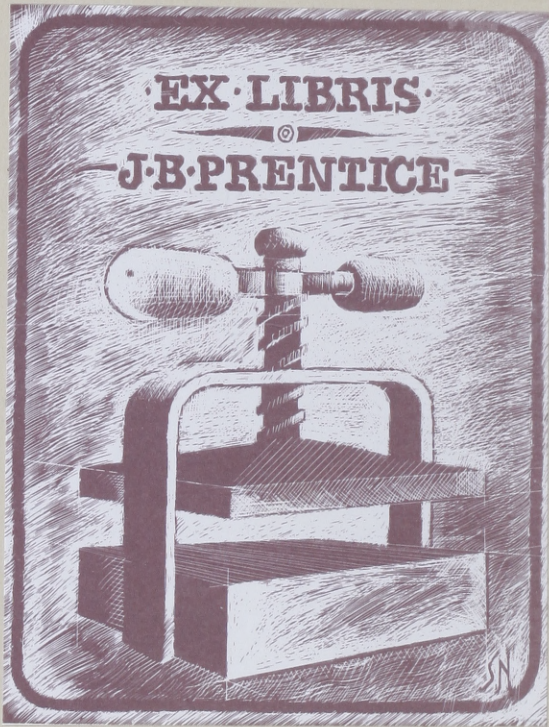




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CIVIL AND RELIGIOUS LIBERTY
IN EDUCATION

ADVOCATED IN A SERIES OF LETTERS TO THE
SYDNEY MORNING HERALD

BY

J. K. HEYDON, J.P.

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P R E F A C E.

THE writer of the following Letters has been recommended to republish them, because of the threatened revival of the agitation for "Free, Compulsory, and Secular" Schools; and he complies, because he dreads that, unless the electors be fully warned, the importance of adhering to the first principles that lie at the root of British Liberty may be overlooked.

It is a common trick with Demagogues, when they have to delude the multitude, to invent a plausible cry. The Secularists understand this, and they sugar their pill for Secular and Compulsory Schools by professing also that these schools shall be "Free." The profession, however, is only a juggle. The school-master must be supported, and if not paid directly by fees must be paid indirectly by the same parents in their capacity of citizens. The change would also be degrading, because the fathers of families would thereby be taught to receive as alms the money which after all they themselves would have provided long beforehand out of their own pockets. The writer goes for freedom more real and elevating. He would spare the parents the humiliation of being pauperised—of being deprived of an exercise of the virtue of self-reliance—and would secure for the children the power to hold up their heads with the proper pride of "free" citizens of a "free" country—of going to schools where they shall be subjected to no sense of inferiority, nor be put to the blush to confess themselves Christians.

A secondary object with the writer was to expose the bad logic and tergiversation of the advocates for purely secular schools. This the letters show; but perhaps the worst specimen of all occurred when the controversy was over, in the *Herald* editor's replies to the two last letters now printed as a Sequel. The senior member of our Fourth Estate thus delivers himself:—"In this country anybody is free to establish any school he may think proper, provided he does it at his own expense. *This is the essence of what economists call free trade.*" So that, according to this great

public educator, all the rest of us, even the Victorians themselves, (whose example, in the matter of primary education, is so persistently held up to us for imitation), have all along been under a delusion in concluding the fiscal policy of Victoria to be a policy of Protection; for a resident of Melbourne has never yet been prevented from importing foreign merchandize, no matter how heavy the duty on it at the Custom-house, provided he did it *at his own expense*. This great authority evidently knows of no medium between Free-trade and utter prohibition. He is in the same fog, too, as to what constitutes Protection. For he says:—"The claim to establish schools at the general expense for denominational purposes, is the essence of that which in the commercial world is known as Protection." Which, if true, would convict us of the absence of Free-trade, when we build distinctive railway carriages for the different classes of travellers. The editor is fond of placing people on the horns of a dilemma: let him choose which one he pleases of this:—Either he is ignorant of the A B C of Political Economy, or he holds the "unjust balance" spoken of in Scripture. It was he who put railroads and public schools upon a par; but, being challenged to administer them both upon the same principles, he denies the parity, and asserts a disparity, for that, forsooth, railroads as conducted by the government are trade, whereas schools, as kept by the same government, are *not* trade. Subsequently, he took upon him to lecture the Church of England Bishops in Victoria, and to rate them with opprobrium, because they sought help from their co-religionists at home, he insisting that in religious matters every tub must stand rigidly on its own bottom and repudiate all help; but then, being reminded that religion and education are trade the one no more than the other, and asked to explain now why self-support is incumbent on the former, and the same thing to be decried and interfered with in the latter, he wriggles out of it by inventing the nonsense quoted above. And these are the kind of men who ask us to submit the tender and susceptible minds of our children to *their* manipulation!

CIVIL AND RELIGIOUS LIBERTY IN EDUCATION.

PART FIRST.—SECULARISM RETROGRADE AND IMPIOUS.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE HERALD.

SIR,—I am sorry to observe, in the crusade waged in your columns, for a month or more, against denominational schools, that none of the writers appear to recognise the existence of those fundamental principles of liberty which were in vogue in my youth. I witnessed the triumph of Catholic Emancipation in 1829, and I remember that the Whigs and O'Connell achieved it because they appealed to the old British sentiment of civil and religious liberty—a sentiment that had subsisted in Britain persistently from the irruption of the Saxons into the island down to that period. Permit me then to recall to the present generation on what that fundamental idea, as I have learnt it, was based.

A student of history knows that in the ancient pagan republics there was no protection for the individual citizen as against the State—the idea was, that the welfare of the community was all in all. In consequence of that ruling idea, when the political leader lost power he was banished, or remorselessly crushed; and all changes of government were what we should now call revolutions—simply changes from the complete dominance of one faction to that of another, ending frequently in the rule of one overbearing

man. It might be Greek tyrant, or Roman dictator or emperor, who gathered the reins of power into his hands, but, once having them, he was then the State, before which all individual interests were as nothing. And we know how at last this became permanent under the Roman Emperors, and led naturally, by the servility in manners which it engendered, to the utter corruption of society.

But when the Goths and Germans overran the Empire they introduced a new order of ideas. With them each individual was a free man. The leader was only one chosen from among his peers. The State was a voluntary association, formed of men perfectly free to do whatever they liked—all sovereigns, who consented to forego certain portions of their liberty, to restrain themselves from the use of perfect freedom of action, for the sake of peace, order, and good neighbourhood among themselves, and for unity of action against the common enemy. These notions the Saxons and Angles brought to Britain, as their kindred barbarians did to the rest of Europe.

