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THE LEVEE.

Flock to the Levee—fawn and cringe, and bow,—  
 Ne'er was your homage needed more than now,—  
 Needed—to rivet fetters half undone;  
 Needed—to check a victory almost won;  
 Needed—to furnish arguments to those  
 Who boast your tame submission to your foes:  
 Doubt not your welcome, fawn and cringe, and bow—  
 He *once* was cold—but ye are welcome *now*.

Flock to the Levee—lend a parting ray  
 To gild the twilight of his cheerless day,—  
 That day—in which, through each extreme, we run  
 Rejoicing, maddening, roused, amazed, undone.  
 'Twas his to stimulate each passion's tone,  
 And lend them stings and passions not their own.  
 Hope foamed to Madness at his frantic will,  
 And, neath his rod, Despair grew darker still—  
 Not bow before thee? Satan's self might bow  
 To such a *master* of the mind—as *thou*.

Flock to the Levee—something's still unsold.—  
 Something that yet may glut his thirst for gold:  
 Thank him—for what his Harpies have not reft:  
 Thank him—for what Prerogative has left;  
 Thank him—for revenue he dares not take;  
 Thank him—for laws he yet has spared to break;  
 Thank him—for lands which, innocent of rent,  
 Yield not his vampires twenty-five per cent.—  
 Thank for the Gordian knot his hand untied,  
 The solemn compact solemnly denied;  
 And say, as prostrate at his throne ye fall,  
 Accept our thanks,—thou hast not taken *all*.

Flock to the Levee—Loyalty, bow down  
 Before this image of Britannia's Crown;  
 This glorious mirror, whose unruffled face  
 Reflects the Queen with more than queenly grace!  
 What though his hand have half untwined the band  
 That links Australia to her parent land;  
 Rebellion's dragon seed has scattered there,  
 And ploughed it deep with harsh oppression's share,  
 'Till the tame race, who late his rod had kissed,  
 Though unresisting quivers to resist—  
 And counts the links that still their chain increase,  
 'Till scarce their weakness counsels them to peace.  
 Still bow before him, Loyalty, and know  
 Thy Sovereign's image—in her Empire's foe.

SMALL SQUATTERS.

THE thing which seems to have struck every practical man in the Squatting Regulations of the 2nd of April is, their utter impracticability. It was so obviously absurd to declare that no station in a country which had never been surveyed at all, and which there was no intention of surveying, should consist of more than twenty square miles, a quantity which a survey alone could determine—that, strange to say, the Governor has profited by his own ignorance, and his scheme, because it never could be carried into effect at all, has got credit for possessing merits in point of principle which it never possessed. From its utter impracticability it probably arises, that no one that we know of has succeeded in showing what would be the precise operation of this scheme, but as it bears on the face fit symptoms of being injurious to the larger squatters, some people seem to have supposed that it must be beneficial to the

