

respect or trust. We are governed by men (and by such men!), not by laws. Expediency and not principle is the ideal of our legislatures. It is as true of New Zealand as it is of Australia under the hysterical Hughes, or of England under the scheming Welshman whom the Tories despise as the dirt under their feet. It cannot be too often repeated to the public that politicians are the servants, the hired servants, of the State, and that they are put in power to govern the country, not according to their own interests but according to the great, lasting principles of right government which are based on the law of nature itself.

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The first principle that every democracy ought to remember is that all just government derives its power from the consent of the governed. We remembered that in war-time and we made great display of it. If the public remember it still they allow their legislators to act as if no such principle were ever proclaimed worth dying for. That primary principle establishes clearly the true relationship between the people and their representatives, and if it were remembered efficaciously would keep the latter permanently in their places. A second principle is that government is instituted in order to promote the welfare of the public, and not for the aggrandisement of the politicians: the State is in being for the sake of the people, and the people are not born slaves of the State—that is another way of enunciating the same truth. From these principles we may deduce the proper functions of right government. Of the latter some are essential and others optional. Among essential functions are those described as "Such as all governments must perform in order to justify their existence. They include the maintenance of industrial peace, order, and safety, the protection of persons and property, and the preservation of external security. They are the original primary functions of the State, and all States, however rudimentary and undeveloped, attempt to perform them." These functions may be divided into military, financial, and civil. In the exercise of its military functions the State defends itself and its people against foreign aggression and represses internal disorder. Its financial function includes the collection and expenditure of funds for the maintenance and operation of the State. Regulations concerning the rights of individuals, contracts, property, disputes, crime and punishment come under the State's civil function. There is little difficulty about the essential functions. It is when we come to consider the optional activities of the State that the radical differences between good and bad governments are seen. The optional functions may be described as those that tend to the general welfare but which might be performed by private agencies. Examples are public works, such as railways, telegraph services, maintenance of harbors and lighthouses, and conservation of forests. The State is undoubtedly called upon to regulate these as far as the general good demands, but the State is not called upon to interfere and create monopolies and restrict private enterprise. Sometimes such optional functions may be better performed by the State, often they are better provided for by private enterprise. In the matter of interference and non-interference the difference between wise government and tinkering statecraft is quickly seen. Interference is regulated by expediency, in the light of the common good; when it is directed by selfish interests it becomes at once bad government and jobbery. Here it is that the necessity for wise administrators and honest men becomes clear. They will know exactly how far to go and when to stop. They will remember always that the State is for the people and not the people for the State. They will be mindful that there is no greater boon than liberty and that individuals, families, and communities have certain inalienable rights which the State must respect. They will recognise man's first duty to God: a parent's duty towards his children, and a child's duty towards the parent: they will understand that the family is the unit of society and that in the direction of the home and in

the training of children there is a barrier set up by the natural law which it would be criminal and despotic for the State to cross. Bad governments, ignorant and unprincipled politicians, do not know that in their attacks on these rights they are pulling down the pillars of the State and casting broad the seeds of anarchy and confusion; they are incapable of understanding that by their own violation of a higher law than any they can frame they are undermining all respect for law and order, and when they interfere with the family and with religion they are unable to realise that they are traitors to their country. Such politicians need to be firmly reminded of the rights that exist in the hearts of the people. A people that retains self-respect and independence will not fail to remind them, even by drastic measures when necessary. A people, like ours, that have lost self-respect and independence will allow the politicians to become slave-drivers and exploiters of the public.

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Our people require frequent instruction on these elementary principles. They require frequent reminding that they are men and that they have the rights of men. If we could engender in every man in New Zealand the conviction that politicians are the hired servants of the public a long step would be taken towards the much-talked-of social reconstruction which our politicians promised and are incapable of bringing about. We have had enough of government by men, enough of legislation pledged to a gang of bigots in return for votes, enough of blundering and deception and chicanery. Instead of a few score of politicians who are intellectually and morally beneath the standard of an ordinary county council we want a group of honest and honorable men with learning and ability enough to govern for the common good. Instead of an Orangeman we want a New Zealand man who is willing to do his best, not for the P.P.A. or for Ulster, but for this Dominion. And instead of sham parties organised by self-interested persons we want one strong capable party that will stand for New Zealand first, and tear secret treaties and back-door pledges to tatters. And it is about time that the public saw that such a party was formed. Begin by applying the hose to the present Houses and making a clean sweep of the ridiculous effigies that self-interest or P.P.A. interest put there.

NOTES

An Intimate Document

In the *Apologia* Newman not only crushed for ever, and immortalised by according him notoriety, the typical overbearing Protestant, Charles Kingsley, but he also laid bare to the world his own great, fearless, truth-loving soul. In an appendix to his book of devotions we find two brief notes that shed yet more light on the personality of John Henry Newman. Here is one, written, as he tells us, "in the prospect of death":

"I wish with all my heart to be buried in Father Ambrose St. John's grave—and I give this as my last, my imperative will. (This I confirm and insist on, and command.)"

Of Newman's reference to Father St. John at the end of the *Apologia*, George Eliot spoke with reverent wonder and with joy that in the cold years of our times such friendship should still be possible. In the foregoing note we hear Newman's appeal that even the grave should not separate him from his friend. Later he wrote, for his own epitaph:

Johannes Henricus Newman

Ex Umbris et Imaginibus

In Veritatem.

Die— A.S. 18—.

Requiescat in pace.

Ex Umbris et Imaginibus in Veritatem! It sums up his whole life, his long striving towards the Truth, his faithful following of the "Kindly Light." Only the date to be filled in! Duty it was done when he died on the evening of August 11, 1890.