Christianity was at utter variance with the maxims of Pagan Rome. To become a Christian under the Emperors involved separation from society, and association with fellow-Christians only; but in the new barbarian ideas the Church found the human counterpart of the supernatural Gospel liberty which she proclaimed. The barbarians were converted to Christianity by units, and held their new convictions by virtue of their civil liberty—their inherent right to hold what opinions they pleased. It is true that in many, if not most cases, in England at least, the kings were the first to be converted, though it was not invariably so. But it did not at all follow that their subjects became Christians in consequence. The example of the kings had its natural influence in setting their subjects thinking, but went no farther. There were pagans in England long after all the Saxon kings had become Christian. And so the Church and State were two distinct organizations, harmonious, and, as society became more and more Christian, interwoven in parts, in the administration of their several functions; but Church and

State were never thoroughly one till kings took it upon them to be supreme in spirituals as well as temporals. It was then only that men were *forced* to go to church. But before that occurred the English nobles had wrung Magna Charta from King John, and Thomas a'Beckett had died for the "liberties of the Church." The nobles of John and the martyred Archbishop both defended the right of every man to worship God freely without let or hindrance from human power—both vindicated the same first principles that afterwards justified the rebellion of the Puritans in England and the resistance to an Erastian Church of the Cameronians in Scotland. They all insisted that no human power has a right to infringe on conscience—to come between man and his God.

These principles have triumphed. The modern democratic State is in complete contrast to the ancient pagan republic; and we have in the American Declaration of Independence a clear definition of what it is that the English peoples hold—namely, that all men are free, and equal before the law, and all entitled to worship God according to the dictates of conscience. Entire freedom, both civil and religious, is guaranteed by the articles of association. The right to worship in one's own way is declared to be a right reserved to the individual, not conceded to the State, placed on the same level as the right to live, to breathe the air, or to procure food. And the State undertakes to ensure to the citizen the free enjoyment of these rights. It is for the sake of securing the firm possession of his reserved rights, that the citizen gives up so much of his liberty as goes to constitute the State Government.*

Such is the true principle of civil and religious liberty; and it is this that, I contend, the promoters of this new scheme of free compulsory secular education are not only ignoring, but are endeavouring to replace by the same state of things that existed in pagan times, when the freedom of the individual was unknown.

* In speaking of "rights," of course I mean rights as between man and man. No one, as against God, has a *right* to disbelieve what He has revealed, or to break his law.

The freedom of the Christian to practise his religion includes the right to instruct his children. It is a part of his religion: he is bound in conscience by its injunctions to do so. The Holy Scriptures are replete with commands to train up a child in the way he should go, but one example will suffice—"And these words which I command thee this day shall be in thine heart, and thou shalt teach them diligently to thy children, and shalt talk of them when thou sittest in thine house, and when thou walkest by the way, and when thou liest down and when thou risest up. And thou shalt bind them for a sign upon thine head, and they shall be as frontlets between thine eyes, and thou shalt write them upon the posts of thy house and upon thy gates." (Deut. vi. 6.) This being so, how can it be said that the Christian citizen is protected in the free exercise of his religion if he be hindered in the performance of it, as assuredly he will be if his children are to be compelled to attend a school where his religion is ignored—where the teachers may be, not merely neutral, but, to judge them by their own avowals in their *Journal of Primary Education*, inimical to his and all "creeds."

To infringe the Christian citizen's right to teach his children his own religion is a subversion of the social contract—is a tyranny, and none the less if inflicted by force of numbers than if inflicted by force of arms. "An Englishman's house is his castle," is only a proverbial assertion of the truth I have been laying down, that there are rights which he retains as an individual—*which he cannot surrender and remain the free Englishman he was before*. And to break in upon those never-surrendered rights, especially this one of freedom of conscience, is to reintroduce the Pagan and Socialistic idea, that the State is of more consequence than the individual—is to do away with true liberty, and subject the individual to the majority—in short, to have no standard of right and wrong but the shifting opinions of the multitude, which would not be progress, but retrogression—a turning back from the idea of Christian and Saxon liberty to that of Pagan Greek and Roman times.

A most astonishing thing to me is to see ministers of religion heading this movement. The continued existence of the Nonconformist body in England is a standing protest against the delegation to any human institution of power over consciences. There is nothing more dear to the Presbyterian than what he calls the "Crown rights of Jesus," by which he asserts that God alone, and not an Erastian State, is the Lord of conscience. Yet, with singular inconsistency, we find men of both these bodies associating themselves with Unitarians and Infidels, to establish a first principle in direct opposition to that which has sustained each in its protest against the encroachments of the civil power—that "higher law" which bids us obey God rather than man. The philosophy of history teaches us that principles will work themselves out to their logical sequences. Ought they not, then, to pause before they admit the principle that the State may of right interfere with the education of their children, to this extent of compelling them to attend purely secular schools? What guarantee will they take as to how far the State's interference shall proceed?—that the next step will not be to teach the children something positively false?

It is often asserted that the secular school is not actually *against* religion. But, besides that at least it does not admit of the carrying into practice the text I have quoted from Deuteronomy, how many children, I would ask, are there not, whose parents either cannot or do not teach them religion, who set them, perhaps, a bad example? Are these children to be deprived of the modicum of religion which, even now small, the Denominational school is permitted to impart? Shall these small "means of grace" be taken from them?—and by ministers of Him who said, "Suffer little children to come unto me, and forbid them not?" That such children abound is only too well-known, especially in the country districts, where there are no Sunday schools, and where the clergyman's visits are few and far between; and shall these poor spiritually destitute children be deprived, at the instance of His own ministers, of their last chance of hearing something about

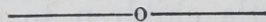
Jesus and his holy Gospel? Can any one pretend that this is not *against* religion? Then, again, what is to be said for the proposal, not merely to close the country schools, but to shut up those in Sydney itself, where there is no possibility of effecting a financial economy, and where the parents, upon Mr. Greenwood's own showing, having free choice, *prefer* the Denominational schools? Will this promote religion? Or even liberty?

Oh! but there is the Sabbath school. Is the compulsion to attend, then, to be extended to this too? But if, by impossibility and inconsistency, it were, what then? O mockery! Religion on one day of the week! Is this the religion of these ministers? Do they preach this from their pulpits? Do they tell men that they may do what they like all the week provided they come to listen to them on the Sunday?—that religion is not a thing for everyday wear?—that it does not matter about observing nine of the Commandments provided only the Sabbath-day be kept holy? This, we know, is not so; but how are they going to illustrate their preaching by their practice? They now ask us to put an additional burthen upon poor innocent children of bad parents, and to place in their way the last obstacle to their coming to Jesus.