smaller ones. It would have been most astonishing had it been so. The grand characteristic of Sir George Gipps' administration has been what we will take the liberty to call impartial injustice; not so much the setting up of one class at the expense of another, as grinding all down to the same level, and augmenting the revenue of the Crown at their expense. Had this measure been otherwise, it would have been an exception to the general rule. But it is no exception. The revenue of the Crown is the better for these regulations, but every interest in the Colony, including the small squatters, is the worse. In the first place, it is quite obvious that these regulations tend very much to increase the influence of the Commissioner of Crown Lands. The burthen of proof which once lay on the Commissioner is now shifted to the Settler. Formerly, before part of a man's run could be taken from him, it was necessary for the Commissioner to satisfy himself that he had more land than was required for the pasture of his stock, and three years' increase—now, before a man can be allowed to occupy more than twenty square miles, he must prove to the Commissioner that his stock requires a larger pasture. This is no trifling difference. As matters are at present, the Commissioner is bound to make a liberal allowance for increase—no minimum is established—and great as his power is, the regulations furnish no pretext for using it oppressively. But this pretext for oppression is furnished by the regulations of the 2nd of April, a minimum is fixed, beyond which the Commissioner is not required to go, and this minimum is so far too small, that it is absolutely necessary for the interest of the stockholder that it should in every case be exceeded. What is this but saying to the Commissioner—formerly you were obliged to go out of your way to ruin a man, the ordinary routine of business was that he should have as much land as was necessary: now the ordinary routine is the reverse, and you must go out of your way to save him from ruin. It is very easy to see what the large squatter loses by this, but we should like to know what the small squatter gains. If he has more sheep than can be fed on 12,800 acres, he is placed as absolutely under the Commissioner as the larger squatter, the only difference being, that the larger squatter would probably have more interest with the Commissioner than he, the poor being more liable to oppression than the rich, just in the proportion in which it is safer to oppress them. But if he has not stock enough to feed over 12,800 acres, what does he gain? His burdens are in no wise diminished because those of his wealthier brother are increased; and if he looks forward, as if he be a *bona fide* squatter he must do, to one day becoming possessed of stock more than adequate to feed over the minimum of 12,800 acres, his future prospects are materially darkened. We may also observe, that if he supposes the squatting regulations will be construed strictly, he knows little of the talent for analogical reasoning which distinguishes His Excellency Sir George Gipps. If the owner of 4,000 sheep is to be content with 12,800 acres, rely upon it the possessor of 1,000 sheep must content himself with 3,200 acres, and so on in proportion. The proportion is established in His Excellency's mind between one sheep and a little more than three acres, and rely upon it, it will be strictly enforced upon small as well as great. It is not, we repeat it, the practice of Sir George Gipps to benefit one class at the expense of another, but rather to ruin them all for the benefit of the Government. He is the true copy of the people-devouring King of Homer, with too little sympathy for any of them to fall into the error of partiality. No one in this country can boast that he has obtained from the Governor the melancholy privilege which the Cyclops conferred on Ulysses, of being devoured last. All are in equal peril and jeopardy, and it is mere folly in the poorer classes to suppose, that because they have less to lose, they will not as surely lose their little all as their wealthier neighbours.

But it is said these regulations will benefit the small squatter, by forcing the large squatter to content himself with less land, and enabling the small squatter to obtain it. This would be extremely true, if the Governor had made a dis-

covery by which three sheep could be fed in the place where one now feeds; but we greatly doubt the benefit, when it comes in the questionable form of taxation. His Excellency once was, or at any rate was reputed to be, a political economist, and ought therefore to know that the sole business of taxation is to raise money, and that, if it is necessary to correct any social or economical abuse, a tax is the very worst means which can be employed, and that his zeal against the larger squatters becomes more than suspicious when it leads him to the conclusion, that it is necessary to this patriotic view to augment the already overgrown droits of the Crown. Besides, it is by no means clear to us that these squatting regulations, if put in force, would have either of the effects which are attributed to them. There can be no doubt, we think, that if rigorously acted upon they would put an end altogether to the race of squatters, and thus put an end to all unpleasant bickerings between large and small. But supposing the folly and madness of their projector to be tempered by that degree of discretion which, in the strange constitution of man, is often found in the most frantic undertakings—suppose the governor, in the words of our poet of last week, should be "content to grind them steadily," and moderate his edict from utter extinction to extreme depression of the pastoral interests, why will not the large squatter be just as well, or even better able to bear the increased burden as the small one? The hand which is laid heavily on him, falls not a jot more lightly on them. If the effect of the regulations be to drive him into a narrower compass, the same effect will be felt by them. If the great squatter be driven to relinquish miles, the small one must relinquish acres. Every body is worse than they were, and no one better, except the territorial revenue of the Crown. But we are stating our case too weakly. It is well known that pastoral operations are successful in proportion as they are conducted on a great scale. The division of labor is more perfect, and order and system can be carried much farther in a large establishment than in a small one. Thus the large squatter is able to bear a much heavier burden of taxation than the smaller one. His profits are larger, and will therefore bear a greater reduction. The effect then of these regulations, if carried out with any portion of the spirit in which they are conceived, will be to destroy the small squatter altogether, and thus produce the very consummation which His Excellency so much deprecates, the placing large tracts of land in the hands of few persons. We have not, we may admit, in this article been very successful in showing what the principle of the new squatting regulations is; but one thing we think we have shown, that it is not the welfare of the small squatters, nay, that upon them the whole weight of the system will immediately fall, and that whatever becomes of the larger stockholders, *their* ruin is certain. What the principle of these regulations is we will tell our readers in a future number, content now to have narrowed the subject by showing what it is not.

