

that might arise. But the suggestion is totally inapplicable to the case. The Supreme Court upholds the law among a group of States all really under the same federal legislature and forming members of the same polity, not between two powers virtually independent as Great Britain and Ireland with separate Parliaments would be. Nor is its object conformity of policy, which no court of law can possibly undertake to maintain, but the enforcement of written legal obligations. It is appointed, moreover, by a President elected by all the States, to whom there would be no one corresponding in the other case, since the Prime Minister, who really answers to the President, would not be the same for Great Britain and Ireland. Nothing but confusion and strife could result from any such arrangement. A Council for each of the four Provinces, with ample powers of local legislation, but subject to the Imperial Legislature, and with a representation in the House of Lords, would, as has been said before, be as broad a measure of self-government as any moderate Home Ruler could ask. Ulster would also, by this arrangement, preserve her freedom of Liberal self-development unswamped by the majority of Celts and Catholics. But unless the unity of the Supreme Legislature is maintained there is no halting-place short of separation. Such has been the uniform opinion of statesmanlike minds. Within a twelvemonth from the day of its establishment an Irish Parliament would declare itself independent, and be recognized by the United States.

In the midst of the political debate, and with political nostrums swarming forth from the brains of inventors on every side, come the tidings of famine in Western Ireland. Will Grattan's Parliament put bread into those starving mouths? When the tenant of a potato-plot and a cabin has half a dozen children before he is able to maintain one, will any political device bring plenty and civilization under his roof? Will legislation make the influence of the Roman Catholic Church on the character and condition of the people different in Ireland from what it is in all other countries? The roots of the evil are not political, they are economical and religious, or connected with the character of the race, which is the same in Brittany and Ireland. The expropriation of landlords, being an economical measure, is at all events of the right kind. That it will result in anything much better than the substitution of the money-lender for the landlord, seems as yet by no means certain; nor is it easy to see upon what principle, except that of yielding only to violence, the measure can be applied to Ireland alone, or why freeholds should not at the same time be purchased for all the tenant-farmers of the United Kingdom. But political change, however wise in itself, can do little to cure the physical sufferings of the Irish peasantry; while agitation and terrorism, by subverting the faith of contracts, rendering investment impossible, and paralyzing trade and industry, are likely, if this state of things is much protracted, to confer upon the island, which, when the Disunionist movement commenced, was advancing in prosperity, the blessing of commercial ruin.

GOLDWIN SMITH.

UNDER THE SOUTHERN CROSS.

To the Canadian visitor Australia is a land of never-ending wonders. The flora and fauna are full of surprises, but that which excites the greatest interest is the natural scenery. Accustomed to violent changes—the sere frosts of winter, the balmy days and quickening verdure of spring, the mellow autumn, and our own Indian summer—I marvel at finding myself transported from all that is airy, sweet, and fresh, to a continent where Nature has written in language unmistakable a solitude which is desolation. In Canada we are soothed, saddened, and cheered by turns; here we find Nature with no varied moods. The vast plateaus and mountain sides are covered by funereal forests of the Eucalypti, gnarled, twisted, fantastic, casting little or no shade; in many varieties the bark hanging in shreds, and swaying with each passing wind. These forests present a park-like appearance, through which the bushman rides with ease, if not comfort. The Australian mountains are black gorges and towering cliffs, grotesque and ghostly, clad with trees from which no leaves fall. Well has this country been called “The Land of the Dawning.” Here may be seen “the forest primeval,” but never “bearded with pines and with hemlocks.” On the one hand we are confronted by marvellous cities, with a population of one-third of a million, possessing all the activity, splendour, and insatiable greed for wealth which characterizes America; on the other we are brought face to face with a vegetation long dead in other lands. As Marcus Clark has said, “we feel that we are in the cradle of a race,” and that our modern utilitarian views consort but ill, and shrink into insignificance, with the story which countless ages have written on a land coeval with the remote past. A land where animal life is grotesque, where the kangaroo's hop keeps time with the laughing jackass and the shrieks of the white