Allow me, in conclusion, to quote one other text. "Whosoever shall scandalize [Prot. version, 'offend,'] one of these little ones that believe in me, it were better for him that a millstone were hanged about his neck, and he were cast into the sea." (Mark, ix. 42.)

J. K. HEYDON.

Ermington, August 8, 1874.



TO THE EDITOR OF THE HERALD.

SIR,—I duly noted the honour you did me on Wednesday last, in devoting a leading article to the consideration of my letter; but I have not, till now, found it convenient to reply.

It is evident, from the attitude your writer assumes in the first sentence he utters on his side, that the difference between his mind and mine is just the difference of the whole question at issue, namely, whether the State or the individual conscience is the superior in social matters affecting religion. *He* has already concluded in favour of the State, or he would not say,—“The burden of proof that unsectarian education violates the rights of the individual rests *of course* upon those who bring the charge.” This, in effect, begs the whole question. The burden of proof lies with the advocates of a change, and as yet I, on my side, had presumed that civil and religious liberty was not given up; but he, by throwing the burden of proof upon me, who stand upon the rights of the individual, takes it for granted that the State has already acquired the right to interfere. It is not I who complain of things as they are, but those who want to compel me to send my children to their new-fangled school, and it is they who should show *me* cause for interfering with my predilections.

Religion is to a Christian as precious at least as chastity to a woman; and you might as well call upon a lady, before giving her leave to avoid a blackguard, to *demonstrate* what it is in his rudeness that offends her modesty, as demand of a Christian *proof* that the teaching in a certain school is inimical to his sense of what he owes to God. Why, it is in this very thing that my religious liberty consists: it is something entirely between me and my God, and is not to be interfered with by mortal man. The moment it is interfered with, that moment my liberty is gone. I may, if I choose, furnish my objections in detail, but it must be only if I choose, and not as submitting them for approval. The State (or my opponent) may not think them valid, but that is nothing to me; my conscience, my duty to God, is my only rule after all. *And so long as I am a free Englishman it is my political right.*

A little further on your article places me “in this dilemma—all those parents who deeply feel the obligation (of teaching their children religion) will discharge it; all those who do not feel it *have no right to use this argument,*

as in their case it would be a hypocritical pretence." This is another proof that the point of what I said is not apprehended—that your writer cannot see things as I view them. I will try to make it clearer. When our Supreme Court settles the maintenance and education of a minor, it directs, in accordance with the principles of civil and religious liberty embodied in our law, that the child shall be brought up in the religion of his father; and it does so without inquiring in what degree the father had practised his religion. The State *has a duty to the child*, and the Judges are bound to secure to him all that he is entitled to through being the son of his father. His father's having led a bad life does not (as my opponent would have it) affect the right of the child to his father's religion, or diminish the duty of the State to preserve it to him. And the same is true of the living parent; his right to educate his child is not to be infringed because of his own shortcomings. How many fathers are there not, who are anxious that their children shall excel themselves in the purity of their lives; shall they be denied the right to place them under other and better instructors? Surely there is, in this their wish, at least no hypocrisy.

Suppose I parody my opponent's words, and place him "in this dilemma—all those parents who deeply feel the obligation (of teaching their children the three R.'s) will discharge it; all those who do not feel it have no right to complain of the want of free, compulsory, and secular schools, as in their case it would be a hypocritical pretence." Shall we put it in this way to the parents of our larrikins? And are really religious respectable people to have less consideration shown them, than what is proposed for the disreputable? Surely it is better to raise up these last, than to pull down the decent to the lower level.

But I stop here. Further criticism, however honest, might have the appearance of captiousness, and this question, to my mind, is too serious to be the subject of mere cavil. I prefer, with your permission, to pursue it in a direction which in my first letter I could only indicate. I then wrote:—"The philosophy of history teaches us

that principles will work themselves out to their logical sequences. Ought we not then to pause before we admit the principle that the State may of right interfere with the education of our children, to this extent of compelling them to attend purely secular schools? What guarantee shall we take as to how far the State's interference shall proceed?—that the next step will not be to teach them something positively false?"

Now I agree with a recent writer in the *Herald*, that there should be *no preferences* in the distribution of the goods of the State; that the Church and School Lands are the property of Jews, heathens, and secularists, equally with the four denominations; and that if the distribution of their proceeds is to be continued, the right of the minutest body in our community to a share in them should be conceded. But then let us be faithful to principle; let not the same injustice be again created by *denying rights*. If we insist upon a perfect equality for all in the State's goods, let us not again produce inequality by making it impossible for some to partake of them. Is not the money expended by the Council of Education taken from the State Treasury—from that common fund contributed by all alike? And ought it not to be disbursed with the same impartiality—without detriment to small sections, or favour to large ones—as the proceeds of the Church and School Lands? In justice, no more favour should be shown to the secularist section in educational respects than to the four denominations in religious regards. It would be just as unfair now to support with the public money secularist schools *only*, as it was in the beginning to devote these lands to the maintenance of the Church of England only. It is as idle to say, in the face of objections by numbers of the people, that the secularist school will be open to all, as it was at one time to support the Church of England alone under the fiction that it too was available for everybody.

Let us take care, after having overthrown the State Church, that we do not set up an idol in its place; once we have put it away, let it not be reintroduced under another name. In abolishing State-aid we put our final seal upon

the civil and religious liberty of the individual. Let us not now undo our work—let us not now revive the old error under a worse form, by setting up a new State religion under the insidious guise of a system of secular education; for secularism is a religion—a religion whose leading dogma is, that morality and good citizenship are separable from Christianity and the Bible, and from all creeds; a religion which defies self, which contains in germ that reading, writing, and arithmetic, with a little analysis and geography, are enough to qualify men for all the functions and ends of being, and to make them fit to be “our rulers;” and which inculcates by example and by implication, but not therefore the less effectually, the Socialistic idea that our children belong to the State more than to ourselves, and thereby undermines the Christian order of civilization, which is based upon the family, and so paves the way for a speedy return to paganism; with many other anti-Christian doctrines not yet promulgated here, but openly held by numerous individuals of the sect. (See any one of the Secularist tracts circulated in the city.)