PONS ASINORUM.

By whom was e'er Freedom successfully sought?  
 Who shrunk from the price at which freedom is bought?

IN order to reward the public for the Spartan patience with which they endure the almost superhuman dulness of its ordinary compositions, the *Herald* has fallen into a habit lately, of producing a clap-trap article once a week, which it fondly hopes may bear some faint resemblance to our own lucubrations. It is not for us to damp the efforts of this rising genius, but rather to assist him in his lucubrious efforts—by helping him out of difficulties which appear to him inextricable. The subject selected for immolation this week, is the hackneyed grievance—that all the patronage, worth having, is retained in the clutches of the Colonial Office. That the patronage is so retained is as Sam Slick says, "a fact," a fact, which no one is less disposed to dispute, extenuate, or make light of than ourselves. The existence of this fact sorely puzzles the sagacity of the *Herald*. Why, he asks, has not a concession similar to that made to Canada been made to this country? He asks,

but he cannot answer. He is posed by his own problem. According to all the rules of servile logic, we ought to be at this moment far better off than the Canadians. "We have never" the *Herald* pathetically says, "waved the flag of independence, we have never drawn the sword of rebellion, we have but one Papineau—that is the *Atlas*—and he, the *Herald* admits, is a Papineau in a mitigated form—not at all the sort of Papineau with whom Sir Francis Head says the recipient of our loyalty on Monday next, leagued himself against the British Government—but a much more mild and pacific Papineau, who may speak daggers but uses none, and who, instead of advising a levy *en masse*, contents himself with advising people *en masse* to stay away from the levee." Mild, loyal, dutiful, obedient, constitutional (frown not if we say) servile Australia can get nothing—ranting, rollicking, roaring, remonstrating, rebelling, recalcitrating Canada gets everything. This is a case which the *Herald's* theory of Government cannot explain. Whether the theory of the *Atlas* be more correct or no—at any rate it is more comprehensive; for not only does it explain this phenomenon, but the phenomenon is precisely what the theory would lead us to expect. Canada has had her Papineau, Australia only has her *Sydney Morning Herald*. The first, the most treasonable, rebellious and outrageous of mob-orators; The second, the most servile, mawkish, and mealy-mouthed of newspapers; and yet, the first has done his country incalculable good; the second incalculable evil. The *Herald's* theory of redressing grievances, is borrowed from the school-room, "ask prettily, and you will get it" Ours is drawn from a rougher and a sterner school: *shew that you will not bear misgovernment, and it will cease.* Scotland has never been misgoverned, for Scotland would not bear it. It is the nature of Government every where to impose upon subjects quite as heavy burdens as they will endure tamely. Patience is not among the list of political virtues—at any rate, those who practice it must look for their reward in a future state, for assuredly they will not find it in this. Let no one misunderstand us. We are not praising the conduct of the Canadian leaders, nor recommending its imitation, but only exhorting the Colonists, to show, by every means in their power—short of violence, that if the Colonial Office means to govern this Country much longer, it must govern it in accordance with the feelings and wishes of its inhabitants.

We are not sanguine as to the immediate result of our exertions, in the cause of liberty, and independence of thought and action; men do not all at once receive the truth, and much as has been done during the six months that we have been in existence, we cannot hope to have uprooted the prejudices and errors of years. Perhaps our efforts to rouse the Colonists to the necessity (not of insulting) but of marking their disapprobation of the Governor, by absenting themselves from his levee, may only tend to crowd it the more intensely. At any rate we have made a beginning, and feel confident that we are to increase, and that the servile and mean are to decrease.

