATIC DIALOGUE,

BETWEEN AN ENGLISH GENTLEMAN, AND AN AUSTRALIAN COLONIST OF  
THIRTY YEARS' STANDING.

(Written at Sea.)

N.B.—The publication of this Work, which will embody the substance of the Second and Third Lectures recently delivered in the “Royal Circus”—on the Rights of Colonies—has hitherto been prevented from the want of a sufficient supply of Stationery of the kind required.