Now let us see what state of things would result, when once this scheme for free, compulsory, secular education should be set up. There would be distributed over the face of the whole colony a great number of State teachers, each performing, for the rising generation of his district, functions analogous to the parish clergyman’s duties to his flock in England. Over them would be the inspectors, the equivalents of rural deans, and above them all the secretary to the Council of Education, whose position as overseer of all would be equal to that of bishop of this new State Secularist Church. These inspectors and teachers, though holding nominally from the Council, would have been trained, selected, and appointed their several tasks by the secretary, the virtual bishop. What a power would not this gentleman hold in his hands!—and he responsible only to the Council, every member of which, by-the-bye, is removable at any moment by the Minister of the day. How could he not impress his own views upon this large body, all looking up to him for approval and

promotion! The ability of the present secretary in carrying out the Public Schools Act has been shown; his power to be master in the much larger sphere contemplated in the new scheme cannot be doubted. It is quite fair to augur from the past what we may expect in the future. We have learnt, in the columns of the *Journal of Primary Education*, what the proclivities of the teachers employed in our present Public schools are, and we find them secularist to the core, *i.e.*, inimical to positive belief. We have not heard that this has ever been checked, while we have lately seen some teachers suspended for expressing doubts of the impartiality of their superiors. Is it unfair, then, to conclude that in the future the same tone, and consequent teaching, would prevail? Let me put, for the sake of argument, a definite case. Suppose Mr. Wilkins, or his successor, under the proposed new state of things, were to hold the opinion that no such being as the Devil exists; and suppose that he hesitated not to say so openly, and, as is quite natural, were to favour, or be supposed to favour, by promotion or otherwise, some teachers who expressed the same belief. How long in that case would it be before the opinion would spread among the others, and find its way into *those oral instructions to pupils which accompany the lessons*? Now this opinion, as a matter of course, denies the inspiration of Scripture, by discrediting the narratives of demons being driven out by Our Lord from the bodies of persons possessed; and of what use would be the teaching of religion by parents at home, if the contrary were imparted by the teacher at the school? Then we must remember, too, that in ten short years all boys of eleven years of age and upwards will be grown men, and entitled to vote at elections. Are we content to take the possible consequences? We must, no doubt, "educate our rulers;" but shall we, with our eyes open, educate them to be our persecutors?

But for the present I must conclude. I think I know the way out of our difficulty, if I could only bring about its adoption. Should you enable me to present it, I will produce my plan on a future occasion.

J. K. HEYDON.

Ermington, August 22.

PART SECOND.—FREE TRADE IN ALL THINGS.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE HERALD.

SIR,—On the 8th instant I noticed in your paper a column of advertisements, headed “Educational,” and, casting my eyes down it, found it to contain numerous announcements of the reopening of private schools. Since that date I have observed many others, of schools whose vacations were more extended, and have been struck by the great want in our community of which these advertisements are the evidence. These schools must supply to the pupils either superior instruction or more select association, perhaps both, or they could not be supported in competition with public schools. The keeper of each private school must hire a schoolroom and pay the rent and taxes for it, must fit it up with furniture and apparatus and books, and then depend entirely upon fees to meet those expenses and earn a living. The Public school teachers, on the other hand, have no expenses, have good salaries, and receive their fees as so much pocket-money. For all that, the private teachers rub along, and are even able to meet one other outlay to which their favoured rivals are never subject—the cash they pay down for their advertisements in the papers—except, indeed, in those cases, of which I know one, where the schoolmaster so well supplies a want for which parents are very willing to pay, that he has no need to advertise at all.

Now, Sir, does not the unfairness of all this, both to the private teacher and to the parents who have to make use of his services, strike you as well as me? As a community, we profess to act upon free-trade principles: we insist upon them indeed so far, that our Government dare not obtain our iron rails from our own mines, or construct locomotives in our own workshops, or import immigrants to do our work, lest the proclivities of our merchants and

workmen-electors should be offended. And yet, at the same time, we are so inconsistent as to set up a gigantic State monopoly to repress our own selves in the performance of one of the most sacred duties of parentage, and, by it, to handicap heavily all those private teachers whom we prefer to entrust with that duty. Why should we thus hamper ourselves? Why should we not have free trade in education as in all other things? It is now some years since that, by abolishing State-aid, we declared for free trade in religion, and issued our legislative fiat in favour of religious liberty—in favour of setting every one of us free from all State inducements to follow aught but the unbiassed dictates of conscience—in favour of commending to each of us individually the care of his own soul. What is there between care for ourselves and care for our children that calls for State interference in the one duty and prohibits it in the other? Why are we so thoroughly to be relied upon in one respect, and yet to be treated as untrustworthy in regard of the other? Ought we not to be consistent?

And then with regard to the teachers. What is there in their case that they should be dealt with differently from all others?—from the practitioners of the learned professions, for example. The law, in a commonwealth like ours, is the only bond of unity—is the only matter in which we are bound to be all of one mind; and if there were a case in which theoretically the State would be justified in employing a practitioner in every district, it would be in this. They do so in China; but with us, from time immemorial, in the spirit of our race, we have, after examining his attainments and certifying his competency, left the legal practitioner to find his place for himself under the inexorable law of supply and demand. And this has brought its own reward: free trade in the profession of the law has, more than anything else, built up British liberty. Of the medical men I need only call to mind that it was very lately that we refused them the power of examining and certifying their own body, on the very ground that we might thereby be creating a monopoly.

What then, I have a right to ask, is there about the teachers in our Public Schools that they should be exceptionally placed—that they should be the only class “protected”—that they should enjoy that most inimical thing to British liberty, a Government monopoly? Are they themselves, or is their system of tuition, or what they teach, better, or more to the taste of the people, than what we can provide for ourselves from private sources? The contrary of all this might be shown in detail, as it often has been, but the existence of so many private schools, and the extensive support conferred upon them, is a complete answer. The fact is, the Public School system is inefficient, effete, and deleterious, as many parents have by this time found out, and its days would be numbered were it not for the exertions of a certain wire-pulling class, who hope, by means of it, to manipulate the rising generation into the holding of ideas and opinions in accordance with their own. One of their objects, as is patent to the world, though we have Dr. Barker’s testimony for it too, is to destroy Catholicity; but let not the God-fearing Protestants, who feel inclined to help them so far as that, imagine that it is intended to stop there. The Public School system relegates heaven, hell, the Bible, revelation, God, and even the glorious history of our forefathers, to a position of unimportance and irrelevancy, and practically deprives the children of a knowledge of all those things. In that way it prepares their young minds for an easy reception of the new worship of nature and humanity, the accepted creed of the most active upholders and loudest advocates of this State monopoly.

It is not necessary at this time of day to prove the inherent viciousness of all monopoly—that was settled very long ago; but it does seem that we have now for such a length of time been in the enjoyment of the fruits of our forefathers’ struggle for freedom, that we forget the blessings they secured for us, and how dearly we ought to cherish them. We are unthrifty heirs of a rich inheritance. In the days when our ancestors wrought out that civil and religious liberty which is the admiration of the world,

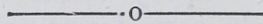
Government monopoly was an Englishman's abhorrence; but nowadays large numbers of us have acquired a habit of looking to the Government for everything, and, if our emasculated Public School teaching be much longer continued, that pernicious pagan doctrine, that the State is all in all and the individual nothing, will again assert its soul-crushing power, and destroy the fruit of ten centuries of English history. The possession of the franchise is no guarantee for freedom, unless the intelligent conception of it be in the minds of the people.