#### EDUCATION AND FREE TRADE.

Mr. Alderman Kerr, from Melbourne, had an interview with his Excellency the Governor, on Wednesday morning, on the subject of the grievances which the purchasers of land in the vicinity of the towns in the Port Phillip district labour under from the holders of depasturing licenses being allowed to compete with them in raising agricultural and garden produce for the market. It seems that in the Port Phillip district, squatting extends to the very boundaries of the towns, and the squatters in such localities holding precisely the same description of land, and at the same distance from the market, for only ten pounds per annum, are enabled to undersell their less fortunate neighbours, the land purchasers, whose farms have cost them in many instances as high as twenty-three or twenty-four pounds per acre. This injustice, intolerable enough in itself, will be felt to be infinitely more burdensome in the event of the District Councils coming into operation, the squatter being taxable on his personality only, while the land purchaser will have to pay for his land as well as for his movable property. The Governor acknowledged to the fullest extent the justice of the complaints brought under his notice by Alderman Kerr, and requested that gentleman to assure the parties interested that he would give his early attention to the providing a remedy. His Excellency was not prepared to state exactly the course he should adopt; but as this had not escaped his notice, among many other defects in the squatting system which had attracted his notice between three and four years ago, and the redress of which, as the Alderman was aware, had occupied his attention, indeed, he believed he might say, was now virtually accomplished; he did not apprehend there would be much difficulty in drawing distinction between licenses for depasturing and agricultural purposes. With regard to the operation of District Councils as between the land purchasers and the squatters, his Excellency said provision had been made in the bill for the regulation of the District Councils rejected by the Legislature last session, which would have equalised their position in that respect; and in any further legislation on the subject, he would take care that the interests of the purchasers of land were not overlooked, as he conceived the Government bound to protect those parties who had purchased lands from the Crown from any injustice they might be exposed to, arising from any act either of the Executive Government or the Legislature.—*Sydney Morning Herald*, April 18.

THERE were two points in Sir George Gipps' character which stood out like bright stars in bold relief to the black firmament of oppression and chicanery in which they were placed, and which seemed to shew, that however unscrupulous in carrying out the harshest orders of the Downing-street Autocracy, he still retained, amid the wreck of principle, some of those sympathies with what is right and elevated, of which he made

such large professions during the earlier part of his government. Our readers will readily surmise that we allude to his efforts in the cause of education and free trade. Where are these generous aspirations now? The cause of education has been heartlessly sold, for support to his ruinous pastoral policy; and at the same altar we now find him ready to immolate the pure and noble principles of free trade. Henceforth all is dark. It wanted but this, and this has been supplied.

Suppose that a number of purchasers of land at Melbourne had waited on His Excellency, and informed him that the price of the meat which they sold to the town was much enhanced by the competition of the Squatter; who can doubt that the answer would have been equally gracious as unquestionably the complaint is equally just? Or, supposing that a deputation of the unfortunate purchasers of land in any part of the Colony were to wait on His Excellency, and inform him that the price of their staple product wool, was greatly reduced in the English market by the competition of the licensed graziers beyond the boundaries, who can doubt that the answer would be equally gracious as the complaint would be equally just? The principle involved in His Excellency's assertion, that it is the duty of the Government to protect the purchasers of lands from the Crown from injustice, that is, from competition, is this—that it is the duty of the Government, now that all other means have failed, to induce persons to purchase the lands of the Crown at the present extravagant rate of £1 an acre, to give them a monopoly for their produce—to prevent all competition with them, and thus by diminishing the quantity of that produce, to increase its exchangeable value, until it reaches such a price, that it will repay the purchasers of lands a reasonable profit on the capital they have so unthrifly invested. In this particular instance, the consumers of Melbourne are to be taxed to benefit the purchasers of land in its vicinity. But the principle is of much wider extent, and involves the laying a heavy tax on the consumers of every article produced in this Colony for the purpose of indemnifying the dupes of an unprincipled and rapacious government.