cockatoo; where the black, gaunt natives chant dismal war songs beside smouldering fires and hold high revel in the historic corroboree; where vast shadows creep across silent plains; where helpless explorers, perishing for a draught of water, have linked their names and their sufferings with Mount Misery, Mount Dreadful, and Mount Despair. The student naturally queries, What has been the effect of such physical conditions upon the Saxon race? The period of occupation has been but a century, and yet the native Australian presents many characteristics which not only distinguish him from his Anglo-Saxon or Celtic progenitors, but also from his fellow-Canadian colonist, or his brothers by descent in the great Republic. In local parlance he is a “cornstalk”; tall, lithic, supple, with a complexion by no means ruddy; no extra adipose tissue, but with a muscular development of the whip-cord variety. His powers of endurance are great; he delights in athletic sports of every variety, and is beyond doubt the prince of horsemen. In business he is keen and active. He revels in short hours for a day's labour, and has incorporated in the calendar a multitude of holidays which put to the blush even a French-Canadian. In every Australian village, town, and city, one half-day is weekly set aside for pleasure. Races, football, cricket, games, balls, bazars, fairs, exhibitions, which are always provided in the open air, furnish amusement. Private gain is not permitted to interfere with the customary recreation, and an Act has recently been passed by the Parliament of Victoria which compels all shopkeepers (chemists excepted) to close their places of business at seven p.m., but on Saturday nights they are permitted to trade until ten o'clock. Henry George has not only been read but deeply studied in the Australian colonies; hence we find that labour, although not directly represented by members of the working class in Parliament, exercises, through the Trades Councils, an influence which is paramount in the consideration of questions in which the mechanics and labouring men and women are primarily interested. In Victoria the majority are Protectionists, while in New South Wales the Free Traders outnumber their opponents by two to one, particularly in the centres of population. The leaders of the Trades Councils have resolutely refused to be caught in the net of the professional politicians, and have therefore retained an influence to which they have yet to attain in Canada. Australia is the paradise of horse-racing. Young and old, men and women, study the sporting columns of the newspapers, and in the great majority of cases are prepared to lay odds on the result of any forthcoming event, be it the winner of the Derby or the Presidential election in the United States. Victoria possesses a population of less than one million, and yet on “Cup Day” fully one hundred and fifty thousand adults assembled at the Flemington course to witness the race, while the attendance for the other days of the week averaged from twenty to forty thousand. This land of the “Golden Fleece” is also the land of the fleeced. It is the “harvest home” of bookmakers, sweepmakers, indicators, and chance games, which must long remain a puzzle to the guileless Canadian. Many of the wagers are for enormous sums, and in one instance the winnings of a single plunger for one day were \$315,000. On last “Cup Day” the owner of the winning horse, “Sheet Anchor,” netted \$105,000, and generously presented his jockey with \$10,000.

Herbert Spencer has written many volumes in which he demonstrates the evils arising from a paternal system of government. Evidently the Australian statesmen have not become converts to Mr. Spencer's theories. Australia is not only the land of physical anomalies, but it presents legislative peculiarities at total variance with the modern ideas of development under a free constitution. Manhood suffrage, democratic equality, a tinge of socialism, and the bureaucratic system, have here intermixed and blended in the most remarkable manner. All the leading journals are in accord with the powers that be. If by any chance the Government changes, the Australian newspapers are found fully equal to the occasion and prepared to defend the new Administration. This by no means indicates that they have recanted, or are prepared to defend principles antagonistic to their former utterances. The truth be told *there are no principles to defend*. Parliament is a bear-garden where vituperation reigns supreme and petty jealousies usurp the peace of questions of vital importance. The Australian statesmen of to-day would be regarded in Canada as second-class material even in the Local Legislature. Municipal or local government is practically an unknown quantity in Australia. The local Parliament possesses exclusive control, from the framing of the tariff to the building of a log culvert in the back blocks. Railways, telegraph lines, street cars, the water supply in towns, villages, and cities, police, etc., are all directed by the central authority. The country literally swarms with officials. A country village which in Canada would boast a single constable, with no pay except occasional fees, would in Australia provide a comfortable billet for three or four mounted troopers, a sub-inspector, a police magistrate, a magistrate's clerk, and perhaps a black