I demand, then, while it is yet time, and in the name of old-fashioned patriotism, and even if my single voice alone shall be raised for it, *free trade in education*. I demand that the State shall confine itself to what is lawfully within its domain. If the State may not teach religion, *a fortiori* it must not teach *ir*-religion. "He that is not with Me is against Me, and He that gathereth not with Me, scattereth." The State may certify to the competency of teachers in seculars, may compel the erection of schools upon sanitary principles, may insist upon its citizens being able to read and write and cipher before it will admit them to full membership in the commonwealth or employ them in the public service, but it must not touch conscience, even by an insidious deprivation of the food which conscience feeds upon—it must not emasculate the soul. Better than this a thousand times, the greatest divergence of opinion: better to blunder than to stagnate. No, let us take leave to do our own work, let us submit even to be compelled to do it, let us be deprived of our privileges if we do not do it, but let us do it our own way, and in perfect personal freedom. You, Sir, in your dissatisfaction with the results of the Council of Education, talk of substituting for it a Minister of Instruction; but I say, abolish State-aid to this mind-stunting system of no-religion, rent all the public school-houses to the highest bidder, let every schoolmaster pursue his own method and use the books he likes best, and then let competition and the public favour do all the rest. Then may we hope to see perpetuated in Australia those old British

ideas which have worked out the most perfect system of freedom the world has ever known—a system which that world is endeavouring, however vainly, for foreigners do not possess our shibboleth, to assimilate. The root of these ideas, the secret of their success in our race, the ballast which has preserved our liberty as against kings, and prevented it from running into license in the direction of democracy, is the civil and *religious* liberty of *the individual*. Erase that from the minds of our youth by training them into a substitution of latitudinarianism for that Christianity which is the common law of England, and they lose the traditions of the race and the source of its energy, and, losing them, lose the desire to emulate the deeds of their ancestors. They will become, not free original-minded men, but State-moulded prigs, the ready prey of the demagogue and the materialist, and even of the Commune. This is not exaggeration but fact, elsewhere accomplished. We have not far to look to see these results wrought out. America may confidently be cited as an example.

J. K. HEYDON.

Ermington, January 15.



TO THE EDITOR OF THE HERALD.

SIR,—My letter of last week has elicited responses from a representative of each of the two classes to whom I pointed as the principal advocates for the maintenance of our present Public-school system, namely, that class of Protestant bigots who scruple at no means for disparaging the Catholic Church and her members, and that other class whose aim is ulterior, who discredit the Bible and revelation, and would abolish Christianity itself. The letters of the Rev. Mr. Kirby and Mr. John Mills were, however, both so flippant, uncourteous, and inconsequent, and so plainly discovered a virulent animus, that I had concluded not to answer them. I reckoned that the very small modicum of argument they contained was so neutralized by their unfairness that their

general effect would be to corroborate all that I had said. Now, however, that you have yourself done me the honour to notice my deliverance, I feel called upon again to take up my pen.

Here is a specimen of Mr. Kirby's argument. He says:—"These private schools to which Mr. Heydon refers are standing evidence that there is no monopoly." And again:—"With sweet simplicity we are asked, Why should we not have free trade in education? Dear Mr. Heydon, we have got it. Anybody that likes can go into the business, none daring to make him afraid." Now I will suppose Mr. Kirby, in his character of Congregationist, to have, some years ago, before the abolishing of State-aid, asked for free trade in religion. Would he have been content to be answered in his own words:—"Those private (Churches) to which Mr. Kirby refers are standing evidence that there is no monopoly." Or again:—"With sweet simplicity we are asked, Why should we not have free trade in religion. Dear Mr. Kirby, you have got it. Anybody that likes can go into the business and preach from morning till night, none daring to make him afraid." I greatly suspect that the "sauce" which Mr. Kirby would give to me as a Catholic goose is not what he would have been satisfied with as a Congregationalist gander. Indeed, there is not an argument now used for keeping up Public schools that might not with equal force have been urged for State-aid to religion. The argument for a system of secular schools *only*, on the ground that that suits all, is on a par with that old argument of former days, that the Church of England was sufficient for everybody.

Mr. John Mills sins in the same way. His whole argument is one-sided. Last August he suggested a text-book of ethics, to be compiled on the idea of Spinoza, and used in the Public Schools in place of religious instruction. From such a compilation it is evident Mr. Mills would omit that divine axiom, "Do unto others as you would that they should do unto you," or he would not write as follows:—"Perhaps the State would do well to confine itself to the duty of 'certifying to the competency of

teachers in seculars ;' but, unfortunately for Mr. H., the State has determined otherwise ; and surely Mr. H. and his small party (small intellectually, I mean) do not suppose that they are to be allowed to deprive the State of its supremacy." Now let us suppose that an Act had been passed to compel all persons bearing the name of John to pay for the education of the children of those named James. Mr. John Mills would probably say that such an unjust law ought to be repealed, and would be surprised perhaps to find his own words turned against him as follows :— "Perhaps the State *would* do well to repeal the Act in question, but, unfortunately for Mr. John Mills, the State has determined otherwise, and surely Mr. Mills and his small party (small intellectually, I mean) do not suppose that they are to be allowed to deprive the State of its supremacy." This community of free Englishmen is not yet prepared to place itself under the law of the brutes, that might is right. There are thousands of quiet ones among us who will not bow the knee to this Baal of State supremacy, and who, if occasion arise, will come forth in their might in defence of the eternal principle, that God's law must be obeyed rather than what in opposition to it man may manufacture.

But I have no wish to spend more time upon my brace of antagonists, and turn with a feeling of relief to the consideration of your more kindly and reasonable treatment of my subject.

Your position I take to be this :—1st. You admit that the education of the child is the right and the duty of the parent. (Conceded in your controversy with the Rev. Mr. Selwyn.) 2nd. You say that this duty of the parents has not been performed by them, as for the whole mass of the population, either here or elsewhere. 3rd. That it has become a necessity for the State to perform this duty, inasmuch as the State has a right to insist upon all its citizens being so enlightened as to be able efficiently to perform their civil functions. 4th. That the State has as much right to perform this duty as it has to make railroads and establish the post-office.