We call the serious attention of the Colonists to this most pernicious principle ere yet it be embodied in action. What alarms us in regard to it is, the extreme facility with which the unconstitutional powers claimed by the Governor enable him to carry it out; nothing more is needed than a proclamation in the *Gazette*, that any Squatter selling corn or any other produce of his station will lose his license, and the thing is done, and thus a precedent is created, which, the principle once being established, can be extended at will to matters of more importance. We entertain no doubt whatever, that had the Squatting Regulations been opposed with less vigour and unanimity, they would by this time have been superseded by an ordinance putting an end to Squatting altogether, and requiring all stock to be removed from any but purchased lands; and this, very likely would have been done, under the same hypocritical pretext of tenderness for the interests of purchasers of Crown lands which is now brought forward. The triumph of political economy is, that though she has as yet been unable to procure free trade between nation and nation, she has succeeded in the emancipation of internal commerce. What would the writer in the *Morning Chronicle*—who shudders at Fitzroy's and Moody's two-and-two-penny assignats, say to a scheme of prohibiting the produce of certain lands, because they are held on a different tenure from certain others; and how would he smile if he were told, that this restorer of the dark ages is a rigid free trader, who, while he protects the purchasers of Crown land from the competition of the Squatters, leaves them fully exposed to be undersold by the farmers of Valparaiso.

Government has a monopoly of land, and in order to extort from the purchasers of its favourite commodity an exorbitant price, it is ready to throw in as part of the consideration for which that price is paid, a monopoly of the produce of such land to be enforced at the expense of every other person in the Colony. By this ingenious device is the evil effect of the high price of land divided impartially over the whole community, instead of being confined to those who have actually purchased it. And thus is monopoly twice cursed in its own baleful effects, and in the other monopolies which it cannot fail to produce, till the whole community is made up of persons each of whom is preyed upon by others, in consideration of being permitted in his turn to prey upon them. Such is the last triumph of the Statesmanship of our free trade Governor.

It will astonish no one to find the free trading *Herald* an advocate of this miserable system. We believe that its lapses in political economy are like its late unconscious heresy, the result of ignorance rather than design. Had thought, or the logical application of old principles to new cases been at all required for the trade, our unctuous cotemporary could have made nothing of it.

Let no one suppose that we are indifferent to the great hardship incurred by those persons who have purchased lands from the Crown, on the faith of the continuance of prices, the fourth part of which can never ultimately be obtained. Notwithstanding the solemn pledge implied in the Act of Parliament, every one must see that the time is fast approaching when Government will be compelled from the necessity of the

case to diminish its present exorbitant demands. That it has done so all over the country is well known to any one who has taken the trouble to peruse the land grievance report. We look upon these persons therefore, as entitled to every consideration which the Government can shew them, except that of depressing the industry and taxing the consumption of their fellow colonists in order to make up to them the injury which they have sustained, but we trust that the colonists of this country will never tamely submit to the establishment of principles like the one now sought to be introduced, which are even more degrading than they are injurious.