Now, Sir, I might at once demur to this catalogue of assertions, that it is irrelevant to the issue between us, which is as to whether the present *method* of the State's performing the duty you have assumed for it is the correct one. It might all be as you lay it down, and yet might also be that the State has done its lawful work in the clumsiest, most inefficient, and most unfair manner possible. But, from your own premisses, it cannot be that the State has a right to assume this function. A right, to be really such, must be indefeasible; that is, not liable to infringement, even by the whole civil power. Take the case of the right to hold property. It is against the Constitution that the highest, or even all the powers of the State combined, shall rob an Englishman of his property. He may misuse it, even waste it, and still none have the power to take it out of his hands. The only thing he may not do with it is to make it a nuisance to his neighbours. When he does that, authority may restrain him and compel him to abate the nuisance; but even in restraining him the State does not touch his right to his property—it holds that sacred, and goes no farther than to subject him to pains and penalties till he ceases to offend. Equally the right of the parent to have control of the education of his child, if a right at all, must be indefeasible, and may not constitutionally be interfered with. Hitherto the parent's non-teaching of his child has been looked upon in the same light as a man's wasting his property, and has been thought to be sufficiently guarded against by the parental affections; but I for one am willing to concede that unnatural conduct in this respect shall in future be deemed a nuisance, and be liable to restraint. But then this is not to be done by depriving the parent of his original right. To take the education of the child altogether out of his hands, still more to teach him in a manner distasteful to him, is a wrong, and is a usurpation by the State of a right that was specially refused to it by Magna Charta and the Bill of Rights, and that never belonged to it by the Common Law.

With regard to the second assertion, I am not prepared to controvert it. I only demur. I only say that it is

against all my personal experience. In my native place, Plymouth, private schools, when I was a boy, were as plentiful as blackberries, and were far more efficient than the Public schools of this colony. I competed at a "Ma'am" school before I was seven years of age, for a prize that was to be given to the best reciter of the 2nd chapter of St. Luke. I won, but was closely run by several children of my own age. Then I was sent in succession to three schools attended by the same class as now go to our metropolitan Public schools. These schools were well attended; parents then were ashamed to neglect their children's education; and the instruction at them all, and the progress made by the pupils, were both superior to what I find now. Ask any man of my age who was brought up in an English town in the class of respectable artizans, and see if he does not corroborate me as to the equal prevalence of education in other parts of England. As to this colony, during my thirty-eight years' experience there has been no failure, except in those very thinly populated districts where school-keeping was an impossibility. The grown-up natives of Sydney, at all events, are well up in the three R.s; and, if the Government had not so early interfered and thwarted private enterprise, I do believe we should by this time have been furnished with private schools in every nook of the land. Many an educated man have I known, compelled to vegetate on a station as a tutor at £40 a year, who would have opened school in a town but for the competition of the State-aided teachers.

I am willing, however, as I have said, to concede that in general this assertion may be right; but does it follow that because some, even a moiety, have neglected their duty, that their right is to be taken from them, or, still more, that the right of control over their children's education shall be taken from those parents who, in spite of so evil an example, have sedulously performed that duty? Let us revert to the analogous case of the right to property. Suppose several freeholders in a district persisted in creating nuisances, would the State be justified in taking away their property altogether? And could the shadow of a justifica-

tion be found for dealing in that way with those who had never offended at all ?

Your third statement I could readily agree with if you had put it in this way : That it has become a necessity for the State to insist upon the right and duty of the parent to educate his child *being performed*. But I do deny that the State is under any necessity to perform it itself. I say more. By so much as the right to freedom of conscience is a *dearer* right than the right to hold property, the unconstitutional invasion of it is the greater tyranny.

In reference to the fourth assertion, that the right to set up State schools is on a par with the State right to establish the means of conveying letters, merchandize, and passengers, you must excuse me if I consider it specious. Your idea of the boundary, in the commonwealth, between the rights of the citizen and the rights of the governing power, is too indistinct. The English Legislature, though it is the maker of our laws, is itself bound by the Constitution. If King, Lords, and Commons should some day pass beyond their acknowledged function and enact a law to deprive the people of their constitutional rights, it would be revolution, and that law would be null, and the people at large would resume the functions of government into their own hands. The governing powers of the Commonwealth are in the last instance neither supreme nor infallible. Altogether, as a system of checks devised by experience, they are the best machinery the world has yet invented *for preserving* to the units that make up the nation their *individual rights and liberty*. But they exist only for that purpose, and their powers do not extend beyond. The making of railroads, establishing the post, and setting up telegraphs are within the civil functions of the State, and are no invasion of rights, no interference with the principles of freedom or of free trade, for their benefits are accorded to all alike and are denied to nobody. Indeed, so far as these institutions may be taken as at all analogous to a system of tuition by the State, they serve to indicate the fairness and efficiency with which a State function

ought to be dispensed, and how the wants and wishes of every class should be considered. Before the State authorities in this colony invaded the right of the people to educate their own offspring, and did it in a manner inimical to the conscience and feelings of at least one-half of the people, it should first have subjected the defaulting citizen to pains and penalties for his neglect, and put him under disabilities so long as he continued in default of his duty—have deprived him of his vote, and not allowed him to free-select, for example—and then, if at length it was discovered that some assistance from the State was absolutely necessary to attain the desired end, that assistance should have been rendered upon what are now called *free-trade principles*, but which, after all, are only the outcome and development of the constitutional principles of our freedom. It should be rendered to all alike, and with detriment to none, least of all with any infringement upon conscience, the dearest and most valuable of all rights to Englishmen.

And, Sir, there is an easy way of doing this even yet. If it be true that the well-to-do working people of the colony have, from being “pauperised” by State interference or other causes, become unwilling to pay adequately for the education of their children, and that recourse *must needs* be had, in consequence, to the common fund in the Treasury, then let all the teachers in the colony be hired by the State *upon piece-work*. Let them all be free to compete as to the best books they shall use, the best methods they may discover, and as to the quality and quantity of instruction that shall best please the parents; and then let the State *pay them for the results* in those acquirements with which the State has alone concern, namely, those secular attainments that enable the citizen to understand the laws and acquire an intelligent conception of his civil duties. This would do away with the practical monopoly, would secure the education of all even to the ragged schools, and yet retain the benefits of free voluntary effort, and preserve the grand principles of free trade and fair competition. This will surely be a better way than the present, which, in addition to its other defects, destroys

originality by producing a dead level of uniformity. Not a single Public school teacher need suffer, for they might still be allowed to use the same buildings, and, being freed from the trammels of the inferior system and books to which they are at present confined, might take the opportunity to show what good stuff they are made of. See, too, how fair it would be to the private teachers, and, greatest boon of all, how it would remove the discontent of at least half of the community !

And this is what will come to pass, unless (which I do not believe) a majority of the people are so inimical to Catholics as to be prepared to barter away their liberties for the gratification of their animosity. Rights and duties go together, and are symbolical one of the other. If we concede now the control over our education, very shortly the State authorities will claim it as a right, and then the minority will be at the mercy of the majority as to whatever they may direct to be taught. When that shall happen—which God forbid!—those who have brought it about will find that they have been working, not for their own end, but for that of their unholy allies, who from the beginning contemplated nothing short of the pulling down of Christianity itself. And with the loss of religion will follow the loss of liberty, of which religious ideas are the bulwark and mainstay.

J. K. HEYDON.

Ermington, January 29.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE HERALD.

SIR,—Your remarks and those of Messrs. John Stewart and John Mills upon my last letter call for some notice at my hands. As, however, it would trespass too much upon your space, and would besides be tedious to criticise each in detail, I must endeavour to pursue the subject in such a way as to reply to all at once.

To this end, then, I begin by asking,—Do not the words right and wrong, true and false, represent ideas ?

And are not those ideas intimately, intuitively, present to our conscience? Have we not the power to do the wrong as well as that which is right? And do not some of us do the wrong, and know that we are transgressing? Can any circumstances change the wrong into the right? Can true and false, right and wrong, ever be identical? If this cannot be so for one man, can it be so for a body of men? If a body of men, the rulers of a nation, enact that false is true, or wrong right, is the private citizen bound to adopt their ruling, and do violence to his own convictions? And would that be liberty?

I put it in this way, without mention of religion, to suit Mr. John Stewart and his friends; but, as I yet hope that the Christians are in the majority, I will put it also in a way more to their taste and my own. Has not God created us that we might love and serve Him of our own accord? and has He not given us the power of choosing to do the contrary, in order that whichever we do it shall be of our own free will? Is not the love and service which He demands of us supremely good in itself, and our supreme happiness? and is not disobedience evil and our supreme misery? Is not this choice of obedience or disobedience our probation? and will any alteration of circumstances under which temptation presents itself, allow us to disobey and yet not sin? Are not all men, ruled and rulers alike, under this law? If the rulers disobey God, and enact a law forbidding one of the ten commandments, for example, is the private citizen to continue to obey God's law, or follow that made by his fellow men in temporal authority?

These questions are not asked now for the first time: they were practical questions for the free Anglo-Saxon people when they found William the Conqueror trampling their liberties underfoot, and when they entered upon that struggle for their civil and religious liberties that was brought to a final end only so lately as the first quarter of the present century. The English people went into that struggle Catholic and came out of it Protestant, and yet brought out intact the same rights of the individual as against the State authorities as had been enjoyed by their

forefathers, and for which they never ceased to contend—among them, the right to “obey God rather than man.”

As against this, however, Mr. Mills quotes the command of St. Paul to submit to the powers that be, because “they are ordained of God,” &c. For what purpose he makes the quotation I cannot clearly discover. Judging from what he had previously said about the “supremacy” of the State, and from his plain wish that I should quietly submit to the present system of Public school education, it would seem that he infers that the State has a right to dominate over conscience. If so, let me remind him that the Apostle’s acts contradict such an interpretation. St. Paul suffered martyrdom rather than deny his Lord. But perhaps he merely wishes to teach Catholics that their proper attitude before the persecutor is that of passive resistance; in which case he must pardon me for pointing out that his conduct is ungenerous. He first smites me on the one cheek, and then, to prevent my hitting out at him, holds up to me that text of Scripture that bids me present to him the other cheek also. Passive resistance does not, at least, mean silence. Of all the millions of martyrs who joyfully went to death as to the portal of heaven, not one but reserved to himself the right to warn his persecutors that they were unjust, and were abusing the power entrusted to them by Almighty God. If those holy martyrs might denounce, surely I may remonstrate. Passive resistance is a mighty power, in fact the most effective power in the world, but is not always, and under all circumstances, to be had recourse to. Mr. Mills himself points out that State authorities now are not of that despotic character as when St. Paul wrote. Doubtless the imperial tyrants of Rome were, by God’s providence, the fitting rulers of such subjects as they governed; but it is equally by His overruling providence, which operates most frequently through secondary causes, that Almighty God has bestowed temporal power upon the King, Lords, and Commons of England *mediante* the people, who have solemnly, by repeated public acts and documents, *set bounds to that power*. They have confined the State to a

circumscribed temporal power only, and have denied it the power of creating dogma or of annulling the belief of the lieges—have denied it, in short, all control over matters appertaining to conscience. It follows, that if the State invade our rights it is unlawful tyranny, and that we may, if we have the power, lawfully either defend ourselves against the encroachment or reclaim the rights of which we may have temporarily been deprived. Suppose our triennial Parliament were to pass a bill giving all our legislators their seats in perpetuity, and were even to obtain the Governor's assent to it, would any one say that that Act would bind the people? Would even Mr. John Mills say that to such self-elected authorities the private citizen would owe the submission enjoined by St. Paul? It is true that in our case we should have the Imperial authorities intervening; but what if it occurred in England, where the State and the people would be face to face: would not everybody plead, as I do now, that the people would have the right, by force of arms if necessary, to restrain the State authorities within the bounds prescribed by the Constitution? That Constitution defines equally our civil and our religious liberty, and gives the same sanction for both; and my contention is, that it is the civil right of the parent to control his own household and the education of his children, and that it is also his religious right to train up his child in the way he should go. The education of his child is a part of that practice of his religion and of his duty to God, which the Englishman has never yet permitted to go out of his hands, or yielded up to State encroachment. It may be, half-a-century after the contest has been ended at home, that some bigots and infidels shall, in an unholy alliance, have numerical strength enough to recommence the struggle here; but let them learn from the philosophy of history that it can be only a struggle—that they shall never ultimately win. The big boy may easily knock down one not half his size, and kick him when he is down, and maltreat him for as long as he can stand over him, but there always remains one thing by which the little fellow, if he have moral courage enough, can certainly baulk his

tyrant of his end—he can *never give in*. When we meet such a scene in the streets, we see how soon the national sentiment of fair play sympathises with the helpless and takes part against the bully.