#### AN EPISTLE FROM PADDY O'FLANNAGIN TO SIR GEORGE GIPPS.

By my sowkins, Sir George, you're an illigant man,  
Och let yez alone, 'tis yourself hov the plan  
Of houlding by office with dignity grate,  
Not minden what spalpeens about yez may prate.  
Dan O'Connell himself shure—more luck to brave Dan—  
Tho' Sassenachs call him "the big beggarman"—  
It would not demane—troth the truth 'tis I spake—  
From yer "ways and yer manes" a good lesson to take,  
For, cuter thin Dan, you can raise up a rint,  
Widout bothering people about their consint;  
Bedad I'll go bail—af the truth it was known,  
'Tis yerself that has once kiss'd the ould Blarney stone.  
Arrah tell us, ye divil, d'ye mane to meet bould  
The Council—or bang 'em, like Crummell of ould  
Did the tearin' Rump Parliament, whin they did'n't plase  
Ould Noll, who like you faix would have his own ways.  
So you mane, we hear tell, to rule ivery matter,  
Wid new regulations come over the squatther;  
Yer Crown Land Commissioners give em strict orders  
So to clane out the bys, that live over the bordhers,  
Wid fine and assisment, taxation and rint,  
That squatting, the sorra a good will be in t.  
Thin yer other grate schaimé—och 'tis cuteness is in ye!  
To find out that same stercoraceous rivinu,  
Troth 'tis thinkin' I am—tho his nose smart and snorter,  
Each Crown Land Commissioner must turn bogtrotter.  
Not like the bogtrotters in Ireland I mane,  
Who, though they trot bogs, are bys dacent and clane,  
But your bys, whin your biddin they do—oh my gracious,  
Must wade, and no gammon, through soil stercoraceous.  
Faix the dung-heap Commissioners, whin they work hard  
Will be wantin a taste iv our "Irish Blackguard."  
By the powdherers iv war 'tis awake ye're as wide as  
That thunderin schaimer of ould—I mane Midas.  
Of whom, whin we rade in the books, we are tould,  
That whativir he clapt his big paws on grew gould.  
Och murdher, in Ireland they'd nivir believe it  
That our Gubern here such a schaimé could conceive it.  
As upon this same dung spee I've much more to say,  
On the nixt twenty-sixth I'll be at yer levay,  
Where, the delicate noses about it may fuss,  
The fund stercoraceous agin we'll discuss.  
Plaise the pigs, thin my mind I'll spake out like a man agin,  
As shure as my name it is

his  
Paddy X O'Flannagin.  
mark

P.S.—'Twas Jack Shea, and 'tis right yez should know it,  
A beautiful scollard—the ritin will show it—  
Rote down this appistle. I'm only the poet.

his  
Paddy X O'Flannagin.  
mark

P.S. 2.—I'm desired by my counthryman, Shea,  
To tell yez, in sayerit—af 'tis a fine day  
He'll ketch hould av yer fist at the comin levay.  
Shea's a tearin fine dancer, and you may be shure  
To see Jack at the evenin hop welt the flure.

his  
Paddy X O'Flannagin.  
mark

P.S. 3.—At yer levay we hopes for to see  
My cousin, the Justass iv pace iv Broulee.  
Musha thunder an ouns, by the power iv delf  
We hears he has got the whole binch to himself.  
More stringth to his elbow, he always was fit  
On the binch straight or cross-legg'd quite dacent to sit,  
And for ritin—Moriah! he has got a new plan agin,  
Och the larnin' is grate iv my cousin O'Flannagin.  
Arrah tell us, Sir George, as his frind you must know,  
Why of late he has dropt the ould family O;  
No matter for that, tho—all people agree  
That widout him no koort could be held in Broulee.

his  
Paddy X O'Flannagin.  
mark

#### THE ATLAS IN DEFENCE OF THE TREASURY BENCH.

His Excellency has again been in close council with the *Herald*. "It is of no use bouncing about race dinners," says that servile journal. "Your Excellency is decidedly unpopular. Indeed, I see no way of making the public believe that your measures, so execrated, might have passed muster with the Legislative Council, but by abusing your officers for inefficiency, and baiting our scurrility with a little clap-trap for the currency gullet." Now can any defence of Sir George Gipps be more mean in its mode, more base and dastardly in itself, and more worthy, in short, of the *Sydney Morning Herald*? If Demosthenes were Colonial Secretary, and Cicero Treasurer, their eloquence in palliation of such political conduct as the Governor's, would be utterly thrown away. The intense blackness would be apparent through all the coatings of whitewash; nor would Sir George have any right to expect from them any cure for an irremediable evil. The murderer of poor Mrs. Hoadley, whoever he may have been, had no right to rely on the skill of Dr. Macrae to save her life. So the author of those District Councils, that cleave the skull of the agricultural interest, and of those Squatting Regulations, that give such a deadly stab to the