To a logical mind it is quite painful to witness the tergiversation practised by the Secularists. When it is question of abolishing State-aid to religion, they insist that in a free community there should be no distinction of persons, and when it is to be decided how the proceeds of the Church and School lands shall be disposed of, they demand that they shall be shared out to every man alike; but, having succeeded in this, they then practise in their own favour the very conduct they had previously reprobated in others; they make again a distinction between persons, and deny to a large section any share in the common fund. State-aid to religion, they say, is monopoly; but the subsidising of teachers for the benefit of a fraction, is with them nothing of the kind; whilst at the same time the voluntary effort of the people acting in ecclesiastical bodies is, they say again, monopoly, and of the most wretched sort. Then, too, whilst the subsidising of some teachers for the advantage of a section is not monopoly, the subsidising of all the teachers for the benefit of the whole community is nothing short of protection! How is it possible to argue with such people, who call black white, and white black, just as it suits their purpose? From the tone and manner in which they fling out their cant words—“priestism,” “priestly ecclesiasticism,” and the like—one would think they were denouncing crimes and criminals of the deepest dye, whilst all the while these words are, in their mouths, mere “sound and fury, signifying nothing,” and indeed are intended only to impose upon the ignorant. They will not bear inquiry as to their meaning, for that would discover the secularist to be tarred with the same brush with which he paints the religionist so black. They ridicule me for a fool for being “priest-ridden,” while the truth is, that I am not such a fool as to be “State-ridden.” In the priest I have a guide who comes to me with a definite code of laws concerning my duty to God, my neighbour, and myself, which commends itself to my reason,

and to which the priest is subject equally with myself. If he should ever so far forget himself as to tempt me to break one of those laws, he has already armed me against his temptation, for he has taught me that he is only a servant of that Master to whom both he and I owe allegiance, and I discover him at once to be a traitor, and remember that my duty is not to him, but to the Lord of us both. But if I once consent to be State-ridden—to place the control of what I am to be taught in the hands of the State—I submit, as the corrupt time goes, to a many-headed monster who knows no law but his own caprice, who may teach me one thing to-day and another to-morrow, and who is armed with the power of compelling my obedience. At present, this monster is content to be what he calls neutral, “secular,” is content simply to *erase* the notion of a positive religion from the mind; but, when that shall be sufficiently effected, there is no knowing what preposterous thing, under the name of some “scientific” *ism*, he may not instil into the vacant soul.

Will the Secularist gentry give me a *good reason* why they take exception to the people organizing themselves “ecclesiastically” rather than in any other way? At present, at least, it is their political right, equally with their right to organize themselves into Good Templars, Protestant Alliances, or Oddfellows. Before the State, ecclesiastical bodies are no more than secular bodies, nor the secular bodies more than they. Why, then, I ask, shall any organization in particular be decried for exercising rights that it possesses only in common with others? Was it ever denied to the Freemasons, for instance, to go into the school-keeping line, as the Rev. Mr. Kirby so lately expressed it? What monopoly or wrong-doing of any kind is it for any number of citizens to enter into partnership to carry on any lawful business? But this, surely, is the very reverse of the State’s taking upon itself to *control* education, for that means giving the majority power to interfere with the rights of the minority, and takes away the private citizen’s right to do his own business in his own way, either by himself, or by combining with his neighbours to do it better.

Before concluding, I wish to say one word to Mr. John Stewart. He can find no room, he says, in the domestic economy of a government, for the principles of free trade. I venture to think, however, that if, after building our railroads with everybody's money, he should see a certain class, by some by-law or other subterfuge, excluded from the rail, and compelled to take the common road, or should meet a regulation restricting another class, say veterinary surgeons, to the third-class carriages, he would discover grounds for complaining of the absence in the management, if not of free-trade principles, at least of that which is their equivalent and almost synonym—*fair play*.

J. K. HEYDON.

Ermington, February 7.

SEQUEL—THE *HERALD* CORNERED.

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TO THE EDITOR OF THE HERALD.

SIR,—In your leading article of Thursday last, there occurs the following passage:—

“Fairly considered, our railway tariff, which varies its charges for the whole distance from Bathurst to Sydney from 12s. 1d. to 30s. 3d. per ton, must be pronounced a protective tariff, as between one class of produce and another: *and that is not very creditable to a colony which boasts of its devotion to the principles of free trade.*”

I ventured to make a similar remark not long ago in respect of the State monopoly of primary education. Perhaps now you will help me in my demand for free trade in education as well as in other things.

J. K. HEYDON.

Ermington, April 15.

[Mr. Heydon fails to see the difference between free trade in trade and free trade in what is not trade; and education as conducted by the Government is not trade.—ED. *S. M. Herald.*]

TO THE EDITOR OF THE HERALD.

SIR,—In your paper of Wednesday last, in a leading article on “Begging Bishops,” there occurs the following passage :

“So far as necessity is concerned, there is less reason for raising funds in England to pay for the religion in Australia, than there is for raising them in London to pay for the religion of Leeds or Manchester ; since, although rich men in England may be richer than the same class of men often are here, there is no comparison between the means of self-support possessed by the average citizens in England and at the antipodes. There are few kindnesses which work more mischief in the long run, than those which consist in doing things for other people which these people are better able to do for themselves ; and there is no generosity more mistaken than the one which encourages habits of dependence in a people who have more than resources enough to make them independent.”

Now, this was precisely my argument for voluntaryism in primary education, and I am unable to see how the principle will apply to religion and yet be out of place in respect to education. Will you, who make the difference, kindly show me how you do so ? Very recently, when I found you insisting upon the management of our State railways upon the free trade principles, and asked why the same conduct should not be observed with regard to our Public schools, you pointed out that railway traffic was trading, and that school-keeping was not so ; but now, surely religion, no more than education, has anything to do with trade, and there must, therefore, be some other reason why voluntaryism and self-support are absolutely to be insisted upon in regard of religion, while the very contrary is to be observed for education. You admit that the citizens of Australia are beyond comparison better able to pay for the education of their children than the people of England ; and what I should like to know is, why New South Welshmen are to be “pauperised” through being provided with that to which they can so well help themselves.

I am puzzled the more because, in a preceding portion of your article, you say—“Unless the Machiavellian principle, that the end justifies any means whatever, is a

sound one, we suppose that a bad business does not become a sound one merely by being done in a good cause." You add, too, that "a good deal of money given ostensibly for the best of purposes, is simply misdirected liberality." It may be only my stupidity that hinders me from seeing how strict voluntarism in religious matters is in principle to be reconciled with the very opposite in respect of education; but I may at least take credit for a genuine wish to be enlightened, and this it is that I seek at your hands.

I am, Sir, yours, &c.,

J. K. HEYDON.

Ermington, June 24.

[We cannot see by what fair process of reasoning our article has anything to do with the question which our correspondent has so much at heart, and we regret that Mr. Heydon does not seem able to perceive that his quibbles about what he is pleased to call free trade in education have been answered half-a-dozen times over. We fancy, however, that we can see one thing very clearly, and that is, that in this country anybody is free to establish any school or set up any system of education he may think proper, provided he does it at his own expense. This is the essence of what economists call free trade; but the claim to establish schools at the general expense, for Denominational purposes, is the essence of that which in the commercial world is known as protection.—*Ed. S. M. Herald.*]



